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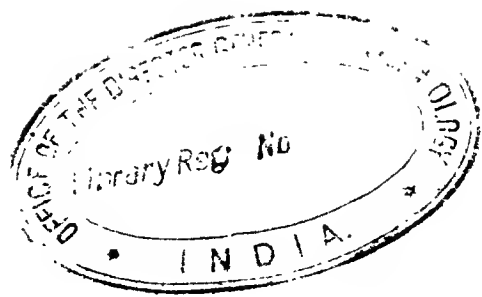
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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
THE DECLINE AND FALL  
OF THE  
ROMAN EMPIRE.

BY EDWARD GIBBON, ESQ.

25773

A NEW EDITION, IN ONE VOLUME:

WITH

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THE AUTHOR,  
BY ALEXANDER CHALMERS, ESQ. F.A.S.

AND A PORTRAIT.

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he was sent to a school at Kingston upon Thames, kept by Dr. Woodeson and his assistant; but even here his studies were frequently interrupted by sickness, nor does he speak with rapture either of his proficiency or of the school itself. In 1747, on his mother's death, he was recalled home, where during a residence of two years, principally under the eye of his affectionate aunt, he appears to have acquired that passion for reading which predominated during the whole of his life.

In 1749, he was entered in Westminster school, of which Dr. John Nicoll was at that time head-master. Within the space of two years, he reached the third form; but his application was so frequently rendered useless by sickness and debility, that it was determined to send him to Bath. Here, and at Putney, he recovered his health so far as to be able to return to his books, and as he approached his sixteenth year, his disorder entirely left him. The frequent interruptions, however, which he had met with, and probably a dread of the confined air of the city of Westminster, had induced his father to place him at Esher in Surrey, in the house of the Rev. Philip Francis, the translator of Horace. But his hopes were again frustrated. Mr. Francis preferred the pleasures of London to the instruction of his pupils; and our scholar, without farther preparation, was hurried to Oxford, where, on April 3. 1752, before he had accomplished his fifteenth year, he was matriculated as a gentleman commoner of Magdalen College.

To Oxford, he informs us, he brought "a stock of erudition that might have puzzled a doctor, and a degree of ignorance of which a school-boy would have been ashamed." During the three last years, although sickness interrupted a regular course of instruction, his fondness for books had increased, and he was permitted to indulge it by ranging over the shelves without plan or design. This indiscriminate appetite subsided by degrees in the historical line, and he perused with the greatest avidity such historical books as came in his way, gratifying a curiosity of which he could not trace the source, and supplying wants which he could not express. In this course of desultory reading he seems unconsciously to have been led to that particular branch in which he was afterwards to excel. But whatever connection this had with his more distant life, it was by no means favourable to his academical pursuits. He was exceedingly deficient in classical learning, and went to Oxford without either the taste or preparation which could enable him to reap the advantages of academical education. This may probably account for the harshness with which he speaks of the English universities. He informs us that he spent fourteen months at Magdalen College, which proved the most idle and unprofitable of his whole life; but why they were so idle and unprofitable, we cannot learn from his Memoirs. If he still pursued his desultory course of reading, they could not be altogether unprofitable,

although they might be idle as to the purposes of academical studies. To the carelessness of his tutors, indeed, he appears to have had some reason to object; but he allows that he was disposed to gaiety and to late hours, and therefore complains, with little justice, that he was not taught what he was disposed to neglect. In his examination of the history of our universities, he would bring us back to the tyranny of priests and monks; but he who cannot distinguish between the priests and monks of a barbarous age, and the clergy of the present period, wants at least one of the qualifications of a historian. It is the more to be regretted that he has recorded his prejudices against the universities, because those prejudices appear to have been conceived in his maturer years. This is, at least, suspicious. When he sat down to write his Memoirs, the Memoirs of an eminent and accomplished scholar, he found a blank which is seldom found in the biography of English scholars, the early displays of genius, the laudable emulation, and the well-earned honours; he found that he owed no fame to his academical residence, and therefore determined that no fame should be derivable from an university education.

When he first left Magdalen college, he informs us, that his taste for books began to revive; and that "unprovided with original learning, uninformed in the habits of thinking, unskilled in the arts of composition, he resolved to write a book." The title of this first essay was "The Age of Sesostris," the sheets of which he afterwards destroyed. On his return to college, want of advice, experience, and occupation, betrayed him into improprieties of conduct, late hours, ill-chosen company, and inconsiderate expense. Industry became afterwards so much a habit with Mr. Gibbon, that we are not to wonder if he wishes to bestow a share of the blame of his youthful idleness on the negligence of his tutors, or the constitution of his college.\*

In the frame of his mind, however, there appears to have been originally a considerable proportion of juvenile arrogance and caprice. At the age of sixteen, his reading became of the religious kind; and after bewildering himself in the errors of the church of Rome, he was converted to its doctrines, if that can be called a conversion which was rather the adoption of certain opinions by a boy, who had never studied those of his own church. This change, in whatever light it may be considered, he imputes principally to the works of Parsons, the Jesuit, who, in his opinion, had urged all the best arguments in favour of the Roman Catholic religion.

Fortified with these, on the 8th of June 1753, he solemnly abjured, what he calls the errors of heresy, before a Catholic priest in London, and immediately announced the important event to his father in a very laboured epistle. His father regretted the change, but divulged the secret, and thus rendered his return to Magdalen College impossible. At an advanced age, and when he had learned to treat all religions with

\* Old Daniel Parker, the book-seller at Oxford, gives us a few traits of Gibbon when at college. "I knew him personally. He was a singular character, and but little connected with the young gentlemen of his college. They admit at Magdalen college only men of letters."

tune, no commoners. The unknown book for a young man I remember seeing to him—*Le Billet de l'Oratoire d'Herbulet*, which he seems much to have used for authorities for his *Eastern Roman History*. *Gent. Mag.* vol. lxx. p. 119.

equal indifference, our author speaks of this conversion with a vain respect; declaring himself not ashamed to have been entangled by the sophistry which seduced the acute and manly understandings of Chillingworth and Bayle. But perhaps resemblance is more close in the transition which, he adds, they made from superstition to scepticism.\*

His father was now advised to send him for some time to Lausanne in Switzerland, where he was placed, with a moderate allowance, under the care of Mr. Pavilliard, a Calvinist minister. Mr. Pavilliard was instructed to reclaim his pupil from the errors of popery; but as he could not speak English, nor Mr. Gibbon French, some time elapsed before much conversation of any kind became practicable. When their mutual industry had removed this obstacle, Mr. Pavilliard first secured the attention and attachment of his pupil by kindness, then directed his studies into a regular plan, and placed within his power such means of information as might remove the errors into which he had fallen. This judicious method soon proved successful; on Christmas day, 1754, after "a full conviction," Mr. Gibbon received the sacrament in the church of Lausanne; and here it was, he informs us, that he suspended his religious enquiries, acquiescing, with implicit belief, in the tenets and mysteries which are adopted by the general consent of Catholics and Protestants.

His advantages, in other respects, were so important during his residence at Lausanne, that here, for the first time, he appears to have commenced the regular process of instruction which laid the foundation of all his future improvements. His thirst for general knowledge returned; and while he was not hindered from gratifying his curiosity in his former desultory manner, certain hours were appropriated for certain studies. His reading had now a fixed object, and that attained, he felt the value of the acquisition, and became more reconciled to regularity and system. He opened new stores of learning and taste by acquiring a knowledge of the Greek, Latin, and French languages. Of this proficiency, although his tutor ought not to be robbed of his share of the merit, it is evident that Mr. Gibbon's unwearied industry and laudable avidity of knowledge were at this time uncommon, and bespoke a mind capable of the highest attainments, and deserving of the highest honours within the compass of literature.

To mathematics only he showed a reluctance; contenting himself with understanding the principles of that science. At this early age it is probable he desisted merely from finding no pleasure in mathematical studies, and nothing to gratify curiosity; but as in his more mature years he determined to undertake the pursuits which he did not choose to follow, he takes an

opportunity to pass a reflection on the utility of mathematics, with which few will probably agree. He accuses this science of "hardening the mind by the habit of rigid demonstration, so destructive of the finer feelings of moral evidence, which must determine the actions and opinions of our lives." So easy is it to find a plausible excuse for neglecting what we want the power or the inclination to follow.

To his classical acquirements, while at Lausanne, he added the study of Grotius and Puffendorf; Locke and Montesquieu; and he mentions Pascal's Provincial Letters, La Blérierie's Life of Julian, and Giannone's Civil History of Naples, as having remotely contributed to form the historian of the Roman empire. From Pascal, he tells us, that he learned to manage the weapon of grave and temperate irony, even on subjects of ecclesiastical solemnity; forgetting that irony, in every shape, is beneath the dignity of the historical style, and subjects the historian to the suspicion that his courage and his argument are exhausted. It is more to his credit, that at this time he established a correspondence with several literary characters, to whom he looked for instruction and direction: with Crevier and Breitinger, Gesner and Allemand; and that, by the acuteness of his remarks and his zeal for knowledge, he proved himself not unworthy of their confidence. He had an opportunity also of seeing Voltaire, who received him as an English youth, but without any peculiar notice or distinction. Voltaire diffused gaiety around him, by erecting a temporary theatre, on which he performed his own favourite characters; and Mr. Gibbon became so enamoured of the French stage, as to lose much of his veneration for Shakspeare. He was now familiar in some, and acquainted in many families, and his evenings were generally devoted to cards and conversation, either in private parties or more numerous assemblies.

During this alternation of study and pleasure, he became enamoured of a Mademoiselle Susan Curched, a young lady whose personal attractions were embellished by her virtues and talents. His addresses were favoured by her and by her parents, but his father, on being consulted, expressed the utmost reluctance to this "strange alliance," and Mr. Gibbon yielded to his pleasure. His wound, he tells us, was insensibly healed by time, and the lady was not unhappy; she afterwards became the wife of the celebrated M. Neckar.†

In 1758, he was permitted to return to England, after an absence of nearly five years. His father received him with more kindness than he expected, and rejoiced in the success of his plan of education. During his absence, his father had married his second wife, Miss Dorothea Patton, whom his son was prepared to dislike,

\* Chillingworth certainly became a Socinian in his latter days.

† In a note at the conclusion of Mr. Gibbon's account of his courtship, he refers to the works of Rousseau, vol. xxviii. The passage thus referred to, for which I am indebted to the Monthly Review, is as follows: "It is taken from a letter of Rousseau, dated June 1755. 'You have given me a commission for Mademoiselle Curched, of which I shall acquit myself ill, precisely on account of my esteem for her. The address of Mr. Gibbon makes one think ill of her. I have again read his book. It is determined by a puerile affection and pursuit of brilliancy.' Mr. Gibbon is no man for me. I cannot think him well adapted to Mademoiselle Curched. He that does not know her value is unworthy of her, he that knows it, and

on desert her, is a man to be despised. She does not know what she is about, it is man serves her, and she is then her own heart. I should a thousand times rather see him a poor, free and poor amongst us, than bring her to us rich, and a miserable in England. In truth I love Mr. Gibbon more than ever before. I should wish to despise him, but I cannot. I should wish to do well, and I find that I should not do so.' Mr. Gibbon adds to this reference, 'As an author I had a great opinion of the judicious taste, or capacity of Jean Jacques. But that extraordinary man, whom I am and pity, should I have seen as private in condemning the moral character and conduct of a stranger.'

but found an amiable and deserving woman. At home he was left at liberty to consult his taste in the choice of place, company, and amusements; and his excursions were bounded only by the limits of the island, and the measure of his income. He had now reached his twenty-first year; and some faint efforts were made to procure him the employment of secretary to a foreign embassy. His step-mother recommended the study of the law; but the former scheme did not succeed, and the latter he declined. Of his first two years in England, he passed about nine months in London, and the remainder in the country. But London had few charms, except the common ones that can be purchased. His father had no fixed residence there, and no circles into which he might introduce his son. He acquired an intimacy, however, in the house of David Mallet, and by his means was introduced to Lady Hervey's parties. The want of society seems never to have given him much uneasiness; nor does it appear that at any period of his life he knew the misery of having hours which he could not fill up. At his father's house at Buriton, near Petersfield in Hampshire, he enjoyed much leisure, and many opportunities of adding to his stock of learning. Books became more and more the source of all his wishes and pleasures; and although his father endeavoured to inspire him with a love and knowledge of farming, he could not succeed farther than, occasionally, to obtain his company in such excursions as are usual with country gentlemen.

The leisure he could borrow from his more regular plan of study, was employed in perusing the works of the best English authors since the Revolution, in hopes that the purity of his own language, corrupted by the long use of a foreign idiom, might be restored. Of Swift and Addison, who were recommended by Mallet, he seems to fix the true value, praising Swift for his manly original vigour, and Addison for elegance and mildness. The perfect composition, the nervous language, and well turned periods of Robertson, inflamed him with the ambitious hope that he might one day tread in his foot-steps. But charmed as he was at this time with Swift and Addison, Robertson and Hume, well as he knew how to appreciate the excellence of their respective styles, he lost sight of every model, when he became a writer of history, and formed a style peculiar to himself.

In 1761, his first publication made its appearance under the title "*Essai sur l'Etude de la Litterature*," a small volume in twelves. Part of this had been written at Lausanne, and the whole completed in London. He consulted Dr. Maty, a man of extensive learning and judgment, who encouraged him to publish the work; but this he would probably have delayed for some time, had not his father insisted upon it, thinking that some proof of literary talents might introduce him to public notice. The design of this Essay was to prove, that all the

faculties of the mind may be exercised and displayed by the study of ancient literature, in opposition to D'Alembert and others of the French encyclopedists, who contended for that new philosophy that has since produced such miserable consequences. He introduces, however, a variety of topics not immediately connected with this, and evinces that in the study of the belles lettres, and in criticism, his range was far more extensive than could have been expected from his years. His style approaches to that of Voltaire, and is often sententious and flippant; and the best excuse that can be offered for his writing in French, is, that his principal object relates to the literature of that country, with which he seems to court an alliance, and with which it is certain he was more familiar than with that of England. This Essay accordingly was praised in the foreign journals, but attracted very little notice at home, and was soon forgotten. Of its merits, he speaks in his *Memoirs*, with a mixture of praise and blame, but the former predominates, and with justice. Had the French language been then as common in the literary world as it is now, so extraordinary a production from a young man would have raised very high expectations.

About the time when this Essay appeared, Mr. Gibbon was induced to embrace the military profession. He was appointed captain of the South battalion of the Hampshire Militia, and for two years and a half endured "a wandering life of military servitude." It is seldom that the memoirs of a literary character are enlivened by an incident like this. Mr. Gibbon, as may be expected, could not divest his mind of his old habits, and therefore endeavoured to unite the soldier and the scholar. He studied the art of war in the *Memoires Militaires* of Quintus Icilius (M. Guichardt), while from the discipline and evolutions of a modern battalion, he was acquiring a clearer notion of the phalanx and the legion\*, and what he seems to have valued at its full worth, a more intimate knowledge of the world, and such an increase of acquaintance as made him better known than he could have been in a much longer time, had he regularly passed his summers at Buriton and his winters in London. He snatched also some hours from his military duties for study; and upon the whole, although he does not look back with much pleasure on this period of his life, he permits the reader to smile at the advantages which the historian of the Roman Empire derived from the captain of the Hampshire grenadiers. At the peace in 1762-3, his regiment was disbanded, and he resumed his studies, the regularity of which had been so much interrupted, that he speaks of now entering on a new plan. After hesitating, probably not long, between the mathematics and the Greek language, he gave the preference to the latter, and pursued his reading with vigour.

But whatever he read, or studied, he appears to have read and studied with a view to historical

\* In this journal, after mentioning that he had finished the perusal of *Quintus Icilius*, he adds, "Thus finished the *Memoires*, which gave me much clearer notion of ancient tactics than ever I had before. I had much more and very knowledge was of some service to me, as I am well acquainted with the modern discipline and exercise of a

battalion. So that though much inferior to M. Folard and M. Guichardt, who had been seen in action, I am a much better soldier than I was, and I have seen a battalion under arms." *Shedden's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 51.





however, such a mind as his was not formed to be inactive, and a greater portion of his dissatisfaction appears to have arisen from an impatience to acquire fame, and from the extreme length of those prospects which the various designs he formed had presented. He yet contemplated the Decline and Fall of Rome, but at an awful distance; and in the mean time, as something more within his grasp, he resumed his study of the revolutions of Switzerland, so far as to execute the first book of a History. This was read in the following winter (1767) to a literary society of foreigners in London, who did not flatter him by a very favourable opinion; yet it was praised by Hume, who endeavoured only to dissuade him from the use of the French language. His choice of that language was confessedly injudicious; but while he allows that, he has not sufficiently explained what led to the absurdity of a historian writing in any language but his own, or why he should suppose the French language better adapted than the English to the dignity of historical composition. The opinion, however, of the foreign critics, in whom he had submitted this attempt, prevailed over that of Hume, and he renounced the design of continuing it. The manuscript is now in the library of Lord Sheffield.

In 1767 he joined with Mr. Deyverdun, a Swiss gentleman then in England, and a man of taste and critical knowledge, to whom he was much attached, in publishing a literary journal in imitation of Dr. Maty's *Journal Britannique*. They entitled it, "*Mémoires Littéraires de la Grand Bretagne*." Two volumes only of this work were published, and met with very little encouragement. Mr. Gibbon acknowledges having reviewed Lord Lyttelton's History in the first volume. The materials of a third volume were almost completed, when he recommended his coadjutor Deyverdun, to be travelling governor to Sir Richard Worsley; an appointment which terminated the "*Mémoires Littéraires*."

Mr. Gibbon's next performance was an attack on Dr. Warburton, which he condemns for its severity and for its cowardice, while he brings the testimony of some eminent scholars to prove that it was successful and decisive. Warburton's hypothesis on the descent of Æneas to hell had long been applauded, and if not universally adopted, had not been answered during a space of thirty years. It was the opinion of this learned writer, that the descent to hell is not a fable, but a mimic scene, which represents the initiation of Æneas, in the character of a law-giver, to the Eleusinian mysteries. Mr. Gibbon, on the contrary, in his "*Critical Observations on the Sixth Book of the Æneid*," 1770, endeavoured to prove, that the ancient law-givers did not invent the mysteries, and that Æneas never was invested with the office of law-giver; that there is not any argument, any circumstance, which can melt a fable into allegory, or remove the scene from the lake Avernus to the temple of Ceres; that such a wild supposition is equally injurious to the poet and the man; that if Virgil was not initiated, he could not, if he were, he would not, reveal the secrets of the

initiation; and that the anathema of Horace (*vetabo qui Cereris sacrum vulgarit*, &c.) at once attests his own ignorance and the innocence of his friend. All this might have been argued in decent and respectful language; but Mr. Gibbon avows that his hostility was against the person as well as the hypothesis of "the dictator and tyrant of the world of literature," and with the acuteness of the critic he therefore determined to join the acrimony of the polemic. In his more advanced years he affects to regret an unmanly attack upon one who was no longer able to defend himself; but he is unwilling to part with the reputation to which he thought his pamphlet entitled, or to conceal the praise which Professor Heyne bestowed on it.

After the death of his father, in 1770, an event which left him the sole disposer of his time and inclinations, he sat down seriously to the composition of his celebrated history. For some years he had revolved the subject in his mind, and had read every thing with a view to this great undertaking. The following passage from his Memoirs will give some idea of the magnitude of his preparations, and some intimation of the positions he wished to establish.

"The classics, as low as Tacitus, the younger Pliny, and Juvenal, were my old and familiar companions. I insensibly plunged into the ocean of the Augustan history; and in the descending series I investigated, with my pen always in my hand, the original records, both Greek and Latin, from Dion Cassius to Ammianus Marcellinus, from the reign of Trajan to the last age of the Western Cæsars. The subsidiary rays of medals and inscriptions, of geography and chronology, were thrown on their proper objects; and I applied the collections of Tillemont, whose inimitable accuracy almost assumes the character of genius, to fix and arrange within my reach the loose and scattered atoms of historical information. Through the darkness of the middle ages I explored my way in the annals and antiquities of Italy of the learned Muratori; and diligently compared them with the parallel or transverse lines of Sigonius and Maffei, Baronius and Pagi, till I almost grasped the ruins of Rome in the fourteenth century, without suspecting that this final chapter must be attained by the labour of six quartos and twenty years. Among the books which I purchased, the Theodosian Code, with the commentary of James Godefroy, must be gratefully remembered. I used it (and much I used it) as a work of history, rather than of jurisprudence; but in every light it may be considered as a full and capacious repository of the political state of the empire in the fourth and fifth centuries. As I believed, and as I still believe, that the propagation of the Gospel, and the triumph of the church, are inseparably connected with the decline of the Roman monarchy, I weighed the causes and effects of the revolution, and contrasted the narratives and apologies of the Christians themselves, with the glances of candour or enmity which the Pagans have cast on the rising sects. The Jewish and Heathen testimonies, as they are collected and illustrated by Dr. Lardner, directed, without superseding, my

search of the originals; and in an ample dissertation on the miraculous darkness of the passion, I privately drew my conclusions from the silence of an unbelieving age. I have assembled the preparatory studies, directly or indirectly relative to my history; but, in strict equity, they must be spread beyond this period of my life, over the two summers (1771 and 1772) that elapsed between my father's death and my settlement in London."

His election for the borough of Liskeard, in 1773, did not much interrupt the progress of his history, the first volume of which was published Feb. 17, 1776, and received by the public with such avidity that a second edition in June, and a third soon after, were scarcely adequate to the demand. To use his own language, his book was on every table, and almost on every toilette; the historian was crowned by the taste or fashion of the day. From the ample praises of Dr. Robertson and of Mr. Hume, he appears to have derived more substantial satisfaction. Hume anticipates the objections that would be made to the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, with his usual arrogance and contempt of religion. "When I heard of your undertaking (which was some time ago), I own I was a little curious to see how you would extricate yourself from the subject of your two last chapters. I think you have observed a very prudent temperament; but it was impossible to treat the subject so as not to give grounds of suspicion against you, and you may expect that a clamour will arise. This, if any thing, will retard your success with the public; for, in every other respect, your work is calculated to be popular. But among many other marks of decline, the prevalence of superstition in England prognosticates the fall of philosophy and the decay of taste; and though nobody be more capable than you to revive them, you will probably find a struggle in your first advances."

Mr. Gibbon's reflections on this subject, in his Memoirs, are not very intelligible, unless we consider him as employing irony. He affects not to have believed that the majority of English readers were so fondly attached even to the name and shadow of Christianity; and not to have foreseen that the pious, the timid, and the prudent would feel, or affect to feel, with such exquisite sensibility. If he had foreseen all this, he condescends to inform us that "he might have softened the two invidious chapters." He seems to rejoice that "if the voice of our priests was clamorous and bitter, their hands were disarmed from the power of persecution;" and adhered to the resolution of trusting himself and his writings to the candour of the public, until Mr. Davies, of Oxford, presumed to attack, "not the faith, but the fidelity of the historian." He then published his "Vindication," which, he says, "expressive of less anger than contempt, amused for a while the busy and idle metropolis." Of his other antagonists he speaks with equal contempt. "A victory over such antagonists was a sufficient humiliation."

It is not, however, quite certain that he obtained this victory; the silence of an author is nearly on a par with the flight of a warrior;

and it is evident that the contempt which Mr. Gibbon has so lavishly poured on his antagonists, in his Memoirs, has more of passionate resentment than of conscious superiority. Of his first resentments and his last feelings, he thus speaks: "Let me frankly own that I was startled at the first discharge of ecclesiastical ordnance; but as soon as I found that this empty noise was mischievous only in the intention, my fear was converted into indignation, and every feeling of indignation or curiosity has long since subsided into pure and placid indifference."

It may not be unuseful to give in this place the titles at least, of the principal writings which his bold and disingenuous attack on Christianity called forth. These were, I. "Remarks on the Two last Chapters of Mr. Gibbon's History. In a Letter to a Friend." (See Art. 8.) II. "An Apology for Christianity, in a Series of Letters addressed to Edward Gibbon, Esq. By R. Watson, D.D. F.R.S. and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge (afterwards Bishop of Llandaff)," 12mo. 1776. III. "The History of the Establishment of Christianity, compiled from Jewish and Heathen Authors only. Translated from the French by Professor Bullet, &c. By William Salisbury, B.D. With Notes by the Translator, and some Strictures on Mr. Gibbon's Account of Christianity, and its First Teachers," 8vo. 1776. IV. "A Reply to the Reasonings of Mr. Gibbon in his History, &c. which seem to affect the Truth of Christianity, but have not been noticed in the Answer which Dr. Watson hath given to that Book. By Smyth Loftus, M.A. Vicar of Coolock," 8vo. Dublin, 1778. V. "Letters on the Prevalence of Christianity, before its Civil Establishment. With Observations on a late History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By East Apthorpe, M.A. Vicar of Croydon," 8vo. 1778. VI. "An Examination of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of Mr. Gibbon's History, in which his View of the Progress of the Christian Religion is shown to be founded on the Misrepresentation of the Authors he cites; and numerous Instances of his Inaccuracy and Plagiarism are produced. By Henry Edward Davies, B.A. of Balliol College, Oxford," 8vo. 1778. VII. "A few Remarks on the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Relative chiefly to the Two last Chapters. By a Gentleman," 8vo. VIII. Remarks on the Two last Chapters of Mr. Gibbon's History. By James Chelsum, D.D. Student of Christ Church, Oxford, and Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Worcester. The Second Edition enlarged," 12mo. 1778. This is a second edition of the anonymous remarks mentioned in the first article, and contains additional remarks by Dr. Randolph, Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford.

Mr. Gibbon's Vindication now appeared under the title of "A Vindication of some Passages in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By the Author," 8vo. 1778. This was immediately followed by, I. "A Short

The prosecution of his history was for some time checked by an employment of a different nature, but for which his talents were thought

In this dilemma, Mr. Gibbon turned his thoughts once more to his beloved Lausanne. From his earliest knowledge of that country, he

Next yet, he never cordially approved of his measures, not perhaps from want of principle, but of party-spirit, which is frequently mistaken for principle, and from an indifference to public men and measures, all his hopes and fears being confined to his studies. He was too much of a *solitary thinker*, in the best sense, to have ever been of consequence in the support of any party.

had always cherished a secret wish, that the school of his youth might become the retreat of his declining age, where a moderate fortune would secure the blessings of ease, leisure, and independence. His old friend Mr. Deyverdun was now settled there, an inducement of no small attraction, and to him he communicated his designs. The arrangements of friends are soon adjusted, and Mr. Gibbon, having disposed of all his effects, except his library, bade adieu to England in September, 1783, and arrived at Lausanne nearly twenty years after his second departure.

His reception was such as he expected and wished, and the comparative advantages of his situation are thus stated, nearly in his own words. His personal freedom had been somewhat impaired by the House of Commons and by the Board of Trade, but he was now delivered from the chain of duty and dependence, from the hopes and fears of political adventure; his sober mind was no longer intoxicated by the fumes of party, and he rejoiced in his escape, as often as he read of the midnight debates, which preceded the dissolution of parliament. His English economy had been that of a solitary bachelor, who might afford some occasional dinners. In Switzerland he enjoyed, at every meal, at every hour, the free and pleasant conversation of the friend of his youth; and his daily table was always provided for the reception of one or two extraordinary guests. In London he was lost in the crowd; but he ranked with the first families of Lausanne; and his style of prudent expense enabled him to maintain a fair balance of reciprocal civilities. Instead of a small house between a street and a stable-yard, he occupied a spacious and convenient mansion, connected on the north side with the city, and open, to the south, to a beautiful and boundless horizon.

In this catalogue of advantages, we may perceive somewhat of caprice and weakness, and it may certainly be conjectured, that a man of his internal resources might have discovered situations in England both adapted to the purposes of economy and retirement, and yielding intervals of society. But from his subsequent remarks, it appears that he was, either from pride or modesty, averse to the company of his literary associates, and preferred, in his hours of relaxation, that company in which the conversation leads, not to discussion, but to the exchange of mutual kindness and endearments. In this, perhaps, he is not singular; and in disliking the polemical turn which literary conversation too frequently takes, he is not to be blamed. What was most commendable, however, and what constantly predominated in the mind of Gibbon, was increase of knowledge. From that aim no opulence of station could have diverted him, and whatever his friends or the state might have done for him, his own scheme, the constant wish and prayer of his heart, was for a situation in which books might be procured, and meditation indulged.

He remained at Lausanne about a year before

he resumed his history, which he concluded in 1787. This event is recorded by him in language which it would be absurd to change, because it is personally characteristic, and of which no change could be an improvement. — "I have presumed to mark the moment of conception: I shall now commemorate the hour of my final deliverance. It was on the day, or rather night, of the 27th of June 1787, between the hours of eleven and twelve, that I wrote the last lines of the last page, in a summer-house in my garden.

After laying down my pen, I took several turns in a *berceau*, or covered walk of acacias, which commands a prospect of the country, the lake, and the mountains. The air was temperate, the sky was serene, the silver orb of the moon was reflected from the waters, and all nature was silent. I will not dissemble the first emotions of joy on the recovery of my freedom, and, perhaps, the establishment of my fame. But my pride was soon humbled, and a sober melancholy was spread over my mind, by the idea that I had taken an everlasting leave of an old and agreeable companion, and that what-*soever* might be the future date of my history, the life of the historian might be short and precarious. I will add two facts, which have seldom occurred in the composition of six, or at least of five quartos. 1. My rough manuscript, without any intermediate copy, has been sent to press. 2. Not a sheet has been seen by any human eyes, excepting those of the author and the printer: the faults and merits are exclusively my own.\*

With the manuscript copy of these volumes he set out from Lausanne, and at the end of a fortnight arrived at the house of his friend Lord Sheffield, with whom he resided during the whole of his stay in England. Having disposed of the copyright to his liberal publisher, the late Mr. Cadell, and the whole having been printed, the day of publication, he informs us, was delayed, that it might coincide with the fifty-first anniversary of his birthday, May 8. 1788, when the double festival was celebrated by a cheerful literary dinner at Mr. Cadell's house. On this occasion some elegant stanzas by Mr. Hayley were read, at which, Mr. Gibbon adds, "I seemed to blush."

The sale of these volumes was rapid, and the whole history was soon reprinted in octavo, in which form it continues to be reprinted and to be considered as one of those books without which no library can be complete. The author had, however a more formidable host of critics to encounter than when he first started, and his style underwent a more rigid examination. He tells us himself, that a religious clamour was revived, and the reproach of indecency loudly echoed by the censors of morals. The latter he professes he could never understand. Why he should not understand what was equally obvious to his admirers and to his opponents, and has been censured with equal asperity by both, is a question which cannot be answered by supposing Mr. Gibbon defective in the common powers of discernment. Persist-

\* Printed from the MS. in the original copy, and of the London edition, 1787, and the above impression of the MS. in the original copy, 1787.

The Fifth volume, being May 15th, 1787, ended June 27th, 1787. The three volumes were sent to the press, and the above impression of the MS. in the original copy, 1787, and the above impression of the MS. in the original copy, 1787.

ing, however, in his surprise, he offers a vindication of the indecent notes appended to these volumes, which probably never made one convert. He says that all the licentious passages are left in the obscurity of a learned language; but he forgets that Greek and Latin are taught at every school: that sensuality may be effectually censured without being minutely described; and that it is not historically just to exhibit individual vices as a general picture of the manners of an age or people.

In the preface to his fourth volume, he announced his approaching return to the neighbourhood of the Lake of Lausanne; nor did his year's visit to England once induce him to alter his resolution. This is not wonderful. It is not where we have a country, but where we have a society, that we wish to reside. Mr. Gibbon had friends in England, but all the endearing ideas connected with youthful associations, and all the local emotions which render places and things delightful, were to be found only in Switzerland. He set out, accordingly, a few weeks after the publication of his history, and soon regained his habitation, where, he informs us, after a full repast on Homer and Aristophanes, he involved himself in the philosophical mazes of the writings of Plato.

But the happiness he expected in his favourite retreat was considerably lessened by the death of his friend Deyverdun, and the disorders of revolutionary France began to interrupt the general tranquillity that had long prevailed in Switzerland. Troops of emigrants flocked to Lausanne, and brought with them the spirit of political discussion, not guided by reason, but inflamed by passion and prejudice. The language of disappointment on the one hand, and of presumption on the other, marked the rise of two parties, between whom the peaceful enjoyments of nearly three centuries were finally destroyed.

Mr. Gibbon arrived at Lausanne, July 30, 1788. Of his employment during his stay, we have little account. It appears by his correspondence that he amused himself by writing a part of those Memoirs of his Life, which Lord Sheffield has since given to the public, and he projected a series of biographical portraits of eminent Englishmen from the time of Henry VIII., but in this probably no great progress was made. His habits of industry, he tells us, became now much impaired, and he had reduced his studies to be the loose amusement of his morning hours. He remained here, however, as long as it was safe, and until the murder of the King of France, and the war in which Great Britain was involved, rendered Switzerland no longer an asylum either for the enthusiast of literature, or the victim of tyranny.

He left Lausanne in May 1793, and arrived in June at Lord Sheffield's house in Downing-street, and soon after settled for the summer, with that nobleman, at Sheffield-place. In October he went to Bath, to pay a visit of affection to Mrs. Gibbon, the widow of his father, and to Althorp, the seat of Lord Spencer, from which he returned to London, and for the first time avowed to his friend, Lord Sheffield, by

letter, the cause of the decay of his health, which he had hitherto concealed from every human being, except a servant, although it was a complaint of about thirty-three years' standing. This was originally a rupture, which had now produced a hydrocele, and required immediate surgical aid. Tapping procured some relief for a time, but his constitution could no longer divert or support the discharge. The last events of his life are thus related by his biographer.

"After I left him, on Tuesday afternoon (Jan. 14, 1794) he saw some company. Lady Lucan and Lady Spencer, and thought himself well enough at night to omit the opium draught, which he had been used to take for some time. He slept very indifferently: before nine the next morning he rose, but could not eat his breakfast. However, he appeared tolerably well, yet complained at times of a pain in his stomach. At one o'clock he received a visit of an hour from Madame de Sylva, and at three, his friend Mr. Craufurd, of Auchinames, (whom he always mentioned with particular regard,) called, and stayed with him till past five o'clock. They talked, as usual, on various subjects; and twenty hours before his death, Mr. Gibbon happened to fall into a conversation, not uncommon with him, on the probable duration of his life. He said, that he thought himself a good life for ten, twelve, or perhaps twenty years. About six, he ate the wing of a chicken, and drank three glasses of Madeira. After dinner he became very uneasy and impatient; complained a good deal, and appeared so weak that his servant was alarmed. Mr. Gibbon had sent to his friend and relation, Mr. Robert Darell, whose house was not far distant, desiring to see him, and adding, that he had something particular to say. But, unfortunately, this desired interview never took place.

"During the evening he complained much of his stomach, and of a disposition to vomit. Soon after nine, he took his opium draught, and went to bed. About ten he complained of much pain, and desired that warm napkins might be applied to his stomach. He almost incessantly expressed a sense of pain till about four o'clock in the morning, when he said he found his stomach much easier. About seven, the servant asked, whether he should send for Mr. Farquhar? he answered, No; that he was as well as he had been the day before. About half past eight, he got out of bed, and said that he was "*plus adroit*" than he had been for three months past, and got into bed again, without assistance, better than usual. About nine, he said that he would rise. The servant, however, persuaded him to remain in bed till Mr. Farquhar, who was expected at eleven, should come. Till about that hour he spoke with great facility. Mr. Farquhar came at the time appointed, and he was then visibly dying. When the *valet de chambre* returned, after attending Mr. Farquhar out of the room, Mr. Gibbon said, "*Pourquoi est ce que vous me quittez?*" This was about half-past eleven. At twelve he drank some brandy and water from a teapot, and desired his favourite servant to stay with him. These were the last words he pronounced articulately. To the last

he preserved his senses; and when he could no longer speak, his servant having asked a question, he made a sign to show that he understood him. He was quite tranquil, and did not stir; his eyes half shut. About a quarter before one he ceased to breathe. The *valet de chambre* observed, that Mr. Gibbon did not at any time show the least sign of alarm or apprehension of death; and it does not appear that he ever thought himself in danger, unless his desire to speak to Mr. Darell, may be considered in that light."

Other reports of Mr. Gibbon's death were circulated at the time, but the above proceeds from an authority which cannot be doubted. The religious public was eager to know the last sentiments of Mr. Gibbon on the important point which constituted his grand defect; but we find that there were no persons near him at his death to whom that was a matter of curiosity; and it appears that he did not think his end approaching until he became incapable of collecting or expressing his thoughts. If he has, therefore, added one more to the number of infidels who have died in full possession of their incredulity, let it be remembered that as he saw no danger, he had no room to display the magnanimity which has been ostentatiously ascribed to dying sceptics.

Mr. Gibbon was a man of so much candour, or so incapable of disguise, that his real character may be justly appreciated from the Memoirs he has left behind him. He discloses his sentiments there without the reserve he has put on his more laboured compositions, and has detailed his mental failings with an ingenuous minuteness which is seldom met with. He candidly confesses to the vanity of an author and the pride of a gentleman; but it is well known that it is the vanity of one of the first authors of modern times, and the pride of a gentleman of amiable manners and high accomplishments. At the same time, it cannot be denied that his anxiety of fame sometimes obscured the lustre of his social qualities, parted him too widely from his brethren in literature, and led him to speak of his opponents with an arrogance, which, although uniformly characteristic of the cause he supported, was yet unworthy of his general cast of character. His conversation is said to have been rich in various information, communicated in a calm and pleasant manner, yet his warmest admirers do not give him the praise of excelling in conversation. He seldom brought his knowledge forward, and was more ambitious in company to be thought a man of the world than a scholar. In parliament he never ventured to speak, and this probably lessened his value in the eyes of an administration, that required the frequent and ready support of eloquence.

But although he has disclosed much of his character in his Memoirs, there are some points left unexplained, about which it would be important to be better informed. He appears to be anxious to exhibit the peculiarities of his temper, and the petty habits of his life, and he has given such ample details of the progress of his studies, from the first casual perusal of a book, to the completion of his history, as no

scholar can peruse without interest and admiration. But he has not told us much of the progress of opinions in his mind. His conversion to popery is a boyish whim which can never be contemplated in the grave light in which he has represented it. His return to protestantism is related with more brevity and obscurity. What passed in his mind during his first years of maturity, we know not; but on the publication of his History, we find him an implacable enemy to Christianity, without the pretence of a quarrel, or any previous declaration of hostilities. It has been justly remarked by Professor Porson, that "he often makes where he cannot readily find an occasion to insult our religion, which he hates so cordially, that he might seem to revenge some personal injury." But by what train of reading, or interchange of sentiments, he acquired this inveteracy, he has not thought proper to inform us. Left to conjecture, it is not unreasonable for us to suppose, that his intimacy with the French writers on the side of infidelity, and particularly with Helvetius, and the correspondence he carried on with Hume, to whom he looked up with the reverence of a pupil, induced him to think that the more he departed from the Christian belief, the nearer he approached to the perfection of the philosophical character.

As a historian, the universal acknowledgment of the literary world has placed him in the very highest rank; and in that rank, had his taste been equal to his knowledge, if his vast powers of intellect could have descended to simplicity of narrative, he would have stood without a rival. But in all the varied charms of an interesting and pathetic detail, and perhaps in the more important article of fidelity, he is certainly inferior to Robertson, as much as he excels that writer in extent of knowledge, and in the comprehensive grasp of a penetrating mind. If he is likewise superior to Hume in these respects, he falls short of what he has himself so admirably characterised as "the careless inimitable beauties" of that writer. Hume told him very candidly and justly, that his study of the French writers led him into a style more poetical and figurative, and more highly coloured than our language seems to admit of in historical composition. We find, in his correspondence, that during his first residence abroad, he had almost entirely lost his native language, and although he recovered it afterwards, during the twenty years he passed in England, yet his reading was so much confined to French authors, that when he attempted English composition, he every where discovered the turns of thought and expression by which his mind was imbued. It has been asserted that his style has the appearance of labour, yet I know not how to reconcile much effort with his declaration that the copy sent to the press was the only one he ever wrote. His labour might be bestowed in revolving the subject in his mind, and as his memory was great, he might commit it to paper, without the necessity of addition or correction. By whatever means, he soon formed a style peculiar to himself, a mixture of dignity and levity, which, although difficult at first, probably became easy by practice, and even habitual, for

his Memoirs are written in the exact manner of his History, and the most trivial events of his life are related in the same stately periods with which he embellishes the lives of heroes, and the fate of empires. His epistolary correspondence is in general more free from stiffness, and occasionally assumes the gaiety and familiarity suited to this species of composition. But it is unnecessary to dwell on the merits of an author who has been criticised in so many writings of recent date, or to add or diminish the reputation of a work which, with all its defects, must ever be considered as one of the proudest triumphs of English literature.

In 1796, Mr. Gibbon's steady friend, Lord Sheffield, published, in two volumes quarto, his "Miscellaneous Works," with those "Memoirs" composed by himself, to which we have so often referred. This publication contains likewise a large collection of letters written by or to Mr. Gibbon: abstracts of the books he read, with reflections; extracts from the journal of his studies; a collection of his remarks, and detached pieces on different subjects; outlines of his History of the World; a republication of his *Essai sur l'Etude*; Critical Observations on the Design of the Sixth Book of the *Æneid*; a dis-

sertation on the subject of *l'Homme au Masque de Fer*; *Mémoire Justicatif pour servir de Réponse à la Cour de France*; his Vindication of his History; Antiquities of the House of Brunswick; and an Address to the Public, on the subject of a complete edition of our ancient historians. In 1815, a third volume of "Miscellaneous Works" was published by Lord Sheffield, containing many curious articles, but, upon the whole, less interesting than the former.

Of these miscellanies, his Journal, Abstracts, and Remarks, are the most important and curious in a literary point of view. They contain much valuable criticism, and exhibit such a plan of industry as perhaps few men have ever pursued with equal ardour. His labours approach to what we read of the indefatigable scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and they may instruct scholars of all ages, and especially those who rely on the powers of genius only, that no station of permanent eminence can be reached without labour, and that the indolence and waste of time in which the sons of ardour and imagination indulge, "will make knowledge useless, wit ridiculous, and genius contemptible."

# P R E F A C E.

It is not my intention to detain the reader by expatiating on the variety, or the importance of the subject, which I have undertaken to treat; since the merit of the choice would serve to render the weakness of the execution still more apparent, and still less excusable. But as I have presumed to lay before the Public a *first* volume only<sup>1</sup> of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, it will perhaps be expected that I should explain, in a few words, the nature and limits of my general plan.

The memorable series of revolutions, which, in the course of about thirteen centuries, gradually undermined, and at length destroyed, the solid fabric of human greatness, may, with some propriety, be divided into the three following periods:

I. The first of these periods may be traced from the age of Trajan and the Antonines, when the Roman monarchy, having attained its full strength and maturity, began to verge towards its decline; and will extend to the subversion of the Western Empire, by the barbarians of Germany and Scythia, the rude ancestors of the most polished nations of modern Europe. This extraordinary revolution, which subjected Rome to the power of a Gothic conqueror, was completed about the beginning of the sixth century.

II. The second period of the Decline and Fall of Rome, may be supposed to commence with the reign of Justinian, who by his laws, as well as by his victories, restored a transient splendour to the Eastern Empire. It will comprehend the invasion of Italy by the Lombards; the conquest of the Asiatic and African provinces by the Arabs, who embraced the religion of Mahomet; the revolt of the Roman people against the feeble princes of Constantinople; and the elevation of Charlemagne, who, in the year eight hundred, established the second, or German Empire of the West.

III. The last and longest of these periods includes about six centuries and a half; from the revival of the Western Empire, till the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and the extinction of a degenerate race of princes, who continued to assume the titles of Cæsar and Augustus, after their dominions were contracted to the limits of a single city; in which the language, as well as manners, of the ancient Romans, had been long since forgotten. The writer who should undertake to relate the events of this period, would find himself obliged to enter into the general history of the Crusades, as far as they contributed to the ruin of the Greek Empire; and he would scarcely be able to restrain his curiosity from making some enquiry into the

state of the city of Rome, during the darkness and confusion of the middle ages.

As I have ventured, perhaps too hastily, to commit to the press, a work, which, in every sense of the word, deserves the epithet of imperfect, I consider myself as contracting an engagement to finish, most probably in a second volume<sup>2</sup>, the first of these memorable periods; and to deliver to the Public, the complete History of the Decline and Fall of Rome, from the age of the Antonines, to the subversion of the Western Empire. With regard to the subsequent periods, though I may entertain some hopes, I dare not presume to give any assurances. The execution of the extensive plan which I have described, would connect the ancient and modern history of the World; but it would require many years of health, of leisure, and of perseverance.

BENTINCK-STREET,  
February 1. 1776

P. S. The entire History, which is now published, of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire in the West, abundantly discharges my engagements with the Public. Perhaps their favourable opinion may encourage me to prosecute a work, which, however laborious it may seem, is the most agreeable occupation of my leisure hours.

BENTINCK-STREET,  
March 1. 1781.

An Author easily persuades himself that the public opinion is still favourable to his labours; and I have now embraced the serious resolution of proceeding to the last period of my original design, and of the Roman Empire, the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, in the year one thousand four hundred and fifty-three. The most patient Reader, who computes that three ponderous<sup>3</sup> volumes have been already employed on the events of four centuries, may, perhaps, be alarmed at the long prospect of nine hundred years. But it is not my intention to expatiate with the same minuteness on the whole series of the Byzantine history. At our entrance into this period, the reign of Justinian, and the conquests of the Mahometans, will deserve and claim our attention, and the last age of Constantinople (the Crusades and the Turks) is connected with the revolutions of Modern Europe. From the seventh to the eleventh century, the obscure interval will be supplied by a concise narrative of such facts, as may still appear either interesting or important.

BENTINCK-STREET,  
March 1. 1782.

<sup>1</sup> The first volume of the quarto, which is now contained in the two first volumes of the octavo, edit. 2.  
<sup>2</sup> The Author, as it frequently happens, has not yet finished more of his growing work. The remainder of the first period has been

supplemented by the second, third, and fourth volumes of the octavo, edit. 2.  
<sup>3</sup> The first volume of the octavo is now



# ADVERTISEMENT

TO

THE FIRST OCTAVO EDITION.

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**T**HE History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire is now delivered to the Public in a more convenient form. Some alterations and improvements had presented themselves to my mind, but I was unwilling to injure or offend the purchasers of the preceding editions. The accuracy of the Corrector of the Press has been

already tried and approved; and, perhaps, I may stand excused, if, amidst the avocations of a busy winter, I have preferred the pleasures of composition and study, to the minute diligence of revising a former publication.

BENTINCK-STREET,  
April 20. 1783.

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**D**ILIGENCE and accuracy are the only merits which an historical writer may ascribe to himself; if any merit indeed can be assumed from the performance of an indispensable duty. I may therefore be allowed to say, that I have carefully examined all the original materials that could illustrate the subject which I had undertaken to treat. Should I ever complete the extensive design which has been sketched out in the Preface, I might perhaps conclude it with a critical account of the authors consulted during the progress of the whole work; and however such an attempt might incur the censure of ostentation, I am persuaded that it would be susceptible of entertainment, as well as information.

At present I shall content myself with a

single observation. The biographers, who, under the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, composed, or rather compiled, the lives of the Emperors, from Hadrian to the sons of Carus, are usually mentioned under the names of Ælius Spartianus, Julius Capitolinus, Ælius Lampridius, Vulcatius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, and Flavius Vopiscus. But there is so much perplexity in the titles of the MSS.; and so many disputes have arisen among the critics (see Fabricius, Biblioth. Latin. l. iii. c. 6.) concerning their number, their names, and their respective property; that for the most part I have quoted them without distinction, under the general and well known title of the *Augustan History*.

# PREFACE

TO

## THE FOURTH VOLUME.

I now discharge my promise, and complete my design, of writing the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, both in the West and the East. The whole period extends from the age of Trajan and the Antonines, to the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet the Second; and includes a review of the Crusades, and the state of Rome during the middle ages. Since the publication of the first volume, twelve years have elapsed; twelve years, according to my wish, "of health, of leisure, and of perseverance." I may now congratulate my deliverance from a long and laborious service, and my satisfaction will be pure and perfect, if the public favour should be extended to the conclusion of my work.

It was my first intention to have collected, under one view, the numerous authors of every age and language, from whom I have derived the materials of this history; and I am still convinced that the apparent omission would be more than compensated by real use. If I have renounced this idea, if I have declined an undertaking which had obtained the approbation of a master-artist,<sup>1</sup> my excuse may be found in the extreme difficulty of assigning a proper measure to such a catalogue. A naked list of names and editions would not be satisfactory either to myself or my readers: the characters of the principal Authors of the Roman and Byzantine History have been occasionally connected with the events which they describe; a more copious and critical enquiry might indeed deserve, but it would demand, an elaborate volume, which might swell by degrees into a general library of historical writers. For the present I shall content myself with renewing my serious protestation, that I have always endeavoured to draw from the fountain-head; that my curiosity, as well as a sense of duty, has always urged me to study the original; and that, if they have sometimes eluded my search, I have carefully marked the secondary evidence, on whose faith a passage or a fact were reduced to depend.

I shall soon revisit the banks of the Lake of Lausanne, a country which I have known and loved from my early youth. Under a mild government, amidst a beautiful landscape, in a life of leisure and independence, and among a

people of easy and elegant manners, I have enjoyed, and may again hope to enjoy, the varied pleasures of retirement and society. But I shall ever glory in the name and character of an Englishman: I am proud of my birth in a free and enlightened country; and the approbation of that country is the best and most honourable reward of my labours. Were I ambitious of any other patron than the Public, I would inscribe this work to a Statesman, who, in a long, a stormy, and at length an unfortunate administration, had many political opponents, almost without a personal enemy; who has retained, in his fall from power, many faithful and disinterested friends; and who, under the pressure of severe infirmity, enjoys the lively vigour of his mind, and the felicity of his incomparable temper. Lord North will permit me to express the feelings of friendship in the language of truth: but even truth and friendship should be silent, if he still dispensed the favours of the crown.

In a remote solitude, vanity may still whisper in my ear, that my readers, perhaps, may enquire, whether, in the conclusion of the present work, I am now taking an everlasting farewell. They shall hear all that I know myself, all that I could reveal to the most intimate friend. The motives of action or silence are now equally balanced; nor can I pronounce in my most secret thoughts, on which side the scale will preponderate. I cannot dissemble that six ample quartos must have tried, and may have exhausted, the indulgence of the Public; that, in the repetition of similar attempts, a successful author has much more to lose than he can hope to gain; that I am now descending into the vale of years; and that the most respectable of my countrymen, the men whom I aspire to imitate, have resigned the pen of history about the same period of their lives. Yet I consider that the annals of ancient and modern times may afford many rich and interesting subjects; that I am still possessed of health and leisure; that by the practice of writing, some skill and facility must be acquired; and that, in the ardent pursuit of truth and knowledge, I am not conscious of decay. To an active mind, idleness is more painful than labour; and the first months of my liberty will be occupied and amused in the

<sup>1</sup> Alluding to the quarto edition, in which are the works originally published.

excursions of curiosity and taste. By such temptations, I have been sometimes seduced from the rigid duty even of a pleasing and voluntary task : but my time will now be my own ; and in the use or abuse of independence, I shall no longer fear my own reproaches or those of my friends. I am fairly entitled to a year of jubilee : next summer and the following winter will rapidly pass away ; and experience only can determine whether I shall still prefer the freedom and variety of study to the design and composition of a regular work, which animates, while it confines, the daily application of the Author. Caprice and accident may influence my choice : but the dexterity of self-love will contrive to applaud either active industry, or philosophic repose.

DOWNING-STREET,  
May 1. 1788.

P. S. I shall embrace this opportunity of introducing two *verbal* remarks, which have not conveniently offered themselves to my notice. 1. As often as I use the definition of *beyond* the Alps, the Rhine, the Danube, &c. I generally suppose myself at Rome, and afterwards at Constantinople ; without observing whether this relative geography may agree with the local, but variable, situation of the reader, or the historian. 2. In proper names of foreign, and especially of Oriental origin, it should be always our aim to express in our English version, a faithful copy of the original. But this rule,

which is founded on a just regard to uniformity and truth, must often be relaxed ; and the exceptions will be limited or enlarged by the custom of the language and the taste of the interpreter. Our alphabets may be often defective ; a harsh sound, an uncouth spelling, might offend the ear or the eye of our countrymen : and some words, notoriously corrupt, are fixed, and, as it were, naturalised in the vulgar tongue. The prophet *Mahommed* can no longer be stripped of the famous, though improper, appellation of *Mahomet* : the well-known cities of *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, and *Cairo*, would almost be lost in the strange descriptions of *Haleb*, *Demashk*, and *Al Cahira* : the titles and offices of the Ottoman empire are fashioned by the practice of three hundred years ; and we are pleased to blend the three Chinese mono-syllables *Confú-tze*, in the respectable name of *Confucius*, or even to adopt the Portuguese corruption of *Mandarin*. But I would vary the use of *Zoroaster* and *Zerduشت*, as I drew my information from Greece or Persia : since our connection with India, the genuine *Timour* is restored to the throne of *Tamerlane* : our most correct writers have retrenched the *Al*, the superfluous article, from the *Koran* ; and we escape an ambiguous termination, by adopting *Moslem* instead of *Mussulman*, in the plural number. In these, and in a thousand examples, the shades of distinction are often minute ; and I can feel, where I cannot explain, the motives of my choice.

\*\* At the end of the History, the reader will find a General Index to the whole Work, which has been drawn up by a person frequently employed in works of this nature.

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## CHAP. LXXI.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

## CHAP. I.

*The Extent and Military Force of the Empire in the Age of the Antonines.*

**Introduction.** IN the second century of the Christian æra, the empire of Rome comprehended the fairest part of the earth, and the most civilised portion of mankind. The frontiers of that extensive monarchy were guarded by ancient renown and disciplined valour. The gentle, but powerful, influence of laws and manners had gradually cemented the union of the provinces. Their peaceful inhabitants enjoyed and abused the advantages of wealth and luxury. The image of a free constitution was preserved with decent reverence; the Roman senate appeared to possess the sovereign authority, and devolved on the emperors all the executive powers of government. During a happy period of more than fourscore years, the public administration was conducted by the virtues and abilities of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines. It is the design of this, and of the two succeeding chapters, to describe the prosperous condition of their empire; and afterwards, from the death of Marcus Antoninus, to deduce the most important circumstances of its decline and fall; a revolution which will ever be remembered, and is still felt by the nations of the earth.

**Moderation of Augustus.** The principal conquests of the Romans were achieved under the republic; and the emperors, for the most part, were satisfied with preserving those dominions which had been acquired by the policy of the senate, the active emulation of the consuls, and the martial enthusiasm of the people. The seven first centuries were filled with a rapid succession of triumphs; but it was reserved for Augustus to relinquish the ambitious design of subduing the whole earth, and to introduce a spirit of moderation into the public councils. Inclined to peace by his temper and situation, it was easy for him to discover that Rome, in her present exalted situation, had much less to hope than to fear from the chance of arms; and that, in the

prosecution of remote wars, the undertaking became every day more difficult, the event more doubtful, and the possession more precarious, and less beneficial. The experience of Augustus added weight to these salutary reflections, and effectually convinced him that, by the prudent vigour of his counsels, it would be easy to secure every concession which the safety or the dignity of Rome might require from the most formidable barbarians. Instead of exposing his person and his legions to the arrows of the Parthians, he obtained, by an honourable treaty, the restitution of the standards and prisoners which had been taken in the defeat of Crassus.<sup>1</sup>

His generals, in the early part of his reign, attempted the reduction of Æthiopia and Arabia Felix. They marched near a thousand miles to the south of the tropic; but the heat of the climate soon repelled the invaders, and protected the unwelcome natives of those sequestered regions.<sup>2</sup> The northern countries of Europe scarcely deserved the expense and labour of conquest. The forests and morasses of Germany were filled with a hardy race of barbarians, who despised life when it was separated from freedom; and though, on the first attack, they seemed to yield to the weight of the Roman power, they soon, by a signal act of despair, regained their independence, and reminded Augustus of the vicissitude of fortune.<sup>3</sup> On the death of that emperor, his testament was publicly read in the senate. He bequeathed, as a valuable legacy to his successors, the advice of confining the empire within those limits which Nature seemed to have placed as its permanent bulwarks and boundaries: on the west the Atlantic ocean; the Rhine and Danube on the north; the Euphrates on the east; and towards the south, the sandy deserts of Arabia and Africa.<sup>4</sup>

Happily for the repose of mankind, the moderate system recommended by the wisdom of Augustus was adopted by the fears and vices of his immediate successors. Engaged in the pursuit of pleasure, or in the exercise of tyranny, the first Cæsars seldom showed themselves to the armies, or to the pro-

<sup>1</sup> Dion Cassius B. lxx. p. 756. l. with the annotations of Reimar, who has collected all that Roman writers has left upon the subject. The marble of Ancyra, on which Augustus recorded his own exploits, asserts that he compelled the Parthians to restore the ensigns of Crassus.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo (l. xv. p. 780). Pliny the elder Hist. Natur. l. v. c. 23. 35. and Dion Cassius l. lxx. p. 77. and l. lxx. p. 774. who tells us, were curious details concerning the wars. The Roman writers, however, make no mention of the battles of Arabia Felix, we know only that the Orientals (see Abulgeda and the Arabian geography, p. 22) they were driven within three days' journey of the Spas (Sparta), the rich object of the invasion.

<sup>3</sup> B. the slaughter of Varus and his three legions. See the note at the end of the Appendix of this volume. Strabo in Augustus's time, and before his time, l. v. c. 23. 35. Augustus did not recover the military conquests with all the temper and firmness that might have been expected from his character.

<sup>4</sup> Dion Cassius B. lxx. p. 757. and the speech of Augustus before the senate, l. lxx. p. 77. l. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

vinees; nor were they disposed to suffer that those triumphs, which *their* indolence neglected, should be usurped by the conduct and valour of their lieutenants. The military fame of a subject was considered as an insolent invasion of the Imperial prerogative; and it became the duty, as well as interest of every Roman general, to guard the frontiers intrusted to his care, without aspiring to conquests which might have proved no less fatal to himself than to the vanquished barbarians.<sup>5</sup>

The only accession which the Roman empire received, during the first century of the Christian era, was the province of Britain. In this single instance the successors of Cæsar and Augustus were persuaded to follow the example of the former, rather than the precept of the latter. The proximity of its situation to the coast of Gaul seemed to invite their arms; the pleasing, though doubtful intelligence of a pearl fishery, attracted their avarice;<sup>6</sup> and as Britain was viewed in the light of a distinct and insulated world, the conquest scarcely formed any exception to the general system of continental measures. After a war of about forty years, undertaken by the most stupid,<sup>7</sup> maintained by the most dissolute, and terminated by the most timid of all the emperors, the far greater part of the island submitted to the Roman yoke.<sup>8</sup> The various tribes of Britons possessed valour without conduct, and the love of freedom without the spirit of union. They took up arms with savage fierceness; they laid them down, or turned them against each other, with wild inconstancy; and while they fought singly, they were successively subdued. Neither the fortitude of Caractacus, nor the despair of Boadicea, nor the fanaticism of the Druids, could avert the slavery of their country, or resist the steady progress of the Imperial generals, who maintained the national glory, when the throne was disgraced by the weakest, or the most vicious of mankind. At the very time when Domitian, confined to his palace, felt the terrors which he inspired, his legions, under the command of the virtuous Agricola, defeated the collected force of the Caledonians at the foot of the Grampian hills; and his fleets, venturing to explore an unknown and dangerous navigation, displayed the Roman arms round every part of the island. The conquest of Britain was considered as already achieved; and it was the design of Agricola to complete and ensure his success by the easy reduction of Ireland, for which, in his opinion, one legion and a few auxiliaries were sufficient.<sup>9</sup> The western isle might be improved

into a valuable possession, and the Britons would wear their chains with the less reluctance, if the prospect and example of freedom were on every side removed from before their eyes.

But the superior merit of Agricola soon occasioned his removal from the government of Britain; and for ever disappointed this rational, though extensive scheme of conquest. Before his departure, the prudent general had provided for security, as well as for dominion. He had observed, that the island is almost divided into two unequal parts by the opposite gulfs, or, as they are now called, the Friths of Scotland. Across the narrow interval of about forty miles he had drawn a line of military stations, which was afterwards fortified in the reign of Antoninus Pius, by a turf rampart erected on foundations of stone.<sup>10</sup> This wall of Antoninus, at a small distance beyond the modern cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, was fixed as the limit of the Roman province. The native Caledonians preserved in the northern extremity of the island their wild independence, for which they were not less indebted to their poverty than to their valour. Their incursions were frequently repelled and chastised; but their country was never subdued.<sup>11</sup> The masters of the fairest and most wealthy climates of the globe turned with contempt from gloomy hills assailed by the winter tempest, from lakes concealed in a blue mist, and from cold and lonely heaths, over which the deer of the forest were chased by a troop of naked barbarians.<sup>12</sup>

Such was the state of the Roman frontiers, and such the maxims of Imperial policy, from the death of Augustus to the accession of Trajan. That virtuous and active prince had received the education of a soldier, and possessed the talents of a general.<sup>13</sup> The peaceful system of his predecessors was interrupted by scenes of war and conquest; and the legions, after a long interval, beheld a military emperor at their head. The first exploits of Trajan were against the Dacians, the most warlike of men, who dwelt beyond the Danube, and who, during the reign of Domitian, had insulted with impunity the majesty of Rome.<sup>14</sup> To the strength and fierceness of barbarians, they added a contempt for life, which was derived from a warm persuasion of the immortality and transmigration of the soul.<sup>15</sup> Decabalus, the Dacian king, approved himself a rival not unworthy of Trajan; nor did he despair of his own and the public fortune till, by the confession of his enemies, he had exhausted every resource both of valour and policy.<sup>16</sup> This memorable war, with a very

Conquest of Dacia, the second exception on.

<sup>5</sup> Germanicus, Suetonius Paulinus, and Agricola, were checked and reined in the course of their victories. Turbato was put to death. Military merit, as it is admitted by Tacitus, was, in the strictest sense of the word, *operando* in *pacis*.

<sup>6</sup> Cæsar himself conceals that ignoble motive, but it is mentioned by Suetonius, c. 47. The British pearl, proved, however, of little value, on account of their dark and livid colour. Tacitus observes, with reason (in Agricola, c. 12), that it was an inherent defect. "Fecit his credulitatem, naturam maris esse deesse quam nobis æstivam."

<sup>7</sup> Claudius, Nero, and Domitian. A Pope is expressed by Pomponius Mela, l. i. c. 6. the waste under Claudius, that, by the success of the Roman arms, the blind and the savage inhabitants would soon be better known. It is amusing enough to pursue such passages in the midst of history.

<sup>8</sup> See the admirable abridgement given by Tacitus, in the life of Agricola, and extended thence perhaps not completely, illustrated by our own antiquaries, Camden and Ptolemy.

<sup>9</sup> The Irish writers, jealous of their national honour, are extremely provoked on this occasion, both with Trajan and with Agricola.

<sup>10</sup> See Horsey's *Britannia Romana*, l. i. c. 10.

<sup>11</sup> The poet Buchanan celebrates, with elegance and spirit (see his *Solus*, v. 1), the unsolicited independence of his native country. But, if the single testimony of Rufo, a friend of the emperor, was sufficient to create a Roman province of Vespasiana to the north of the wall, that independence would be reduced within very narrow limits.

<sup>12</sup> See Appian (in *Proem*) and the uniform imagery of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which, according to every hypothesis, were composed by a native of Aulon.

<sup>13</sup> See Ptolemy's *Tanagra*, which seems founded on facts.

<sup>14</sup> Dion's *History*, l. lxxv.

<sup>15</sup> See Herodotus, l. i. c. 94. Julian in the *Cæsars*, with Spanheim's observation.

<sup>16</sup> In *Phil. Epist.* vi. c. 9.

short suspension of hostilities, lasted five years; and as the emperor could exert, without control, the whole force of the state, it was terminated by an absolute submission of the barbarians.<sup>17</sup> The new province of Dacia, which formed a second exception to the precept of Augustus, was about thirteen hundred miles in circumference. Its natural boundaries were the Niester, the Teyss or Tibiscus, the Lower Danube, and the Euxine Sea. The vestiges of a military road may still be traced from the banks of the Danube to the neighbourhood of Bender, a place famous in modern history, and the actual frontier of the Turkish and Russian empires.<sup>18</sup>

Trajan was ambitious of fame; and as long as mankind shall continue to bestow more liberal applause on their destroyers than on their benefactors, the thirst of military glory will ever be the vice of the most exalted characters. The praises of Alexander, transmitted by a succession of poets and historians, had kindled a dangerous emulation in the mind of Trajan. Like him the Roman emperor undertook an expedition against the nations of the east, but he lamented with a sigh, that his advanced age scarcely left him any hopes of equalling the renown of the son of Philip.<sup>19</sup> Yet the success of Trajan, however transient, was rapid and specious. The degenerate Parthians, broken by intestine discord, fled before his arms. He descended the river Tigris in triumph, from the mountains of Armenia to the Persian Gulf. He enjoyed the honour of being the first, as he was the last, of the Roman generals, who ever navigated that remote sea. His fleets ravaged the coasts of Arabia; and Trajan vainly flattered himself that he was approaching towards the confines of India.<sup>20</sup> Every day the astonished senate received the intelligence of new names and new nations, that acknowledged his sway. They were informed that the kings of Bosphorus, Colchos, Iberia, Albania, Osroene, and even the Parthian monarch himself, had accepted their diadems from the hands of the emperor; that the independent tribes of the Median and Carduchian hills had implored his protection; and that the rich countries of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, were reduced into the state of provinces.<sup>21</sup> But the death of Trajan soon clouded the splendid prospect; and it was justly to be dreaded, that so many distant nations would throw off the unaccustomed yoke, when they were no longer restrained by the powerful hand which had imposed it.

It was an ancient tradition, that when the Capitol was founded by one of the Roman kings, the god Terminus (who presided over boundaries, and was represented according to the fashion of that

age by a large stone,) alone, among all the inferior deities, refused to yield his place to Jupiter himself. A favourable inference was drawn from his obstinacy, which was interpreted by the augurs as a sure presage that the boundaries of the Roman power would never recede.<sup>22</sup> During many ages, the prediction, as it is usual, contributed to its own accomplishment. But though Terminus had resisted the majesty of Jupiter, he submitted to the authority of the emperor Hadrian.<sup>23</sup> The resignation of all the eastern conquests of Trajan was the first measure of his reign. He restored to the Parthians the election of an independent sovereign, withdrew the Roman garrisons from the provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria; and, in compliance with the precept of Augustus, once more established the Euphrates as the frontier of the empire.<sup>24</sup> Censure, which arraigns the public actions and the private motives of princes, has ascribed to envy, a conduct which might be attributed to the prudence and moderation of Hadrian. The various character of that emperor, capable, by turns, of the meanest and the most generous sentiments, may afford some colour to the suspicion. It was, however, scarcely in his power to place the superiority of his predecessor in a more conspicuous light, than by thus confessing himself unequal to the task of defending the conquests of Trajan.

The martial and ambitious spirit of Trajan formed a very singular contrast with the moderation of his successor. The restless activity of Hadrian was not less remarkable, when compared with the gentle repose of Antoninus Pius. The life of the former was almost a perpetual journey; and as he possessed the various talents of the soldier, the statesman, and the scholar, he gratified his curiosity in the discharge of his duty. Careless of the difference of seasons and of climates, he marched on foot, and bare-headed, over the snows of Caledonia, and the sultry plains of the Upper Egypt; nor was there a province of the empire which, in the course of his reign, was not honoured with the presence of the monarch.<sup>25</sup> But the tranquil life of Antoninus Pius was spent in the bosom of Italy; and, during the twenty-three years that he directed the public administration, the longest journeys of that amiable prince extended no farther than from his palace in Rome, to the retirement of his Lanuvian villa.<sup>26</sup>

Notwithstanding this difference in their personal conduct, the general system of Augustus was equally adopted and uniformly pursued by Hadrian and by the two Antonines. They persisted in the design of maintaining the dignity of the empire, without attempting to enlarge its limits. By every honourable expedient they

Resigned by his successor Hadrian.

Contrast of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

Pacific system of Hadrian and the two Antonines.

<sup>17</sup> Dion Cassius, l. lxxvi. p. 1125. 1131. *Epitome in Caesaribus*, Eutropius, lib. 2. 6. Aurelius Victor in *Epitome*.

<sup>18</sup> See a Memoir of M. d'Anville, on the Province of Dacia, in the *Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii. p. 441-468.

<sup>19</sup> Trajan's sentiments are represented in a very just and lively manner in the *Cassius of Julian*.

<sup>20</sup> Eutropius and Suetonius Rufus have endeavoured to perpetuate the illusion. See a very sensible dissertation of M. Freret in the *Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxi. p. 52.

<sup>21</sup> Dion Cassius, l. lxxvi. and the *Epitome*.

<sup>22</sup> Ovid, *Fast*, l. ii. ver. 667. See Livy and Damascus of *Historia*, under the reign of Tarquin.

<sup>23</sup> St. Augustine is highly delighted with the proof of the weakness of Terminus, and the vanity of the augurs. See *De Civitate Dei*, lib. 20.

<sup>24</sup> See the *Augustan History*, p. 5. *Jerome's Chronicle*, and all the commentators. It is somewhat surprising, that this memorable event should be omitted by Dion, or rather by Sulpian.

<sup>25</sup> Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1125. *Historia Augusti*, p. 55. If all our historians were not, in this instance, as in other monuments, would be sufficient proof of the truth of the fact.

<sup>26</sup> See the *Augustan History*, p. 5. *Epitome*.



invited the friendship of the barbarians; and endeavoured to convince mankind, that the Roman power, raised above the temptation of conquest, was actuated only by the love of order and justice. During a long period of forty-three years their virtuous labours were crowned with success; and if we except a few slight hostilities that served to exercise the legions of the frontier, the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius offer the fair prospect of universal peace.<sup>27</sup> The Roman name was revered among the most remote nations of the earth. The fiercest barbarians frequently submitted their differences to the arbitration of the emperor; and we are informed by a contemporary historian, that he had seen ambassadors who were refused the honour which they came to solicit, of being admitted into the rank of subjects.<sup>28</sup>

Defensive wars  
of Marcus  
Antoninus.

The terror of the Roman arms added weight and dignity to the moderation of the emperors. They preserved peace by a constant preparation for war; and while justice regulated their conduct, they announced to the nations on their confines, that they were as little disposed to endure as to offer an injury. The military strength, which it had been sufficient for Hadrian and the elder Antoninus to display, was exerted against the Parthians and the Germans by the Emperor Marcus. The hostilities of the barbarians provoked the resentment of that philosophic monarch, and, in the prosecution of a just defence, Marcus and his generals obtained many signal victories, both on the Euphrates, and on the Danube.<sup>29</sup> The military establishment of the Roman empire, which thus assured either its tranquillity or its success, will now become the proper and important object of our attention.

Military establish-  
ment of the Ro-  
man emperors.

In the purer ages of the commonwealth, the use of arms was reserved for those ranks of citizens who had a country to love, a property to defend, and some share in enacting those laws, which it was their interest, as well as duty, to maintain. But in proportion as the public freedom was lost in extent of conquest, war was gradually improved into an art, and degraded into a trade.<sup>30</sup> The legions themselves, even at the time when they were recruited in the most distant provinces, were supposed to consist of Roman citizens. That distinction was generally considered, either as a legal qualification, or as a proper recompense for the soldier; but a more serious regard was paid to the essential merit of age, strength, and military stature.<sup>31</sup> In all levies, a just preference was given to the

climates of the North over those of the South: the race of men born to the exercise of arms was sought for in the country rather than in cities; and it was very reasonably presumed, that the hardy occupations of smiths, carpenters, and huntsmen, would supply more vigour and resolution, than the sedentary trades which are employed in the service of luxury.<sup>32</sup> After every qualification of property had been laid aside, the armies of the Roman emperors were still commanded, for the most part, by officers of a liberal birth and education; but the common soldiers, like the mercenary troops of modern Europe, were drawn from the meanest, and very frequently from the most profligate, of mankind.

That public virtue which among the ancients was denominated patriotism, is derived from a strong sense of our own interest in the preservation and prosperity of the free government of which we are members. Such a sentiment, which had rendered the legions of the republic almost invincible, could make but a very feeble impression on the mercenary servants of a despotic prince; and it became necessary to supply that defect by other motives of a different, but not less forcible nature; honour and religion. The peasant, or mechanic, imbibed the useful prejudice that he was advanced to the more dignified profession of arms, in which his rank and reputation would depend on his own valour; and that, although the prowess of a private soldier must often escape the notice of fame, his own behaviour might sometimes confer glory or disgrace on the company, the legion, or even the army, to whose honours he was associated. On his first entrance into the service, an oath was administered to him, with every circumstance of solemnity. He promised never to desert his standard, to submit his own will to the commands of his leaders, and to sacrifice his life for the safety of the emperor and the empire.<sup>33</sup> The attachment of the Roman troops to their standards was inspired by the united influence of religion and of honour. The golden eagle, which glittered in the front of the legion, was the object of their fondest devotion; nor was it esteemed less impious, than it was ignominious, to abandon that sacred ensign in the hour of danger.<sup>34</sup> These motives, which derived their strength from the imagination, were enforced by fears and hopes of a more substantial kind. Regular pay, occasional donatives, and a stated recompense, after the appointed time of service, alleviated the hardships of the military life,<sup>35</sup> whilst, on the other hand, it was impossible for cowardice or dis-

<sup>27</sup> We must, however, remember that in the time of Hadrian, a rebellion of the Jews, raged with religious fury, though only in a single province. Hadrian, l. vi. c. 13. mentions two more, and a third, in the west, committed by the generals of Pius. 1st, Against the wild tribe of Marcomanni, who were driven into the deserts of Alsace, 2dly, Against the Brigantes of Britain, who had invaded the Roman province. Both these wars (with several other hostilities) are mentioned in the Augustan History, p. 19.

<sup>28</sup> Appian of Alexandria, in the preface to his History of the Roman wars.

<sup>29</sup> Dion, l. lxxii. Hist. August. in Marcus. The Parthian victories gave birth to a crowd of contemptible historians, whose memoirs have been rescued from oblivion, and exposed to ridicule, in a very lively piece of criticism of Tacitus.

<sup>30</sup> The poorest rank of

the army (the *limitanei*), had arms

and money was so small,

seventy pence was the

annual pay of a soldier, as

Salustius de Bell. Jug. rth. c. 94

<sup>31</sup> Cicero feared his legions of Gauls and strangers, but it was not until the second century, and, for the victory, he gave them the *signum* of the eagle for a reward.

<sup>32</sup> See Vegetius de Re Militari, l. i. c. 2-7.

<sup>33</sup> The oath of service and fidelity to the emperor was annually renewed by the troops on the first of January.

<sup>34</sup> Tacitus calls the Roman eagle, *Belorum Deus*. They were placed on a cap in the camp, and with the other devices received the religious worship of the troops.

<sup>35</sup> See Gellonius de Præm. a veteri, l. iii. p. 120, &c. The Emperor Diocletian fixed the annual stipend of the legionaries to twelve pieces of gold, which he, in his time, was equivalent to about ten of our guineas. This pay, somewhat higher than our own, had been, and was afterwards, gradually increased, according to the progress of wealth and military government. After twenty years' service, the veteran received three thousand sesterces (about one hundred pounds sterling), or a proportionable allowance of land. The pay and advantages of the guards were, in general, about double those of the legions.

obedience to escape the severest punishment. The centurions were authorised to chastise with blows, the generals had a right to punish with death, and it was an inflexible maxim of Roman discipline, that a good soldier should dread his officers far more than the enemy. From such laudable arts did the valour of the Imperial troops receive a degree of firmness and docility, unattainable by the impetuous and irregular passions of barbarians.

And yet so sensible were the Romans of the imperfection of valour without skill and practice, that, in their language, the name of an army was borrowed from the word which signified exercise.<sup>36</sup> Military exercises were the important and unremitted object of their discipline. The recruits and young soldiers were constantly trained both in the morning and in the evening, nor was age or knowledge allowed to excuse the veterans from the daily repetition of what they had completely learnt. Large sheds were erected in the winter-quarters of the troops, that their useful labours might not receive any interruption from the most tempestuous weather; and it was carefully observed, that the arms destined to this imitation of war, should be of double the weight which was required in real action.<sup>37</sup> It is not the purpose of this work to enter into any minute description of the Roman exercises. We shall only remark, that they comprehended whatever could add strength to the body, activity to the limbs, or grace to the motions. The soldiers were diligently instructed to march, to run, to leap, to swim, to carry heavy burdens, to handle every species of arms that was used either for offence or for defence, either in distant engagement or in a closer onset; to form a variety of evolutions; and to move to the sound of flutes, in the Pyrrhic or martial dance.<sup>38</sup> In the midst of peace, the Roman troops familiarised themselves with the practice of war; and it is prettily remarked by an ancient historian who had fought against them, that the effusion of blood was the only circumstance which distinguished a field of battle from a field of exercise.<sup>39</sup> It was the policy of the ablest generals, and even of the emperors themselves, to encourage these military studies by their presence and example; and we are informed that Hadrian, as well as Trajan, frequently condescended to instruct the unexperienced soldiers, to reward the diligent, and sometimes to dispute with them the prize of superior strength or dexterity.<sup>40</sup> Under the reigns of those princes, the science of tactics was cultivated with success; and as long as the empire retained any vigour, their military instructions were respected as the most perfect model of Roman discipline.

Nine centuries of war had gradually intro-

duced into the service many alterations and improvements. The legions, as they are described by Polybius<sup>41</sup>, in the time of the Punic wars, differed very materially from those which achieved the victories of Cesar, or defended the monarchy of Hadrian and the Antonines. The constitution of the Imperial legion may be described in a few words.<sup>42</sup> The heavy-armed infantry, which composed its principal strength<sup>43</sup>, was divided into ten cohorts and fifty-five companies, under the orders of a correspondent number of tribunes and centurions. The first cohort, which always claimed the post of honour and the custody of the eagle, was formed of eleven hundred and five soldiers, the most approved for valour and fidelity. The remaining nine cohorts consisted each of five hundred and fifty-five; and the whole body of legionary infantry amounted to six thousand one hundred men. Their arms were uniform, and admirably adapted to the nature of the service: an open helmet, with a lofty crest; a breast-plate, or coat of mail; greaves on their legs, and an ample buckler on their left arm. The buckler was of an oblong and concave figure, four feet in length, and two and an half in breadth, framed of a light wood, covered with a bull's hide, and strongly guarded with plates of brass. Besides a lighter spear, the legionary soldier grasped in his right hand the formidable *pilum*, a ponderous javelin, whose utmost length was about six feet, and which was terminated by a massy triangular point of steel of eighteen inches.<sup>44</sup> This instrument was indeed much inferior to our modern fire-arms; since it was exhausted by a single discharge, at the distance of only ten or twelve paces: yet when it was launched by a firm and skilful hand, there was not any cavalry that durst venture within its reach, nor any shield or corslet that could sustain the impetuosity of its weight. As soon as the Roman had darted his *pilum*, he drew his sword, and rushed forwards to close with the enemy. His sword was a short well-tempered Spanish blade, that carried a double edge, and was alike suited to the purpose of striking or of pushing; but the soldier was always instructed to prefer the latter use of his weapon, as his own body remained less exposed, whilst he inflicted a more dangerous wound on his adversary.<sup>45</sup> The legion was usually drawn up eight deep; and the regular distance of three feet was left between the files as well as ranks.<sup>46</sup> A body of troops habituated to preserve this open order, in a long front and a rapid charge, found themselves prepared to execute every disposition which the circumstances of war, or the skill of their leader, might suggest. The soldier possessed a free space for his arms and motions, and sufficient

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intervals were allowed, through which seasonable reinforcements might be introduced to the relief of the exhausted combatants.<sup>47</sup> The tactics of the Greeks and Macedonians were formed on very different principles. The strength of the phalanx depended on sixteen ranks of long pikes, wedged together in the closest array.<sup>48</sup> But it was soon discovered by reflection, as well as by the event, that the strength of the phalanx was unable to contend with the activity of the legion.<sup>49</sup>

#### Cavalry.

The cavalry, without which the force of the legion would have remained imperfect, was divided into ten troops or squadrons; the first, as the companion of the first cohort, consisted of an hundred and thirty-two men; whilst each of the other nine amounted only to sixty-six. The entire establishment formed a regiment, if we may use the modern expression, of seven hundred and twenty-six horse, naturally connected with its respective legion, but occasionally separated to act in the line, and to compose a part of the wings of the army.<sup>50</sup> The cavalry of the emperors was no longer composed, like that of the ancient republic, of the noblest youths of Rome and Italy, who, by performing their military service on horseback, prepared themselves for the offices of senator and consul; and solicited, by deeds of valour, the future suffrages of their countrymen.<sup>51</sup> Since the alteration of manners and government, the most wealthy of the equestrian order were engaged in the administration of justice, and of the revenue;<sup>52</sup> and whenever they embraced the profession of arms, they were immediately intrusted with a troop of horse, or a cohort of foot.<sup>53</sup> Trajan and Hadrian formed their cavalry from the same provinces, and the same class of their subjects, which recruited the ranks of the legion. The horses were bred, for the most part, in Spain or Cappadocia. The Roman troopers despised the complete armour with which the cavalry of the East was encumbered. Their more useful arms consisted in a helmet, an oblong shield, light boots, and a coat of mail. A javelin and a long broad sword were their principal weapons of offence. The use of lances and of iron maces they seem to have borrowed from the barbarians.<sup>54</sup>

#### Auxiliaries.

The safety and honour of the empire was principally intrusted to the legions; but the policy of Rome condescended to adopt every useful instrument of war. Considerable levies were regularly made among the provincials, who had not yet deserved the honourable distinction of Romans. Many

dependent princes and communities, dispersed round the frontiers, were permitted for a while to hold their freedom and security by the tenure of military service.<sup>55</sup> Even select troops of hostile barbarians were frequently compelled or persuaded to consume their dangerous valour in remote climates, and for the benefit of the state.<sup>56</sup> All these were included under the general name of auxiliaries; and howsoever they might vary, according to the difference of times and circumstances, their numbers were seldom much inferior to those of the legions themselves.<sup>57</sup> Among the auxiliaries, the bravest and most faithful bands were placed under the command of præfects and centurions, and severely trained in the arts of Roman discipline; but the far greater part retained those arms to which the nature of their country, or their early habits of life, more particularly adapted them. By this institution each legion, to whom a certain proportion of auxiliaries was allotted, contained within itself every species of lighter troops, and of missile weapons; and was capable of encountering every nation, with the advantages of its respective arms and discipline.<sup>58</sup> Nor was the legion destitute of what, in modern Artillery. language, would be styled a train of artillery. It consisted in ten military engines of the largest, and fifty-five of a smaller size; but all of which, either in an oblique or horizontal manner, discharged stones and darts with irresistible violence.<sup>59</sup>

The camp of a Roman legion presented the appearance of a fortified city.<sup>60</sup> As soon as the space was marked out, the pioneers carefully levelled the ground, and removed every impediment that might interrupt its perfect regularity. Its form was an exact quadrangle; and we may calculate, that a square of about seven hundred yards was sufficient for the encampment of twenty thousand Romans; though a similar number of our own troops would expose to the enemy a front of more than treble that extent. In the midst of the camp, the prætorium, or general's quarters, rose above the others; the cavalry, the infantry, and the auxiliaries, occupied their respective stations; the streets were broad, and perfectly straight, and a vacant space of two hundred feet was left on all sides, between the tents and the rampart. The rampart itself was usually twelve feet high, armed with a line of strong and intricate palisades, and defended by a ditch of twelve feet in depth as well as in breadth. This important labour was performed by the hands of the legionaries themselves; to whom the use

47. M. Guichard, *Mémoires Militaires*, tom. i. c. 4. and *Nouveaux Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 295–311 has treated the subject like a scholar and an officer.

48. See Arrian's Tactics. With the true partiality of a Greek, than the legions which he had commanded.

49. Polyb. l. xvi.

50. Veget. de Re Militari, l. i. c. 6. His positive testimony, which might be supported by those critics who

51. See Livy.

52. As in the instance of Horace and Agricola. This appears to have been a defect in the Roman discipline, which Hadrian endeavoured to remedy, by ascertaining the legal age of a tribune.

53. See Arrian's Tactics.

54. Such, in particular, was the state of the Batavians. Tacit. Germania, c. 29.

55. Marcus Antoninus obliged the vanquished Quadi and Marcomanni to supply him with a large body of troops, which he immediately sent into Britain. Dion Cassius, l. lxxi.

56. Tacit. Annales, iv. 5. Those who fix a regular proportion of as many foot, and twice as many horse, confound the auxiliaries of the emperors with the Italian allies of the republic.

57. Vegetius, ii. 2. Arrian, in his order of march and battle against the Alani.

58. The subject of the ancient machines is treated with great knowledge and ingenuity by the Chevalier Folard (Polybe, tom. ii. p. 338—280.) He prefers them in many respects to our modern cannon and mortars.

59. Vegetius actually longed for them.

60. Vegetius finishes his second book, and the description of the legions, with the following emphatic words: "Universa quæ in quoque bellis militare necessaria esse, rudimentum, secum legio debet ubique portare, ut in quocumque loco fixerit castra, armata faciat civitatem."

of the spade and the pick-axe was no less familiar than that of the sword or *pilum*. Active valour may often be the present of nature ; but such patient diligence can be the fruit only of habit and discipline.<sup>61</sup>

March. Whenever the trumpet gave the signal of departure, the camp was almost instantly broke up, and the troops fell into their ranks without delay or confusion. Besides their arms, which the legionaries scarcely considered as an encumbrance, they were laden with their kitchen furniture, the instruments of fortification, and the provision of many days.<sup>62</sup> Under this weight, which would oppress the delicacy of a modern soldier, they were trained by a regular step to advance, in about six hours, near twenty miles.<sup>63</sup> On the appearance of an enemy, they threw aside their baggage, and by easy and rapid evolutions converted the column of march into an order of battle.<sup>64</sup> The slingers and archers skirmished in the front; the auxiliaries formed the first line, and were seconded or sustained by the strength of the legions; the cavalry covered the flanks, and the military engines were placed in the rear.

Such were the arts of war, by which the Roman emperors defended their extensive conquests, and preserved a military spirit, at a time when every other virtue was oppressed by luxury and despotism. If, in the consideration of their armies, we pass from their discipline to their numbers, we shall not find it easy to define them with any tolerable accuracy. We may compute, however, that the legion, which was itself a body of six thousand eight hundred and thirty-one Romans, might, with its attendant auxiliaries, amount to about twelve thousand and five hundred men. The peace establishment of Hadrian and his successors was composed of no less than thirty of these formidable brigades; and most probably formed a standing force of three hundred and seventy-five thousand men. Instead of being confined within the walls of fortified cities, which the Romans considered as the refuge of weakness or pusillanimity, the legions were encamped on the banks of the great rivers, and along the frontiers of the barbarians. As their stations, for the most part, remained fixed and permanent, we may venture to describe the distribution of the troops. Three legions were sufficient for Britain. The principal strength lay upon the Rhine and Danube, and consisted of sixteen legions, in the following proportions: two in the Lower, and three in the Upper Germany; one in Rhaetia, one in Noricum, four in Pannonia, three in Masia, and two in Pacia. The defence of the Euphrates was intrusted to eight legions, six of whom were planted in Syria, and the other two in Cappadocia. With regard to Egypt, Africa, and Spain, as they were far removed from any important

scene of war, a single legion maintained the domestic tranquillity of each of those great provinces. Even Italy was not left destitute of a military force. About twenty thousand chosen soldiers, distinguished by the titles of City Cohorts and Prætorian Guards, watched over the safety of the monarch and the capital. As the authors of almost every revolution that distracted the empire, the Prætorians will, very soon, and very loudly, demand our attention ; but in their arms and institutions we cannot find any circumstance which discriminated them from the legions, unless it were a more splendid appearance, and a less rigid discipline.<sup>60</sup>

The navy maintained by the emperors might seem inadequate to their greatness; but it was fully sufficient for every useful purpose of government. The ambition of the Romans was confined to the land; nor was that warlike people ever actuated by the enterprising spirit which had prompted the navigators of Tyre, of Carthage, and even of Marseilles, to enlarge the bounds of the world, and to explore the most remote coasts of the ocean. To the Romans the ocean remained an object of terror rather than of curiosity<sup>66</sup>; the whole extent of the Mediterranean, after the destruction of Carthage, and the extirpation of the pirates, was included within their provinces. The policy of the emperors was directed only to preserve the peaceful dominion of that sea, and to protect the commerce of their subjects. With these moderate views, Augustus stationed two permanent fleets in the most convenient ports of Italy, the one at Ravenna, on the Adriatic, the other at Misenum, in the Bay of Naples. Experience seems at length to have convinced the ancients, that as soon as their galleys exceeded two, or at the most three ranks of oars, they were suited rather for vain pomp than for real service. Augustus himself, in the victory of Actium, had seen the superiority of his own light frigates (they were called Liburnians) over the lofty but unwieldy castles of his rival.<sup>67</sup> Of these Liburnians he composed the two fleets of Ravenna and Misenum, destined to command, the one the eastern, the other the western division of the Mediterranean; and to each of the squadrons he attached a body of several thousand marines. Besides these two ports, which may be considered as the principal seats of the Roman navy, a very considerable force was stationed at Frejus, on the coast of Provence, and the Euxine was guarded by forty ships, and three thousand soldiers. To all these we add the fleet which preserved the communication between Gaul and Britain, and a great number of vessels constantly maintained on the Rhine and Danube, to harass the country, or to intercept the passage of the barbarians.<sup>68</sup> If we review this general state of the Imperial forces; of the cavalry as well as infantry; of the legions

61. For the Roman counter-metaphor, see P. Labat, *Le monde végétal de Moïse à Rome*, J. Séph. de Beil. Jud. 1, 19, c. 3. Vegetius, 1, 21-25, n. 9, and Macrobius de Sat. I, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1.

65 Veretius, n. 9. See *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, t. 1, p. 167.

64 See these evolutions admirably well explained by M. Fourhard  
Nouvelles Vues sur l'air, p. 141, 254.

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frontiers of Naples, was the theatre of her infant victories. On that celebrated ground the first consuls deserved triumphs, their successors adorned villas, and their posterity have erected convents.<sup>76</sup> Capua and Campania possessed the immediate territory of Naples; the rest of the kingdom was inhabited by many warlike nations, the Marsi, the Samnites, the Apulians, and the Lucanians; and the sea-coasts had been covered by the flourishing colonies of the Greeks. We may remark, that when Augustus divided Italy into eleven regions, the little province of Istria was annexed to that seat of Roman sovereignty.<sup>77</sup>

The European provinces of Rome were protected by the course of the Rhine and the Danube. The latter of those mighty streams, which rises at the distance of only thirty miles from the former, flows about thirteen hundred miles, for the most part, to the south-east, collects the tribute of sixty navigable rivers, and is, at length, through six mouths, received into the Euxine, which appears scarcely equal to such an accession of waters.<sup>78</sup> The provinces of the Danube soon acquired the general appellation of Illyricum, or the Illyrian frontier,<sup>79</sup> and were esteemed the most warlike of the empire; but they deserve to be more particularly considered under the names of Rætia, Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Dacia, Mæsia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece.

The province of Rætia, which soon extinguished the name of the Vindelicians, extended from the summit of the Alps to the banks of the Danube; from its source, as far as its conflux with the Inn. The greatest part of the Ilst country is subject to the elector of Bavaria; the city of Augsburg is protected by the constitution of the German empire; the Grisons are safe in their mountains, and the country of Tirol is ranked among the numerous provinces of the house of Austria.

The wide extent of territory which is included between the Tan, the Danube, and the Save; Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Lower Hungary, and Slavonia, was known to the ancients under the names of Noricum and Pannonia. In their original state of independence, their fierce inhabitants were intimately connected. Under the Roman government they were frequently united, and they still remain the patrimony of a single family. They now contain the residence of a German prince, who styles himself Emperor of the Romans, and form the centre, as well as strength, of the Austrian power. It may not be improper to observe, that if we except Bohemia, Moravia, the Northern skirts of Austria, and a part of Hungary, between the Teyss and the Danube, all the other dominions of the house of Austria were comprised within the limits of the Roman empire.

Dalmatia, to which the name of Illyricum is more properly applied, lies

was a long, but narrow tract, between the Save and the Adriatic. The best part of the sea-coast, which still retains its ancient appellation, is a province of the Venetian state, and the seat of the little republic of Ragusa. The inland parts have assumed the Slavonian names of Croatia and Bosnia; the former obeys an Austrian governor, the latter a Turkish pasha; but the whole country is still infested by tribes of barbarians, whose savage independence irregularly marks the doubtful limit of the Christian and Mahometan power.<sup>80</sup>

After the Danube had received the waters of the Teyss and the Save, it acquired, at least among the Greeks, the name of Ister.<sup>81</sup> It formerly divided Mæsia and Dacia, the latter of which, as we have already seen, was a conquest of Trajan, and the only province beyond the river. If we enquire into the present state of those countries, we shall find that, on the left hand of the Danube, Tenneswar and Transylvania have been annexed, after many revolutions, to the crown of Hungary; whilst the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia acknowledge the supremacy of the Ottoman Porte. On the right hand of the Danube, Mæsia, which, during the middle ages, was broken into the barbarian kingdoms of Servia and Bulgaria, is again united in Turkish slavery.

The appellation of Roumelia, which is still bestowed by the Turks on the extensive countries of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, preserves the memory of their ancient state under the Roman empire. In the time of the Antonines, the martial regions of Thrace, from the mountain of Hæmus and Rhodope, to the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, had assumed the form of a province. Notwithstanding the change of masters and of religion, the new city of Rome, founded by Constantine on the banks of the Bosphorus, has ever since remained the capital of a great monarchy. The kingdom of Macedonia, which, under the reign of Alexander, gave laws to Asia, derived more solid advantages from the policy of the two Philips; and with its dependencies of Epirus and Treessaly, extended from the Aegean to the Ionian sea. When we reflect on the fame of Tubas and Argos, of Sparta and Athens, we can scarcely persuade ourselves, that so many immortal republics of ancient Greece were lost in a single province of the Roman empire, which, from the superior influence of the Achaean league, was usually denominated the province of Achaia.

Such was the state of Europe under the Roman emperors. The provinces of Asia, without excepting the transient conquests of Trajan, are all comprehended within the limits of the Turkish power. But, instead of following the arbitrary divisions of despotism and ignorance, it will be safer for us, as well as more capable, to observe the indelible characters of nature. The name of Asia

Mæsia and Dacia.

The Danube and Illyrian frontier.

Rætia.

Noricum and Pannonia.

Asia Minor.

Minor is attributed with some propriety to the peninsula, which, confined betwixt the Euxine and the Mediterranean, advances from the Euphrates towards Europe. The most extensive and flourishing district, westward of mount Taurus and the river Halys, was dignified by the Romans with the exclusive title of Asia. The jurisdiction of that province extended over the ancient monarchies of Troy, Lydia, and Phrygia, the maritime countries of the Pamphyliaus, Lycians, and Carians, and the Grecian colonies of Ionia, which equalled in arts, though not in arms, the glory of their parent. The kingdoms of Bithynia and Pontus possessed the northern side of the peninsula from Constantinople to Trebizond. On the opposite side, the province of Cilicia was terminated by the mountains of Syria: the inland country, separated from the Roman Asia by the river Halys, and from Armenia by the Euphrates, had once formed the independent kingdom of Cappadocia. In this place we may observe, that the northern shores of the Euxine, beyond Trebizond in Asia, and beyond the Danube in Europe, acknowledged the sovereignty of the emperors, and received at their hands either tributary princes or Roman garrisons. Budzak, Crim Tartary, Circassia, and Mingrelia, are the modern appellations of those savage countries.<sup>82</sup>

Under the successors of Alexander, Syria was the seat of the Seleucidae, who reigned over Upper Asia, till the successful revolt of the Parthians confined their dominions between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. When Syria became subject to the Romans, it formed the eastern frontier of their empire: nor did that province, in its utmost latitude, know any other bounds than the mountains of Cappadocia to the north, and, towards the south, the confines of Egypt and the Red Sea. Phœnicia and Palestine were sometimes annexed to, and sometimes separated from, the jurisdiction of Syria. The former of these was a narrow and rocky coast; the latter was a territory scarcely superior to Wales, either in fertility or extent. Yet Phœnicia and Palestine will for ever live in the memory of mankind; since America, as well as Europe, has received letters from the one, and religion from the other.<sup>83</sup> A sandy desert alike destitute of wood and water skirts along the doubtful confine of Syria, from the Euphrates to the Red Sea. The wandering life of the Arabs was inseparably connected with their independence; and wherever, on some spots less barren than the rest, they ventured to form any settled habitations, they soon became subjects to the Roman empire.<sup>84</sup>

The geographers of antiquity have frequently hesitated to what portion of the globe they should ascribe Egypt.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> See the Periplus of Arrian. He examined the coasts of the Euxine, when he was governor of Cappadocia.  
<sup>83</sup> The progress of religion is well known. The use of letters was introduced among the savages of Europe about fifteen hundred years before Christ; and the Europeans carried them to America about fifteen centuries after the Christian era. The first alterations, made in the letters, were the change of the *alpha* into the *beta*, and the *gamma* into the *delta*. These alterations, however, were not made at once, but gradually, and in different parts of the world.  
<sup>84</sup> Ptolemy and Strabo, with the modern geographers, fix the isthmus of Suez as the boundary of Asia and Africa. Dionysius, Mela, Pliny, Solinus, Hieronymus, and Solinus, have preferred for that purpose the western branch of the Nile, or even the great Catathlousa,

By its situation that celebrated kingdom is included within the immense peninsula of Africa; but it is accessible only on the side of Asia, whose revolutions, in almost every period of history, Egypt has humbly obeyed. A Roman præfect was seated on the splendid throne of the Ptolemies; and the iron sceptre of the Mamelukes is now in the hands of a Turkish pasha. The Nile flows down the country, above five hundred miles from the tropic of Cancer to the Mediterranean, and marks, on either side, the extent of fertility by the measure of its inundations. Cyrene, situate towards the west, and along the sea-coast, was first a Greek colony, afterwards a province of Egypt, and is now lost in the desert of Barca.

From Cyrene to the ocean, the coast of Africa extends above fifteen hundred miles; yet so closely is it pressed between the Mediterranean and the Sahara, or sandy desert, that its breadth seldom exceeds fourscore or an hundred miles. The eastern division was considered by the Romans as the more peculiar and proper province of Africa. Till the arrival of the Phœnician colonies, that fertile country was inhabited by the Libyans, the most savage of mankind. Under the immediate jurisdiction of Carthage, it became the centre of commerce and empire; but the republic of Carthage is now degenerated into the feeble and disorderly states of Tripoli and Tunis. The military government of Algiers oppresses the wide extent of Numidia, as it was once united under Massinissa and Jugurtha. but in the time of Augustus, the limits of Numidia were contracted; and, at least, two thirds of the country acquiesced in the name of Mauritania, with the epithet of Cæsariensis. The genuine Mauritania, or country of the Moors, which, from the ancient city of Tingi, or Tangier, was distinguished by the appellation of Tingitana, is represented by the modern kingdom of Fez. Sallè, on the ocean, so infamous at present for its piratical depredations, was noticed by the Romans, as the extreme object of their power, and almost of their geography. A city of their foundation may still be discovered near Mequinez, the residence of the barbarian whom we condescend to style the Emperor of Morocco; but it does not appear, that his more southern dominions, Morocco itself, and Segelmessa, were ever comprehended within the Roman province. The western parts of Africa are intersected by the branches of Mount Atlas, a name so idly celebrated by the fancy poets;<sup>86</sup> but which is now diffused over the immense ocean that rolls between the ancient and the new continent.<sup>87</sup>

Having now finished the circuit of the Roman empire, we may observe, that Africa is divided from Spain by a narrow strait of about twelve miles, or descent, which last would assign to Asia, not only Egypt, but part of Libya.

<sup>85</sup> The Mediterranean with its islands.  
<sup>86</sup> See the Voyage de Boulogne, tom. xiv. p. 297, unsupported by either fact or probability, has generously bestowed the Canary Islands on the Roman empire.

through which the Atlantic flows into the Mediterranean. The columns of Hercules, so famous among the ancients, were two mountains which seemed to have been torn asunder by some convulsion of the elements; and at the foot of the European mountain, the fortress of Gibraltar is now seated. The whole extent of the Mediterranean Sea, its coasts, and its islands, were comprised within the Roman dominion. Of the larger islands, the two Balears, which derive their name of Majorca and Minorca from their respective size, are subject, at present, the former to Spain, the latter to Great Britain. It is easier to deplore the fate, than to describe the actual condition of Corsica. Two Italian sovereigns assume a regal title from Sardinia and Sicily. Crete, or Candia, with Cyprus, and most of the smaller islands of Greece and Asia, have been subdued by the Turkish arms; whilst the little rock of Malta defies their power, and has emerged, under the government of its military Order, into fame and opulence.

This long enumeration of provinces, whose broken fragments have formed so many powerful kingdoms, might almost induce us to forgive the vanity or ignorance of the ancients. Dazzled with the extensive sway, the irresistible strength, and the real or affected moderation of the emperors, they permitted themselves to despise, and sometimes to forget, the outlying countries which had been left in the enjoyment of a barbarous independence; and they gradually usurped the licence of confounding the Roman monarchy with the globe of the earth.<sup>88</sup> But the temper, as well as knowledge, of a modern historian, require a more sober and accurate language. He may impress a juster image of the greatness of Rome, by observing that the empire was above two thousand miles in breadth, from the wall of Antoninus and the northern limits of Dacia, to Mount Atlas and the tropic of Cancer; that it extended, in length, more than three thousand miles from the Western Ocean to the Euphrates; that it was situated in the finest part of the temperate zone, between the twenty-fourth and fifty-sixth degrees of northern latitude; and that it was supposed to contain above sixteen hundred thousand square miles, for the most part of fertile and well cultivated land.<sup>89</sup>

## CHAP. II.

### *Of the Union and internal Prosperity of the Roman Empire, in the Age of the Antonines.*

It is not alone by the rapidity, or extent of conquest, that we should estimate the greatness of Rome. The sovereign of the Russian deserts commands a larger portion of the globe. In the seventh summer after his passage of the Hellespont.

Alexander erected the Macedonian trophies on the banks of the Hyphasis.<sup>1</sup> Within less than a century, the irresistible Zingis, and the Mogul princes of his race, spread their cruel devastations and transient empire, from the sea of China to the confines of Egypt and Germany.<sup>2</sup> But the firm edifice of Roman power was raised and preserved by the wisdom of ages. The obedient provinces of Trajan and the Antonines were united by laws, and adorned by arts. They might occasionally suffer from the partial abuse of delegated authority; but the general principle of government was wise, simple, and beneficent. They enjoyed the religion of their ancestors, whilst in civil honours and advantages they were exalted, by just degrees, to an equality with their conquerors.

I. The policy of the emperors Universal spirit of toleration. and the senate, as far as it concerned religion, was happily seconded by the reflections of the enlightened, and by the habits of the superstitious, part of their subjects. The various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered, by the people, as equally true; by the philosopher, as equally false; and by the magistrate, as equally useful. And thus toleration produced, not only mutual indulgence, but even religious concord.

The superstition of the people Of the people. was not inhibited by any mixture of theological rancour; nor was it confined by the chains of any speculative system. The devout polytheist, though fondly attached to his national rites, admitted with implicit faith the different religions of the earth.<sup>3</sup> Fear, gratitude, and curiosity, a dream or an omen, a singular disorder, or a distant journey, perpetually disposed him to multiply the articles of his belief, and to enlarge the list of his protectors. The thin texture of the Pagan mythology was interwoven with various, but not discordant materials. As soon as it was allowed that sages and heroes, who had lived, or who had died, for the benefit of their country, were exalted to a state of power and immortality, it was universally confessed, that they deserved, if not the adoration, at least the reverence, of all mankind. The deities of a thousand groves and a thousand streams possessed, in peace, their local and respective influence; nor could the Roman, who deprecated the wrath of the Tiber, deride the Egyptian who presented his offering to the beneficent genius of the Nile. The visible powers of nature, the planets, and the elements, were the same throughout the universe. The invisible governors of the moral world were inevitably cast in a similar mould of fiction and allegory. Every virtue, and even vice, acquired its divine representative; every art and profession its patron; whose attributes, in the most distant ages and countries, were uniformly derived from the character of their peculiar vo-

<sup>88</sup> Berger, Hist. des Grands Chemins, l. vi. c. 1, 2, 7, 1, a very useful collection.

<sup>89</sup> See Templier's Survey of the Globe, but I distrust both the doctor's learning, and his notes.

<sup>1</sup> He was erected at the mouth between India and China. The conquests of Alexander in Hindostan were, limited to the Punjab. A country watered by the great stream of the Indus.

<sup>2</sup> See M. de Guignes, Hist. des Deserts, l. xvi. xxi. and xxi.

<sup>3</sup> There is not any writer who describes in so lively a manner as Herodotus, the various opinions of the Greeks. The last commentary may be found in Mr. Hume's Essay on the History of the Religion, and the sects in Rome. I have seen the original of the text, and the traces of an original source are not concealed. The Egyptians (as I have said, l. vi. c. 1) and the Chinese, as well as Jews, who lived under the Roman empire, had a very important religion, and a very important order, that the education was requisite a distinct chapter of this work.





even protection, of the Roman conquerors. The province of Gaul seems, and indeed only seems, an exception to this universal toleration. Under the specious pretext of abolishing human sacrifices, the emperors Tiberius and Claudius suppressed the dangerous power of the Druids:<sup>11</sup> but the priests themselves, their gods and their altars, subsisted in peaceful obscurity till the final destruction of Paganism.<sup>12</sup>

At Rome, the capital of a great monarchy, was incessantly filled with subjects and strangers from every part of the world,<sup>13</sup> who all introduced and enjoyed the favourite superstitions of their native country.<sup>14</sup> Every city in the empire was justified in maintaining the purity of its ancient ceremonies; and the Roman senate, using the common privilege, sometimes interposed to check this inundation of foreign rites. The Egyptian superstition, of all the most contemptible and abject, was frequently prohibited; the temples of Serapis and Isis demolished, and their worshippers banished from Rome and Italy.<sup>15</sup> But the zeal of fanaticism prevailed over the cold and feeble efforts of policy. The exiles returned, the proselytes multiplied, the temples were restored with increasing splendour, and Isis and Serapis at length assumed their place among the Roman deities.<sup>16</sup> Nor was this indulgence a departure from the old maxims of government. In the purest ages of the commonwealth, Cybele and Æsculapius had been invited by solemn embassies;<sup>17</sup> and it was customary to tempt the protectors of besieged cities, by the promise of more distinguished honours than they possessed in their native country.<sup>18</sup> Rome gradually became the common temple of her subjects; and the freedom of the city was bestowed on all the gods of mankind.<sup>19</sup>

II. The narrow policy of preserving, without any foreign mixture, the pure blood of the ancient citizens, had checked the fortune and hastened the ruin of Athens and Sparta. The aspiring genius of Rome sacrificed vanity to ambition, and deemed it more prudent, as well as honourable, to adopt virtue and merit for her own whosoever they were found, among slaves or strangers, enemies or barbarians.<sup>20</sup> During the most flourishing æra of the Athenian commonwealth, the number of citizens gradually decreased from about thirty<sup>21</sup> to twenty-one thousand.<sup>22</sup> If, on the contrary, we study the growth of the Roman republic, we may discover, that, notwithstanding the incessant demands of wars and colonies, the citizens, who, in the first census

of Servius Tullius, amounted to no more than eighty-three thousand, were multiplied, before the commencement of the social war, to the number of four hundred and sixty-three thousand men, able to bear arms in the service of their country.<sup>23</sup> When the allies of Rome claimed an equal share of honours and privileges, the senate indeed preferred the chance of arms to an ignominious concession. The Samnites and the Lucanians paid the severe penalty of their rashness; but the rest of the Italian states, as they successively returned to their duty, were admitted into the bosom of the republic;<sup>24</sup> and soon contributed to the ruin of public freedom. Under a democratical government, the citizens exercise the powers of sovereignty; and those powers will be first abused, and afterwards lost, if they are committed to an unwieldy multitude. But when the popular assemblies had been suppressed by the administration of the emperors, the conquerors were distinguished from the vanquished nations, only as the first and most honourable order of subjects; and their increase, however rapid, was no longer exposed to the same dangers. Yet the wisest princes, who adopted the maxims of Augustus, guarded with the strictest care the dignity of the Roman name, and diffused the freedom of the city with a prudent liberality.<sup>25</sup>

Till the privileges of Romans had been progressively extended to all the inhabitants of the empire, an important distinction was preserved between Italy and the provinces. The former was esteemed the centre of public unity, and the firm basis of the constitution. Italy claimed the birth, or at least the residence, of the emperors and the senate.<sup>26</sup> The estates of the Italians were exempt from taxes, their persons from the arbitrary jurisdiction of governors. Their municipal corporations, formed after the perfect model of the capital, were intrusted, under the immediate eye of the supreme power, with the execution of the laws. From the foot of the Alps to the extremity of Calabria, all the natives of Italy were born citizens of Rome. Their partial distinctions were obliterated, and they insensibly coalesced into one great nation, united by language, manners, and civil institutions, and equal to the weight of a powerful empire. The republic gloried in her generous policy, and was frequently rewarded by the merit and services of her adopted sons. Had she always confined the distinction of Romans to the ancient families within the walls of the city, that immortal name would have been deprived of some of its noblest ornaments. Virgil was a native of Man-

11 Suet. in Claud. — Plin. Hist. Nat. xxx. 1.

12 Feliger, *Historia de Gestis, &c.* p. 176. 229.

13 Suet. in Claud. ad Helvium, c. 74. — Tac. Ann.

14 Dionysius Halicarn. Antiquit. Romæ lib. 1.

15 In the year of Rome 701, the temple of Isis and Serapis was demolished by the order of the Sen. 26 (1000) — *Ann. x.* p. 27. — and even by the hands of the consul Marcus Antonius, l. 4. c. 27. After the death of Cæsar, it was restored at the public expense. Dion. l. xliii. p. 601. — When Augustus was in Egypt, he renewed the majesty of Serapis (Dion. l. li. p. 647), but in the Emperors of Rome, and a true round, he prohibited the worship of the Egyptian gods. — l. li. p. 679. l. li. p. 750. They remained, however, very few in

19 Mommsen *Fa. in Octavio*, p. 54. — Arnobius, l. vi. p. 115.

20 Tacit. *Annal.* xi. 24. The tribes Romanus, of the learned Synthesius, is a useful history of the progressive admission of Latins, Italics, and the provinces, to the freedom of Rome.

21 Herodotus, c. 95. It should seem, however, that he followed a large and popular estimation.

22 Athenæus, Deipnosophist. l. vi. p. 274. Edit. Cas ubon. Meurs.

23 *Ann. de Fortunæ Atto. c. 1.*

25 See a very accurate collection of the numbers of each surname in M. de Beauport, *Republique Romaine*, l. iv. c. 1.

26 Appian, de Bell. Civ. l. vi. Valerius Paterculus, l. iii. c. 15, 16, 17.

27 M. Cæcilius had advised him to declare his own chief, all his subjects, citizens. But we may justly suspect that the historian Dion is the author of a speech, so much adapted to the practice of his own age, and so little to that of Augustus.

28 The senators were obliged to have one third of their own landed property in Italy. See Plin. l. vi. ep. 13. The quality was increased by Marcus to one fourth. Since the reign of Tiberius, Italy had sunk nearer to the level of the provinces.

family.

17 See Livy, l. xi. and xlix.

18 Macrobi. Saturnalia, l. iii. c. 9. He gives us a form of evocation.

tua; Horace was inclined to doubt whether he should call himself an Apulian or a Lucanian: it was in Padua that an historian was found worthy to record the majestic series of Roman victories. The patriot family of the Catos emerged from Tusculum; and the little town of Arpinum claimed the double honour of producing Marius and Cicero, the former of whom deserved, after Romulus and Camillus, to be styled the Third Founder of Rome; and the latter, after saving his country from the designs of Catiline, enabled her to contend with Athens for the palm of eloquence.<sup>27</sup>

The provinces of the empire (as they have been described in the preceding chapter) were destitute of any public force, or constitutional freedom. In Etruria, in Greece,<sup>28</sup> and in Gaul,<sup>29</sup> it was the first care of the senate to dissolve those dangerous confederacies, which taught mankind, that, as the Roman arms prevailed by division, they might be resisted by union. Those princes, whom the ostentation of gratitude or generosity permitted for a while to hold a precarious sceptre, were dismissed from their thrones, as soon as they had performed their appointed task of fashioning to the yoke the vanquished nations. The free states and cities which had embraced the cause of Rome were rewarded with a nominal alliance, and insensibly sunk into real servitude. The public authority was every where exercised by the ministers of the senate and of the emperors, and that authority was absolute, and without control. But the same salutary maxims of government, which had secured the peace and obedience of Italy, were extended to the most distant conquests. A nation of Romans was gradually formed in the provinces, by the double expedient of introducing colonies, and of admitting the most faithful and deserving of the provincials to the freedom of Rome.

“Whosoever the Roman conquers, he inhabits,” is a very just observation of Seneca,<sup>30</sup> confirmed by history and experience. The natives of Italy, allured by pleasure or by interest, hastened to enjoy the advantages of victory; and we may remark, that, about forty years after the reduction of Asia, eighty thousand Romans were massacred in one day, by the cruel orders of Mithridates.<sup>31</sup> These voluntary exiles were engaged, for the most part, in the occupations of commerce, agriculture, and the farm of the revenue. But after the legions were rendered permanent by the emperors, the provinces were peopled by a race of soldiers; and the veterans, whether they received the reward of their service in land or in money, usually settled with their families in the country, where they had honour-

ably spent their youth. Throughout the empire, but more particularly in the western parts, the most fertile districts, and the most convenient situations, were reserved for the establishment of colonies; some of which were of a civil, and others of a military nature. In their manners and internal policy, the colonies formed a perfect representation of their great parent; and they were soon endeared to the natives by the ties of friendship and alliance, they effectually diffused a reverence for the Roman name, and a desire, which was seldom disappointed, of sharing, in due time, its honours and advantages.<sup>32</sup> The municipal cities insensibly equalled the rank and splendour of the colonies; and in the reign of Hadrian, it was disputed which was the preferable condition, of those societies which had issued from, or those which had been received into the bosom of Rome.<sup>33</sup> The right of Latium, as it was called, conferred on the cities to which it had been granted a more partial favour. The magistrates only, at the expiration of their office, assumed the quality of Roman citizens; but as those offices were annual, in a few years they circulated round the principal families.<sup>34</sup> Those of the provincials who were permitted to bear arms in the legions; those who exercised any civil employment; all, in a word, who performed any public service, or displayed any personal talents, were rewarded with a present, whose value was continually diminished by the increasing liberality of the emperors. Yet even in the age of the Antonines, when the freedom of the city had been bestowed on the greater number of their subjects, it was still accompanied with very solid advantages. The bulk of the people acquired, with that title, the benefit of the Roman laws, particularly in the interesting articles of marriage, testaments, and inheritances; and the road of fortune was open to those whose pretensions were seconded by favour or merit. The grandsons of the Gauls, who had besieged Julius Cæsar in Alesia, commanded legions, governed provinces, and were admitted into the senate of Rome.<sup>35</sup> Their ambition, instead of disturbing the tranquillity of the state, was intimately connected with its safety and greatness.

So sensible were the Romans of the influence of language over national manners, that it was their most serious care to extend, with the progress of their arms, the use of the Latin tongue.<sup>37</sup> The ancient dialects of Italy, the Sabine, the Etruscan, and the Venetian, sunk into oblivion; but in the provinces, the east was less docile than the west to the voice of its victorious preceptors. This obvious difference marked the two portions of the empire with a distinction of colours, which, though it was in some degree concealed during

<sup>27</sup> The first part of the *Verona Illustrata* of the Marquis Maffei, gives the clearest and most comprehensive view of the state of Italy under the Cæsars.

<sup>28</sup> See Pausanias, l. vii. The Romans condescended to restore the names of those assemblies, when they could no longer be dangerous.

<sup>29</sup> They are frequently mentioned by Cæsar. The Abbe Dubos attempts, with very little success, to prove that the assemblies of Gaul were continued under the emperors. *Histoire de l'Établissement de la Monarchie Française*, l. i. c. 4.

<sup>30</sup> Seneca in *Consolat. ad Helviam*, c. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Mennon apud Photium, c. 53. Valer. Maxim. ix. 2. Plutarch and Dion Cassius tell the massacre of the Gauls; but I should

chester, Lincoln, Chester, Gloucester, and Bath, still remain considerable cities. (See Richard of Cirencester, p. 36. and Whitaker's *History of Manchester*, l. i. c. 3.)

<sup>33</sup> Aul. Gell. *Noctes Atticæ*, xvi. 13. The Emperor Hadrian expressed his surprise, that the cities of Utica, Gades, and Iudæa which already enjoyed the rights of *Municipia*, should solicit the title of *coloniae*. *Thesaurus antiquitatis*, &c. &c. m. de Usu Numism.

• Edit. Jebb.

• Civitate Dicit, xiv. 7.

the meridian splendour of prosperity, became gradually more visible as the shades of night descended upon the Roman world. The western countries were civilised by the same hands that subdued them. As soon as the barbarians were reconciled to obedience, their minds were opened to any new impressions of knowledge and politeness. The language of Virgil and Cicero, though with some inevitable mixture of corruption, was so universally adopted in Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Pannonia,<sup>38</sup> that the faint traces of the Punic or Celtic idioms were preserved only in the mountains, or among the peasants.<sup>39</sup> Education and study insensibly inspired the natives of those countries with the sentiments of Romans; and Italy gave fashions, as well as laws, to her Latin provincials. They solicited with more ardour, and obtained with more facility, the freedom and honours of the state; supported the national dignity in letters<sup>40</sup> and in arms; and, at length, in the person of Trajan, produced an emperor whom the Scipios would not have disowned for their countryman. The situation of the Greeks was very different from that of the barbarians. The former had been long since civilised and corrupted. They had too much taste to relinquish their language, and too much vanity to adopt any foreign institutions. Still preserving the prejudices, after they had lost the virtues, of their ancestors, they affected to despise the unpolished manners of the Roman conquerors, whilst they were compelled to respect their superior wisdom and power.<sup>41</sup> Nor was the influence of the Grecian language and sentiments confined to the narrow limits of that once celebrated country. Their empire, by the progress of colonies and conquest, had been diffused from the Adriatic to the Euphrates and the Nile. Asia was covered with Greek cities, and the long reign of the Macedonian kings had introduced a silent revolution into Syria and Egypt. In their pompous courts those princes united the elegance of Athens with the luxury of the East; and the example of the court was imitated, at an humble distance, by the higher ranks of their subjects. Such was the general division of the Roman empire into the Latin and Greek languages. To these we may add a third distinction for the body of the natives in Syria, and especially in Egypt. The use of their ancient dialects, by secluding them from the commerce of mankind, checked the improvements of those barbarians.<sup>42</sup> The slothful effeminacy of the former exposed them to the contempt, the sullen ferociousness of the latter excited the aversion of the conquerors.<sup>43</sup> Those nations had submitted to the Roman power, but they seldom desired or deserved the freedom of the city: and it was remarked, that more than

two hundred and thirty years elapsed, after the ruin of the Ptolemies, before an Egyptian was admitted into the senate of Rome.<sup>44</sup>

It is a just though trite observation, that victorious Rome was herself subdued by the arts of Greece. Those immortal writers who still command the admiration of modern Europe, soon became the favourite object of study and imitation in Italy and the western provinces. But the elegant amusements of the Romans were not suffered to interfere with their sound maxims of policy. Whilst they acknowledged the charms of the Greek, they asserted the dignity of the Latin tongue; and the exclusive use of the latter was inflexibly maintained in the administration of civil as well as military government.<sup>45</sup> The two languages exercised at the same time their separate jurisdiction throughout the empire: the former, as the natural idiom of science; the latter, as the legal dialect of public transactions. Those who united letters with business were equally conversant with both; and it was almost impossible, in any province, to find a Roman subject, of a liberal education, who was at once a stranger to the Greek and to the Latin language.

It was by such institutions that the nations of the empire insensibly melted away into the Roman name and people. But there still remained, in the centre of every province and of every family, an unhappy condition of men, who endured the weight, without sharing the benefits, of society. In the free states of antiquity, the domestic slaves were exposed to the wanton rigour of despotism. The perfect settlement of the Roman empire was preceded by ages of violence and rapine. The slaves consisted, for the most part, of barbarian captives, taken in thousands by the chance of war, purchased at a vile price,<sup>46</sup> accustomed to a life of independence, and impatient to break and to revenge their fetters. Against such internal enemies, whose desperate insurrections had more than once reduced the republic to the brink of destruction,<sup>47</sup> the most severe regulations,<sup>48</sup> and the most cruel treatment, seemed almost justified by the great law of self-preservation. But when the principal nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa were united under the laws of one sovereign, the source of foreign supplies flowed with much less abundance, and the Romans were reduced to the milder but more tedious method of propagation. In their numerous families, and particularly in their country estates, they encouraged the marriage of their slaves. The sentiments of nature, the habits of education, and the possession of a dependent species of property, contributed to alleviate the hardships of servitude.<sup>9</sup> The existence of a

<sup>38</sup> Apuleius and Augustin will answer for Africa, Strabo for Spain and Gaul; Tacitus, in the life of Agricola, for Britain; and Verrius Flaccus, for Pannonia. To them we may add the language of the Inscriptions.

<sup>39</sup> The Celtic was preserved in the mountains of Wales, Cornwall, and Armorica. We may observe that Apuleius reproaches an Atr, a youth, who lived among the populace, with the use of the Punic; whilst he had almost forgot Greek, and neither could nor would speak Latin (Apolog. p. 596.). The greater part of St. Austin's congregations were strangers to the Punic.

<sup>40</sup> Spain alone produced Columella, the Senecas, Lucan, Martial, and Quintilian.

<sup>41</sup> There is not, I believe, from Dionysius to Plutarch, a single Greek critic who mentions Virgil or Horace. They seem ignorant that the Romans had any good writers.

<sup>42</sup> The curious reader may see in Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique,

tom. xxx. p. 1. c. 8.) how much the use of the Syriac and Egyptian languages was still preserved.

<sup>43</sup> See Juvenal, Sat. iii. and xv. Ammian. Marcellin. xiv. 16.

<sup>44</sup> Dion Cassius, l. xxxix. p. 1275. The first instance given is under the reign of Septimius Severus.

<sup>45</sup> See Valesius Maximus, l. i. c. 2. n. 2. The Emperor Claudius disfranchised an eminent Greek for not understanding a dog Latin. He was probably an office officer, such as a tax collector.

<sup>46</sup> In the camp of Lucius, in a sack for a draught, and a sack for four draughts, or about three shillings. Plutarch in Lucius p. 164.

<sup>47</sup> Dionysius Siculus in Euseb. Hist. l. xxxv. and xxxvi. Florus, in l. 2.

<sup>48</sup> See a remarkable instance of severity in Cicero in Verrius, &c.

<sup>49</sup> See in Plutarch, and the other collectors, a great number of inscriptions addressed to slaves, to their wives, children, fellow servants, masters, &c. They are still, not probable, of the Imperial age.

slave became an object of greater value; and, though his happiness still depended on the temper and circumstances of the master, the humanity of the latter, instead of being restrained by fear, was encouraged by the sense of his own interest. The progress of manners was accelerated by the virtue or policy of the emperors; and by the edicts of Hadrian and the Antonines, the protection of the laws was extended to the most abject part of mankind. The jurisdiction of life and death over the slaves, a power long exercised and often abused, was taken out of private hands, and reserved to the magistrates alone. The subterraneous prisons were abolished; and, upon a just complaint of intolerable treatment, the injured slave obtained either his deliverance or a less cruel master.<sup>50</sup>

Hope, the best comfort of our imperfect condition, was not denied to the Roman slave; and if he had any opportunity of rendering himself either useful or agreeable, he might very naturally expect that the diligence and fidelity of a few years would be rewarded with the inestimable gift of freedom. The benevolence of the master was so frequently prompted by the meaner suggestions of vanity and avarice, that the laws found it more necessary to restrain than to encourage a profuse and undistinguishing liberality, which might degenerate into a very dangerous abuse.<sup>51</sup> It was a maxim of ancient jurisprudence, that a slave had not any country of his own: he acquired with his liberty an admission into the political society of which his patron was a member. The consequences of this maxim would have prostituted the privileges of the Roman city to a mean and promiscuous multitude. Some seasonable exceptions were therefore provided; and the honourable distinction was confined to such slaves only as, for just causes, and with the approbation of the magistrate, should receive a solemn and legal manumission. Even these chosen freedmen obtained no more than the private rights of citizens, and were rigorously excluded from civil or military honours. Whatever might be the merit or fortune of their sons, they likewise were esteemed unworthy of a seat in the senate; nor were the traces of a servile origin allowed to be completely obliterated till the third or fourth generation.<sup>52</sup> Without destroying the distinction of ranks, a distant prospect of freedom and honours was presented, even to those whom pride and prejudice almost disdained to number among the human species.

Numbers. It was once proposed to discriminate the slaves by a peculiar habit; but it was justly apprehended that there might be some danger in acquainting them with their own numbers.<sup>53</sup> Without interpreting, in their

utmost strictness, the liberal appellations of legions and myriads<sup>54</sup>; we may venture to pronounce, that the proportion of slaves, who were valued as property, was more considerable than that of servants, who can be computed only as an expense.<sup>55</sup> The youths of a promising genius were instructed in the arts and sciences, and their price was ascertained by the degree of their skill and talents.<sup>56</sup> Almost every profession, either liberal<sup>57</sup> or mechanical, might be found in the household of an opulent senator. The ministers of pomp and sensuality were multiplied beyond the conception of modern luxury.<sup>58</sup> It was more for the interest of the merchant or manufacturer to purchase, than to hire his workmen; and in the country, slaves were employed as the cheapest and most laborious instruments of agriculture. To confirm the general observation, and to display the multitude of slaves, we might allege a variety of particular instances. It was discovered, on a very melancholy occasion, that four hundred slaves were maintained in a single palace of Rome.<sup>59</sup> The same number of four hundred belonged to an estate which an African widow, of a very private condition, resigned to her son, whilst she reserved for herself a much larger share of her property.<sup>60</sup> A freedman, under the reign of Augustus, though his fortune had suffered great losses in the civil wars, left behind him three thousand six hundred yoke of oxen, two hundred and fifty thousand head of smaller cattle, and, what was almost included in the description of cattle, four thousand one hundred and sixteen slaves.<sup>61</sup>

The number of subjects who acknowledged the laws of Rome, of citizens, of provincials, and of slaves, cannot now be fixed with such a degree of accuracy, as the importance of the object would deserve. We are informed, that when the Emperor Claudius exercised the office of censor he took an account of six millions nine hundred and forty-five thousand Roman citizens, who, with the proportion of women and children, must have amounted to about twenty millions of souls. The multitude of subjects of an inferior rank, was uncertain and fluctuating. But after weighing with attention every circumstance which could influence the balance, it seems probable, that there existed, in the time of Claudius, about twice as many provincials as there were citizens, of either sex, and of every age; and that the slaves were at least equal in number to the free inhabitants of the Roman world. The total amount of this imperfect calculation would rise to about one hundred and twenty millions of persons: a degree of population which possibly exceeds that of modern Europe<sup>62</sup>, and forms

Populus  
Romanus  
enquies.

<sup>50</sup> See the Augustan History, and a Dissertation of M. de Burigny, in the xxxvth volume of the Academy of Inscriptions, upon the Roman slaves.

<sup>51</sup> See another Dissertation of M. de Burigny, in the xxxvth volume, on the Roman freedmen.

<sup>52</sup> Spanheim, *Orig. Roman.* l. i. c. 16. p. 124, &c.

<sup>53</sup> Seneca, de Clementia, l. i. c. 21. The original is much stronger, "Quantum percipiam unumquemque a servi nostri numerare nos crepusculum."

<sup>54</sup> See Pliny (*Hist. Natur.* l. xxv. 1) and Athenæus (*Deipnosophist.* l. vi. p. 272). The latter boldly asserts, that he knew very many *freemasters*, Romans who possessed, not for use, but ostentation, ten and even twenty thousand slaves.

<sup>55</sup> In Paris there are not more than 15,000 domestic of every sex, and not a twelfth part of the inhabitants. *Mémoires, Recherches sur la Population*, p. 156.

<sup>56</sup> A learned slave sold for many hundred pounds sterling. *Atticus* always bred and taught them himself. *Corneil. Nepos* in *Vit.* c. 13.

<sup>57</sup> Many of the Roman physicians were slaves. See Dr. Middleton's *Dissertation and Defence*.

<sup>58</sup> Their ranks and offices are very copiously enumerated by *Figonius*, de *Servis*.

<sup>59</sup> *Tacit. Ann.* xiv. 43. They all were executed for not preventing their master's murder.

<sup>60</sup> *Aplianus* in *Apolog.* p. 513. Edit. Delphin.

<sup>61</sup> *Plin.* *Hist. Natur.* l. xxv. 47.

<sup>62</sup> Compute twenty millions in France, twenty-two in Germany, four in Hungary, ten in Italy with its islands, eight in Great Britain and Ireland, eight in Spain and Portugal, ten or twelve in the European Russia, six in Poland, six in Greece and Turkey, four in Sweden, three in Denmark and Norway, four in the Low Countries. The whole would amount to one hundred and five or one hundred and seven millions. See *Voltaire*, de *Histoire Générale*.

the most numerous society that has ever been united under the same system of government.

Obedience and union. Domestic peace and union were the natural consequences of the moderate and comprehensive policy embraced by the Romans. If we turn our eyes towards the monarchies of Asia, we shall behold despotism in the centre, and weakness in the extremities; the collection of the revenue, or the administration of justice, enforced by the presence of an army; hostile barbarians established in the heart of the country, hereditary satraps usurping the dominion of the provinces, and subjects inclined to rebellion, though incapable of freedom. But the obedience of the Roman world was uniform, voluntary, and permanent. The vanquished nations, blended into one great people, resigned the hope, nay, even the wish, of resuming their independence, and scarcely considered their own existence as distinct from the existence of Rome. The established authority of the emperors pervaded without an effort the wide extent of their dominions, and was exercised with the same facility on the banks of the Phænes, or of the Nile, as on those of the Tyber. The legions were destined to serve against the public enemy, and the civil magistrate seldom required the aid of a military force.<sup>63</sup> In this state of general security, the leisure as well as opulence both of the prince and people, were devoted to improve and to adorn the Roman empire.

Among the innumerable monuments of Roman architecture, constructed by the Romans, how many have escaped the notice of history, how few have resisted the ravages of time and barbarism! And yet even the majestic ruins that are still scattered over Italy and the provinces, would be sufficient to prove that those countries were once the seat of a polite and powerful empire. Their greatness alone, or their beauty, might deserve our attention; but they are rendered more interesting, by two important circumstances, which connect the agreeable history of the arts with the more useful history of human manners. Many of those works were erected at private expense, and almost all were intended for public benefit.

Many of them erected at private expense.

It is natural to suppose that the greatest number, as well as the most considerable, of the Roman edifices, were raised by the emperors, who possessed so unbounded a command both of men and money. Augustus was accustomed to boast that he had found his capital of brick, and that he had left it of marble.<sup>64</sup> The strict economy of Vespasian was the source of his magnificence. The works of Trajan bear the stamp of his genius. The public monuments with which Hadrian adorned every province of the empire, were executed not only by his orders, but under his immediate inspection. He was himself an

artist; and he loved the arts, as they conduced to the glory of the monarch. They were encouraged by the Antonines, as they contributed to the happiness of the people. But if the emperors were the first, they were not the only architects of their dominions. Their example was universally imitated by their principal subjects, who were not afraid of declaring to the world that they had spirit to conceive, and wealth to accomplish, the noblest undertakings. Scarcely had the proud structure of the Coliseum been dedicated at Rome, before the edifices, of a smaller scale indeed, but of the same design and materials, were erected for the use, and at the expense, of the cities of Capua and Verona.<sup>65</sup> The inscription of the stupendous bridge of Alcantara, attests that it was thrown over the Tagus by the contribution of a few Lusitanian communities. When Pliny was intrusted with the government of Bithynia and Pontus, provinces by no means the richest or most considerable of the empire, he found the cities within his jurisdiction striving with each other in every useful and ornamental work, that might deserve the curiosity of strangers, or the gratitude of their citizens. It was the duty of the Proconsul to supply their deficiencies, to direct their taste, and sometimes to moderate their emulation.<sup>66</sup> The opulent senators of Rome and the provinces esteemed it an honour, and almost an obligation, to adorn the splendour of their age and country; and the influence of fashion very frequently supplied the want of taste or generosity. Among a crowd of these private benefactors, we may select Herodes Atticus, an Athenian citizen, who lived in the age of Antonines. Whatever might be the motive of his conduct, his magnificence would have been worthy of the greatest kings.

The family of Herod, at least after it had been favoured by fortune, was lineally descended from Cimon and Miltiades, Theseus and Cecrops, *Æacus* and Jupiter. But the posterity of so many gods and heroes was fallen into the most abject state. His grandfather had suffered by the hands of justice, and Julius Atticus, his father, must have ended his life in poverty and contempt, had he not discovered an immense treasure buried under an old house, the last remains of his patrimony. According to the rigour of law, the emperor might have asserted his claim, and the prudent Atticus prevented, by a frank confession, the officiousness of informers. But the equitable Nerva, who then filled the throne, refused to accept any part of it, and commanded him to use, without scruple, the present of fortune. The cautious Athenian still insisted, that the treasure was too considerable for a subject, and that he knew not how to use it. Abuse it, then, replied the monarch, with a good-natured peevishness; for it is your own.<sup>67</sup> Many will be of opinion, that Atticus literally obeyed the

63 Joseph. de Bell. Judaico l. ii. c. 16. The oration of Agrippa, or rather of the historian, is a fine picture of the Roman empire.

or father of the historian, is a fine picture of the Roman empire  
64 Sueton, in August, c. 28. Augustus but in Rome the temple  
and forum of Mars the Avenger, the temple of Jupiter Tonans in the  
Capitol, that of Apollo in Palatine, with public libraries, the ports,  
and basilica of Claudius and Nerva, the forums of Trajan, of Trajan,  
and the theatre of Marcellus. The emperor of the afternoon was  
imitated by his ministers and generals, and his friend Agricola left  
behind him the most useful monument of the first century.

66 See Maffei, *Verona illustrata*, I iv. p. 67.

[illegible]

emperor's last instructions; since he expended the greatest part of his fortune, which was much increased by an advantageous marriage, in the service of the public. He had obtained for his son Herod, the prefecture of the free cities of Asia; and the young magistrate, observing that the town of Troas was indifferently supplied with water, obtained from the munificence of Hadrian, three hundred myriads of drachms (about a hundred thousand pounds) for the construction of a new aqueduct. But in the execution of the work, the charge amounted to more than double the estimate, and the officers of the revenue began to murmur, till the generous Atticus silenced their complaints, by requesting that he might be permitted to take upon himself the whole additional expense.<sup>68</sup>

His reputation. The ablest preceptors of Greece and Asia had been invited by liberal rewards to direct the education of young Herod. Their pupil soon became a celebrated orator, according to the useless rhetoric of that age, which, confining itself to the schools, disdained to visit either the Forum or the Senate. He was honoured with the consulship at Rome; but the greatest part of his life was spent in a philosophic retirement at Athens, and his adjacent villas; perpetually surrounded by sophists, who acknowledged, without reluctance, the superiority of a rich and generous rival.<sup>69</sup> The monuments of his genius have perished; some considerable ruins still preserve the fame of his taste and munificence: modern travellers have measured the remains of the stadium which he constructed at Athens. It was six hundred feet in length, built entirely of white marble, capable of admitting the whole body of the people, and finished in four years, whilst Herod was president of the Athenian games. To the memory of his wife Regilla, he dedicated a theatre, scarcely to be paralleled in the empire: no wood except cedar, very curiously carved, was employed in any part of the building. The Odeum, designed by Pericles for musical performances, and the rehearsal of new tragedies, had been a trophy of the victory of the arts over barbaric greatness; as the timbers employed in the construction consisted chiefly of the masts of the Persian vessels. Notwithstanding the repairs bestowed on that ancient edifice by a king of Cappadocia, it was again fallen to decay. Herod restored its ancient beauty and magnificence. Nor was the liberality of that illustrious citizen confined to the walls of Athens. The most splendid ornaments bestowed on the temple of Neptune in the Isthmus, a theatre at Corinth, a stadium at Delphi, a bath at Thermopylæ, and an aqueduct at Canusium in Italy, were insufficient to exhaust his treasures. The people of Epirus, Thessaly, Eubœa, Bœotia, and Peloponnesus, experienced his favours; and many inscriptions of the cities of Greece and Asia gratefully style Herodes Atticus their patron and benefactor.<sup>70</sup>

In the commonwealths of Athens and Rome, the modest simplicity of private houses announced the equal condition of freedom; whilst the sovereignty of the people was represented in the majestic edifices designed to the public use<sup>71</sup>; nor was this republican spirit totally extinguished by the introduction of wealth and monarchy. It was in works of national honour and benefit, that the most virtuous of the emperors affected to display their magnificence. The golden palace of Nero excited a just indignation, but the vast extent of ground which had been usurped by the selfish luxury, was more nobly filled under the succeeding reigns by the Coliseum, the baths of Titus, the Claudian portico, and the temples dedicated to the goddess of Peace, and to the genius of Rome.<sup>72</sup> These monuments of architecture, the property of the Roman people, were adorned with the most beautiful productions of Grecian painting and sculpture; and in the temple of Peace, a very curious library was open to the curiosity of the learned. At a small distance from thence was situated the Forum of Trajan. It was surrounded by a lofty portico, in the form of a quadrangle, into which four triumphal arches opened a noble and spacious entrance: in the centre arose a column of marble, whose height, of one hundred and ten feet, denoted the elevation of the lill that had been cut away. This column, which still subsists in its ancient beauty, exhibited an exact representation of the Dacian victories of its founder. The veteran soldier contemplated the story of his own campaigns, and by an easy illusion of national vanity, the peaceful citizen associated himself to the honours of the triumph. All the other quarters of the capital, and all the provinces of the empire, were embellished by the same liberal spirit of public magnificence, and were filled with amphitheatres, theatres, temples, porticos, triumphal arches, baths, and aqueducts, all variously conducive to the health, the devotion, and the pleasures of the meanest citizen. The last mentioned of those edifices deserve our peculiar attention. The boldness of the enterprise, the solidity of the execution, and the uses to which they were subservient, rank the aqueducts among the noblest monuments of Roman genius and power. The aqueducts of the capital claim a just pre-eminence; but the envious traveller, who, without the light of history, should examine those of Spoleto, of Metz, or of Segovia, would very naturally conclude, that those provincial towns had formerly been the residence of some potent monarch. The solitudes of Asia and Africa were once covered with flourishing cities, whose populousness, and even whose existence, was derived from such artificial supplies of a perennial stream of fresh water.<sup>73</sup>

We have computed the inhabitants, and con-

Most of the Roman monuments for public use; temples; theatres; aqueducts, &c.

<sup>68</sup> Philostrat. in Vit. Sophist. l. ii. p. 549.

<sup>69</sup> Aulus Gellius, in Noct. Attic. l. 2. ix. 2. xviii. 10. xix. 12.

<sup>70</sup> Philostrat. p. 554.

<sup>71</sup> See Philostrat. l. ii. p. 548. 550. Pausanias, l. i. and vii. 10.

The life of Herodes, in the xxxth volume of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*.

<sup>72</sup> It is particularly remarked of Athens by Diocæarchus, de Statu Græciæ, p. 8. inter Geographos Minores, ed. Hudon.

<sup>73</sup> Donatus de Roma Vetere, l. iii. c. 4, 5, 6. Nardini Roma

Antiquæ, l. 11. 10. 17. 4. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

<sup>73</sup> Montfaucon l'Antiquité Expliquée, tom. iv. p. 2. l. i. c. 8. Fabretti has composed a very learned treatise on the aqueducts of Rome.

Number and greatness of the cities of the empire.

templated the public works of the Roman empire. The observation of the number and greatness of its cities will serve to confirm the former,

and to multiply the latter. It may not be unpleasing to collect a few scattered instances relative to that subject, without forgetting, however, that from the vanity of nations and the poverty of language, the vague appellation of city has been indifferently bestowed on Rome

In Ital<sup>y</sup>. and upon Laurentum. I. *Ancient*

Italy is said to have contained eleven hundred and ninety-seven cities; and for whatsoever æra of antiquity the expression might be intended,<sup>74</sup> there is not any reason to believe the country less populous in the age of the Antonines, than in that of Romulus. The petty states of Latium were contained within the metropolis of the empire, by whose superior influence they had been attracted. Those parts of Italy which have so long languished under the lazy tyranny of priests and viceroys, had been afflicted only by the more tolerable calamities of war; and the first symptoms of decay, which *they* experienced, were amply compensated by the rapid improvements of the Cisalpine Gaul. The splendour of Verona may be traced in its remains; yet Verona was less celebrated than Aquileia or Padua, Milan or Ra-

Gaul and Spain.

ment had passed the Alps, and been gradually cleared away to open a free space for convenient and elegant habitations. York was the seat of government; London was already enriched by commerce; and Bath was celebrated for the salutary effects of its medicinal waters. Gaul could boast of her twelve hundred cities,<sup>74</sup> and though, in the northern parts, many of them, without excepting Paris itself, were little more than the rude and imperfect townships of a rising people; the southern provinces imitated the wealth and elegance of Italy.<sup>75</sup> Many were the cities of Gaul, Marseilles, Arles, Nîmes, Narbonne, Thoulouse, Bourdeaux, Autun, Vienne, Lyons, Langres, and Treves, whose ancient condition might sustain an equal, and perhaps advantageous comparison with their present state. With regard to Spain, that country flourished as a province, and has declined as a kingdom. Exhausted by the abuse of her strength, by America, and by superstition, her pride might possibly be confounded, if we required such a list of three hundred and sixty cities, as Pliny has exhibited under the reign of Vespasian.<sup>76</sup>

### III. Three hundred African cities

## Africa

had once acknowledged the authority of Carthage,<sup>76</sup> nor is it likely that their numbers diminished under the administration of the emperors: Carthage itself rose with new splendour from its ashes; and that capital, as well as Capua and Corinth, soon recovered all the advantages which can be separated from independent sovereignty. IV. The provinces of the east present the contrast of Roman magnificence with Turkish barbarism. The ruins of antiquity scattered over uncultivated fields, and ascribed, by ignorance, to the power of magic, scarcely afford a shelter to the oppressed peasant or wandering Arab. Under the reign of the Cæsars, the proper Asia alone contained five hundred populous cities,<sup>79</sup> enriched with all the gifts of nature, and adorned with all the refinements of art. Eleven cities of Asia had once disputed the honour of dedicating a temple to Tiberius, and their respective merits were examined by the senate.<sup>80</sup> Four of them were immediately rejected as unequal to the burden; and among these was Laodicea, whose splendour is still displayed in its ruins.<sup>81</sup> Laodicea collected a very considerable revenue from its flocks of sheep, celebrated for the fineness of their wool, and had received, a little before the contest, a legacy of above four hundred thousand pounds by the testament of a generous citizen.<sup>82</sup> If such was the poverty of Laodicea, what must have been the wealth of those cities, whose claim appeared preferable, and particularly of Pergamus, of Smyrna, and of Ephesus, who so long disputed with each other the titular primacy of Asia? <sup>83</sup> The capitals of the East long held a still superior rank in the empire. Antioch and Alexandria looked down with disdain on a crowd of dependent cities,<sup>84</sup> and yielded, with reluctance, to the majesty of Rome itself.

**Roman roads.**

All these cities were connected with each other, and with the capital, by the public highways, which, issuing from the Forum of Rome, traversed Italy, pervaded the provinces, and were terminated only by the frontiers of the empire. If we carefully trace the distance from the wall of Antoninus to Rome, and from thence to Jerusalem, it will be found that the great chain of communication, from the north-west to the south-east point of the empire, was drawn out to the length of four thousand and eighty Roman miles.<sup>62</sup> The public roads were accurately divided by milestones, and ran in a direct line from one city to

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

the  $\alpha$ -values are fixed,  $\alpha_1, \alpha_2, \dots, \alpha_n$  is a strategy for  $\Gamma$  and  $\beta_1, \beta_2, \dots, \beta_n$

79) Joseph de la ...

So fact Annals 1743, I have taken a more precise account  
and comparing modern travellers, with regard to the fine of the  
eleven cities of Asia, except or except are totally different. However

eleven cities of Asia, seven or eight are totally destroyed, Ephesus, Tralles, Laodicea, Hierum, Halicarnassus, Miletus, Ephesus, and we may add Sardes. Of the remaining three, Pergamus is a struggling

may and strikes. In the remaining three, Pergamus is a strong, big village of two or three thousand inhabitants. Magnesia, under the name of Güzeli-hissar, a town of some consequence, and Smyrna,

a great city, peopled by a hundred thousand souls. But even at Smyrna, while the Franks have maintained commerce, the Turks have ruined the arts.

have ruined the arts.

<sup>51</sup> See a very exact and pleasing description of the ruins of Laodicea, and other ruins through Asia Minor, p. 245, &c.

55 See a fullertail of M. de Boze, *Mém. de l'Académie*, tom.

At the present time, which is still extant, to re-  
late to the city.

Under the eye of a Minuteman, the Minutemen, Sora was supposed to contain

8. The *Journal of Literature* may serve to convey some idea of the

From the wall of Antoninus to York, 12 Roman miles. II. London 25. III. Bath 12. IV. Sandwich 6. V. Dover 12. VI. The navigation to

I. The navigation to the North Sea. II. The navigation to the Baltic Sea. III. The navigation to the Black Sea. IV. The navigation to the Mediterranean Sea. V. The navigation to the Red Sea. VI. The navigation to the Indian Ocean. VII. The navigation to the Pacific Ocean. VIII. The navigation to the South Sea. IX. The navigation to the Antarctic. X. The navigation to the Arctic.

with Rome 139. IX. Baza, 139. X. The navigation to Tyr-  
r 140. XI. Baza, 141. XII. Baza, 142. XIII. Tarsus  
143. XIV. Antioch 144. XV. Tyr 145. XVI. Jerusalem 146.

In all 4650 Roman, or 5740 English, inscriptions. See the Itineraries published by Wesseling, Bannerman, Gale and Stukely for Britain, and M. D'Anville for Gaul and Italy.

C 2



another, with very little respect for the obstacles either of nature or private property. Mountains were perforated, and bold arches thrown over the broadest and most rapid streams.<sup>86</sup> The middle part of the road was raised into a terrace which commanded the adjacent country, consisted of several strata of sand, gravel, and cement, and was paved with large stones, or in some places, near the capital, with granite.<sup>87</sup> Such was the solid construction of the Roman highways, whose firmness has not entirely yielded to the effort of fifteen centuries. They united the subjects of the most distant provinces by an easy and familiar intercourse; but their primary object had been to facilitate the marches of the legions; nor was any country considered as completely subdued, till it had been rendered, in all its parts, pervious to the arms and au-

thority of the conqueror. The advantage of receiving the earliest intelligence, and of conveying their orders with celerity, induced the emperors to establish, throughout their extensive dominions, the regular institution of posts.<sup>88</sup> Houses were every where erected at the distance only of five or six miles; each of them was constantly provided with forty horses, and by the help of these relays, it was easy to travel an hundred miles in a day along the Roman roads.<sup>89</sup> The use of the posts was allowed to those who claimed it by an Imperial mandate; but though originally intended for the public service, it was sometimes indulged to the business or convenience of private citizens.<sup>90</sup> Nor was the communication of the Roman empire less free and open by sea than it was by land. The provinces surrounded and enclosed the Mediterranean: and Italy, in the shape of an immense promontory, advanced into the midst of that great lake. The coasts of Italy are, in general, destitute of safe harbours; but human industry had corrected the deficiencies of nature; and the artificial port of Ostia, in particular, situate at the mouth of the Tyber, and formed by the emperor Claudius, was a useful monument of Roman greatness.<sup>91</sup> From this port, which was only sixteen miles from the capital, a favourable breeze frequently carried vessels in seven days to the columns of Hercules, and in nine or ten, to Alexandria in Egypt.<sup>92</sup>

Navigation.

Whatever evils either reason or declamation have imputed to extensive empire, the power of Rome was attended with some beneficial consequences to mankind; and the same freedom of intercourse which extended the vices, diffused likewise the improvements, of social life. In the more remote ages of antiquity, the world was unequally divided. The east was in the

Improvement of agriculture in the western countries of the empire.

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immemorial possession of arts and luxury; whilst the west was inhabited by rude and warlike barbarians, who either disdained agriculture, or to whom it was totally unknown. Under the protection of an established government, the productions of happier climates, and the industry of more civilised nations, were gradually introduced into the western countries of Europe; and the natives were encouraged, by an open and profitable commerce, to multiply the former, as well as to improve the latter. It would be almost impossible to enumerate all the articles, either of the animal or the vegetable reign, which were successively imported into Europe, from Asia and Egypt;<sup>93</sup> but it will not be unworthy of the dignity, and much less of the utility, of an historical work, slightly to touch on a few of the principal heads. 1. Almost all the flowers, the herbs, and the

Introduction of fruits, &c.

fruits, that grow in our European gardens, are of foreign extraction, which, in many cases, is betrayed even by their names: the apple was a native of Italy, and when the Romans had tasted the rich flavour of the apricot, the peach, the pomegranate, the citron, and the orange, they contented themselves with applying to all these new fruits the common denomination of apple, discriminating them from each other by the additional epithet of their country. 2. In the time

The vine.

of Homer, the vine grew wild in the island of Sicily, and most probably in the adjacent continent; but it was not improved by the skill, nor did it afford a liquor grateful to the taste, of the savage inhabitants.<sup>94</sup> A thousand years afterwards, Italy could boast, that of the four-score most generous and celebrated wines, more than two thirds were produced from her soil.<sup>95</sup> The blessing was soon communicated to the Narbonne province of Gaul; but so intense was the cold to the north of the Cevennes, that, in the time of Strabo, it was thought impossible to ripen the grapes in those parts of Gaul.<sup>96</sup> This difficulty, however, was gradually vanquished; and there is some reason to believe, that the vineyards of Burgundy are as old as the age of the Antonines.<sup>97</sup>

The olive.

3. The olive, in the western world, followed the progress of peace, of which it was considered as the symbol. Two centuries after the foundation of Rome, both Italy and Africa were strangers to that useful plant; it was naturalised in those countries; and at length carried into the heart of Spain and Gaul. The timid errors of the ancients, that it required a certain degree of heat, and could only flourish in the neighbourhood of the sea, were insensibly exploded by industry and experience.<sup>98</sup> 4. The cultivation of

Flax.

86 Montfaucon, l'Antiquité Expliquée (tom. iv. p. 2. l. l. c. 5.) has described the bridge of Nervi, vicinissima, &c.

87 Beger, Histoire des grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain, l. ii. c. 1. p. 28.

88 Procopius in Hist. Arcana, c. 30. Beger, Hist. des grands Chemins, l. iv. c. 10. Theophrastus, l. vii. tit. v. vol. n. p. 508-563.

89 In the night, and arrived at Constantinople the next day about noon.

90 The high rank, the journey at the expense of the state, the Turkish miles, see Libanius.

91 Strabo, made an apology for not urgent business. Equat.

91 Beger, Hist. des grands Chemins, l. iv. c. 49.

92 Plin. Hist. Natur. lib. i.

93 It is not improbable that the Greeks and Phenicians introduced some new arts and productions into the neighbourhood of Marsellus and Gauls.

94 See Homer Odyss. l. ix. v. 358.

95 Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xiv.

96 Strab. Geograph. l. iv. p. 223. The intense cold of a Gallia winter was almost proverbial among the ancients.

97 In the beginning of the sixth century, the orator Eumenius (Panegyric, Verus, viii. h. edit. Delphin) speaks of the vines in the territory of Autun, which were decayed through age, and the first plantation of them.

98 The vineyards, which were decayed through age, and the first plantation of them, celebrated, even at present, l. 6.

99 Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xv.

flax was transported from Egypt to Gaul, and enriched the whole country, however it might impoverish the particular lands on which it was sown.<sup>99</sup> 5. The use of artificial

grasses became familiar to the farmers both of Italy and the provinces, particularly the lucerne, which derived its name and origin from Media.<sup>100</sup> The assured supply of wholesome and plentiful food for the cattle during winter, multiplied the number of the flocks and herds, which in their turn contributed to the fertility of the soil. To all these improvements may be added an assiduous attention to mines and fisheries, which, by employing a multitude of laborious hands, serve to increase the pleasures of the rich, and the subsistence of the poor. The elegant treatise of

Columella describes the advanced state of the Spanish husbandry, under the reign of Tiberius; and it may be observed, that those famines, which so frequently afflicted the infant republic, were seldom or never experienced by the extensive empire of Rome. The accidental scarcity, in any single province, was immediately relieved by the plenty of its more fortunate neighbours.

Agriculture is the foundation of manufactures; since the productions of nature are the materials of art. Under the Roman empire, the labour of an industrious and ingenious people was variously, but incessantly employed, in the service of the rich. In their dress, their table, their houses, and their furniture, the favourites of fortune united every refinement of convenience, of elegance, and of splendour, whatever could soothe their pride, or gratify their sensuality. Such refinements, under the odious name of luxury, have been severely arraigned by the moralists of every age; and it might perhaps be more conducive to the virtue, as well as happiness, of mankind, if all possessed the necessaries, and none the superfluities, of life. But in the present imperfect condition of society, luxury, though it may proceed from vice or folly, seems to be the only means that can correct the unequal distribution of property. The diligent mechanic, and the skilful artist, who have obtained no share in the division of the earth, receive a voluntary tax from the possessors of land; and the latter are prompted, by a sense of interest, to improve those estates, with whose produce they may purchase additional pleasures. This operation, the particular effects of which are felt in every society, acted with much more diffusive energy in the Roman world. The provinces would soon have been exhausted of their wealth, if the manufactures and commerce of luxury had not insensibly restored to the industrious subjects the sums which were exacted from them by the arms and authority of Rome. As long as the circulation was confined

within the bounds of the empire, it impressed the political machine with a new degree of activity, and its consequences, sometimes beneficial, could never become pernicious.

But it is no easy task to confine luxury within the limits of an empire.

The most remote countries of the ancient world were ransacked to supply the pomp and delicacy of Rome. The forest of Scythia afforded some valuable furs. Amber was brought over land from the shores of the Baltic to the Danube; and the barbarians were astonished at the price which they received in exchange for so useless a commodity.<sup>101</sup> There was a considerable demand for Babylonian carpets, and other manufactures of the East; but the most important and unpopular branch of foreign trade was carried on with Arabia and India. Every year, about the time of the summer solstice, a fleet of an hundred and twenty vessels sailed from Myos-hormos, a port of Egypt, on the Red Sea. By the periodical assistance of the monsoons, they traversed the ocean in about forty days. The coast of Malabar, or the island of Ceylon,<sup>102</sup> was the usual term of their navigation, and it was in those markets that the merchants from the more remote countries of Asia expected their arrival. The return of the fleet of Egypt was fixed to the months of December or January; and as soon as their rich cargo had been transported on the backs of camels, from the Red Sea to the Nile, and had descended that river as far as Alexandria, it was poured, without delay, into the capital of the empire.<sup>103</sup> The objects of oriental traffic were splendid and trifling; silk, a pound of which was esteemed not inferior in value to a pound of gold; <sup>104</sup> precious stones, among which the pearl claimed the first rank after the diamond; <sup>105</sup> and a variety of aromatics, that were consumed in religious worship and the pomp of funerals. The labour and risk of the voyage was rewarded with almost incredible profit; but the profit was made upon Roman subjects, and a few individuals were enriched at the expense of the public. As the natives of Arabia and India were contented with the productions and manufactures of their own country, silver, on the side of the Romans, was the principal, if not the only instrument of commerce. It was a complaint worthy of the gravity of the senate, that, in the pursuit of female ornaments, the wealth of the state was irrecoverably given away to foreign and hostile nations.<sup>106</sup> The annual loss is computed, by a writer of an inquisitive but censorious temper, at upwards of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling.<sup>107</sup> Such was the style of discontent, brooding over the dark prospect of approaching poverty. And yet, if we compare the proportion between gold and silver, as it stood in the time of Pliny, and

<sup>99</sup> Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xx.

<sup>100</sup> See the preface to *Essays on Agriculture* by Mr. Harre, in which he has collected all that the ancients and moderns have said of lucerne.

<sup>101</sup> Tacit. Germania, c. 45. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxvi. 11. The latter observed, with some humour, that even Eastern had not yet found out the use of amber. Nero sent a Roman knight to purchase great quantities on the spot where it was produced, the coast of modern Prussia.

<sup>102</sup> Called Taprobana by the Romans, and Serendib by the Arabs. It was discovered under the reign of Claudius, and gradually became the principal mart of the East.

<sup>103</sup> Plin. Hist. Natur. l. vi. Strabo, l. xvi.

<sup>104</sup> Hist. August. p. 224. A silk garment was considered as an ornament to a woman, but as a disgrace to a man.

<sup>105</sup> The two great pearl fisheries were the same as at present, Ormuz and Cape Corom. As well as we can compare ancient with modern geography, Rome was supplied with diamonds from the mine of Juniper, in Bengal, which is described in the *Voyages de Tavernier*, tom. ii. p. 251.

<sup>106</sup> Tacit. Annal. in 52. In a speech of Tiberius.

<sup>107</sup> Plin. Hist. Natur. x. 15. In the first time he computes half that sum, *quingentes H.S.* for India exclusive of Arabia.

as it was fixed in the reign of Constantine, we shall discover within that period a very considerable increase.<sup>108</sup> There is not the least reason to suppose that gold was become more scarce; it is therefore evident that silver was grown more common; that whatever might be the amount of the Indian and Arabian exports, they were far from exhausting the wealth of the Roman world; and that the produce of the mines abundantly supplied the demands of commerce.

Notwithstanding the propensity of mankind to exalt the past, and to depreciate the present, the tranquil and prosperous state of the empire was warmly felt, and honestly confessed, by the provincials as well as Romans. "They ac-

General felicity. "knowledge that the true principles of social life, laws, agriculture, and science, which had been first invented by the wisdom of Athens, were now firmly established by the power of Rome, under whose auspicious influence the fiercest barbarians were united by an equal government and common language. They affirm, that, with the improvement of arts, the human species was visibly multiplied. They celebrate the increasing splendour of the cities, the beautiful face of the country, cultivated and adorned like an immense garden; and the long festival of peace, which was enjoyed by so many nations, forgetful of their ancient animosities, and delivered from the apprehension of future danger."<sup>109</sup> Whatever suspicions may be suggested by the air of rhetoric and declamation, which seems to prevail in these passages, the substance of them is perfectly agreeable to historic truth.

Decline of courage. It was scarcely possible that the eyes of contemporaries should discover in the public felicity the latent causes of decay and corruption. This long peace, and the uniform government of the Romans, introduced a slow and secret poison into the vitals of the empire. The minds of men were gradually reduced to the same level, the fire of genius was extinguished, and even the military spirit evaporated. The natives of Europe were brave and robust. Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Illyricum, supplied the legions with excellent soldiers, and constituted the real strength of the monarchy. Their personal valour remained, but they no longer possessed that public courage which is nourished by the love of independence, the sense of national honour, the presence of danger, and the habit of command. They received laws and governors from the will of their sovereign, and trusted for their defence to a mercenary army. The posterity of their boldest leaders was contented with the rank of citizens and subjects. The most aspiring spirits resorted to the court or standard of the emperors; and the deserted provinces, deprived of political

strength or union, insensibly sunk into the languid indifference of private life.

The love of letters, almost inseparable from peace and refinement, was fashionable among the subjects of Hadrian and the Antonines, who were themselves men of learning and curiosity. It was diffused over the whole extent of their empire; the most northern tribes of Britons had acquired a taste for rhetoric; Homer as well as Virgil were transcribed and studied on the banks of the Rhine and Danube; and the most liberal rewards sought out the faintest glimmerings of literary merit.<sup>110</sup> The sciences of physic and astronomy were successfully cultivated by the Greeks; the observations of Ptolemy and the writings of Galen are studied by those who have improved their discoveries and corrected their errors; but if we except the inimitable Lucian, this age of indolence passed away without having produced a single writer of original genius, or who excelled in the arts of elegant composition. The authority of Plato and Aristotle, of Zeno and Epicurus, still reigned in the schools; and their systems, transmitted with blind deference from one generation of disciples to another, precluded every generous attempt to exercise the powers, or enlarge the limits, of the human mind. The beauties of the poets and orators, instead of kindling a fire like their own, inspired only cold and servile imitations: or if any ventured to deviate from those models, they deviated at the same time from good sense and propriety. On the revival of letters, the youthful vigour of the imagination, after a long repose, national emulation, a new religion, new languages, and a new world, called forth the genius of Europe. But the provincials of Rome, trained by a uniform artificial foreign education, were engaged in a very unequal competition with those bold ancients, who, by expressing their genuine feelings in their native tongue, had already occupied every place of honour. The name of Poet was almost forgotten; that of Orator was usurped by the sophists. A cloud of critics, of compilers, of commentators, darkened the face of learning, and the decline of genius was soon followed by the corruption of taste.

The sublime Longinus, who in somewhat a later period, and in the court of a Syrian queen, preserved the spirit of ancient Athens, observes and laments this degeneracy of his contemporaries, which debased their sentiments, enervated their courage, and depressed their talents. "In the same manner," says he, "as some children always remain pigmies, whose infant limbs have been too closely confined; thus our tender minds, fettered by the prejudices and habits of a just servitude, are unable to expand themselves, or to attain that well-proportioned greatness which we ad-

Degeneracy.

<sup>108</sup> The proportion, which was one to ten, and twelve and a half, rose to fourteen and two-fifths, the legal regulation of Constantine. See Arbutnot's Tables of ancient Coins, c. 5.

<sup>109</sup> Among many other passages, see Pliny Hist. Natur. lib. 50, Arcades (de Fide Romani), and Tertullian (de Avinito), 30.

<sup>110</sup> Herodes Atticus gave the sophist Ptolemy above eight thousand pounds, for three declamations. See Philostratus lib. 1, p. 555. The Antonines founded a school at Athens, in which professors of grammar, rhetoric, politics, and the four great sorts of philosophy were maintained at the public expense for the instruction of youth. The

salutary of a philosopher was four hundred pounds a year; the other great acts of the p. 557 (ed. Reitz. Philo. de avinito), lib. 1, c. 19, p. 115. Juvenal himself, in a morose satire, which in every line betrays his own disappointment and envy, is obliged, however, to say,

— O Juvenis, cum impio et agitat vos,  
Maternamque sibi Duxit indulgentia querit.

Satur. vii. 20.

"mire in the ancients; who, living under a "popular government, wrote with the same "freedom as they acted."<sup>111</sup> This diminutive stature of mankind, if we pursue the metaphor, was daily sinking below the old standard, and the Roman world was indeed peopled by a race of pignies, when the fierce giants of the north broke in, and mended the puny breed. They restored a manly spirit of freedom; and after the revolution of ten centuries, freedom became the happy parent of taste and science.

## CHAP. III.

*Of the Constitution of the Roman Empire, in the Age of the Antonines.*

Idea of a monarchy. THE obvious definition of a monarchy seems to be that of a state in which a single person, by whatsoever name he may be distinguished, is intrusted with the execution of the laws, the management of the revenue, and the command of the army. But, unless public liberty is protected by intrepid and vigilant guardians, the authority of so formidable a magistrate will soon degenerate into despotism. The influence of the clergy, in an age of superstition, might be usefully employed to assert the rights of mankind; but so intimate is the connection between the throne and the altar, that the banner of the church has very seldom been seen on the side of the people. A martial nobility and stubborn commons, possessed of arms, tenacious of property, and collected into constitutional assemblies, form the only balance capable of preserving a free constitution against enterprises of an aspiring prince.

Reign of Augustus. Every barrier of the Roman constitution had been levelled by the ambition of the Dictator; every fence had been extirpated by the cruel hand of the Triumvir. After the victory of Actium, the fate of the Roman world depended on the will of Octavianus, surnamed Caesar, by his uncle's adoption, and afterwards Augustus, by the flattery of the senate. The conqueror was at the head of forty-four veteran legions, conscious of their own strength, and of the weakness of the constitution, habituated, during twenty years' civil war, to every act of blood and violence, and passionately devoted to the house of Caesar, from whence alone they had received, and expected, the most lavish rewards. The provinces, long oppressed by the ministers of the republic, sighed for the government of a single person, who would be the master, not the accomplice, of those petty tyrants. The people of Rome, viewing with a secret pleasure the humiliation of the aristocracy, demanded only bread and public shows; and were supplied with both by the liberal hand of Augustus. The rich and polite Italians, who had almost universally embraced the philosophy of Epicurus, enjoyed the present blessings of ease and tranquillity,

and suffered not the pleasing dream to be interrupted by the memory of their old tumultuous freedom. With its power, the senate had lost its dignity; many of the most noble families were extinct. The republicans of spirit and ability had perished in the field of battle, or in the proscription. The door of the assembly had been designedly left open for a mixed multitude of more than a thousand persons, who reflected disgrace upon their rank, instead of deriving honour from it.<sup>2</sup>

The reformation of the senate was one of the first steps in which Augustus laid aside the tyrant, and professed himself the father of his country. He was elected censor; and, in concert with his faithful Agrippa, he examined the list of the senators; expelled a few members, whose vices or whose obstinacy required a public example; persuaded near two hundred to prevent the shame of an expulsion, by a voluntary retreat; raised the qualification of a senator to about ten thousand pounds; created a sufficient number of patrician families; and accepted for himself the honourable title of Prince of the Senate, which had always been bestowed by the censors on the citizen the most eminent for his honours and services.<sup>3</sup> But whilst he thus restored the dignity, he destroyed the independence, of the senate. The principles of a free constitution are irrecoverably lost when the legislative power is nominated by the executive.

Before an assembly thus modelled and prepared, Augustus pronounced a studied oration, which displayed his patriotism, and disguised his ambition. "He lamented, yet excused, his past conduct. Filial piety had required at his hands the revenge of his father's murder; the humanity of his own nature had sometimes given way to the stern laws of necessity, and to a forced connection with two unworthy colleagues; as long as Antony lived, the republic forbade him to abandon her to a degenerate Roman, and a barbarian queen. He was now at liberty to satisfy his duty and his inclination. He solemnly restored the senate and people to all their ancient rights; and wished only to mingle with the crowd of his fellow-citizens, and to share the blessings which he had obtained for his country."<sup>4</sup>

It would require the pen of Tacitus (if Tacitus had assisted at this assembly) to describe the various emotions of the senate; those that were suppressed, and those that were affected. It was dangerous to trust the sincerity of Augustus; to seem to distrust it was still more dangerous. The respective advantages of monarchy and a republic have often divided speculative enquirers; the present greatness of the Roman state, the corruption of manners, and the licence of the soldiers, supplied new arguments to the advocates of monarchy; and these general views of government were again warped by the

<sup>111</sup> Longin. de Sublim. c. 45. p. 229. edit. Toll. Here too we may say of Longinus, "his own example strengthens all his laws." Instead of proposing his sentiments with a manly boldness, he mounts a throne with a puerile affectation, and is content to be the echo of his own voice.

<sup>2</sup> Julius Caesar introduced soldiers, strangers, and half-breeds, into the senate. Tacitus (l. vi. c. 27. §. 1.) The abuse became still more scandalous after his death.  
<sup>3</sup> Dion Cassius, l. xli. p. 185. speaks again of Augustus.  
<sup>4</sup> Dion Cassius, l. xli. c. 52. gives a more exact and beautiful account of this great occasion. It has followed me from Suetonius and Tacitus the general language of Augustus.

hopes and fears of each individual. Amidst this confusion of sentiments, the answer of the senate was unanimous and decisive. They refused to accept the resignation of Augustus; they conjured him not to desert the republic, which he had saved. After a decent resistance, the crafty tyrant submitted to the orders of the senate; and consented to receive the government of the provinces, and the general command of the Roman armies, under the well-known names of PROCONSUL and IMPERATOR.<sup>5</sup> But he would receive them only for ten years. Even before the expiration of that period, he hoped that the wounds of civil discord would be completely healed, and that the republic, restored to its pristine health and vigour, would no longer require the dangerous interposition of so extraordinary a magistrate. The memory of this comedy, repeated several times during the life of Augustus, was preserved to the last ages of the empire, by the peculiar pomp with which the perpetual monarchs of Rome always solemnised the tenth years of their reign.<sup>6</sup>

Without any violation of the principles of the constitution, the general of the Roman armies might receive and exercise an authority almost despotic over the soldiers, the enemies, and the subjects of the republic. With regard to the soldiers, the jealousy of freedom had, even from the earliest ages of Rome, given way to the hopes of conquest, and a just sense of military discipline. The dictator, or consul, had a right to command the service of the Roman youth; and to punish an obstinate or cowardly disobedience by the most severe and ignominious penalties, by striking the offender out of the list of citizens, by confiscating his property, and by selling his person into slavery.<sup>7</sup> The most sacred rights of freedom, confirmed by the Porcian and Sempronian laws, were suspended by the military engagement. In his camp the general exercised an absolute power of life and death; his jurisdiction was not confined by any forms of trial, or rules of proceeding; and the execution of the sentence was immediate and without appeal.<sup>8</sup> The choice of the enemies of Rome was regularly decided by the legislative authority. The most important resolutions of peace and war were seriously debated in the senate, and solemnly ratified by the people. But when the arms of the legions were carried to a great distance from Italy, the generals assumed the liberty of directing them against whatever people, and in whatever manner, they judged most advantageous for the public service. It was from the success, not from the justice, of their enterprises that they expected the honours of a triumph. In the use of victory, especially after they were no longer controlled by the commissioners of the senate, they exercised the most

unbounded despotism. When Pompey commanded in the east, he rewarded his soldiers and allies, dethroned princes, divided kingdoms, founded colonies, and distributed the treasures of Mithridates. On his return to Rome, he obtained, by a single act of the senate and people, the universal ratification of all his proceedings.<sup>9</sup> Such was the power over the soldiers, and over the enemies of Rome, which was either granted to, or assumed by, the generals of the republic. They were at the same time the governors, or rather monarchs, of the conquered provinces, united the civil with the military character, administered justice as well as the finances, and exercised both the executive and legislative power of the state.

From what has been already observed in the first chapter of this work, some notion may be formed of the armies and provinces thus intrusted to the ruling hand of Augustus. But as it was impossible that he could personally command the legions of so many distant frontiers, he was indulged by the senate, as Pompey had already been, in the permission of devolving the execution of his great office on a sufficient number of lieutenants. In rank and authority these officers seemed not inferior to the ancient proconsuls; but their station was dependent and precarious. They received and held their commissions at the will of a superior, to whose *auspicious* influence the merit of their actions was legally attributed.<sup>10</sup> They were the representatives of the emperor. The emperor alone was the general of the republic, and his jurisdiction, civil as well as military, extended over all the conquests of Rome. It was some satisfaction, however, to the senate, that he always delegated his power to the members of their body. The imperial lieutenants were of consular or praetorian dignity: the legions were commanded by senators, and the prefecture of Egypt was the only important trust committed to a Roman knight.

Within six days after Augustus had been compelled to accept so very liberal a grant, he resolved to gratify the pride of the senate by an easy sacrifice. He represented to them, that they had enlarged his powers, even beyond that degree which might be required by the melancholy condition of the times. They had not permitted him to refuse the laborious command of the armies and the frontiers; but he must insist on being allowed to restore the mere peaceful and secure provinces to the mild administration of the civil magistrate. In the division of the provinces, Augustus provided for his own power, and for the dignity of the republic. The proconsuls of the senate, particularly those of Asia, Greece, and Africa,

Lieutenants of the emperor.

Power of the Roman generals.

Division of the provinces between the emperor and the senate.

<sup>5</sup> Imperator (from which we have derived Emperor) signified under the republic a general.

had obtained a great and extensive command.

most successful lieutenants were satisfied with some marks of distinction, which, under the name of triumphal honours, were invented in their favour.

enjoyed a more honourable character than the lieutenants of the emperor, who commanded in Gaul or Syria. The former were attended by lictors, the latter by soldiers. A law was passed, that wherever the emperor was present, his extraordinary commission should supersede the ordinary jurisdiction of the governor; a custom was introduced, that the new conquests belonged to the Imperial portion; and it was soon discovered that the authority of the *Princeps*, the favourite epithet of Augustus, was the same in every part of the empire.

The former preserve his military command and guards in Rome itself.

In return for this imaginary concession, Augustus obtained an important privilege, which rendered him master of Rome and Italy.

By a dangerous exception to the ancient maxims, he was authorised to preserve his military command, supported by a numerous body of guards, even in time of peace, and in the heart of the capital. His command, indeed, was confined to those citizens who were engaged in the service by the military oath; but such was the propensity of the Romans to servitude, that the oath was voluntarily taken by the magistrates, the senators, and the equestrian order, till the homage of flattery was insensibly converted into an annual and solemn protestation of fidelity.

Consular and tribunitian powers.

Although Augustus considered a military force as the firmest foundation, he wisely rejected it, as a very odious instrument of government. It was more agreeable to his temper, as well as to his policy, to reign under the venerable names of ancient magistracy, and artfully to collect, in his own person, all the scattered rays of civil jurisdiction.

With this view, he permitted the senate to confer upon him, for his life, the powers of the consular<sup>11</sup> and tribunitian offices<sup>12</sup>, which were, in the same manner, continued to all his successors. The consuls had succeeded to the kings of Rome, and represented the dignity of the state. They superintended the ceremonies of religion, levied and commanded the legions, gave audience to foreign ambassadors, and presided in the assemblies both of the senate and people. The general control of the finances was intrusted to their care; and though they seldom had leisure to administer justice in person, they were considered as the supreme guardians of law, equity, and the public peace. Such was their ordinary jurisdiction; but whenever the senate empowered the first magistrate to consult the safety of the commonwealth, he was raised by that degree above the laws, and exercised, in the defence of liberty, a temporary despotism.<sup>13</sup> The character of the tribunes was, in every respect, different from that of the consuls. The appearance of the former was modest and hum-

ble; but their persons were sacred and inviolable.

Their force was suited rather for opposition than for action. They were instituted to defend the oppressed, to pardon offences, to arraign the enemies of the people, and, when they judged it necessary, to stop, by a single word, the whole machine of government. As long as the republic subsisted, the dangerous influence, which either the consul or the tribune might derive from their respective jurisdiction, was diminished by several important restrictions. Their authority expired with the year in which they were elected; the former office was divided between two, the latter among ten persons; and, as both in their private and public interest they were averse to each other, their mutual conflicts contributed, for the most part, to strengthen rather than to destroy the balance of the constitution. But when the consular and tribunitian powers were united, when they were vested for life in a single person, when the general of the army was, at the same time, the minister of the senate and the representative of the Roman people, it was impossible to resist the exercise, nor was it easy to define the limits, of his imperial prerogative.

To these accumulated honours, Imperial prerogatives. the policy of Augustus soon added the splendid as well as important dignities of supreme pontiff, and of censor. By the former he acquired the management of the religion, and by the latter a legal inspection over the manners and fortunes, of the Roman people. If so many distinct and independent powers did not exactly unite with each other, the complaisance of the senate was prepared to supply every deficiency by the most ample and extraordinary concessions. The emperors, as the first ministers of the republic, were exempted from the obligation and penalty of many inconvenient laws: they were authorised to convoke the senate, to make several motions in the same day, to recommend candidates for the honours of the state, to enlarge the bounds of the city, to employ the revenue at their discretion, to declare peace and war, to ratify treaties; and by a most comprehensive clause, they were empowered to execute whatsoever they should judge advantageous to the empire, and agreeable to the majesty of things private or public, human or divine.<sup>14</sup>

When all the various powers of The magistrates. executive government were committed to the *Imperial magistrate*, the ordinary magistrates of the commonwealth languished in obscurity, without vigour, and almost without business. The names and forms of the ancient administration were preserved by Augustus with the most anxious care. The usual number of consuls, praetors, and tribunes<sup>15</sup>, were annually invested with their respective ensigns of office,

<sup>11</sup> Cicero (de Legibus, lib. 3.) gives the consular office the name of *Res publica* and *Patris* (lib. 1. c. 3.) observes three powers in the Roman constitution. The monarchical was represented and exercised by the consuls.

<sup>12</sup> As the tribunitian power (distinct from the annual office) was first invented by the dictator Cæsar (Dion, l. xiv. p. 781) he may easily conceive, that it was given as a reward for having so nobly assisted, by arms, the sacred rights of the tribunes and people. See his account of Cæsar's death, lib. 44. c. 23.

tumult and faction forced the senate to invest him with a perpetual consulship. Augustus, as well as his successors, affected, however, to conceal so invidious a title.

<sup>14</sup> See a fragment of a decree of the senate, conferring on the Emperor Vespasian all the powers granted to his predecessors, Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius. This curious and important monument is published in Gruet's Inscriptions, no. 684.

<sup>15</sup> Two consuls were created on the kalends of January, but in the course of the year, others were substituted in their places, till the annual number seems to have amounted to no less than twelve. The praetors were usually sixteen or eighteen. The tribunes of the senate (Dion, l. lxxv. c. 1.) I have not mentioned the *astores* or *questors*. Officers of the palace or revenue easily adapted themselves to the form of government. In the time of Nero, the *astores* got possession of the rights of the tribunes, till that time the consuls alone were called *Patres* (Suetonius, l. xvi. c. 6.) In the time of Trajan, it was debated whether the tribunitian office was an office of a magistrate (Potho, l. lxxv. c. 1.)

and continued to discharge some of their least important functions. Those honours still attracted the vain ambition of the Romans; and the emperors themselves, though invested for life with the powers of the consulship, frequently aspired to the title of that annual dignity, which they condescended to share with the most illustrious of their fellow-citizens.<sup>16</sup> In the election of these magistrates, the people, during the reign of Augustus, were permitted to expose all the inconveniences of a wild democracy. That artful prince, instead of discovering the least symptom of impatience, humbly solicited their suffrages for himself or his friends, and scrupulously practised all the duties of an ordinary candidate.<sup>17</sup> But we may venture to ascribe to his councils, the first measure of the succeeding reign, by which the elections were transferred to the senate.<sup>18</sup> The assemblies of the people were for ever abolished, and the emperors were delivered from a dangerous multitude, who, without restoring liberty, might have disturbed, and perhaps endangered, the established government.

The senate.

By declaring themselves the protectors of the people, Marius and Cæsar had subverted the constitution of their country. But as soon as the senate had been humbled and disarmed, such an assembly, consisting of five or six hundred persons, was found a much more tractable and useful instrument of dominion. It was on the dignity of the senate that Augustus and his successors founded their new empire; and they affected, on every occasion, to adopt the language and principles of patricians. In the administration of their own powers, they frequently consulted the great national council, and seemed to refer to its decision the most important concerns of peace and war. Rome, Italy, and the internal provinces, were subject to the immediate jurisdiction of the senate. With regard to civil objects, it was the supreme court of appeal; with regard to criminal matters, a tribunal, constituted for the trial of all offences that were committed by men in any public station, or that affected the peace and majesty of the Roman people. The exercise of the judicial power became the most frequent and serious occupation of the senate; and the important causes that were pleaded before them, afforded a last refuge to the spirit of ancient eloquence. As a council of state, and as a court of justice, the senate possessed very considerable prerogatives; but in its legislative capacity, in which it was supposed virtually to represent the people, the rights of sovereignty were acknowledged to reside in that assembly. Every power was derived from their authority, every law was ratified by their sanction. Their regular meetings were held on three stated days in every month, the kalends, the nones, and the

<sup>16</sup> The tyrants themselves were ambitious of the consulship. The virtuous prince was moderate in the pursuit, and exact in the discharge of it. Trajan revived the ancient oath, and swore before the consult's tribunal, that he would observe the laws. (Plin. Panegyric. c. 14.)

<sup>17</sup> The emperor himself appeared in person. Tribus cum cande-  
re solent. Forebat et ipse  
Suetonius in August. c. 36.  
patres tribulabant. Tacit.  
unsuccessful efforts, which were made towards restoring them to the people.

<sup>18</sup> Dion Cassius (l. lxx. p. 703—714) gives a very loose and partial sketch of the Imperial system. To illustrate and often to correct him, I have meditated Tacitus, examined Suetonius, and con-

ides. The debates were conducted with decent freedom; and the emperors themselves, who gloried in the name of senator, sat, voted, and divided with their equals.

To resume, in a few words, the system of the Imperial government; as it was instituted by Augustus, and maintained by those princes who understood their own interest and that of the people, it may be defined an absolute monarchy disguised by the forms of a commonwealth. The masters of the Roman world surrounded their throne with darkness, concealed their irresistible strength, and humbly professed themselves the accountable ministers of the senate, whose supreme decrees they dictated and obeyed.<sup>19</sup>

General idea of the Imperial system.

The face of the court corresponded with the forms of the administration. The emperors, if we except those tyrants whose capricious folly violated every law of nature and decency, disdained that pomp and ceremony which might offend their countrymen, but could add nothing to their real power. In all the offices of life, they affected to confound themselves with their subjects, and maintained with them an equal intercourse of visits and entertainments. Their habit, their palace, their table, were suited only to the rank of an opulent senator. Their family, however numerous or splendid, was composed entirely of their domestic slaves and freedmen.<sup>20</sup> Augustus or Trajan would have blushed at employing the meanest of the Romans in those menial offices, which, in the household and bed-chamber of a limited monarch, are so eagerly solicited by the proudest nobles of Britain.

Court of the emperors.

The deification of the emperors<sup>21</sup> is the only instance in which they departed from their accustomed prudence and modesty. The Asiatic Greeks were the first inventors, the successors of Alexander the first objects, of this servile and impious mode of adulation. It was easily transferred from the kings to the governors of Asia; and the Roman magistrates very frequently were adored as provincial deities, with the pomp of altars and temples, of festivals and sacrifices.<sup>22</sup> It was natural that the emperors should not refuse what the proconsuls had accepted; and the divine honours which both the one and the other received from the provinces, attested rather the despotism than the servitude of Rome. But the conquerors soon imitated the vanquished nations in the arts of flattery; and the imperious spirit of the first Cæsar too easily consented to assume, during his life-time, a place among the tutelary deities of Rome. The milder temper of his successor declined so dangerous an ambition, which was never afterwards revived, except by

Deification.

sulted the following moderns: the Abbé de la Bletterie, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xix. xxi. xxv. xxx. xxvii. R. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

domestics. The

power of slaves aggravated the shame of the Romans; and the senate paid court to a Pallas or a Narcissus. There is a chance that a mo-

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the madness of Caligula and Domitian. Augustus permitted indeed some of the provincial cities to erect temples to his honour, on condition that they should associate the worship of Rome with that of the sovereign; he tolerated private superstition, of which he might be the object;<sup>23</sup> but he contented himself with being revered by the senate and people in his human character, and wisely left to his successor the care of his public deification. A regular custom was introduced, that on the decease of every emperor, who had neither lived nor died like a tyrant, the senate, by a solemn decree, should place him in the number of the gods; and the ceremonies of Apotheosis were blended with those of his funeral. This legal, and, as it should seem, injudicious profanation, so abhorrent to our stricter principles, was received with a very faint murmur,<sup>24</sup> by the easy nature of polytheism; but it was received as an institution, not of religion but of policy. We should disgrace the virtues of the Antonines, by comparing them with the vices of Hercules or Jupiter. Even the characters of Caesar or Augustus were far superior to those of the popular deities. But it was the misfortune of the former to live in an enlightened age, and their actions were too faithfully recorded to admit of such a mixture of fable and mystery, as the devotion of the vulgar requires. As soon as their divinity was established by law, it sunk into oblivion, without contributing either to their own fame, or to the dignity of succeeding princes.

In the consideration of the Imperial government, we have frequently mentioned the artful founder, under his well-known title of Augustus, which was not however conferred upon him till the edifice was almost completed. The obscure name of Octavianus he derived from a mean family, in the little town of Aricia. It was stained with the blood of the proscription; and he was detestable, had it been possible, to erase all memory of his former life. The illustrious surname of Caesar, he had assumed, as the adopted son of the dictator; but he had too much good sense, either to hope to be confounded, or to wish to be compared, with that extraordinary man. It was proposed in the senate to dignify their minister with a new appellation: and after a very serious discussion, that of Augustus was chosen, among several others, as being the most expressive of the character of peace and sanctity, which he uniformly affected.<sup>25</sup> Augustus was therefore a personal, *Caesar* a family distinction. The former should naturally have expired with the prince on whom it was bestowed; and however the latter was diffused by adoption and female alliance, Nero was the last prince who could allege any hereditary claim to the honours of the Julian line. But, at the time of his death, the practice of a century had inseparably connected those appellations with the Imperial dignity, and

they have been preserved by a long succession of emperors, Romans, Greeks, Franks, and Germans, from the fall of the republic to the present time. A distinction was, however, soon introduced. The sacred title of Augustus was always reserved for the monarch, whilst the name of Caesar was more freely communicated to his relations; and, from the reign of Hadrian, at least, was appropriated to the second person in the state, who was considered as the presumptive heir of the empire.

The tender respect of Augustus for a free constitution which he had destroyed, can only be explained by an attentive consideration of the character of that subtle tyrant. A cool head, an unfeeling heart, and a cowardly disposition, prompted him, at the age of nineteen, to assume the mask of hypocrisy, which he never afterwards laid aside. With the same hand, and probably with the same temper, he signed the proscription of Cicero, and the pardon of Cinna. His virtues, and even his vices, were artificial; and according to the various dictates of his interest, he was at first the enemy, and at last the father, of the Roman world.<sup>26</sup> When he framed the artful system of the Imperial authority, his moderation was inspired by his fears. He wished to deceive the people by an image of civil liberty, and the armies by an image of civil government.

I. The death of Caesar was ever before his eyes. He had lavished wealth and honours on his adherents; but the most favoured friends of his uncle were in the number of the conspirators. The fidelity of the legions might offend his authority against open rebellion; but their vigilance could not secure his person from the danger of a determined republican; and the Romans, who revered the memory of Brutus,<sup>27</sup> would applaud the imitation of his virtue. Caesar had provoked his fate, as much by the ostentation of his power, as by his power itself. The consul or the tribune might have reigned in peace. The title of king had armed the Romans against his life. Augustus was sensible that mankind is governed by names; nor was he deceived in his expectation, that the senate and people would submit to slavery, provided they were respectfully assured, that they still enjoyed their ancient freedom. A feeble senate and enervated people cheerfully acquiesced in the pleasing illusion, as long as it was supported by the virtue, or even by the prudence, of the successors of Augustus. It was a motive of self-preservation, not a principle of liberty, that animated the conspirators against Caligula, Nero, and Domitian. They attacked the person of the tyrant, without aiming their blow at the authority of the emperor.

There appears, indeed, one memorable occasion, in which the senate, after seventy years of pa-

Attempt of the senate after the death of Caligula.

<sup>23</sup> Jurandaque tuum per nomen pontinus aras, says Horace to the emperor Augustus, and Horace was well acquainted with the court of Augustus.

<sup>24</sup> See Cicero in *Philippic* i. 6. Julian in *Cassianus*. *Inno* Domini sen plus vultis Roma per univere, is the indignant expression of Ircan, but it is a patriotic, rather than a devout sentiment.

<sup>25</sup> Dion Cassius, l. lxx. p. 710, with the curious annotations of Reimar.

<sup>26</sup> As Octavianus advanced to the banquet of the Caesars, his colour

changed like that of the stormy sea, pale at first, then red, afterwards black, he at last assumed the most black of faces, and the Greeks, (l. c. p. 30.) This image employed by Julian in his magnificent description of the emperor, is not only expressive of this change of character, but also of his insatiable thirst for power or philosophy, he does too much to justify the name of the philosopher-king.

<sup>27</sup> Two centuries after the death of Brutus, the emperor Maximilian endeavoured to imitate the character of Brutus as a perfect model of Roman virtue.



tience, made an ineffectual attempt to reassume its long-forgotten rights. When the throne was vacant by the murder of Caligula, the consuls convoked that assembly in the Capitol, condemned the memory of the Cæsars, gave the watch-word *liberty* to the few cohorts who faintly adhered to their standard, and during eight-and-forty hours acted as the independent chiefs of a free commonwealth. But while they deliberated, the prætorian guards had resolved. The stupid Claudius, brother of Germanicus, was already in their camp, invested with the Imperial purple, and prepared to support his election by arms. The dream of liberty was at an end; and the senate awoke to all the horrors of inevitable servitude. Deserted by the people, and threatened by a military force, that feeble assembly was compelled to ratify the choice of the prætorians, and to embrace the benefit of an amnesty, which Claudius had the prudence to offer, and the generosity to observe.<sup>28</sup>

II. The insolence of the armies inspired Augustus with fears of a still more alarming nature. The despair of the citizens could only attempt, what the power of the soldiers was, at any time, able to execute. How precarious was his own authority over men whom he had taught to violate every social duty! He had heard their seditious clamours; he dreaded their calmer moments of reflection. One revolution had been purchased by immense rewards; but a second revolution might double those rewards. The troops professed the fondest attachment to the house of Cæsar; but the attachments of the multitude are capricious and inconstant. Augustus summoned to his aid, whatever remained in those fierce minds of Roman prejudices; enforced the rigour of discipline by the sanction of law; and, interposing the majesty of the senate between the emperor and the army, boldly claimed their allegiance, as the first magistrate of the republic.<sup>29</sup>

During a long period of two hundred and twenty years, from the establishment of this artful system to the death of Commodus, the dangers inherent to a military government were, in a great measure, suspended. The soldiers were seldom roused to that fatal sense of their own strength, and of the weakness of the civil authority, which was, before and afterwards, productive of such dreadful calamities. Caligula and Domitian were assassinated in their palace by their own domestics: the convulsions which agitated Rome on the death of the former, were confined to the walls of the city. But Nero involved the whole empire in his ruin. In the space of eighteen months, four princes perished by the sword; and the Roman world was shaken by the fury of the contending armies. Excepting only this

short, though violent, eruption of military licence, the two centuries from Augustus to Commodus passed away unstained with civil blood, and undisturbed by revolutions. The emperor was elected by the authority of the senate, and the consent of the soldiers.<sup>30</sup> The legions respected their oath of fidelity; and it requires a minute inspection of the Roman annals to discover three inconsiderable rebellions, which were all suppressed in a few months, and without even the hazard of a battle.<sup>31</sup>

In elective monarchies, the vacancy of the throne is a moment big with danger and mischief. The Roman emperors, desirous to spare the legions that interval of suspense, and the temptation of an irregular choice, invested their designed successor with so large a share of present power, as should enable him, after their decease, to assume the remainder, without suffering the empire to perceive the change of masters. Thus Augustus, after all his fairer prospects had been snatched from him by untimely deaths, rested his last hopes on Tiberius, obtained for his adopted son the censorial and tribunitian powers, and dictated a law, by which the future prince was invested with an authority equal to his own, over the provinces and the armies.<sup>32</sup> Thus Vespasian subdued the generous mind of his eldest son. Titus was adored by the eastern legions, which, under his command, had recently achieved the conquest of Judæa. His power was dreaded, and, as his virtues were clouded by the intemperance of youth, his designs were suspected. Instead of listening to such unworthy suspicions, the prudent monarch associated Titus to the full powers of the Imperial dignity; and the grateful son ever approved himself the humble and faithful minister of so indulgent a father.<sup>33</sup>

The good sense of Vespasian engaged him indeed to embrace every measure that might confirm his recent and precarious elevation. The military oath, and the fidelity of the troops, had been consecrated, by the habits of an hundred years, to the name and family of the Cæsars: and, although that family had been continued only by the fictitious rite of adoption, the Romans still revered, in the person of Nero, the grandson of Germanicus, and the lineal successor of Augustus. It was not without reluctance and remorse that the prætorian guards had been persuaded to abandon the cause of the tyrant.<sup>34</sup> The rapid downfall of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, taught the armies to consider the emperors as the creatures of their will, and the instruments of their licence. The birth of Vespasian was mean; his grandfather had been a private soldier, his father a petty officer of the revenue;<sup>35</sup> his own merit

<sup>28</sup> It is much to be regretted that we have lost the part of Tacitus, which treated of this transaction. We are forced to content ourselves with the popular rumours of Josephus, and the imperfect hints of Dion and Suetonius.

<sup>29</sup> Augustus restored the ancient severity of discipline. After the civil wars, he dropped the indulgent manner of Ferio-Soldiers, and called them only Soldiers. (Sueton. in August. c. 55.) See the use Titus made of the senate in the mutiny of the Pannonian legions. (Tacit. Annal. i.)

<sup>30</sup> These words seem to have been the constitutional language. See Tacit. Annal. xii. 4.

<sup>31</sup> The first was Camillus Scribonianus, who took up arms in Bithynia against Claudius, and was deserted by his own troops in five days. The second, L. Antonius, in Germany, who rebelled against

Domitian; and the third, Avidius Cassius, in the reign of M. Antoninus. The two last reigned but a few months, and were cut off by their own adherents. We may observe, that both Camillus and Cassius were of the Flavian family.

<sup>32</sup> This axiom is frequently and strongly inculcated by Tacitus. See Hist. i. 5. 16. ii. 76.

<sup>33</sup> The emperor Vespasian, with his usual good sense, laughed at the genealogists, who deduced his family from Flavius, the founder of Reate (his native country), and one of the companions of Hercules-Suet. in Vespasian, c. 12.



Character and reign of Pius. Titus Antoninus Pius has been justly denominated a second Numa. The same love of religion, justice, and peace was the distinguishing characteristic of both princes. But the situation of the latter opened a much larger field for the exercise of those virtues. Numa could only prevent a few neighbouring villages from plundering each other's harvests. Antoninus diffused order and tranquillity over the greatest part of the earth. His reign is marked by the rare advantage of furnishing very few materials for history; which is, indeed, little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind. In private life he was an amiable as well as a good man. The native simplicity of his virtue was a stranger to vanity or affectation. He enjoyed with moderation the conveniences of his fortune, and the innocent pleasures of society;<sup>44</sup> and the benevolence of his soul displayed itself in a cheerful serenity of temper.

The virtue of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was of a severer and more laborious kind.<sup>45</sup> It was the well-earned harvest of many a learned conference, of many a patient lecture, and many a midnight lubrication. At the age of twelve years he embraced the rigid system of the Stoics, which taught him to submit his body to his mind, his passions to his reason; to consider virtue as the only good, vice as the only evil, all things external as things indifferent.<sup>46</sup> His meditations, composed in the tumult of a camp, are still extant; and he even condescended to give lessons of philosophy, in a more public manner, than was perhaps consistent with the modesty of a sage, or the dignity of an emperor.<sup>47</sup> But his life was the noblest commentary on the precepts of Zeno. He was severe to himself, indulgent to the imperfection of others, just and beneficent to all mankind. He regretted that Avilius Cassius, who excited a rebellion in Syria, had disappointed him, by a voluntary death, of the pleasure of converting an enemy into a friend; and he justified the sincerity of that sentiment, by moderating the zeal of the senate against the adherents of the traitor.<sup>48</sup> War he detested, as the disgrace and calamity of human nature; but when the necessity of a just defence called upon him to take up arms, he readily exposed his person to eight winter campaigns, on the frozen banks of the Danube, the severity of which was at last fatal to the weakness of his constitution. His memory was revered by a grateful posterity, and above a century after his death, many persons preserved the image of Marcus Antoninus among those of their household gods.<sup>49</sup>

If a man were called to fix the happy period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race

was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom. The armies were restrained by the firm but gentle hand of four successive emperors, whose characters and authority commanded involuntary respect. The forms of the civil administration were carefully preserved by Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, who delighted in the image of liberty, and were pleased with considering themselves as the accountable ministers of the laws. Such princes deserved the honour of restoring the republic, had the Romans of their days been capable of enjoying a rational freedom.

The labours of these monarchs were overpaid by the immense reward that inseparably waited on their success; by the honest pride of virtue, and by the exquisite delight of beholding the general happiness of which they were the authors. A just, but melancholy reflection imbibed, however, the noblest of human enjoyments. They must often have recollected the instability of a happiness which depended on the character of a single man. The fatal moment was perhaps approaching, when some licentious youth, or some jealous tyrant, would abuse, to the destruction, that absolute power which they had exerted for the benefit of their people. The ideal restraints of the senate and the laws might serve to display the virtues, but could never correct the vices, of the emperor. The military force was a blind and irresistible instrument of oppression; and the corruption of Roman manners would always supply flatterers eager to applaud, and ministers prepared to serve, the fear or the avarice, the lust or the cruelty, of their masters.

These gloomy apprehensions had been already justified by the experience of the Romans. The annals of the emperors exhibit a strong and various picture of human nature, which we should vainly seek among the mixed and doubtful characters of modern history. In the conduct of those monarchs we may trace the utmost lines of vice and virtue; the most exalted perfection, and the meanest degeneracy of our own species. The golden age of Trajan and the Antonines had been preceded by an age of iron. It is almost superfluous to enumerate the unworthy successors of Augustus. Their unparalleled vices, and the splendid theatre on which they were acted, have saved them from oblivion. The dark unrelenting Tiberius, the furious Caligula, the feeble Claudius, the profligate and cruel Nero, the beastly Vitellius,<sup>50</sup> and the

Its precarious nature.

Memors of Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian.

<sup>44</sup> He was fond of the theatre, and not insensible to the charms of the fair. — Marcus Antoninus, l. iii. Hist. August. p. 25, 26. Julian in Cæsar.

<sup>45</sup> The enemies of Marcus charged him with hypocrisy, and with a want of that simplicity which distinguishes Pius and even Vespasian. (Hist. August. c. 34.) This suspicion, unjust as it was, may serve as a count for the superior applause bestowed on persons of a dissipated life, in preference to the social virtues. Even Marcus Antoninus has been called a hypocrite; but the wisest scepticism never suspected that Cæsar might possibly be a coward, or Tully a fool. Wit and valour are qualifications more easily ascertained than humanity or the love of justice.

<sup>46</sup> Lucius has characterised, in a few words, the principles of the Stoics. Doctores sapientie secutus est, qui sola bona quæ honesta, non la tantum quæ turpia; potentiam, nobilitatem, ceteraque extra animum, necque bona necque mala adnumerant. Tacit. Hist. iv. 5.

<sup>47</sup> Before he went on the second expedition against the Germans. Roman people, during three days, the cities of Greece and Asia.

August. in Avid. Cassio.

<sup>49</sup> Hist. August. in Marc. Antonin. c. 18. — — — — — of our vices with but it is by ellius, sum  
"brac utis fortioribus albus, ut ignota animalia, quibus si cibum  
"suggeris jacent torpentique, præterita, instantia, futura, pari obli-  
"vione dimittat. Atque alium memore Ariano desident et mar-  
"centem." See. Tacit. Hist. iii. 36. n. 25. Sueton. in Vitell. c. 17.  
Dion Cassius, l. lxxv. p. 1052.

timid inhuman Domitian, are condemned to everlasting infamy. During fourscore years (excepting only the short and doubtful respite of Vespasian's reign<sup>51</sup>) Rome groaned beneath an unremitting tyranny, which exterminated the ancient families of the republic, and was fatal to almost every virtue, and every talent, that arose in that unhappy period.

Peculiar misery of the Romans under their tyrants. Under the reign of these monsters, the slavery of the Romans was accompanied with two peculiar circumstances, the one occasioned by their former liberty, the other by their extensive conquests, which rendered their condition more completely wretched than that of the victims of tyranny in any other age or country. From these causes were derived, 1. The exquisite sensibility of the sufferers; and, 2. The impossibility of escaping from the hand of the oppressor.

Insensibility of the Orientals. I. When Persia was governed by the descendants of Sefi, a race of princes whose wanton cruelty often stained their divan, their table, and their bed, with the blood of their favourites, there is a saying recorded of a young nobleman, That he never departed from the sultan's presence, without satisfying himself whether his head was still on his shoulders. The experience of every day might almost justify the scepticism of Rustan.<sup>52</sup> Yet the fatal sword, suspended above him by a single thread, seems not to have disturbed the slumbers, or interrupted the tranquillity, of the Persian. The monarch's frown, he well knew, could level him with the dust; but the stroke of lightning or apoplexy might be equally fatal; and it was the part of a wise man, to forget the inevitable calamities of human life in the enjoyment of the fleeting hour. He was degraded with the appellation of the king's slave; had, perhaps, been purchased from obscure parents, in a country which he had never known; and was trained up from his infancy in the severe discipline of the seraglio.<sup>53</sup> His name, his wealth, his honours, were the gift of a master, who might, without injustice, resume what he had bestowed. Rustan's knowledge, if he possessed any, could only serve to confirm his habits by prejudices. His language afforded not words for any form of government, except absolute monarchy. The history of the east informed him, that such had ever been the condition of mankind.<sup>54</sup> The Koran, and the interpreters of that divine book, inculcated to him, that the sultan was the descendant of the prophet, and the vicegerent of heaven; that patience was the first virtue of a Mussulman, and unlimited obedience the great duty of a subject.

Timid and insensible of the Romans. The minds of the Romans were very differently prepared for slavery. Oppressed beneath the weight of

their own corruption and of military violence, they for a long while preserved the sentiments, or at least the ideas, of their free-born ancestors. The education of Helvidius and Thrasea, of Tacitus and Pliny, was the same as that of Cato and Cicero. From Grecian philosophy, they had imbibed the justest and most liberal notions of the dignity of human nature, and the origin of civil society. The history of their own country had taught them to revere a free, a virtuous, and a victorious commonwealth; to abhor the successful crimes of Caesar and Augustus; and inwardly to despise those tyrants whom they adored with the most abject flattery. As magistrates and senators, they were admitted into the great council, which had once dictated laws to the earth, whose name still gave a sanction to the acts of the monarch, and whose authority was so often prostituted to the vilest purposes of tyranny. Tiberius, and those emperors who adopted his maxims, attempted to disguise their murders by the formalities of justice, and perhaps enjoyed a secret pleasure in rendering the senate their accomplice as well as their victim. By this assembly, the last of the Romans were condemned for imaginary crimes and real virtues. Their infamous accusers assumed the language of independent patriots, who arraigned a dangerous citizen before the tribunal of his country; and the public service was rewarded by riches and honours.<sup>55</sup> The servile judges professed to assert the majesty of the commonwealth, violated in the person of its first magistrate,<sup>56</sup> whose clemency they most applauded when they trembled the most at his inexorable and impending cruelty.<sup>57</sup> The tyrant beheld their baseness with just contempt, and encountered their secret sentiments of detestation with sincere and avowed hatred for the whole body of the senate.

II. The division of Europe into a number of independent states, Event of their independence, the consequence of the division of Europe. connected, however, with each other, by the general resemblance of religion, language, and manners, is productive of the most beneficial consequences to the liberty of mankind. A modern tyrant, who should find no resistance either in his own breast, or in his people, would soon experience a gentle restraint from the example of his equals, the dread of present censure, the advice of his allies, and the apprehension of his enemies. The object of his displeasure, escaping from the narrow limits of his dominions, would easily obtain, in a happier climate, a secure refuge, a new fortune adequate to his merit, the freedom of complaint, and perhaps the means of revenge. But the empire of the Romans filled the world, and when that empire fell into the hands of a single person, the world became a safe and dreary prison for his enemies. The slave of Imperial despotism,

their enemies, protected them under Tiberius. See Tacit. Hist. lib. 47. In the reign of Trajan, Eprius Marcellus, Consul, Pliny, the object of Pliny's satire, removed from the senate the consular ornaments, and a great part of the fixed and movable goods.

<sup>55</sup> The emperor Augustus was often guilty of a treacherable offence against the Roman people. As he abused the name, Augustus, and Tiberius applied it to their own persons, and executed the same measures to gratify

<sup>56</sup> After the execution and burial of a senator, the wife of Tiberius had been put to death. Tiberius, and the thanks of the senate for the executioner. See Tacit. Hist. lib. 5. Tiberius had been put to death, nor was the body drawn in a chariot to the forum, where the bones of common men were exposed. See Tacit. Annal. lib. 25. Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 33.

<sup>51</sup> The execution of Helvidius Priscus, and of the virtuous Eprius Marcellus, degraded the reign of Vespasian.

<sup>52</sup> Voyage de Chardin en Perse, vol. 1. p. 205.

<sup>53</sup> The practice of eunuchs was to the great office of state as it is to modern common among the Turks, then among the Persians. The miserable countries of Georgia and Circassia supply rulers to the greatest part of the east.

<sup>54</sup> Chardin says, that European travellers have diffused among the Persians some ideas of the freedom and mildness of our governments. They have done them very little office.

<sup>55</sup> They alleged the example of Scipio and Cato. (Tacit. Annal. lib. 66.) Marcellus Eprius and Crispus Villius had acquired two millions and a half under Nero. Their wealth, which aggravated

whether he was condemned to drag his gilded chain in Rome and the senate, or to wear out a life of exile on the barren rock of Seriphus, or the frozen banks of the Danube, expected his fate in silent despair.<sup>58</sup> To resist was fatal, and it was impossible to fly. On every side he was encompassed with a vast extent of sea and land, which he could never hope to traverse without being discovered, seized, and restored to his irritated master. Beyond the frontiers, his anxious view could discover nothing, except the ocean, inhospitable deserts, hostile tribes of barbarians, of fierce manners and unknown language, or dependent kings, who would gladly purchase the emperor's protection by the sacrifice of an obnoxious fugitive.<sup>59</sup> "Wherever you are," said Cicero to the exiled Marcellus, "remember that you are equally within the power of the conqueror."<sup>60</sup>

#### CHAP. IV.

*The Cruelty, Follies, and Murder of Commodus.— Election of Pertinax. — His attempts to reform the State. — His Assassination by the Prætorian Guards.*

Indulgence of Marcus, THE mildness of Marcus, which the rigid discipline of the Stoics was unable to eradicate, formed, at the same time, the most amiable, and the only defective, part of his character. His excellent understanding was often deceived by the unsuspecting goodness of his heart. Artful men, who study the passions of princes, and conceal their own, approached his person in the disguise of philosophic sanctity, and acquired riches and honours by affecting to despise them.<sup>1</sup> His excessive indulgence to his brother, his wife, and his son, exceeded the bounds of private virtue, and became a public injury, by the example and consequence of their vices.

to his wife  
Faustina; Faustina, the daughter of Pius and the wife of Marcus, has been as much celebrated for her gallantries as for her beauty. The grave simplicity of the philosopher was ill calculated to engage her wanton levity, or to fix that unbounded passion for variety, which often discovered personal merit in the meanest of mankind.<sup>2</sup> The Cupid of the ancients was, in general, a very sensual deity; and the amours of an empress, as they exact on her side the plainest advances, are seldom susceptible of much sentimental delicacy. Marcus was the only man in the empire who seemed ignorant or insensible of the irregularities of Faustina; which, according to the prejudices of every age, reflected some disgrace on the injured husband. He promoted several of her lovers to posts of honour and profit,<sup>3</sup> and during a connection of

thirty years, invariably gave her proofs of the most tender confidence, and of a respect which ended not with her life. In his Meditations, he thanks the gods, who had bestowed on him a wife, so faithful, so gentle, and of such a wonderful simplicity of manners.<sup>4</sup> The obsequious senate, at his earnest request, declared her a goddess. She was represented in her temples with the attributes of Juno, Venus, and Ceres; and it was decreed, that, on the day of their nuptials, the youth of either sex should pay their vows before the altar of their chaste patroness.<sup>5</sup>

The monstrous vices of his son to his son  
Commodus. have cast a shade on the purity of the father's virtues. It has been objected to Marcus, that he sacrificed the happiness of millions to a fond partiality for a worthless boy; and that he chose a successor in his own family, rather than in the republic. Nothing, however, was neglected by the anxious father, and by the men of virtue and learning whom he summoned to his assistance, to expand the narrow mind of young Commodus, to correct his growing vices, and to render him worthy of the throne, for which he was designed. But the power of instruction is seldom of much efficacy, except in those happy dispositions where it is almost superfluous. The distasteful lesson of a grave philosopher was, in a moment, obliterated by the whisper of a profligate favourite: and Marcus himself blasted the fruits of this laboured education, by admitting his son, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, to a full participation of the Imperial power. He lived but four years afterwards; but he lived long enough to repent a rash measure, which raised the impetuous youth above the restraint of reason and authority.

Most of the crimes which disturb An accession of  
the emperor  
Commodus. the internal peace of society, are produced by the restraints which the necessary, but unequal laws of property have imposed on the appetites of mankind, by confining to a few the possession of those objects that are coveted by many. Of all our passions and appetites, the love of power is of the most imperious and unsocial nature, since the pride of one man requires the submission of the multitude. In the tumult of civil discord, the laws of society lose their force, and their place is seldom supplied by those of humanity. The ardour of contention, the pride of victory, the despair of success, the memory of past injuries, and the fear of future dangers, all contribute to inflame the mind, and to silence the voice of pity. From such motives almost every page of history has been stained with civil blood; but these motives will not account for the unprovoked cruelties of Commodus, who had nothing to wish, and every thing to enjoy. The beloved son of A. D. 180. Marcus succeeded to his father,

<sup>58</sup> Seriphus was a small rocky island in the Ægean Sea, the inhabitants of which were deprived for their ignorance and obscurity. The place of Ovid's exile is well known, by his just, but unmanly lamentations. It should seem, that he only received an order to leave Rome in so many days, and to transport himself to Tomæ. Guards and soldiers were unnecessary.

<sup>59</sup> Under Tiberius, a Roman knight attempted to fly to the Parthians. He was stopped in the straits of Sicily, but so little dancet and thence appears in the emperor's list of captives, if tyrants dis-

<sup>60</sup> p. 45. These rather than invents.

*conditions sibi et nautica*  
<sup>60</sup> Lampridius explains  
of the conditions which sue

— the story of Marcus;

amidst the acclamations of the senate and armies,<sup>6</sup> and when he ascended the throne, the happy youth saw round him neither competitor to remove, nor enemies to punish. In this calm elevated station, it was surely natural, that he should prefer the love of mankind to his de-stestation, the mild glories of his five predecessors, to the ignominious fate of Nero and Domitian.

Yet Commodus was not, as he Character of Commodus. has been represented, a tiger born with an insatiate thirst of human blood, and capable, from his infancy, of the most inhuman actions.<sup>7</sup> Nature had formed him of a weak, rather than a wicked disposition. His simplicity and timidity rendered him the slave of his attendants, who gradually corrupted his mind. His cruelty, which at first obeyed the dictates of others, degenerated into habit, and at length became the ruling passion of his soul.<sup>8</sup>

Upon the death of his father, He returns to Rome. Commodus found himself embarrassed with the command of a great army, and the conduct of a difficult war against the Quadi and Marcomanni.<sup>9</sup> The servile and profligate youths whom Marcus had banished, soon regained their station and influence about the new emperor. They exaggerated the hardships and dangers of a campaign in the wild countries beyond the Danube; and they assured the indolent prince, that the terror of his name and the arms of his lieutenants would be sufficient to complete the conquest of the dismayed barbarians, or to impose such conditions, as were more advantageous than any conquest. By a dexterous application to his sensual appetites, they compared the tranquillity, the splendour, the refined pleasures of Rome, with the tumult of a Pannonian camp, which afforded neither leisure nor materials for luxury.<sup>10</sup> Commodus listened to the pleasing advice; but whilst he be-itated between his own inclination, and the awe which he still retained for his father's counsellors, the summer insensibly elapsed, and his triumphal entry into the capital was deferred till the autumn. His graceful person,<sup>11</sup> popular address, and imagined virtues, attracted the public favour; the honourable peace which he had recently granted to the barbarians diffused an universal joy;<sup>12</sup> his impatience to revisit Rome was fondly ascribed to the love of his country; and his dissolute course of amusements was faintly condemned in a prince of nineteen years of age.

During the three first years of his reign, the forms, and even the spirit of the old administration were maintained by those faithful counsellors, to whom Marcus had recommended his son, and for whose wisdom and integrity Commodus still entertained a reluctant esteem. The young prince and his profligate favourites revelled in all the licence of sovereign power; but his hands were yet unstained with blood; and he had even

displayed a generosity of sentiment, which might perhaps have ripened into solid virtue.<sup>13</sup> A fatal incident decided his fluctuating character.

One evening, as the emperor was returning to the palace through a Is wounded by an assassin, A.D. 185. dark and narrow portico in the amphitheatre,<sup>14</sup> an assassin, who waited his passage, rushed upon him with a drawn sword, loudly exclaiming, "*The senate sends you this.*" The menace prevented the deed; the assassin was seized by the guards, and immediately revealed the authors of the conspiracy. It had been formed, not in the state, but within the walls of the palace. Lucilla, the emperor's sister, and widow of Lucius Verus, impatient of the second rank, and jealous of the reigning empress, had armed the murderer against her brother's life. She had not ventured to communicate the black design to her second husband Claudius Pompeianus, a senator of distinguished merit and unshaken loyalty; but among the crowd of her lovers (for she imitated the manners of Faustina) she found men of desperate fortunes and wild ambition, who were prepared to serve her more violent, as well as her tender passions. The conspirators experienced the rigour of justice, and the abandoned princess was punished, first with exile, and afterwards with death.<sup>15</sup>

But the words of the assassin Hatred and cruelty of Commodus towards the senate. sunk deep into the mind of Commodus, and left an indelible impression of fear and hatred against the whole body of the senate. Those whom he had dreaded as importunate ministers, he now suspected as secret enemies. The Delators, a race of men, discouraged, and almost extinguished, under the former reigns, again became formidable, as soon as they discovered that the emperor was desirous of finding disaffection and treason in the senate. That assembly, whom Marcus had ever considered as the great council of the nation, was composed of the most distinguished of the Romans; and distinction of every kind soon became criminal. The possession of wealth stimulated the diligence of the informers; rigid virtue implied a tacit censure of the irregularities of Commodus; important services implied a dangerous superiority of merit; and the friendship of the father always ensured the aversion of the son. Suspicion was equivalent to proof; trial to condemnation. The execution of a considerable senator was attended with the death of all who might lament or revenge his fate; and when Commodus had once tasted human blood, he became incapable of pity or remorse.

Of these innocent victims of The Quintilian brothers. tyranny, none died more lamented than the two brothers, of the Quintilian family, Maximus and Condiarius; whose fraternal love has saved their names from oblivion, and endeared their memory to posterity. Their stu-

<sup>6</sup> Commodus was the first prince who was crowned with the oak leaf, in token of his accession to the throne.

<sup>11</sup> Herodian, l. i. p. 16.

<sup>12</sup> This measure was well described from the passions as well as the reasons, by Mr. Warton, l. ii. of *Henry*, p. 127.

<sup>13</sup> Martialus, the poet, lived twenty years of Commodus's reign, and discovered after his death that he had several times been in the emperor's confidence, without having been able to do any good.

<sup>14</sup> See Maffei de *Augusti*, c. viii. p. 129.

<sup>15</sup> Dion. l. lxxv. p. 129. Herodian, l. i. p. 16. Hist. August.

he died at Sirmium, where both the Votations of the war against

dies and their occupations, their pursuits and their pleasures, were still the same. In the enjoyment of a great estate, they never admitted the idea of a separate interest; some fragments are now extant of a treatise which they composed in common; and in every action of life it was observed, that their two bodies were animated by one soul. The Antonines, who valued their virtues, and delighted in their union, raised them, in the same year, to the consulship; and Marcus afterwards intrusted to their joint care, the civil administration of Greece, and a great military command, in which they obtained a signal victory over the Germans. The kind cruelty of Commodus united them in death.<sup>16</sup>

The tyrant's rage, after having shed the noblest blood of the senate, at length recoiled on the principal instrument of his cruelty. Whilst Commodus was immersed in blood and luxury, he devolved the detail of the public business on Perennis; a servile and ambitious minister, who had obtained his post by the murder of his predecessor, but who possessed a considerable share of vigour and ability. By acts of extortion, and the forfeited estates of the nobles, sacrificed to his avarice, he had accumulated an immense treasure. The prætorian guards were under his immediate command; and his son, who already discovered a military genius, was at the head of the Illyrian legions. Perennis aspired to the empire; or what, in the eyes of Commodus, amounted to the same crime, he was capable of aspiring to it, had he not been

A. D. 186.

prevented, surprised, and put to death. The fall of a minister is a very trifling incident in the general history of the empire; but it was hastened by an extraordinary circumstance, which proved how much the nerves of discipline were already relaxed. The legions of Britain, discontented with the administration of Perennis, formed a deputation of fifteen hundred select men, with instructions to march to Rome, and lay their complaints before the emperor. These military petitioners, by their own determined behaviour, by inflaming the divisions of the guards, by exaggerating the strength of the British army, and by alarming the fears of Commodus, exacted and obtained the minister's death, as the only redress of their grievances.<sup>17</sup> This presumption of a distant army, and their discovery of the weakness of government, was a sure presage of the most dreadful convulsions.

Revolt of  
Britains.

The negligence of the public administration was betrayed soon afterwards, by a new disorder, which arose from the smallest beginnings. A spirit of desertion began to prevail among the troops; and the deserters, instead of seeking their safety in flight or concealment, infested the highways. Ma-

ternus, a private soldier, of a daring boldness above his station, collected these bands of robbers into a little army, set open the prisons, invited the slaves to assert their freedom, and plundered with impunity the rich and defenceless cities of Gaul and Spain. The governors of the provinces, who had long been the spectators, and perhaps the partners, of his depredations, were, at length, roused from their supine indolence by the threatening commands of the emperor. Martius found that he was encompassed, and foresaw that he must be overpowered. A great effort of despair was his last resource. He ordered his followers to disperse, to pass the Alps in small parties, and various disguises, and to assemble at Rome, during the licentious tumult of the festival of Cybele.<sup>18</sup> To murder Commodus, and to ascend the vacant throne, was the ambition of no vulgar robber. His measures were so ably concerted, that his concealed troops already filled the streets of Rome. The envy of an accomplice discovered and ruined this singular enterprise, in the moment when it was ripe for execution.<sup>19</sup>

Suspicious princes often promote the last of mankind, from a vain persuasion, that those who have no dependence, except on their favour, will have no attachment, except to the person of their benefactor. Cleander, the successor of Perennis, was a Phrygian by birth; of a nation, over whose stubborn, but servile temper, blows only could prevail.<sup>20</sup> He had been sent from his native country to Rome, in the capacity of a slave. As a slave he entered the Imperial palace, rendered himself useful to his master's passions, and rapidly ascended to the most exalted station which a subject could enjoy. His influence over the mind of Commodus was much greater than that of his predecessor; for Cleander was devoid of any ability or virtue which could inspire the emperor with envy or distrust. Avarice was the reigning passion of his soul, and the great principle of his administration. The rank of consul, of patrician, of senator, was exposed to public sale; and it would have been considered as disaffection, if any one had refused to purchase these empty and disgraceful honours with the greatest part of his fortune.<sup>21</sup> In the lucrative provincial employments, the minister shared with the governor the spoils of the people. The execution of the laws was venal and arbitrary. A wealthy criminal might obtain, not only the reversal of the sentence by which he was justly condemned; but might likewise inflict whatever punishment he pleased on the accuser, the witnesses, and the judge.

The minister  
Cleander.His avarice  
and cruelty.

By these means, Cleander, in the space of three years, had accumulated more wealth than had ever yet been possessed by any freedman.<sup>22</sup> Commodus was perfectly satisfied with the mag-

<sup>16</sup> In a note upon the Augustan History, Casaubon has collected a number of particulars concerning these celebrated brothers. See p. 96 of his learned commentaries.

<sup>17</sup> Dion, l. ix. c. p. 1210. Herodian, l. i. p. 22. Hist. August. p. 48. Dion gives a much less odious character of Perennis, than the other historians. His moderation is almost a pledge of his veracity.

<sup>18</sup> During the second Puntar war, the Romans imported from Asia the worship of the mother of the gods. Her festival, the *Megasthenia*, began in the fourth of April, and lasted six days. The streets were crowded with mad processions, the theatres with spectators, and the

public tables with unhidden guests. Order and police were suspended, and pleasure was the only serious business of the city. See Ovid. de Fastis, l. iv. p. 192, &c.

<sup>19</sup> Herodian, l. i. c. p. 25, 28.

<sup>20</sup> Ciceron pro Flacco, c. 27.

<sup>21</sup> One of these dark-bought promotions occasioned a current bon mot, that *Julius* (sohn) was *buried* into the senate.

<sup>22</sup> Dion, l. ix. c. p. 12, 13 observes, that no freedman had possessed riches equal to those of Cleander. The fortune of Pallas, however, exceeded, upwards of five and twenty hundred thousand pounds, for *million*.

nificent presents which the artful courtier laid at his feet in the most seasonable moments. To divert the public envy, Cleander, under the emperor's name, erected baths, porticos, and places of exercise, for the use of the people.<sup>23</sup> He flattered himself that the Romans, dazzled and amused by this apparent liberality, would be less affected by the bloody scenes which were daily exhibited; that they would forget the death of Byrrhus, a senator to whose superior merit the late emperor had granted one of his daughters; and that they would forgive the execution of Arrius Antoninus, the last representative of the name and virtues of the Antonines. The former, with more integrity than prudence, had attempted to disclose to his brother-in-law the true character of Cleander. An equitable sentence pronounced by the latter, when proconsul of Asia, against a worthless creature of the favourite, proved fatal to him.<sup>24</sup> After the fall of Perennis, the terrors of Commodus had, for a short time, assumed the appearance of a return to virtue. He repealed the most odious of his acts, loaded his memory with the public execration, and ascribed to the pernicious counsels of that wicked minister, all the errors of his inexperienced youth. But his repentance lasted only thirty days; and, under Cleander's tyranny, the administration of Perennis was often regretted.

Pestilence and famine contributed to fill up the measure of the calamities of Rome.<sup>25</sup> The first could be only imputed to the just indignation of the gods; but a monopoly of corn, supported by the riches and power of the minister, was considered as the immediate cause of the second. The popular discontent, after it had long circulated in whispers, broke out in the assembled circus: the people quitted their favourite amusements, for the more delicious pleasure of revenge, rushed in crowds towards a palace in the suburbs, one of the emperor's retirements, and demanded, with angry clamours, the head of the public enemy. Cleander, who commanded the praetorian guards,<sup>26</sup> ordered a body of cavalry to sally forth, and disperse the seditious multitude. The multitude fled with precipitation towards the city; several were slain, and many more were trampled to death: but when the cavalry entered the streets, their pursuit was checked by a shower of stones and darts from the roofs and windows of the houses. The foot guards,<sup>27</sup> who had been long jealous of the prerogatives and insolence of the praetorian cavalry, embraced the party of the people. The tumult became a regular engagement, and threatened a general massacre. The praetorians, at length, gave way, oppressed with numbers; and the tide of popular fury returned with redoubled violence against the gates of the palace, where Commodus lay, dissolved in

luxury, and alone unconscious of the civil war. It was death to approach his person with the unwelcome news. He would have perished in this supine security, had not two women, his eldest sister Fadilla, and Marcia the most favoured of his concubines, ventured to break into his presence. Bathed in tears, and with dishevelled hair, they threw themselves at his feet; and with all the pressing eloquence of fear, discovered to the affrighted emperor, the crimes of the minister, the rage of the people, and the impending ruin, which, in a few minutes, would burst over his palace and person. Commodus started from his dream of pleasure, and commanded that the head of Cleander should be thrown out to the people. The desired spectacle instantly appeased the tumult; and the son of Marcus might even yet have regained the affection and confidence of his subjects.<sup>28</sup>

But every sentiment of virtue and humanity was extinct in the mind of Commodus. Whilst he thus abandoned the reins of empire to these unworthy favourites, he valued nothing in sovereign power, except the unbounded licence of indulging his sensual appetites. His hours were spent in a seraglio of three hundred beautiful women, and as many boys of every rank, and of every province; and, wherever the arts of seduction proved ineffectual, the brutal force had recourse to violence. The ancient<sup>23</sup> historians have expatiated on these abandoned scenes of prostitution, which scorning every restraint of nature or modesty; but it would not be easy to translate their too faithful descriptions into the decency of modern language. The intervals of lust were filled up with the basest amusements. The influence of a polite age, and the labour of an attentive education, had never been able to infuse into his rude and brutish mind the least tincture of learning; and he was the first of the Roman emperors totally devoid of taste for the pleasures of the understanding. Nero himself excelled, or affected to excel, in the elegant arts of music and poetry; nor should we despise his pursuits, had he not converted the pleasing relaxation of a leisure hour into the serious business and ambition of his life. But Commodus, from his earliest infancy, discovered an aversion to whatever was rational or liberal, and a fond attachment to the amusements of the populace; the sports of the circus and amphitheatre, the combats of gladiators, and the hunting of wild beasts. The masters in every branch of learning, whom Marcus provided for his son, were heard with inattention and disgust; whilst the Moors and Parthians, who taught him to dart the javelin and to shoot with the bow, found a disciple who delighted in his application, and soon equalled the most skilful of his instructors.

fence of his master's person. Salmasius and Casaubon seem to have talked very idly upon this passage.

27. *ἡ τοῦ πραιτωρίου στρατιὰ*. Herodian, l. c. p. 31. It is doubtful whether he means the praetorian infantry, or the cohorts *urbanæ*, a body of a thousand men, but whose rank and discipline were not equal to the *legiones*. Neither Talmage nor Wotton choose to decide this question.

29 Saronibus suis constipuit. Ipsas cor uisus suas sub oculis suis stupris iubebat. Nec inuictum se se mentium carebat infirma, omni parte corporis atque ore illi «sum utrumque potuit».

<sup>23</sup> Dion. l. lxxii, p. 12, 13. Herodian, i, p. 90. 11 st. August  
p. 52. These both were situated near the *Porta Capena*. See Nar-  
dini, *Roma Antica*, p. 79.

25 Herodian, i. 1 p. 28. Dion. l. lxxxi p. 1215. The latter says that two thousand persons died every day at Rome, during a considerable length of time.

26) *Tuncque primum tres praefecti prae oris fuere inter quos libertinus.* From some remains of modesty, Cleander declined the title, whilst he assumed the powers of Praetorian praefect. As the other five men were styled, from their several departments, *praefecti aedilium, aequilae, alae, cohortis, speculorum*, Cleander called himself a *pugnae*, as intrusted with the de-



in the steadiness of the eye, and the dexterity of the hand.

<sup>Hunting of wild beasts.</sup> The servile crowd, whose fortune depended on their master's vices, applauded these ignoble pursuits. The perfidious voice of flattery reminded him, that by exploits of the same nature, by the defeat of the Nemean lion, and the slaughter of the wild boar of Erymanthus, the Grecian Hercules had acquired a place among the gods, and an immortal memory among men. They only forgot to observe, that, in the first ages of society, when the fiercer animals often dispute with man the possession of an unsettled country, a successful war against those savages is one of the most innocent and beneficial labours of heroism. In the civilised state of the Roman empire, the wild beasts had long since retired from the face of man, and the neighbourhood of populous cities. To surprise them in their solitary haunts, and to transport them to Rome, that they might be slain in pomp by the hand of an emperor, was an enterprise equally ridiculous for the prince, and oppressive for the people.<sup>30</sup> Ignorant of these distinctions, Commodus eagerly embraced the glorious resemblance, and styled himself (as we still read on his medals<sup>31</sup>) the *Roman Hercules*. The club and the lion's hide were placed by the side of the throne, amongst the ensigns of sovereignty; and statues were erected, in which Commodus was represented in the character, and with the attributes, of the god, whose valour and dexterity he endeavoured to emulate in the daily course of his ferocious amusements.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>Commodus displays his skill in the amphitheatre.</sup> Elated with these praises, which gradually extinguished the innate sense of shame, Commodus resolved to exhibit, before the eyes of the Roman people, those exercises, which till then he had decently confined within the walls of his palace, and to the presence of a few favourites. On the appointed day, the various motives of flattery, fear, and curiosity, attracted to the amphitheatre an innumerable multitude of spectators; and some degree of applause was deservedly bestowed on the uncommon skill of the Imperial performer. Whether he aimed at the head or heart of the animal, the wound was alike certain and mortal. With arrows whose point was shaped into the form of a crescent, Commodus often intercepted the rapid career, and cut asunder the long bony neck, of the ostrich.<sup>33</sup> A panther was let loose; and the archer waited till he had leaped upon a trembling malefactor. In the same instant the shaft flew, the beast dropt dead, and the man remained unhurt. The dens of the amphitheatre disgorged at once a hundred lions; a hundred

darts from the unerring hand of Commodus laid them dead as they ran raging round the arena. Neither the huge bulk of the elephant, nor the scaly hide of the rhinoceros, could defend them from his stroke. Ethiopia and India yielded their most extraordinary productions; and several animals were slain in the amphitheatre, which had been seen only in the representations of art, or perhaps of fancy.<sup>34</sup> In all these exhibitions, the strictest precautions were used to protect the person of the Roman Hercules from the desperate spring of any savage, who might possibly disregard the dignity of the emperor, and the sanctity of the god.<sup>35</sup>

But the meanest of the populace <sup>Acts as a gladiator.</sup> were affected with shame and indignation when they beheld their sovereign enter the lists as a gladiator, and glory in a profession which the laws and manners of the Romans had branded with the justest note of infamy.<sup>36</sup> He chose the habit and arms of the *Secutor*, whose combat with the *Retiarius* formed one of the most lively scenes in the bloody sports of the amphitheatre. The *Secutor* was armed with an helmet, sword, and buckler; his naked antagonist had only a large net and a trident; with the one he endeavoured to entangle, with the other to dispatch his enemy. If he missed the first throw, he was obliged to fly from the pursuit of the *Secutor*, till he had prepared his net for a second cast.<sup>37</sup> The emperor fought in this character seven hundred and thirty-five several times. These glorious achievements were carefully recorded in the public acts of the empire; and that he might omit no circumstance of infamy, he received from the common fund of gladiators, a stipend so exorbitant, that it became a new and most ignominious tax upon the Roman people.<sup>38</sup> It may be easily supposed, that in these engagements the master of the world was always successful. In the amphitheatre his victories were not often sanguinary; but when he exercised his skill in the school of gladiators, or his own palace, his wretched antagonists were frequently honoured with a mortal wound from the hand of Commodus, and obliged to seal their flattery with their blood.<sup>39</sup> He now dis- <sup>His infamy and extravagance.</sup> claimed the appellation of Hercules. The name of Paulus, a celebrated *secutor*, was the only one which delighted his ear. It was inscribed on his colossal statues, and repeated in the redoubled acclamations<sup>40</sup> of the mournful and applauding senate.<sup>41</sup> Claudius Pompeianus, the virtuous husband of Lucilla, was the only senator who asserted the honour of his rank. As a father, he permitted his sons to consult their safety by attending the

<sup>30</sup> The African lion, when pressed by hunger, offered the emperor a victim, and he accepted of it; and the emperor, in the midst of the combat, was so much affected by the sight of the animal, that he was forced to retreat from the arena, and the emperor, in the midst of the combat, was so much affected by the sight of the animal, that he was forced to retreat from the arena.

<sup>31</sup> The emperor, in the midst of the combat, was so much affected by the sight of the animal, that he was forced to retreat from the arena.

<sup>32</sup> The emperor, in the midst of the combat, was so much affected by the sight of the animal, that he was forced to retreat from the arena.

<sup>33</sup> The emperor, in the midst of the combat, was so much affected by the sight of the animal, that he was forced to retreat from the arena.

<sup>34</sup> The virtuous and even the wise emperors, forbade the emperor, and

<sup>35</sup> The emperor, in the midst of the combat, was so much affected by the sight of the animal, that he was forced to retreat from the arena.

<sup>36</sup> The emperor, in the midst of the combat, was so much affected by the sight of the animal, that he was forced to retreat from the arena.

<sup>37</sup> The emperor, in the midst of the combat, was so much affected by the sight of the animal, that he was forced to retreat from the arena.



artifices of Commodus; but when at length they were assured that the tyrant was no more, they resigned themselves to all the transports of joy and indignation. Pertinax, who modestly represented the meanness of his extraction, and pointed out several noble senators more deserving than himself of the empire, was constrained by their dutiful violence to ascend the throne, and received all the titles of Imperial power, confirmed by the most sincere vows of fidelity. The memory of Commodus was branded with eternal infamy. The names of tyrant, of gladiator, of public enemy, resounded in every corner of the house. They decreed, in tumultuous votes, that his honours should be reversed, his titles erased from the public monuments, his statues thrown down, his body dragged with a hook into the stripping room of the gladiators, to satiate the public fury; and they expressed some indignation against those officious servants who had already presumed to screen his remains from the justice of the senate. But Pertinax could not refuse those last rites to the memory of Marcus, and the tears of his first protector Claudius Pompeianus, who lamented the cruel fate of his brother-in-law, and lamented still more that he had deserved it.<sup>47</sup>

The memory of Commodus declared infamous.

Legal jurisdiction of the senate over the emperors.

These effusions of impotent rage against a dead emperor, whom the senate had flattered when alive with the most abject servility, betrayed a just but ungenerous spirit of revenge. The legality of these decrees was however supported by the principles of the Imperial constitution. To censure, to depose, or to punish with death, the first magistrate of the republic, who had abused his delegated trust, was the ancient and undoubted prerogative of the Roman senate;<sup>48</sup> but that feeble assembly was obliged to content itself with inflicting on a fallen tyrant that public justice, from which, during his life and reign, he had been shielded by the strong arm of military despotism.

Merits of Pertinax.

Pertinax found a nobler way of condemning his predecessor's memory; by the contrast of his own virtues with the vices of Commodus. On the day of his accession, he resigned over to his wife and son his whole private fortune; that they might have no pretence to solicit favours at the expense of the state. He refused to flatter the vanity of the former with the title of Augusta; or to corrupt the inexperienced youth of the latter by the rank of Caesar. Accurately distinguishing between the duties of a parent and those of a sovereign, he educated his son with a severe simplicity, which, while it gave him no assured prospect of the throne, might in time have rendered him worthy of it. In public, the behaviour of Pertinax was grave and affable. He lived with the virtuous part of the senate (and, in a private station, he had been acquainted with the true character of each individual.) without either pride or

jealousy; considered them as friends and companions, with whom he had shared the dangers of the tyranny, and with whom he wished to enjoy the security of the present time. He very frequently invited them to familiar entertainments, the frugality of which was ridiculed by those who remembered and regretted the luxurious prodigality of Commodus.<sup>49</sup>

To heal, as far as it was possible, the wounds inflicted by the hand of reform the state. tyranny, was the pleasing but melancholy task of Pertinax. The innocent victims who yet survived were recalled from exile, released from prison, and restored to the full possession of their honours and fortunes. The unburied bodies of murdered senators (for the cruelty of Commodus endeavoured to extend itself beyond death) were deposited in the sepulchres of their ancestors; their memory was justified; and every consolation was bestowed on their ruined and afflicted families. Among these consolations, one of the most grateful was the punishment of the Delators; the common enemies of their master, of virtue, and of their country. Yet even in the inquisition of these legal assassins, Pertinax proceeded with a steady temper, which gave every thing to justice, and nothing to popular prejudice and resentment.

The finances of the state demanded the most vigilant care of the emperor. Though every measure of injustice and extortion had been adopted which could collect the property of the subject into the coffers of the prince, the rapaciousness of Commodus had been so very inadequate to his extravagance, that, upon his death, no more than eight thousand pounds were found in the exhausted treasury,<sup>50</sup> to defray the current expenses of government, and to discharge the pressing demand of a liberal donative, which the new emperor had been obliged to promise to the prætorian guards. Yet under these distressed circumstances, Pertinax had the generous firmness to remit all the oppressive taxes invented by Commodus, and to cancel all the unjust claims of the treasury; declaring, in a decree of the senate, "that he was better satisfied to administer a poor republic with innocence, than to acquire riches by the ways of tyranny and dishonour." Economy and industry he considered as the pure and genuine sources of wealth; and from them he soon derived a copious supply for the public necessities. The expense of the household was immediately reduced to one half. All the instruments of luxury Pertinax exposed to public auction;<sup>51</sup> gold and silver plate, chariots of a singular construction, a superfluous wardrobe of silk and embroidery, and a great number of beautiful slaves of both sexes; excepting only, with attentive humanity, those who were born in a state of freedom, and had been ravished from the arms of their weeping parents. At the same time that he obliged the worthless favourites of the tyrant to resign a part of their ill-gotten wealth,

His regulations,

<sup>47</sup> Capitolinus gives us the particulars of these tumultuary votes, which were moved by one senator, and repeated, or rather chanted, by the whole body. Hist. August. p. 52.

<sup>48</sup> The senate condemned Nero to be put to death more majorem.

Sueton. c. 19.

<sup>49</sup> Dion. lxxxv. c. 19.

who he

like a . . .

<sup>50</sup> Decree. The blameless economy of Pius left his successors a treasure of *monetae repulsi milia*, above two and twenty millions sterling. Dion. l. lxxviii. p. 1251.

<sup>51</sup> Besides the design of converting these superfluous ornaments into money, Dion l. lxxviii. p. 1251. He wished to extort from the purchasers those

he satisfied the just creditors of the state; and unexpectedly discharged the long arrears of honest services. He removed the oppressive restrictions which had been laid upon commerce, and granted all the uncultivated lands in Italy and the provinces to those who would improve them, with an exemption from tribute during the term of ten years.<sup>52</sup>

Such an uniform conduct had already secured to Pertinax the noblest reward of a sovereign, the love and esteem of his people. Those who remembered the virtues of Marcus, were happy to contemplate in their new emperor the features of that bright original; and flattered themselves that they should long enjoy the benign influence of his administration. A hasty zeal to reform the corrupted state, accompanied with less prudence than might have been expected from the years and experience of Pertinax, proved fatal to himself and to his country. His honest indiscretion united against him the servile crowd, who found their private benefit in the public disorders, and who preferred the favour of a tyrant to the inextinguishable equality of the laws.<sup>53</sup>

Amidst the general joy, the sullen and angry countenance of the prætorian guards betrayed their inward dissatisfaction. They had reluctantly submitted to Pertinax; they dreaded the strictness of the ancient discipline, which he was preparing to restore; and they regretted the licence of the former reign. Their discontents were secretly fomented by Lætus their prefect, who found, when it was too late, that his new emperor would reward a servant, but would not be ruled by a favourite. On the third day of his reign, the soldiers seized on a noble senator, with a design to carry him to the camp and to invest him with the Imperial purple. Instead of being dazzled by the dangerous honour, the affrighted victim escaped from their violence, and took refuge at the feet of Pertinax. A short time afterwards, Sossius Falco, one of the consuls of the year, a rash youth,<sup>54</sup> but of an ancient and opulent family, listened to the voice of ambition, and a conspiracy was formed during a short absence of Pertinax, which was crushed by his sudden return to Rome, and his resolute behaviour. Falco was on the point of being justly condemned to death as a public enemy, had he not been saved by the earnest and sincere entreaties of the injured emperor; who conjured the senate, that the purity of his reign might not be stained by the blood even of a guilty senator.

These disappointments served only to irritate the rage of the prætorian guards. On the twenty-eighth of March, eighty-six days only after the death of Commodus, a general sedition broke out in the camp, which the officers wanted either power or inclination to suppress. Two or three hundred of the most desperate soldiers marched

at noon-day, with arms in their hands and fury in their looks, towards the Imperial palace. The gates were thrown open by their companions upon guard, and by the domestics of the old court, who had already formed a secret conspiracy against the life of the too virtuous emperor. On the news of their approach, Pertinax, disdaining either flight or concealment, advanced to meet his assassins; and recalled to their minds his own innocence, and the sanctity of their recent oath. For a few moments they stood in silent suspense, ashamed of their atrocious design, and awed by the venerable aspect and majestic firmness of their sovereign, till at length the despair of pardon reviving their fury, a barbarian of the country of Tongres<sup>55</sup> levelled the first blow against Pertinax, who was instantly dispatched with a multitude of wounds. His head, separated from his body and placed on a lance, was carried in triumph to the prætorian camp, in the sight of a mournful and indignant people, who lamented the unworthy fate of that excellent prince, and the transient blessings of a reign, the memory of which could serve only to aggravate their approaching misfortunes.<sup>56</sup>

## CHAP. V.

*Public Sale of the Empire to Didius Julianus by the Prætorian Guards. — Clodius Albinus in Britain, Pescennius Niger in Syria, and Septimius Severus in Pannonia, declare against the Murderers of Pertinax. — Civil Wars and Victory of Severus over his three Rivals. — Relaxation of Discipline. — New Maxims of Government.*

THE power of the sword is more sensibly felt in an extensive monarchy, than in a small community. It has been calculated by the ablest politicians, that no state, without being soon exhausted, can maintain above the hundredth part of its members in arms and idleness. But although this relative proportion may be uniform, the influence of the army over the rest of the society will vary according to the degree of its positive strength. The advantages of military science and discipline cannot be exerted, unless a proper number of soldiers are united into one body, and actuated by one soul. With a handful of men, such an union would be ineffectual; with an unwieldy host, it would be impracticable; and the powers of the machine would be alike destroyed by the extreme minuteness, or the excessive weight, of its springs. To illustrate this observation, we need only reflect, that there is no superiority of natural strength, artificial weapons, or acquired skill, which could enable one man to keep in constant subjection one hundred of his fellow-creatures. The tyrant of a single town, or a small district, would soon

Proportion of the military force to the number of the people.

Murder of Pertinax by the prætorians, A. D. 193, March 28.

These disappointments served only to irritate the rage of the prætorian guards. On the twenty-eighth of March, eighty-six days only after the death of Commodus, a general sedition broke out in the camp, which the officers wanted either power or inclination to suppress. Two or three hundred of the most desperate soldiers marched

<sup>52</sup> Though Capitolinus has picked up many idle tales of the private life of Pertinax, he joins with Dion and Herodian in admiring his public conduct.

<sup>53</sup> Lætus, rem sordidum, inextinguibilem esse. Tac. iv. 7.

<sup>54</sup> If we resort to the story, which is related of him, Falco behaved with the most petulant indignation to Pertinax, on the day of his accession. The new emperor only admonished him of his youth and inexperience. Hist. August. p. 55.

<sup>55</sup> The modern historians of France say, that the soldier who first belonged to the Batavian horse, was a Gaul, who made his way into the service of the emperor, and by the same means, which the emperor had used to gain the confidence of the prætorian guard, he was admitted into it. Hist. France, 1782, tom. 1, p. 247. I have been obliged to follow this account, though it is not confirmed by the most ancient historians. Hist. France, 1782, tom. 1, p. 247. I have been obliged to follow this account, though it is not confirmed by the most ancient historians. Hist. France, 1782, tom. 1, p. 247.

discover that an hundred armed followers were a weak defence against ten thousand peasants or citizens; but an hundred thousand well-disciplined soldiers will command, with despotic sway, ten millions of subjects; and a body of ten or fifteen thousand guards will strike terror into the most numerous populace that ever crowded the streets of an immense capital.

The prætorian guards.

The prætorian bands, whose licentious fury was the first symptom and cause of the decline of the Roman empire, scarcely amounted to the last-mentioned number.<sup>1</sup> They derived their institution from Augustus. That crafty

Their institution.

tyrant, sensible that laws might colour, but that arms alone could maintain, his usurped dominion, had gradually formed this powerful body of guards, in constant readiness to protect his person, to awe the senate, and either to prevent or to crush the first motions of rebellion. He distinguished these favoured troops by a double pay, and superior privileges; but, as their formidable aspect would at once have alarmed and irritated the Roman people, three cohorts only were stationed in the capital; whilst the remainder was dispersed in the adjacent towns of Italy.<sup>2</sup> But after fifty years of peace and servitude, Tiberius ventured on a decisive measure, which for ever rivetted the fetters of

Their camp.

his country. Under the fair pretences of relieving Italy from the heavy burden of military quarters, and of introducing a stricter discipline among the guards, he assembled them at Rome, in a permanent camp,<sup>3</sup> which was fortified with skillful care,<sup>4</sup> and placed on a commanding situation.<sup>5</sup>

Such formidable servants are always necessary, but often fatal to the throne of despotism. By thus introducing the prætorian guards as it were into the palace and the senate, the emperors taught them to perceive their own strength, and the weakness of the civil government; to view the vices of their masters with familiar contempt, and to lay aside that reverential awe, which distance only, and mystery, can preserve, towards an imaginary power. In the luxurious idleness of an opulent city, their pride was nourished by the sense of their irresistible weight; nor was it possible to conceal from them, that the person of the sovereign, the authority of the senate, the public treasure, and the seat of empire, were all in their hands. To divert the prætorian bands from these dangerous reflections, the firmest and best established princes were obliged to mix blandishments with commands, rewards with punishments, to flatter their pride, indulge their pleasures, connive at their irregularities, and to

1 They were originally nine or ten thousand men (for Tacitus and Dion are not agreed upon the subject), divided into as many cohorts. Vitellius increased them to sixteen thousand, and as far as we can learn from inscriptions, they never afterwards sunk much below that number. See Eusebius de magnitudine Romæ, l. i.

2 Sueton. in August. c. 49.

3 Tacit. Annal. iv. 2. Sueton. in Tiber. c. 57. Dion Cassius, l. lvi. p. 967.

4 In the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, the prætorian camp was attacked and defended with all the machines used in the siege of the best fortified cities. Tacit. Hist. iii. 4.

5 Close to the walls of the city, on the N.E. or N. side of the Quirinal and Viminal hills. See Nardini Roma Antica, p. 171. Domans de Roma Antiqua, p. 16.

6 Vitellius called by the soldiers to the empire, was the first who gave this name. His case is recorded, 1209. Sueton. in Claud. c. 10. Vitell. Hist. vii. with this is legio Flavia Virtus took great pleasure in

purchase their precarious faith by a liberal donative; which, since the elevation of Claudius, was exacted as a legal claim, on the accession of every new emperor.<sup>6</sup>

The advocates of the guards endeavoured to justify by arguments the power which they asserted by arms; and to maintain that, according to the purest principles of the constitution, their consent was essentially necessary in the appointment of an emperor. The election of consuls, of generals, and of magistrates, however it had been recently usurped by the senate, was the ancient and undoubted right of the Roman people.<sup>7</sup> But where was the Roman people to be found? Not surely amongst the mixed multitude of slaves and strangers that filled the streets of Rome; a servile populace, as devoid of spirit as destitute of property. The defenders of the state, selected from the flower of the Italian youth,<sup>8</sup> and trained in the exercise of arms and virtue, were the genuine representatives of the people, and the best entitled to elect the military chief of the republic. These assertions, however defective in reason, became unanswerable, when the fierce prætorians increased their weight, by throwing, like the barbarian conqueror of Rome, their swords into the scale.<sup>9</sup>

The prætorians had violated the sanctity of the throne, by the atrocious murder of Perinax; they dishonoured the majesty of it, by their subsequent conduct. The camp was without a leader, for even the præfect Lætus, who had excited the tempest, prudently declined the public indignation. Amidst the wild disorder, Sulpicianus, the emperor's father-in-law, and governor of the city, who had been sent to the camp on the first alarm of mutiny, was endeavouring to calm the fury of the multitude, when he was silenced by the clamorous return of the murderers, bearing on a lance the head of Perinax. Though history has accustomed us to observe every principle and every passion yielding to the imperious dictates of ambition, it is scarcely credible that, in these moments of horror, Sulpicianus should have aspired to ascend a throne polluted with the recent blood of so near a relation, and so excellent a prince. He had already begun to use the only effectual argument, and to treat for the Imperial dignity; but the more prudent of the prætorians, apprehensive that, in this private contract, they should not obtain a just price for so valuable a commodity, ran out upon the ramparts; and, with a loud voice, proclaimed that the Roman world was to be disposed of to the best bidder by public auction.<sup>10</sup>

This infamous offer, the most insolent ex-

Juvenal. Tacit. Hist. l. 83.

9 In the siege of Rome by the Gauls. See Livy, v. 48. Plutarch. in Crassus, p. 137.

10 Dion, l. lxxxi. p. 1251. Herodian, l. ii. p. 65. Hist. August. p. 104. Though the three historians agree that it was in fact an auction, Herodian alone affirms that it was proclaimed as such by the

It is purchased by Julian, A.D. 195, March 25

cess of military licence, diffused an universal grief, shame, and indignation throughout the city. It reached at length the ears of Didius Julianus, a wealthy senator, who, regardless of the public calamities, was indulging himself in the luxury of the table.<sup>11</sup> His wife and his daughter, his freedmen and his parasites, easily convinced him that he deserved the throne, and earnestly conjured him to embrace so fortunate an opportunity. The vain old man hastened to the prætorian camp, where Sulpicianus was still in treaty with the guards; and began to bid against him from the foot of the rampart. The unworthy negotiation was transacted by faithful emissaries, who passed alternately from one candidate to the other, and acquainted each of them with the offers of his rival. Sulpicianus had already promised a donative of five thousand drachms (above one hundred and sixty pounds) to each soldier; when Julian, eager for the prize, rose at once to the sum of six thousand two hundred and fifty drachms, or upwards of two hundred pounds sterling. The gates of the camp were instantly thrown open to the purchaser; he was declared emperor, and received an oath of allegiance from the soldiers, who retained humanity enough to stipulate that he should pardon and forget the competition of Sulpicianus.

Julian is acknowledged by the senate.

It was now incumbent on the prætorians to fulfil the conditions of the sale. They placed their new sovereign, whom they served and despised, in the centre of their ranks, surrounded him on every side with their shields, and conducted him in close order of battle through the deserted streets of the city. The senate was commanded to assemble; and those who had been the distinguished friends of Pertinax, or the personal enemies of Julian, found it necessary to affect a more than common share of satisfaction at this happy revolution.<sup>12</sup> After Julian had filled the senate-house with armed soldiers, he expatiated on the freedom of his election, his own eminent virtues, and his full assurance of the affections of the senate. The obsequious assembly congratulated their own and the public felicity; engaged their allegiance, and conferred on him all the several branches of the Imperial power.<sup>13</sup> From the senate Julian was conducted, by the same military procession, to take possession of the palace. The first objects that struck his eyes, were the abandoned trunk of Pertinax, and the frugal entertainment prepared for his supper. The one he viewed with indifference; the other with contempt. A magnificent feast was prepared by his order, and he amused himself, till a very late hour, with dice, and the performances of Pylades, a celebrated dancer. Yet it was observed, that after the crowd of flatterers dispersed, and left him to darkness, solitude, and terrible reflection, he passed a sleepless night; revolving

<sup>11</sup> Spartianus softens the most odious parts of the character and enervation of Julian.

<sup>12</sup> Dion Cassius, at that time prætor, had been a personal enemy to Julian, p. lxxxi. p. 125.

<sup>13</sup> Hist. August. p. 41. We learn from thence one curious circumstance, that the emperor, while at bed, less than he, was not entirely satisfied with the murder of Pertinax.

<sup>14</sup> Dion, lxxxi. p. 125. Hist. August. p. 61. It is also observed

most probably in his mind his own rash folly, the fate of his virtuous predecessor, and the doubtful and dangerous tenure of an empire, which had not been acquired by merit, but purchased by money.<sup>14</sup>

He had reason to tremble. On the throne of the world he found himself without a friend, and even without an adherent. The guards themselves were ashamed of the prince whom their avarice had persuaded them to accept; nor was there a citizen who did not consider his elevation with horror, as the last insult on the Roman name. The nobility, whose conspicuous station, and ample possessions, exacted the strictest caution, dissembled their sentiments, and met the affected civility of the emperor with smiles of complacency, and professions of duty. But the people, secure in their numbers and obscurity, gave a free vent to their passions. The streets and public places of Rome resounded with clamours and imprecations. The enraged multitude affronted the person of Julian, rejected his liberality, and, conscious of the impotence of their own resentment, they called aloud on the legions of the frontiers to assert the violated majesty of the Roman empire.

The public discontent.

The public discontent was soon diffused from the centre to the frontiers of the empire. The armies of Britain, of Syria, and of Illyricum, lamented the death of Pertinax, in whose company, or under whose command, they had so often fought and conquered. They received with surprise, with indignation, and perhaps with envy, the extraordinary intelligence, that the prætorians had disposed of the empire by public auction; and they sternly refused to ratify the ignominious bargain. Their immediate and unanimous revolt was fatal to Julian, but it was fatal at the same time to the public peace; as the generals of the respective armies, Clodius Albinus, Pescennius Niger, and Septimius Severus, were still more anxious to succeed than to revenge the murdered Pertinax. Their forces were exactly balanced. Each of them was at the head of three legions,<sup>15</sup> with a numerous train of auxiliaries; and however different in their characters, they were all soldiers of experience and capacity.

The armies of Britain, Syria, and Illyricum, declare against Julian.

Clodius Albinus, governor of Britain, surpassed both his competitors in the nobility of his extraction, which he derived from some of the most illustrious names of the old republic.<sup>16</sup> But the branch from whence he claimed his descent, was sunk into mean circumstances, and transplanted into a remote province. It is difficult to form a just idea of his true character. Under the philosophic cloak of austerity, he stands accused of concealing most of the vices which degrade human nature.<sup>17</sup> But his accusers are those venal writers who adored the fortune of Severus, and trampled on the

Clodius Albinus in Britain.

to blend into one consistent story the seeming contradictions of the two parties.

<sup>15</sup> Dion, lxxxi. p. 125.

<sup>16</sup> The Pedunus and the Cæsar, the founder of whom was raised to the throne, partly by the arms, and partly by the intrigues of the senate.

<sup>17</sup> Suetonius, and several other writers, have accused him of the most atrocious crimes, and have represented him as the most cruel and tyrannical of the Roman emperors.

ashes of an unsuccessful rival. Virtue, or the appearances of virtue, recommended Albinus to the confidence and good opinion of Marcus; and his preserving with the son the same interest which he had acquired with the father, is a proof at least that he was possessed of a very flexible disposition. The favour of a tyrant does not always suppose a want of merit in the object of it; he may, without intending it, reward a man of worth and ability, or he may find such a man useful to his own service. It does not appear that Albinus served the son of Marcus, either as the minister of his cruelties, or even as the associate of his pleasures. He was employed in a distant honourable command, when he received a confidential letter from the emperor, acquainting him of the treasonable designs of some discontented generals, and authorising him to declare himself the guardian and successor of the throne, by assuming the title and ensigns of Caesar.<sup>18</sup> The governor of Britain wisely declined the dangerous honour, which would have marked him for the jealousy, or involved him in the approaching ruin, of Commodus. He courted power by nobler, or, at least, by more specious arts. On a premature report of the death of the emperor, he assembled his troops; and, in an eloquent discourse, deplored the inevitable mischiefs of despotism, described the happiness and glory which their ancestors had enjoyed under the consular government, and declared his firm resolution to reinstate the senate and people in their legal authority. This popular harangue was answered by the loud acclamations of the British legions, and received at Rome with a secret murmur of applause. Safe in the possession of his little world, and in the command of an army less distinguished indeed for discipline than for numbers and valour,<sup>19</sup> Albinus braved the menaces of Commodus, maintained towards Pertinax a stately ambiguous reserve, and instantly declared against the usurpation of Julian. The convulsions of the capital added new weight to his sentiments, or rather to his professions of patriotism. A regard to decency induced him to decline the lofty titles of Augustus and Emperor; and he imitated perhaps the example of Galba, who, on a similar occasion, had styled himself the Lieutenant of the senate and people.<sup>20</sup>

Pescennius Niger. Personal merit alone had raised

Pescennius Niger, from an obscure birth and station, to the government of Syria; a lucrative and important command, which, in times of civil confusion, gave him a near prospect of the throne. Yet his parts seem to have been better suited to the second than to the first rank; he was an unequal rival, though he might have approved himself an excellent lieutenant, to Severus, who afterwards displayed the greatness of his mind by adopting several

useful institutions from a vanquished enemy.<sup>21</sup> In his government Niger acquired the esteem of the soldiers, and the love of the provincials. His rigid discipline fortified the valour and confirmed the obedience of the former, whilst the voluptuous Syrians were less delighted with the mild firmness of his administration, than with the affability of his manners, and the apparent pleasure with which he attended their frequent and pompous festivals.<sup>22</sup> As soon as the intelligence of the atrocious murder of Pertinax had reached Antioch, the wishes of Asia invited Niger to assume the Imperial purple and revenge his death. The legions of the eastern frontier embraced his cause; the opulent but unarmed provinces from the frontiers of Ethiopia<sup>23</sup> to the Hadriatic, cheerfully submitted to his power; and the kings beyond the Tigris and the Euphrates congratulated his election, and offered him their homage and services. The mind of Niger was not capable of receiving this sudden tide of fortune: he flattered himself that his accession would be undisturbed by competition, and unstained by civil blood; and whilst he enjoyed the vain pomp of triumph, he neglected to secure the means of victory. Instead of entering into an effectual negotiation with the powerful armies of the West, whose resolution might decide, or at least must balance, the mighty contest; instead of advancing without delay towards Rome and Italy, where his presence was impatiently expected,<sup>24</sup> Niger trifled away in the luxury of Antioch those irretrievable moments which were diligently improved by the decisive activity of Severus.<sup>25</sup>

The country of Pannonia and Dalmatia, which occupied the space Pannonia and Dalmatia. between the Danube and the Hadriatic, was one of the last and most difficult conquests of the Romans. In the defence of national freedom, two hundred thousand of these barbarians had once appeared in the field, alarmed the declining age of Augustus, and exercised the vigilant prudence of Tiberius at the head of the collected force of the empire.<sup>26</sup> The Pannonians yielded at length to the arms and institutions of Rome. Their recent subjection, however, the neighbourhood, and even the mixture, of the unconquered tribes, and perhaps the climate, adapted, as it has been observed, to the production of great bodies and slow minds,<sup>27</sup> all contributed to preserve some remains of their original ferocity, and under the tame and uniform countenance of Roman provincials, the hardy features of the natives were still to be discerned. Their warlike youth afforded an inexhaustible supply of recruits to the legions stationed on the banks of the Danube, and which, from a perpetual warfare against the Germans and Sarmatians, were deservedly esteemed the best troops in the service.

<sup>18</sup> Hist. August. p. 50. 81.

<sup>19</sup> Pertinax, who governs d. Britain a few years before, had been left for dead, in a mutiny of the soldiers. Hist. August. p. 51. Yet they loved and regretted him, admirantibus eam virtutem cui trascebantur.

<sup>20</sup> Sueton. in Galb. c. 10.

<sup>21</sup> Hist. August. p. 76.

<sup>22</sup> Herod. l. ii. p. 67. The Chronicle of John Malala, of Antioch, shows the zealous attachment of his countrymen to these festivals of pleasure.

<sup>23</sup> Herod. l. ii. p. 67. The Chronicle of John Malala, of Antioch, shows the zealous attachment of his countrymen to these festivals of pleasure.

is not, as I strongly suspect, mistaken, he has brought to light a dynasty of tributary princes totally unknown to history.

<sup>24</sup> Dion. l. lxxv. p. 1258. Herod. l. i. p. 67. A verse in every one's mouth at that time, seems to express the general opinion of the three rival dynasties est Niger, bonus Afer, pessimus Alys. Hist. August. p. 75.

<sup>25</sup> Herodian, l. ii. p. 71.

<sup>26</sup> See in account of that memorable war in Velleius Paterculus, ii. 110. See who served in the army of Tiberius.

<sup>27</sup> Such is the reflection of Herodian, l. ii. p. 71. Will the most in Austrians allow the influence?

**Septimius Severus** The Pannonian army was at this time commanded by Septimius Severus, a native of Africa, who, in the gradual ascent of private honours, had concealed his daring ambition, which was never diverted from its steady course by the allurments of pleasure, the apprehension of danger, or the feelings of humanity.<sup>28</sup> On the first news of the murder of Pertinax, he assembled his troops, painted in the most lively colours the crime, the insolence, and the weakness of the prætorian guards, and animated the legions to arms and to revenge. He concluded (and the peroration was thought extremely eloquent) with promising every soldier about four hundred pounds; an honourable donative, double in value to the infamous bribe with which Julian had purchased the empire.<sup>29</sup>

The acclamations of the army immediately saluted Severus with the names of Augustus, Pertinax, and Emperor; and he thus attained the lofty station to which he was invited, by conscious merit and a long train of dreams and omens, the fruitful offspring either of his superstition or policy.<sup>30</sup>

The new candidate for empire saw and improved the peculiar advantage of his situation. His province extended to the Julian Alps, which gave an easy access into Italy; and he remembered the saying of Augustus, That a Pannonian army might in ten days appear in sight of Rome.<sup>31</sup> By a celerity proportioned to the greatness of the occasion, he might reasonably hope to revenge Pertinax, punish Julian, and receive the homage of the senate and people, as their lawful emperor, before his competitors, separated from Italy by an immense tract of sea and land, were apprised of his success, or even of his election. During the whole expedition, he scarcely allowed himself any moments for sleep or food; marching on foot, and in complete armour, at the head of his columns, he insinuated himself into the confidence and affection of his troops, pressed their diligence, revived their spirits, animated their hopes, and was well satisfied to share the hardships of the meanest soldier, whilst he kept in view the infinite superiority of his reward.

The wretched Julian had expected, and thought himself prepared, to dispute the empire with the governor of Syria; but in the invincible and rapid approach of the Pannonian legions, he saw his inevitable ruin. The hasty arrival of every messenger increased his just apprehensions. He was successively informed, that Severus had passed the Alps: that the Italian cities, unwilling or unable to oppose his progress, had received him with the warmest professions of joy and duty; that the important place of Ravenna had surrendered without resistance, and that the

Adriatic fleet was in the hands of the conqueror. The enemy was now within two hundred and fifty miles of Rome; and every moment diminished the narrow span of life and empire allotted to Julian.

He attempted, however, to prevent, or at least to protract, his ruin. He implored the venal faith of the prætorians, filled the city with unavailing preparations for war, drew lines round the suburbs, and even strengthened the fortifications of the palace; as if those last intrenchments could be defended without hope of relief against a victorious invader. Fear and shame prevented the guards from deserting his standard; but they trembled at the name of the Pannonian legions, commanded by an experienced general, and accustomed to vanquish the barbarians on the frozen Danube.<sup>32</sup> They quitted, with a sigh, the pleasures of the baths and theatres, to put on arms, whose use they had almost forgotten, and beneath the weight of which they were oppressed. The unpractised elephants, whose uncouth appearance, it was hoped, would strike terror into the army of the north, threw their unskilful riders; and the awkward evolutions of the marines, drawn from the fleet of Misenum, were an object of ridicule to the populace; whilst the senate enjoyed, with secret pleasure, the distress and weakness of the usurper.<sup>33</sup>

Every motion of Julian betrayed his trembling perplexity. He insisted that Severus should be declared a public enemy by the senate. He intreated that the Pannonian general might be associated to the empire. He sent public ambassadors of consular rank to negotiate with his rival; he dispatched private assassins to take away his life. He designed that the Vestal virgins, and all the colleges of priests, in their sacerdotal habits, and bearing before them the sacred pledges of the Roman religion, should advance, in solemn procession, to meet the Pannonian legions; and, at the same time, he vainly tried to interrogate, or to appease, the fates, by magic ceremonies, and unlawful sacrifices.<sup>34</sup>

Severus who dreaded neither his arms nor his enchantments, guarded himself from the only danger of secret conspiracy, by the faithful attendance of six hundred chosen men, who never quitted his person or their cuirasses, either by night or by day, during the whole march. Advancing with a steady and rapid course, he passed, without difficulty, the defiles of the Apennine, received into his party the troops and ambassadors sent to retard his progress, and made a short halt at Interamna, about seventy miles from Rome. His victory was already secure; but the despair of the prætorians might have rendered it bloody; and Severus had the kingly ambition of as-

**Advances towards Rome.**

pected, and thought himself prepared, to dispute the empire with the governor of Syria; but in the invincible and rapid approach of the Pannonian legions, he saw his inevitable ruin. The hasty arrival of every messenger increased his just apprehensions. He was successively informed, that Severus had passed the Alps: that the Italian cities, unwilling or unable to oppose his progress, had received him with the warmest professions of joy and duty; that the important place of Ravenna had surrendered without resistance, and that the

<sup>28</sup> In the letter to Albinus, already mentioned, Commodus accuses Severus, as one of the ambitious generals who covered his conduct, and wished to occupy his place. Hist. August. p. 100.  
<sup>29</sup> Pannonia was too poor to supply such a sum. It was probably procured in the camps, and paid at Rome, after the victory. In 193 the sum I have adopted the conjecture of Cassiodorus. See Hist. August. p. 100. Commod. p. 115.  
<sup>30</sup> Herodian, l. iii. c. 78. Severus was declared emperor on the banks of the Danube, either at Carnuntum, according to Spartianus (Hist. August. p. 105), or else at Augusta, according to Victor. Mr. Hume, in supposing that the birth and a great of Severus, was too much inferior to the Imperial crown, and that he marched in Italy as

**Distress of Julian.**

**His uncertain conduct.**

**Is deserted by the prætorians.**

general only, he has not considered this transaction with his usual accuracy. See on the 12th, 24th, and 25th of March.

<sup>31</sup> Velleius Paterculus, l. ii. c. 7. We must reckon the march from the nearest city of Pannonia, and extend the sight of the city as far as the first defiles were.

<sup>32</sup> I have not a single passage of history, but refer to a real fact recorded by Dion, l. lxxv. p. 1154. It is probable he passed more than once.

<sup>33</sup> Dion, l. lxxv. c. 17. Herodian, l. iii. c. 78. There is no stronger proof of the misery of the prætorians, than that they first sought the shelter, and after so doing, casting the dangerous use of elephants in a war.

<sup>34</sup> Hist. August. p. 105.



cending the throne without drawing the sword.<sup>35</sup> His emissaries, dispersed in the capital, assured the guards, that provided they would abandon their worthless prince, and the perpetrators of the murder of Pertinax, to the justice of the conqueror, he would no longer consider that melancholy event as the act of the whole body. The faithless prætorians, whose resistance was supported only by sullen obstinacy, gladly complied with the easy conditions, seized the greatest part of the assassins, and signified to the senate, that they no longer defended the cause of Julian. That assembly, convoked by the consul, unanimously acknowledged Severus as lawful emperor, decreed divine honours to Pertinax, and

pronounced a sentence of deposition and death against his unfortunate successor. Julian was conducted into a private apartment of the baths of the palace, and beheaded as a common criminal, after having purchased, with an immense treasure, an anxious and precarious reign of only sixty-six days.<sup>36</sup> The almost incredible expedition of Severus, who, in so short a space of time, conducted a numerous army from the banks of the Danube to those of the Tiber, proves at once the plenty of provisions produced by agriculture and commerce, the goodness of the roads, the discipline of the legions, and the indolent subdued temper of the provinces.<sup>37</sup>

The first cares of Severus were bestowed on two measures, the one dictated by policy, the other by decency; the revenge, and the honours, due to the memory of Pertinax. Before the new emperor entered Rome, he issued his commands to the prætorian guards, directing them to wait his arrival on a large plain near the city, without arms, but in the habits of ceremony, in which they were accustomed to attend their sovereign. He was obeyed by those haughty troops, whose contumacious was the effect of their just terrors. A chosen part of the Illyrian army encompassed them with levelled spears. Incapable of flight or resistance, they expected their fate in silent consternation. Severus mounted the tribunal, sternly reproached them with perfidy and cowardice, dismissed them with ignominy from the trust which they had betrayed, despoiled them of their splendid ornaments, and banished them, on pain of death, to the distance of an hundred miles from the capital. During the transaction, another detachment had been sent to seize their arms, occupy their camp, and prevent the hasty consequences of their despair.<sup>38</sup>

The funeral and consecration of Pertinax was next solemnised with every circumstance of sad magnificence.<sup>39</sup> The senate, with a melancholy pleasure, performed the last rites to that excellent prince, whom they had loved, and still regretted.

The concern of his successor was probably less sincere. He esteemed the virtues of Pertinax, but those virtues would for ever have confined his ambition to a private station. Severus pronounced his funeral oration with studied eloquence, inward satisfaction, and well-acted sorrow; and by this pious regard to his memory, convinced the credulous multitude that *he alone* was worthy to supply his place. Sensible, however, that arms, not ceremonies, must assert his claim to the empire, he left Rome at the end of thirty days, and, without suffering himself to be elated by this easy victory, prepared to encounter his more formidable rivals.

The uncommon abilities and fortune of Severus have induced an elegant historian to compare him with the first and greatest of the Cæsars.<sup>40</sup> The parallel is, at least, imperfect. Where shall we find, in the character of Severus, the commanding superiority of soul, the generous clemency, and the various genius, which could reconcile and unite the love of pleasure, the thirst of knowledge, and the fire of ambition?<sup>41</sup> In one instance only, they may be compared, with some degree of propriety, in the celerity of their motions, and their civil victories. In less than four years,<sup>42</sup> Severus subdued the riches of the east, and the valour of the west. He vanquished two competitors of reputation and ability, and defeated numerous armies, provided with weapons and discipline equal to his own. In that age, the art of fortification, and the principles of tactics, were well understood by all the Roman generals; and the constant superiority of Severus was that of an artist, who uses the same instruments with more skill and industry than his rivals. I shall not, however, enter into a minute narrative of these military operations; but as the two civil wars against Niger and against Albinus were almost the same in their conduct, event, and consequences, I shall collect into one point of view, the most striking circumstances, tending to develop the character of the conqueror, and the state of the empire.

Falschood and insincerity, unsuitable as they seem to the dignity of public transactions, offend us with a less degrading idea of meanness, than when they are found in the intercourse of private life. In the latter, they discover a want of courage; in the other, only a defect of power: and, as it is impossible for the most able statesmen to subdue millions of followers and enemies by their own personal strength, the world, under the name of policy, seems to have granted them a very liberal indulgence of craft and dissimulation. Yet the arts of Severus by the most ample privileges of state reason. He promised only to betray, he flat-

and condemned and executed by order of the senate, A.D. 193, June 2.

Disgrace of the prætorian guards.

Funeral and consecration of Pertinax.

Success of Severus against Niger, and against Albinus.

A.D. 193-197.

Conduct of the two civil wars.

Arts of Severus.

<sup>35</sup> Thon, l. lxxv. p. 1241. Herodian, l. ii. p. 84.  
<sup>36</sup> Dion l. lxxv. p. 1214 who assisted at the ceremony as a senator, gives a most pompous description of it.  
<sup>37</sup> See also the description of it.

<sup>38</sup> See also the description of it.

<sup>39</sup> See also the description of it.

<sup>40</sup> See also the description of it.

tered only to ruin; and however he might occasionally bind himself by oaths and treaties, his conscience, obsequious to his interest, always released him from the inconvenient obligation.<sup>43</sup>

If his two competitors, reconciled towards Niger; by their common danger, had advanced upon him without delay, perhaps Severus would have sunk under their united effort. Had they even attacked him, at the same time, with separate views and separate armies, the contest might have been long and doubtful. But they fell, singly and successively, an easy prey to the arts as well as arms of their subtle enemy, lulled into security by the moderation of his professions, and overwhelmed by the rapidity of his action. He first marched against Niger, whose reputation and power he the most dreaded; but he declined any hostile declarations, suppressed the name of his antagonist, and only signified to the senate and people his intention of regulating the eastern provinces. In private he spoke of Niger, his old friend and intended successor,<sup>44</sup> with the most affectionate regard, and highly applauded his generous design of revenging the murder of Pertinax. To punish the vile usurper of the throne, was the duty of every Roman general. To persevere in arms, and to resist a lawful emperor, acknowledged by the senate, would alone render him criminal.<sup>45</sup> The sons of Niger had fallen into his hands among the children of the provincial governors, detained at Rome as pledges for the loyalty of their parents.<sup>46</sup> As long as the power of Niger inspired terror, or even respect, they were educated with the most tender care, with the children of Severus himself; but they were soon involved in their father's ruin, and removed, first by exile, and afterwards by death, from the eye of public compassion.<sup>47</sup>

Whilst Severus was engaged in his eastern war, he had reason to apprehend that the governor of Britain might pass the sea and the Alps, occupy the vacant seat of empire, and oppose his return with the authority of the senate and the forces of the west. The ambiguous conduct of Albinus, in not assuming the Imperial title, left room for negotiation. Forgetting, at once, his professions of patriotism, and the jealousy of sovereign power, he accepted the precarious rank of Cæsar, as a reward for his fatal neutrality. Till the first contest was decided, Severus treated the man, whom he had doomed to destruction, with every mark of esteem and regard. Even in the letter, in which he announced his victory over Niger, he styles Albinus the brother of his soul and empire, sends him the affectionate salutations of his wife Julia, and his young family, and entreats him to preserve the armies and the republic faithful to their common interest. The messengers charged with this letter were instructed to accost the Cæsar with respect, to desire

a private audience, and to plunge their daggers into his heart.<sup>48</sup> The conspiracy was discovered, and the too credulous Albinus, at length, passed over to the continent, and prepared for an unequal contest with his rival, who rushed upon him at the head of a veteran and victorious army.

The military labours of Severus <sup>Event of the civil wars,</sup> seem inadequate to the importance of his conquests. Two engagements, the one near the Hellespont, the other in the narrow defiles of Cilicia, decided the fate of his Syrian competitor; and the troops of Europe assisted their usual ascendant over the effeminate natives of Asia.<sup>49</sup> The battle of Lyons, where one hundred and fifty thousand <sup>50</sup> Romans were engaged, was equally fatal to Albinus. The valour of the British army maintained, indeed, a sharp and doubtful contest with the hardy discipline of the Illyrian legions. The fame and person of Severus appeared, during a few moments, irrecoverably lost, till that warlike prince rallied his fainting troops, and led them on to a decisive victory.<sup>51</sup> The war was finished by that memorable day.

The civil wars of modern Europe <sup>decided by one or two battles-</sup> have been distinguished, not only by the fierce animosity, but likewise by the obstinate perseverance, of the contending factions. They have generally been justified by some principle, or, at least, coloured by some pretext, of religion, freedom, or loyalty. The leaders were nobles of independent property and hereditary influence. The troops fought like men interested in the decision of the quarrel; and as military spirit and party zeal were strongly diffused throughout the whole community, a vanquished chief was immediately supplied with new adherents, eager to shed their blood in the same cause. But the Romans, after the fall of the republic, combated only for the choice of masters. Under the standard of a popular candidate for empire, a few enlisted from affection, some from fear, many from interest, none from principle. The legions, uninflamed by party zeal, were allured into civil war by liberal donatives, and still more liberal promises. A defeat, by disabling the chief from the performance of his engagements, dissolved the mercenary allegiance of his followers; and left them to consult their own safety, by a timely desertion of an unsuccessful cause. It was of little moment to the provinces, under whose name they were oppressed or governed; they were driven by the impulsion of the present power, and as soon as that power yielded to a superior force, they hastened to implore the clemency of the conqueror, who, as he had an immense debt to discharge, was obliged to sacrifice the most guilty countries to the avarice of his soldiers. In the vast extent of the Roman empire, there were few fortified cities capable of protecting a routed army; nor

<sup>43</sup> Herodian, l. ii. p. 85.

<sup>44</sup> When Severus was going down to Africa, he wrote to Niger, "I am your brother, and I am your friend." <sup>45</sup> Spartianus, *Severus*, c. 10. <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* c. 11. <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* c. 12. <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* c. 13. <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* c. 14. <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* c. 15. <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* c. 16.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* c. 17. <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* c. 18. <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* c. 19. <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* c. 20. <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* c. 21. <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* c. 22. <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* c. 23.

<sup>43</sup> Herodian, l. ii. p. 96. <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* c. 10. <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* c. 11. <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* c. 12. <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* c. 13. <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* c. 14. <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* c. 15. <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* c. 16. <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* c. 17.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* c. 18. <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* c. 19. <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* c. 20. <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* c. 21. <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* c. 22. <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* c. 23. <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* c. 24.

was there any person, or family, or order of men, whose natural interest, unsupported by the powers of government, was capable of restoring the cause of a sinking party.<sup>52</sup>

Yet, in the contest between Niger and Severus, a single city deserves an honourable exception. As Byzantium was one of the greatest passages from Europe into Asia, it had been provided with a strong garrison, and a fleet of five hundred vessels was anchored in the harbour.<sup>53</sup> The impetuosity of Severus disappointed this prudent scheme of defence; he left to his generals the siege of Byzantium, forced the less guarded passage of the Hellespont, and, impatient of a meaner enemy, pressed forward to encounter his rival. Byzantium, attacked by a numerous and increasing army, and afterwards by the whole naval power of the empire, sustained a siege of three years, and remained faithful to the name and memory of Niger. The citizens and soldiers (we know not from what cause) were animated with equal fury; several of the principal officers of Niger, who despaired of, or who disdained, a pardon, had thrown themselves into this last refuge: the fortifications were esteemed impregnable, and, in the defence of the place, a celebrated engineer displayed all the mechanic powers known to the ancients.<sup>54</sup> Byzantium, at length, surrendered to famine. The magistrates and soldiers were put to the sword, the walls demolished, the privileges suppressed, and the destined capital of the east subsisted only as an open village, subject to the insulting jurisdiction of Perinthus. The historian Dion, who had admired the flourishing, and lamented the desolate, state of Byzantium, accused the revenge of Severus, for depriving the Roman people of the strongest bulwark against the barbarians of Pontus and Asia.<sup>55</sup> The truth of this observation was but too well justified in the succeeding age, when the Gothic fleets covered the Euxine, and passed through the undefended Bosphorus into the centre of the Mediterranean.

Both Niger and Albinus were discovered and put to death in their flight from the field of battle. Their fate excited neither surprise nor compassion. They had staked their lives against the chance of empire, and suffered what they would have inflicted; nor did Severus claim the arrogant superiority of suffering his rivals to live in a private station. But his unforgiving temper, stimulated by avarice, indulged a spirit of revenge, where there was no room for apprehension. The most considerable of the provincials, who, without any dislike to the fortunate candidate, had obeyed the governor under whose authority they were accidentally placed, were punished by death, exile, and especially by the confiscation of their estates. Many cities of the east were

stript of their ancient honours, and obliged to pay into the treasury of Severus four times the amount of the sums contributed by them for the service of Niger.<sup>56</sup>

Till the final decision of the war, the cruelty of Severus was in some measure restrained by the uncertainty of the event, and his pretended reverence for the senate. The head of Albinus, accompanied with a menacing letter, announced to the Romans that he was resolved to spare none of the adherents of his unfortunate competitors. He was irritated by the just suspicion that he had never possessed the affections of the senate, and he concealed his old malevolence under the recent discovery of some treasonable correspondences. Thirty-five senators, however, accused of having favoured the party of Albinus, he freely pardoned; and, by his subsequent behaviour, endeavoured to convince them that he had forgotten, as well as forgiven, their supposed offences. But at the same time he condemned forty-one<sup>57</sup> other senators, whose names history has recorded; their wives, children, and clients attended them in death, and the noblest provincials of Spain and Gaul were involved in the same ruin. Such rigid justice, for so he termed it, was, in the opinion of Severus, the only conduct capable of ensuring peace to the people, or stability to the prince; and he condescended slightly to lament that, to be mild, it was necessary that he should first be cruel.<sup>58</sup>

The true interest of an absolute monarch generally coincides with the wisdom and justice of his government. That of his people. Their numbers, their wealth, their order, and their security, are the best and only foundations of his real greatness; and were he totally devoid of virtue, prudence might supply its place, and would dictate the same rule of conduct. Severus considered the Roman empire as his property, and had no sooner secured the possession than he bestowed his care on the cultivation and improvement of so valuable an acquisition. Salutary laws, executed with inflexible firmness, soon corrected most of the abuses with which, since the death of Marcus, every part of the government had been infected. In the administration of justice, the judgments of the emperor were characterised by attention, discernment, and impartiality; and whenever he deviated from the strict line of equity, it was generally in favour of the poor and oppressed; not so much, indeed, from any sense of humanity as from the natural propensity of a despot to humble the pride of greatness, and to sink all his subjects to the same common level of absolute dependence. His expensive taste for building, magnificent shows, and above all a constant and liberal distribution of corn and provisions, were the surest means of captivating the affection of the Roman people.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Montesquieu, *Considerations sur la Grandeur et la Decadence des Romains*, c. xii.

<sup>53</sup> Most of these, as may be supposed, were small open vessels; some, however, were galleys of two, and a few of three ranks of oars.

<sup>54</sup> The engineer's name was PRECIS. His skill saved his life, and he was taken into the service of the conqueror. For the particular facts of the siege, consult Dion, *lxxxv.* p. 1911, and Herodian (*l. iii.* p. 9), for the theory of it the famous chevalier de Folard may be looked into. See Folbe, tom. i. p. 76.

<sup>55</sup> Notwithstanding the authority of Spartianus and some modern Greeks, we may be assured from Dion and Herodian, that Byzantium, many years after the death of Severus, lay in ruins. *l. vi.* p. 1215.

<sup>57</sup> Dion (*l. lxxx.* p. 1264); only 29 senators are mentioned by him, but 41 are named in the *Agrippina* p. 69, among whom were six of the *l. lxxx.* p. 1264. Herodian (*l. iii.* p. 115) speaks in general of 41 senators.

<sup>58</sup> *l. lxxx.* p. 1264. *l. lxxx.* p. 1264. *l. lxxx.* p. 1264. Severus celebrated the secular games with extraordinary magnificence, and he left in the public granaries a provision of corn for seven years, at the rate of 75,000 med., or about 2500 quarters, per day. I am persuaded, that the granaries of Severus were supplied for a long term, but I am not less persuaded, that policy, on one hand, and adulation on the other, magnified the hoard far beyond its true contents.

General peace and prosperity obliterated. The calm of peace and prosperity was once more experienced in the provinces; and many cities, restored by the munificence of Severus, assumed the title of his colonies, and attested by public monuments their gratitude and felicity.<sup>60</sup> The fame of the Roman arms was revived by that warlike and successful emperor,<sup>61</sup> and he boasted with a just pride, that, having received the empire oppressed with foreign and domestic wars, he left it established in profound, universal, and honourable peace.<sup>62</sup>

Although the wounds of civil war appeared completely healed, its mortal poison still lurked in the vitals of the constitution. Severus possessed a considerable share of vigour and ability; but the daring soul of the first Cæsar, or the deep policy of Augustus, were scarcely equal to the task of curbing the insolence of the victorious legions. By gratitude, by misguided policy, by seeming necessity, Severus was induced to relax the nerves of discipline.<sup>63</sup> The vanity of his soldiers was flattered with the honour of wearing gold rings; their ease was indulged in the permission of living with their wives in the idleness of quarters. He increased their pay beyond the example of former times, and taught them to expect, and soon to claim, extraordinary donatives on every public occasion of danger or festivity. Elated by success, enervated by luxury, and raised above the level of subjects by their dangerous privileges,<sup>64</sup> they soon became incapable of military fatigue, oppressive to the country, and impatient of a just subordination. Their officers asserted the superiority of rank by a more profuse and elegant luxury. There is still extant a letter of Severus, lamenting the licentious state of the army, and exhorting one of his generals to begin the necessary reformation from the tribunes themselves; since, as he justly observes, the officer who has forfeited the esteem, will never command the obedience, of his soldiers.<sup>65</sup> Had the emperor pursued the train of reflection, he would have discovered that the primary cause of this general corruption might be ascribed, not indeed to the example, but to the pernicious indulgence, however, of the commander in chief.

The prætorians, who murdered their emperor and sold the empire, had received the just punishment of their treason; but the necessary, though dangerous, institution of guards was soon restored on a new model by Severus, and increased to four times the ancient number.<sup>66</sup> Formerly these troops had been recruited in Italy; and as the adjacent provinces gradually imbibed the softer manners of Rome, the levies were extended to Macedonia, Noricum, and Spain. In the room

of these elegant troops, better adapted to the pomp of courts than to the uses of war, it was established by Severus, that from all the legions of the frontiers the soldiers most distinguished for strength, valour, and fidelity should be occasionally drafted, and promoted, as an honour and reward, into the more eligible service of the guards.<sup>67</sup> By this new institution, the Italian youth were diverted from the exercise of arms, and the capital was terrified by the strange aspect and manners of a multitude of barbarians. But Severus flattered himself that the legions would consider these chosen prætorians as the representatives of the whole military order; and that the present aid of fifty thousand men, superior in arms and appointments to any force that could be brought into the field against them, would for ever crush the hopes of rebellion, and secure the empire to himself and his posterity.

The command of these favoured and formidable troops soon became the first office of the empire. As the government degenerated into military despotism, the prætorian præfect, who in his origin had been a simple captain of the guards, was placed, not only at the head of the army, but of the finances, and even of the law. In every department of administration he represented the person, and exercised the authority, of the emperor. The first præfect who enjoyed and abused this immense power was Plautianus, the favourite minister of Severus. His reign lasted above ten years, till the marriage of his daughter with the eldest son of the emperor, which seemed to assure his fortune, proved the occasion of his ruin.<sup>68</sup> The animosities of the palace, by irritating the ambition and alarming the fears of Plautianus, threatened to produce a revolution, and obliged the emperor, who still loved him, to consent with reluctance to his death.<sup>69</sup> After the fall of Plautianus, an eminent lawyer, the celebrated Papinian, was appointed to execute the motley office of prætorian præfect.

Till the reign of Severus, the virtue, and even the good sense, of the emperors had been distinguished by their zeal or affected reverence for the senate, and by a tender regard to the nice frame of civil policy instituted by Augustus. But the youth of Severus had been trained in the implicit obedience of camps, and his riper years spent in the despotism of military command. His haughty and inflexible spirit could not discover, or would not acknowledge, the advantage of preserving an intermediate power, however imaginary, between the emperor and the army. He disdained to profess himself the servant of an assembly that detested his person and trembled at his frown; he issued his commands, where his request would have proved as effectual; assumed the conduct

<sup>60</sup> See Spanheim's treatise of ancient medals, the inscriptions, and our learned travellers Poon and Weller, *Phil. Travels*, &c. about Africa, Greece, and Asia, have found more monuments of Severus than of any other Roman emperor whatever.

<sup>61</sup> He earned his surname of arms to Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the capitals of the Parthian monarchy. I shall have occasion to mention this war in its proper place.

<sup>62</sup> *Ætium in Britannia*, was his own just and emphatic expression. Hist. August. 77.

<sup>63</sup> Herodian, l. iii. p. 115. Hist. August. p. 68.

<sup>64</sup> From the insolence and privileges of the soldiers, the fifth century, falsely ascribed to Juvenal, may be compared; the style and circumstances of it would induce me to believe that it was composed under the reign of Severus, or that of his son.

<sup>65</sup> Hist. August. p. 77.

<sup>66</sup> Herodian, l. iii. p. 151.

<sup>67</sup> Dion, l. xciv. p. 1245.

<sup>68</sup> One of his most daring and wanton acts of power, was the constitution of in-buried free Pontians, some of them married men, and even fathers of families, merely that his daughter, or his daughter-in-law, with the young emperor, might be attended to a train of eunuchs worth of an eastern queen. Dion, l. xcvi. p. 1271.

<sup>69</sup> Dion, l. lxxv. p. 1271. Herodian, l. vi. p. 122. 129. The execution of Alexander's sentence, as it is not mentioned, may be better acquainted with this monstrous transaction, and more assured of the guilt of Plautianus, than the Roman senator ventures to be.

The office of Prætorian Præfect.

The senate oppressed by military despotism.

and style of a sovereign and a conqueror; and exercised, without disguise, the whole legislative as well as the executive power.

The victory over the senate was easy and inglorious. Every eye and every passion were directed to the supreme magistrate, who possessed the arms and treasure of the state; whilst the senate, neither elected by the people, nor guarded by military force, nor animated by public spirit, rested its declining authority on the frail and crumbling basis of ancient opinion. The fine theory of a republic insensibly vanished, and made way for the more natural and substantial feelings of monarchy. As the freedom and honours of Rome were successively communicated to the provinces, in which the old government had been either unknown or was remembered with abhorrence, the tradition of republican maxims was gradually obliterated. The Greek historians of the age of the Antonines<sup>70</sup> observe, with a malicious pleasure, that although the sovereign of Rome, in compliance with an obsolete prejudice, abstained from the name of king, he possessed the full measure of regal power. In the reign of Severus, the senate was filled with polished and eloquent slaves from the eastern provinces, who justified personal flattery by speculative principles of servitude. These new advocates of prerogative were heard with pleasure by the court, and with patience by the people, when they inculcated the duty of passive obedience, and descanted on the inevitable mischiefs of freedom. The lawyers and the historians concurred in teaching, that the Imperial authority was held, not by the delegated commission, but by the irrevocable resignation of the senate; that the emperor was freed from the restraint of civil laws, could command by his arbitrary will the lives and fortunes of his subjects, and might dispose of the empire as of his private patrimony.<sup>71</sup> The most eminent of the civil lawyers, and particularly Papinian, Paulus, and Ulpian, flourished under the house of Severus; and the Roman jurisprudence, having closely united itself with the system of monarchy, was supposed to have attained its full maturity and perfection.

The contemporaries of Severus, in the enjoyment of the peace and glory of his reign, forgave the cruelties by which it had been introduced. Posterity, who experienced the fatal effects of his maxims and example, justly considered him as the principal author of the decline of the Roman empire.

## CHAP. VI.

*The Death of Severus. — Tyranny of Caracalla. — Usurpation of Macrinus. — Follies of Elagabalus.*

*Ius. — Virtues of Alexander Severus. — Licentiousness of the Army. — General State of the Roman Finances.*

THE ascent to greatness, however steep and dangerous, may entertain an active spirit with the consciousness and exercise of its own powers; but the possession of a throne could never yet afford a lasting satisfaction to an ambitious mind. This melancholy truth was felt and acknowledged by Severus. Fortune and merit had, from an humble station, elevated him to the first place among mankind. "He had been all things," as he said himself, "and all was of little value."<sup>72</sup> Distracted with the care, not of acquiring, but of preserving an empire, oppressed with age and infirmities, careless of fame,<sup>73</sup> and satiated with power, all his prospects of life were closed. The desire of perpetuating the greatness of his family, was the only remaining wish of his ambition and paternal tenderness.

Like most of the Africans, Severus was passionately addicted to the vain studies of magic and divination, deeply versed in the interpretation of dreams and omens, and perfectly acquainted with the science of judicial astrology; which, in almost every age, except the present, has maintained its dominion over the mind of man. He had lost his first wife, whilst he was governor of the Lyonnese Gaul.<sup>74</sup> In the choice of a second, he sought only to connect himself with some favourite of fortune; and as soon as he had discovered that a young lady of Emesa in Syria had a royal nativity, he solicited, and obtained her hand.<sup>75</sup> Julia Domna (for that was her name) deserved all that the stars could promise her. She possessed, even in an advanced age, the attractions of beauty,<sup>76</sup> and united to a lively imagination, a firmness of mind, and strength of judgment, seldom bestowed on her sex. Her amiable qualities never made any deep impression on the dark and jealous temper of her husband; but in her son's reign, she administered the principal affairs of the empire, with a prudence, that supported his authority; and with a moderation, that sometimes corrected his wild extravagancies.<sup>77</sup> Julia applied herself to letters and philosophy, with some success, and with the most splendid reputation. She was the patroness of every art, and the friend of every man of genius.<sup>78</sup> The grateful flattery of the learned has celebrated her virtues; but, if we may credit the scandal of ancient history, chastity was very far from being the most conspicuous virtue of the empress Julia.<sup>79</sup>

Two sons, Caracalla<sup>80</sup> and Geta, were the fruit of this marriage, and the destined heirs of the empire.

<sup>70</sup> Appian in Proem.

<sup>71</sup> Dion Cassius seems to have written with no other view, than to form these opinions into an historical system. The Pandects will show how assiduously the lawyers, on their side, laboured in the cause of prerogative.

<sup>72</sup> Hist. August. p. 71. "Omnia fui, et nihil expedit."

<sup>73</sup> Dion Cassius, l. lxxv. p. 1281.

<sup>74</sup> About the year 186. M. de Tillemont is miserably embarrassed with a passage of Dion, in which the empress Lavinia, who died in the year 175, is introduced as having contributed to the marriage of Severus.

<sup>75</sup> Hist. August. p. 1281. Aurelius Victor. Their two sons, Caracalla and Geta.

<sup>76</sup> Hist. August. p. 65.

<sup>77</sup> Hist. August. p. 85.

<sup>78</sup> Dion Cassius, l. lxxv. p. 1304. 1314.

<sup>79</sup> See a Dissertation of Menage, at the end of his edition of Drogues.

Lavinius, de Formis Philosophis.

<sup>80</sup> Dion, l. lxxv. p. 1281. Aurelius Victor.

<sup>81</sup> Bassianus was his first name, as it had been that of his maternal grandfather. During his reign he assumed the appellation of Anonimus, which is employed by lawyers and ancient historians. After his death, the public indignation loaded him with the nick-names of Taranus and Caracalla. The first was borrowed from a celebrated gladiator, the second from a long Gallie gown which he distributed to the people of Rome.

The fond hopes of the father, and of the Roman world, were soon disappointed by these vain youths, who displayed the indolent security of hereditary princes; and a presumption that fortune would supply the place of merit and application. Without any emulation of virtue or talents, they discovered, almost from their infancy, a fixed and implacable antipathy for each other. Their aversion, confirmed by years, and fomented by the arts of their interested favourites,

Their mutual aversion to each other.

broke out in childish, and gradually in more serious, competitions; and, at length, divided the theatre, the circus, and the court, into two factions; actuated by the hopes and fears of their respective leaders. The prudent emperor endeavoured, by every expedient of advice and authority, to allay this growing animosity. The unhappy discord of his sons clouded all his prospects, and threatened to overturn a throne raised with so much labour, cemented with so much blood, and guarded with every defence of arms and treasure. With an impartial hand he maintained between them an exact balance of favour, conferred on both the rank of Augustus, with the revered name of Antoninus; and for the first time the Roman world beheld three emperors.<sup>10</sup>

Three emperors.

Yet even this equal conduct served only to inflame the contest, whilst the fierce Caracalla asserted the right of primogeniture, and the milder Geta courted the affections of the people and the soldiers. In the anguish of a disappointed father, Severus foretold, that the weaker of his sons would fall a sacrifice to the stronger; who, in his turn, would be ruined by his own vices.<sup>11</sup>

In these circumstances the intelligence of a war in Britain, and of an invasion of the province by the barbarians of the north, was received with pleasure by Severus. Though the vigilance of his lieutenants might have been sufficient to repel the distant enemy, he resolved to embrace the honourable pretext of withdrawing his sons from the luxury of Rome, which enervated their minds, and irritated their passions; and of inuring their youth to the toils of war and government. Notwithstanding his advanced age (for he was above three-score), and his gout, which obliged him to be carried in a litter, he transported himself in person into that remote island, attended by his two sons, his whole court, and a formidable army. He immediately passed the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, and entered the enemy's country, with a design of completing the long attempted conquest of Britain. He penetrated to the northern extremity of the island, without meeting an enemy. But the concealed ambuscades of the Caledonians, who hung un-seen on the rear and flanks of his army, the coldness of the climate, and the severity of a winter march across the hills and morasses of Scotland, are reported to have cost the Romans above fifty

thousand men. The Caledonians at length yielded to the powerful and obstinate attack, sued for peace, and surrendered a part of their arms, and a large tract of territory. But their apparent submission lasted no longer than the present terror. As soon as the Roman legions had retired, they resumed their hostile independence. Their restless spirit provoked Severus to send a new army into Caledonia, with the most bloody orders, not to subdue but to extirpate the natives. They were saved by the death of their haughty enemy.<sup>12</sup>

This Caledonian war, neither marked by decisive events, nor attended with any important consequences, would ill deserve our attention; but it is supposed, not without a considerable degree of probability, that the invasion of Severus is connected with the most shining period of the British history or fable. Fingal, whose fame, with that of his heroes and bards, has been revived in our language by a recent publication, is said to have commanded the Caledonians in that memorable juncture, to have eluded the power of Severus, and to have obtained a signal victory on the banks of the Carun, in which the son of the *King of the World*, Caracall, fled from his arms along the fields of his pride.<sup>13</sup> Something of a doubtful mist still hangs over these Highland traditions; nor can it be entirely dispelled by the most ingenious researches of modern criticism:<sup>14</sup> but if we could, with safety, indulge the pleasing supposition, that Fingal lived, and that Ossian sung, the striking contrast of the situation and manners of the contending nations might amuse a philosophic mind. The parallel would be little to the advantage of the more civilised people, if we compared the unrelenting revenge of Severus with the generous clemency of Fingal; the timid and brutal cruelty of Caracalla, with the bravery, the tenderness, the elegant genius of Ossian; the mercenary chiefs who, from motives of fear or interest, served under the Imperial standard, with the freeborn warriors who started to arms at the voice of the king of Morven; if, in a word, we contemplated the untutored Caledonians, glowing with the warm virtues of nature, and the degenerate Romans, polluted with the mean vices of wealth and slavery.

Fingal and his heroes.

Contrast of the Caledonians and the Romans.

The declining health and last illness of Severus inflamed the wild ambition and black passions of Caracalla's soul. Impatient of any delay or division of empire, he attempted, more than once, to shorten the small remainder of his father's days, and endeavoured, but without success, to excite a mutiny among the troops.<sup>15</sup> The old emperor had often censured the misguided lenity of Marcus, who, by a single act of justice, might have saved the Romans from the tyranny of his worthless son. Placed in the same situation, he experienced how easily the rigour of a judge dissolves away

Ambition of Caracalla.

<sup>10</sup> The elevation of Caracalla is fixed by the accurate M. de Telle-mont to the year 198, the ascension of Geta to the year 203.

<sup>11</sup> Herodian, l. iii. p. 120. The lives of Caracalla and Geta, in the Augustan History.

<sup>12</sup> Herodian, l. iii. p. 180; see Herodian, l. iii. p. 172, &c.

<sup>13</sup> Ossian's Works, vol. p. 175.

<sup>14</sup> That the person, or persons, of the fable of the Roman invasion, is, or are, the same as that of British history, in which Mr. Macpherson and Mr. Warton are of the same opinion, and yet the

person is without difficulty. In the Caledonian war, the son of Severus was known to be the perpetrator of the crime, and it may seem strange, that the Highland bards should have forgotten the name, since, before the death of the emperor, he was by the Romans called after the death of their emperor, and was doing so, in the most innocent manner. See Herodian, l. iii. p. 175. Hist. August. p. 59.

<sup>15</sup> Dion, lxxvi. p. 152. Hist. August. l. vii. Aure. Victor.

in the tenderness of a parent. He deliberated, he threatened, but he could not punish; and this last and only instance of mercy was more fatal to the empire than a long series of cruelty.<sup>16</sup>

The disorder of his mind irritated the pains of his body; he wished impatiently for death, and hastened the instant of it by his impatience.

He expired at York, in the sixty-fifth year of his life, and in the eighteenth year of a glorious and successful reign. In his last moments he recommended concord to his sons, and his sons to the army. The salutary advice never reached the heart, or even the understanding, of the impetuous youths; but the more obedient troops, mindful of their oath of allegiance, and of the authority of their deceased master, resisted the solicitations of Caracalla, and proclaimed both brothers emperors of Rome. The new princes soon left the Caledonians in peace, returned to the capital, celebrated their father's funeral with divine honours, and were cheerfully acknowledged as lawful sovereigns, by the senate, the people, and the provinces. Some pre-eminence of rank seems to have been allowed to the elder brother; but they both administered the empire with equal and independent power.<sup>17</sup>

Such a divided form of government would have proved a source of discord between the most affectionate brothers. It was impossible that it could long subsist between two implacable enemies, who neither desired nor could trust a reconciliation. It was visible that one only could reign, and that the other must fall; and each of them judging of his rival's designs by his own, guarded his life with the most jealous vigilance from the repeated attacks of poison or the sword. Their rapid journey through Gaul and Italy, during which they never eat at the same table, or slept in the same house, displayed to the provinces the odious spectacle of fraternal discord. On their arrival at Rome, they immediately divided the vast extent of the Imperial palace.<sup>18</sup> No communication was allowed between their apartments; the doors and passages were diligently fortified; and guards posted and relieved with the same strictness as in a besieged place. The emperors met only in public, in the presence of their afflicted mother; and each surrounded by a numerous train of armed followers. Even on these occasions of ceremony, the dissimulation of courts could ill disguise the rancour of their hearts.<sup>19</sup>

This latent civil war already distracted the whole government, when a scheme was suggested that seemed of mutual benefit to the hostile

brothers. It was proposed, that since it was impossible to reconcile their minds, they should separate their interest, and divide the empire between them. The conditions of the treaty were already drawn with some accuracy. It was agreed, that Caracalla, as the elder brother, should remain in possession of Europe and the western Africa; and that he should relinquish the sovereignty of Asia and Egypt to Geta, who might fix his residence at Alexandria or Antioch, cities little inferior to Rome itself in wealth and greatness; that numerous armies should be constantly encamped on either side of the Thracian Bosphorus, to guard the frontiers of the rival monarchies; and that the senators of European extraction should acknowledge the sovereign of Rome, whilst the natives of Asia followed the emperor of the East. The tears of the empress Julia interrupted the negotiation, the first idea of which had filled every Roman breast with surprise and indignation. The mighty mass of conquest was so intimately united by the hand of time and policy, that it required the most forcible violence to rend it asunder. The Romans had reason to dread, that the disjointed members would soon be reduced by a civil war under the dominion of one master; but if the separation was permanent, the division of the provinces must terminate in the dissolution of an empire whose unity had hitherto remained inviolate.<sup>20</sup>

Had the treaty been carried into execution, the sovereign of Europe might soon have been the conqueror of Asia; but Caracalla obtained an easier though a more guilty victory. He artfully listened to his mother's entreaties, and consented to meet his brother in her apartment, on terms of peace and reconciliation. In the midst of their conversation, some centurions, who had contrived to conceal themselves, rushed with drawn swords upon the unfortunate Geta. His distracted mother strove to protect him in her arms; but, in the unavailing struggle, she was wounded in the hand, and covered with the blood of her younger son, while she saw the elder animating and assisting<sup>21</sup> the fury of the assassins. As soon as the deed was perpetrated, Caracalla, with hasty steps, and horror in his countenance, ran towards the praetorian camp as his only refuge, and threw himself on the ground before the statues of the tutelary deities.<sup>22</sup> The soldiers attempted to raise and comfort him. In broken and disordered words, he informed them of his imminent danger, and fortunate escape; insinuating that he had prevented the designs of his enemy, and declaring his resolution to live and die with his faithful troops. Geta had been the favourite of the soldiers; but complaint was

Murder  
of Geta  
A. D. 212  
27th February.

16 Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1285. Hist. August. p. 60.  
17 Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1281. Herodian, l. iii. p. 175.  
18 Mr. Hume is justly surprised at a passage of Herodian (l. iv. p. 139.), who, on this occasion, represents the Imperial palace as equal in extent to the rest of Rome. The whole region of the Palatine, at most, a circumference of the Notus and Victor, in Narbonne, I recollect that the opinion was with their extensive gardens, which had been gradually crowded in the gardens, that base of Mammas on the Janiculum, and if I am not mistaken, the gardens of each other by the distance of several miles; and see the misanthropic instance was filled by the Imperial gardens of Salustius, of Lucullus, of Agrippa, of Domitian, of Calpurnius, all skirting round the city, and

all connected with each other, and with the palace, by bridges thrown over the Tiber and the streets. But this explanation of Herodian would require, though it is deserving, a particular dissertation, illustrated by a map of ancient Rome.

19 Herodian, l. iv. p. 139.

20 Herodian, l. iv. p. 144.

21 Caracalla consorted, in the temple of Serapis, the sword, which, as he boasted, he had slain his brother Geta. Dion, l. lxxvi. p. 1397.

22 Herodian, l. iv. p. 147. In every Roman camp there was a small chapel near the head-quarters, in which the statues of the tutelary deities were preserved and adored; and we may remark, that the emperor, as an ancient military usage, were in the first rank of these duties, an ancient institution, which, confirmed this rite by the sanction of religion. See L'abbé de Millot, *Romania*, iv. 3. v. 2.

useless, revenge was dangerous, and they still revered the son of Severus. Their discontent died away in idle murmurs, and Caracalla soon convinced them of the justice of his cause, by distributing in one lavish donative, the accumulated treasures of his father's reign.<sup>23</sup> The real sentiments of the soldiers alone were of importance to his power or safety. Their declaration in his favour commanded the dutiful professions of the senate. The obsequious assembly was always prepared to ratify the decision of fortune; but as Caracalla wished to assuage the first emotions of public indignation, the name of Geta was mentioned with decency, and he received the funeral honours of a Roman emperor.<sup>24</sup> Posterity, in pity to his misfortune, has cast a veil over his vices. We consider that young prince as the innocent victim of his brother's ambition, without recollecting that he himself wanted power, rather than inclination, to consummate the same attempts of revenge and murder.

Remorse and cruelty of Caracalla. Neither business, nor pleasure, nor flattery, could defend Caracalla from the stings of a guilty conscience; and he confessed, in the anguish of a tortured mind, that his disordered fancy often beheld the angry forms of his father and his brother rising into life, to threaten and upbraid him.<sup>25</sup> The consciousness of his crime should have induced him to convince mankind, by the virtues of his reign, that the bloody deed had been the involuntary effect of fatal necessity. But the repentance of Caracalla only prompted him to remove from the world whatever could remind him of his guilt, or recal the memory of his murdered brother. On his return from the senate to the palace, he found his mother in the company of several noble matrons, weeping over the untimely fate of her younger son. The jealous emperor threatened them with instant death; the sentence was executed against Fadilla, the last remaining daughter of the emperor Marcus; and even the afflicted Julia was obliged to silence her lamentations, to suppress her sighs, and to receive the assassin with smiles of joy and approbation. It was computed that, under the vague appellation of the friends of Geta, above twenty thousand persons of both sexes suffered death. His guards and freedmen, the ministers of his serious business, and the companions of his looser hours, those who by his interest had been promoted to any commands in the army or provinces, with the long-connected chain of their dependants, were included in the proscription, which endeavoured to reach every one who had maintained the smallest correspondence with Geta, who lamented his death, or who even mentioned his name.<sup>26</sup> Helvius Per-

tinax, son to the prince of that name, lost his life by an unseasonable witticism.<sup>27</sup> It was a sufficient crime of Thrasea Priscus to be descended from a family in which the love of liberty seemed an hereditary quality.<sup>28</sup> The particular causes of calumny and suspicion were at length exhausted; and when a senator was accused of being a secret enemy to the government, the emperor was satisfied with the general proof that he was a man of property and virtue. From this well-grounded principle he frequently drew the most bloody inferences.

The execution of so many innocent citizens was bewailed by the secret tears of their friends and families. The death of Papinian, the praetorian praefect, was lamented as a public calamity. During the last seven years of Severus, he had exercised the most important offices of the state, and, by his salutary influence, guided the emperor's steps in the paths of justice and moderation. In full assurance of his virtue and abilities, Severus, on his death-bed, had conjured him to watch over the prosperity and union of the Imperial family.<sup>29</sup> The honest labours of Papinian served only to inflame the hatred which Caracalla had already conceived against his father's minister. After the murder of Geta, the praefect was commanded to exert the powers of his skill and eloquence in a studied apology for that atrocious deed. The philosophic Seneca had condescended to compose a similar epistle to the senate, in the name of the son and assassin of Agrippina; <sup>30</sup> "That it was easier to commit "than to justify a parricide," was the glorious reply of Papinian,<sup>31</sup> who did not hesitate between the loss of life and that of honour. Such intrepid virtue, which had escaped pure and unsullied from the intrigues of courts, the habits of business, and the arts of his profession, reflects more lustre on the memory of Papinian, than all his great employments, his numerous writings, and the superior reputation as a lawyer, which he has preserved through every age of the Roman jurisprudence.<sup>32</sup>

It had hitherto been the peculiar felicity of the Romans, and in the worst of times their consolation, that the virtue of the emperors was active, and their vice indolent. Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus, visited their extensive dominions in person, and their progress was marked by acts of wisdom and beneficence. The tyranny of Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian, who resided almost constantly at Rome, or in the adjacent villas, was confined to the senatorial and equestrian orders.<sup>33</sup> But Caracalla was the common enemy of mankind. He left the capital (and he never returned to it) about a year after the murder of Geta. A.D. 215.

His tyranny extended over the whole empire.

<sup>23</sup> Herodian, l. iv. p. 148. Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1299.

<sup>24</sup> Geta was placed among the gods. *ut dicitur, dum non sit vivus, sed his brother.* Hist. August. p. 21. Some marks of Geta's consecration are still found upon medals.

<sup>25</sup> Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1307.

<sup>26</sup> Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1290. Herodian, l. iv. p. 150. Dion (p. 1294.) says, that the comic poets no longer durst employ the name of Geta in their plays, and that the estates of those who mentioned it in their testaments were confiscated.

<sup>27</sup> Caracalla had assumed the names of several conquered nations; Perinax observed, that the name of *Getaicus* had obtained some advantage of the troops or pretre, would be a proper addition to Parthicus, Alaniacus, &c. Hist. August. p. 89.

<sup>28</sup> Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1291. He was probably descended from Helvidius Priscus, and Thrasea Petus, those patriots, whose firm, but useless and unseasonable virtue, has been unnoticed by Tacitus.

<sup>29</sup> It is said that Papinian was himself a relation of the empress Julia.

<sup>30</sup> Tacit. Annal. x. v. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Hist. August. p. 89.

<sup>32</sup> With regard to Papinian, see Heliconius's *Historia Juris Romani*, l. 350. &c.

<sup>33</sup> Tiberius and Domitian never moved from the neighbourhood of Rome. Nero made a short tour into the provinces. "Et laudatorium principum non ex quo quibusdam prodegerint. Sicuti proximus ingruunt." Tacit. Hist. iv. 75.



The rest of his reign was spent in the several provinces of the empire, particularly those of the East, and every province was by turns the scene of his rapine and cruelty. The senators, compelled by fear to attend his capricious motions, were obliged to provide daily entertainments at an immense expense, which he abandoned with contempt to his guards; and to erect, in every city, magnificent palaces and theatres, which he either disdained to visit, or ordered to be immediately thrown down. The most wealthy families were ruined by partial fines and confiscations, and the great body of his subjects oppressed by ingenious and aggravated taxes.<sup>34</sup> In the midst of peace, and upon the slightest provocation, he issued his commands, at Alexandria in Egypt, for a general massacre. From a secure post in the temple of Serapis, he viewed and directed the slaughter of many thousand citizens, as well as strangers, without distinguishing either the number or the crime of the sufferers; since, as he coolly informed the senate, *all* the Alexandrians, those who had perished, and those who had escaped, were alike guilty.<sup>35</sup>

The wise instructions of Severus never made any lasting impression on the mind of his son, who, although not destitute of imagination and eloquence, was equally devoid of judgment and humanity.<sup>36</sup> One dangerous maxim, worthy of a tyrant, was remembered and abused by Caracalla, "To secure the affections of the army, and to esteem the rest of his subjects as of little moment."<sup>37</sup> But the liberality of the father had been restrained by prudence, and his indulgence to the troops was tempered by firmness and authority. The careless profusion of the son was the policy of one reign, and the inevitable ruin both of the army and of the empire. The vigour of the soldiers, instead of being confirmed by the severe discipline of camps, melted away in the luxury of cities. The excessive increase of their pay and donatives<sup>38</sup> exhausted the state to enrich the military order, whose modesty in peace, and service in war, is best secured by an honourable poverty. The demeanour of Caracalla was haughty and full of pride; but with the troops he forgot even the proper dignity of his rank, encouraged their insolent familiarity, and, neglecting the essential duties of a general, affected to imitate the dress and manners of a common soldier.

It was impossible that such a character, and such a conduct as that of Caracalla, could inspire either love or esteem; but as long as his vices were beneficial to the armies, he was secure from the danger of rebellion. A secret conspiracy, provoked by his own jealousy, was fatal to the tyrant. The prætorian prefecture was divided

between two ministers. The military department was entrusted to Adventus, an experienced rather than an able soldier; and the civil affairs were transacted by Opilius Macrinus, who, by his dexterity in business, had raised himself, with a fair character, to that high office. But his favour varied with the caprice of the emperor, and his life might depend on the slightest suspicion, or the most casual circumstance. Malice or fanaticism had suggested to an African, deeply skilled in the knowledge of futurity, a very dangerous prediction, that Macrinus and his son were destined to reign over the empire. The report was soon diffused through the province; and when the man was sent in chains to Rome, he still asserted, in the presence of the præfect of the city, the faith of his prophecy. That magistrate, who had received the most pressing instructions to inform himself of the *successors* of Caracalla, immediately communicated the examination of the African to the Imperial court, which at that time resided in Syria. But, notwithstanding the diligence of the public messengers, a friend of Macrinus found means to apprise him of the approaching danger. The emperor received the letters from Rome; and as he was then engaged in the conduct of a chariot race, he delivered them unopened to the prætorian præfect, directing him to despatch the ordinary affairs, and to report the more important business that might be contained in them. Macrinus read his fate, and resolved to prevent it. He inflamed the discontents of some inferior officers, and employed the hand of Martialis, a desperate soldier, who had been refused the rank of centurion. The devotion of Caracalla prompted him to make a pilgrimage from Edessa to the celebrated temple of the Moon at Carrhæ. He was attended by a body of cavalry; but having stopped on the road for some necessary occasion, his guards preserved a respectful distance, and Martialis approaching his person under a pretence of duty, stabbed him with a dagger. The bold assassin was instantly killed by a Scythian archer of the Imperial guard. Such was the end of a monster whose life disgraced human nature, and whose reign accused the patience of the Romans.<sup>39</sup> The grateful soldiers forgot his vices, remembered only his partial liberality, and obliged the senate to prostitute their own dignity and that of religion by granting him a place among the gods. Whilst he was upon earth, Alexander

the Great was the only hero whom this god deemed worthy his admiration. He assumed the name and ensigns of Alexander, formed a Macedonian phalanx of guards, persecuted the disciples of Aristotle, and displayed with a puerile enthusiasm the only sentiment by which he discovered any regard for virtue or glory.

<sup>34</sup> Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1294.

<sup>35</sup> Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1307. Herodian, l. iv. p. 153. The former represents it as a cruel massacre, the latter as a perfidious one. It seems probable, that the Alex. drachm had irritated the trait by their pilleries, and perhaps by their tumults.

<sup>36</sup> Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1296.

<sup>37</sup> Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1284. Mr Wotton (*Hist. of Rome*, p. 360) suspects that the maxim was invented by Caracalla himself, and attributed to his father.

<sup>38</sup> Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1317. Informing us, that the extraordinary gifts of Caracalla to the army amounted annually to seventy millions of drachmæ, about two millions three hundred and fifty thousand pounds. This is much less, says Dion, concerning the military

pay, infinitely curious, were it not obscure, imperfect, and probably corrupt. The best sense seems to be, that the prætorian guards received twelve hundred and fifty drachmæ (forty pounds) a year. (Dion, l. lxxvii. p. 1297.) Under the reign of Augustus, they were paid at the rate of two drachmæ, or denarii, per day, 70 s. a year. (Tacit. *Ann.* l. i. §. 17.) Domitian, who increased the soldiers' pay one fourth, much more raised the prætorians to 960 drachmæ. (Gronovius de *Pot. Vet.* l. iii. c. 2.) These successive augmentations ruined the empire, for, with the soldiers' pay, their number rose to 100,000 men. We have seen the prætorians alone increased from 10,000 to 50,000 men.

<sup>39</sup> Dion, l. lxxviii. p. 1312. Herodian, l. iv. p. 156.

We can easily conceive, that after the battle of Narva, and the conquest of Poland, Charles the Twelfth (though he still wanted the more elegant accomplishments of the son of Philip) might boast of having rivalled his valour and magnanimity: but in no one action of his life did Caracalla express the faintest resemblance of the Macedonian hero, except in the murder of a great number of his own and of his father's friends.<sup>40</sup>

Election and  
character of  
Macrinus.

After the extinction of the house of Severus, the Roman world remained three days without a master.

The choice of the army for the authority of a distant and feeble senate was little regarded) hung in anxious suspense; as no candidate presented himself whose distinguished birth and merit could engage their attachment and unite their suffrages. The decisive weight of the prætorian guards elevated the hopes of their præfects, and these powerful ministers began to assert their legal claim to fill the vacancy of the Imperial throne. Adventus, however, the senior præfect, conscious of his age and infirmities, of his small reputation, and his smaller abilities, resigned the dangerous honour to the crafty ambition of his colleague Macrinus, whose well-dissembled grief removed all suspicion of his being accessory to his master's death.<sup>41</sup> The troops neither loved nor esteemed his character. They cast their eyes round in search of a competitor, and at last yielded with reluctance to his promises of unbounded liberality and indul-

A.D. 217.  
March 11.

gence. A short time after his accession, he conferred on his son Diadumenianus, at the age of only ten years, the Imperial title and the popular name of Antoninus. The beautiful figure of the youth, assisted by an additional donative, for which the ceremony furnished a pretext, might attract, it was hoped, the favour of the army, and secure the doubtful throne of Macrinus.

Discontent of  
the senate.

The authority of the new sovereign had been ratified by the cheerful submission of the senate and provinces. They exulted in their unexpected deliverance from a hated tyrant, and it seemed of little consequence to examine into the virtues of the successor of Caracalla. But as soon as the first transports of joy and surprise had subsided, they began to scrutinise the merits of Macrinus with a critical severity, and to arraign the hasty choice of the army. It had hitherto been considered as a fundamental maxim of the constitution, that the emperor must be always chosen in the senate, and the sovereign power, no longer exercised by the whole body, was always delegated to one of its members. But Macrinus was not a senator.<sup>42</sup> The sudden elevation of the prætorian præfects betrayed the meanness

of their origin; and the equestrian order was still in possession of that great office, which commanded with arbitrary sway the lives and fortunes of the senate. A murmur of indignation was heard, that a man whose obscure extraction had never been illustrated by any signal service, should dare to invest himself with the purple, instead of bestowing it on some distinguished senator, equal in birth and dignity to the splendour of the Imperial station. As soon as the character of Macrinus was surveyed by the sharp eye of discontent, some vices, and many defects, were easily discovered. The choice of his ministers was in many instances justly censured, and the dissatisfied people, with their usual candour, accused at once his indolent tameness and his excessive severity.<sup>43</sup>

His rash ambition had climbed a height where it was difficult to stand with firmness, and impossible to fall without instant destruction. Trained in the arts of courts and the forms of civil business, he trembled in the presence of the fierce and undisciplined multitude, over whom he had assumed the command; his military talents were despised and his personal courage suspected; a whisper that circulated in the camp, disclosed the fatal secret of the conspiracy against the late emperor, aggravated the guilt of murder by the baseness of hypocrisy, and heightened contempt by dejection. To alienate the soldiers, and to provoke inevitable ruin, the character of a reformer was only wanting: and such was the peculiar hardship of his fate, that Macrinus was compelled to exercise that invidious office. The prodigality of Caracalla had left behind it a long train of ruin and disorder; and if that worthless tyrant had been capable of reflecting on the sure consequences of his own conduct, he would perhaps have enjoyed the dark prospect of the distress and calamities which he bequeathed to his successors.

In the management of this necessary reformation, Macrinus proceeded with a cautious prudence which would have restored health and vigour to the Roman army, in an easy and almost imperceptible manner. To the soldiers already engaged in the service, he was constrained to leave the dangerous privileges and extravagant pay given by Caracalla; but the new recruits were received on the more moderate though liberal establishment of Severus, and gradually formed to modesty and obedience.<sup>44</sup> One fatal error destroyed the salutary effects of this judicious plan. The numerous army, assembled in the East by the late emperor, instead of being immediately dispersed by Macrinus through the several provinces, was suffered to remain united

<sup>40</sup> The fondness of Caracalla for the name and image of Severus, is still preserved on the medals of that emperor. See Suetonius, c. 18. Lib. Numismat. Dissert. xii. Herodot. lib. i. c. 13. Hist. c. 13. very indulgent pretences, in which Caracalla was drawn, with one side of the face like Alexander, and the other like Caracalla.

<sup>41</sup> Herodot. lib. i. c. 13. Hist. c. 13. c. 14. c. 15. c. 16. c. 17. c. 18. c. 19. c. 20. c. 21. c. 22. c. 23. c. 24. c. 25. c. 26. c. 27. c. 28. c. 29. c. 30. c. 31. c. 32. c. 33. c. 34. c. 35. c. 36. c. 37. c. 38. c. 39. c. 40. c. 41. c. 42. c. 43. c. 44. c. 45. c. 46. c. 47. c. 48. c. 49. c. 50. c. 51. c. 52. c. 53. c. 54. c. 55. c. 56. c. 57. c. 58. c. 59. c. 60. c. 61. c. 62. c. 63. c. 64. c. 65. c. 66. c. 67. c. 68. c. 69. c. 70. c. 71. c. 72. c. 73. c. 74. c. 75. c. 76. c. 77. c. 78. c. 79. c. 80. c. 81. c. 82. c. 83. c. 84. c. 85. c. 86. c. 87. c. 88. c. 89. c. 90. c. 91. c. 92. c. 93. c. 94. c. 95. c. 96. c. 97. c. 98. c. 99. c. 100. c. 101. c. 102. c. 103. c. 104. c. 105. c. 106. c. 107. c. 108. c. 109. c. 110. c. 111. c. 112. c. 113. c. 114. c. 115. c. 116. c. 117. c. 118. c. 119. c. 120. c. 121. c. 122. c. 123. c. 124. c. 125. c. 126. c. 127. c. 128. c. 129. c. 130. c. 131. c. 132. c. 133. c. 134. c. 135. c. 136. c. 137. c. 138. c. 139. c. 140. c. 141. c. 142. c. 143. c. 144. c. 145. c. 146. c. 147. 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1464. c. 1465. c. 1466. c. 146

in Syria, during the winter that followed his elevation. In the luxurious idleness of their quarters, the troops viewed their strength and numbers, communicated their complaints, and revolved in their minds the advantages of another revolution. The veterans, instead of being flattered by the advantageous distinction, were alarmed by the first steps of the emperor, which they considered as the presage of his future intentions. The recruits, with sullen reluctance, entered on a service, whose labours were increased while its rewards were diminished by a covetous and unwarlike sovereign. The murmurs of the army swelled with impunity into seditious clamours; and the partial mutinies betrayed a spirit of discontent and disaffection, that waited only for the slightest occasion to break out on every side into a general rebellion. To minds thus disposed, the occasion soon presented itself.

The empress Julia had experienced all the vicissitudes of fortune. From an humble station she had been raised to greatness, only to taste the superior bitterness of an exalted rank. She was doomed to weep over the death of one of her sons, and over the life of the other. The cruel fate of Caracalla, though her good sense must have long taught her to expect it, awakened the feelings of a mother and of an empress. Notwithstanding the respectful civility expressed by the usurper towards the widow of Severus, she descended with a painful struggle into the condition of a subject, and soon withdrew herself, by a voluntary death, from the anxious and humiliating dependence.<sup>46</sup> Julia Mæsa, her sister, was ordered to leave the court and Antioch. She retired to Emesa with an immense fortune, the fruit of twenty years favour, accompanied by her two daughters, Soæmias and Manuea, each of whom was a widow, and each had an only son. Bassianus, for that was the name of the son of Soæmias, was consecrated to the honourable ministry of high priest of the Sun; and this holy vocation, embraced either from prudence or superstition, contributed to raise the Syrian youth to the empire of Rome. A numerous body of troops was stationed at Emesa; and, as the severe discipline of Macrinus had constrained them to pass the winter encamped, they were eager to revenge the cruelty of such unaccustomed hardships. The soldiers, who resorted in crowds to the temple of the Sun, beheld with veneration and delight the elegant dress and figure of the young pontiff: they recognised, or they thought that they recognised, the features of Caracalla, whose memory they now adored. The artful Mæsa saw and cherished their rising partiality, and readily sacrificing her daughter's reputation to the fortune of her grandson, she insinuated that Bassianus was the natural son of their murdered

sovereign. The sums distributed by her emissaries with a lavish hand, silenced every objection, and the profusion sufficiently proved the affinity, or at least the resemblance, of Bassianus with the great original. The young Antoninus (for he had assumed and polluted that respectable name) was declared emperor by the troops of Emesa, asserted his hereditary right, and called aloud on the armies to follow the standard of a young and liberal prince, who had taken up arms to revenge his father's death and the oppression of the military order.<sup>47</sup>

Whilst a conspiracy of women and eunuchs was concerted with prudence, and conducted with rapid vigour, Macrinus, who, by a decisive motion, might have crushed his infant enemy, floated between the opposite extremes of terror and security, which alike fixed him inactive at Antioch. A spirit of rebellion diffused itself through all the camps and garrisons of Syria, successive detachments murdered their officers,<sup>48</sup> and joined the party of the rebels; and the tardy restitution of military pay and privileges was imputed to the acknowledged weakness of Macrinus. At length he marched out of Antioch, to meet the increasing and zealous army of the young pretender. His own troops seemed to take the field with faintness and reluctance; but, in the heat of the battle,<sup>49</sup> the prætorian guards, almost by an involuntary impulse, asserted the superiority of their valour and discipline. The rebel ranks were broken; when the mother and grandmother of the Syrian prince, who, according to their eastern custom, had attended the army, threw themselves from their covered chariots, and, by exciting the compassion of the soldiers, endeavoured to animate their drooping courage. Antoninus himself, who, in the rest of his life, never acted like a man, in this important crisis of his fate approved himself a hero, mounted his horse, and, at the head of his rallied troops, charged sword in hand among the thickest of the enemy; whilst the eunuch Gannys, whose occupations had been confined to female cares and the soft luxury of Asia, displayed the talents of an able and experienced general. The battle still raged with doubtful violence, and Macrinus might have obtained the victory, had he not betrayed his own cause by a shameful and precipitate flight. His cowardice served only to protract his life a few days, and to stamp deserved ignominy on his misfortunes. It is scarcely necessary to add, that his son Diadumenianus was involved in the same fate. As soon as the stubborn prætorians could be convinced that they fought for a prince who had basely deserted them, they surrendered to the conqueror; the contending parties of the Roman army, mingling tears of joy and tenderness, united under the banners of the imagined

A.D. 218.  
May 16.

Defeat and  
death of Ma-  
crinus.

A.D. 218.  
7th June.

<sup>46</sup> Dion, l. xxviii. p. 1330. The abridgement of Nipulin, though  
exaggerated, as he  
and was  
tousm  
station suits much better the  
Herodian, l. v. p. 181, who  
wishes, by an opposite error of

chronology, he lengthens the reign of Elagabalus two years beyond its  
real duration. For the particulars of the conspiracy, see Dion, l. xxviii.  
p. 1330. Herodian, l. v. p. 184.  
In the next paragraph, Nipulin, p. 181, p. 182, p. 183, p. 184, p. 185, p. 186, p. 187, p. 188, p. 189, p. 190, p. 191, p. 192, p. 193, p. 194, p. 195, p. 196, p. 197, p. 198, p. 199, p. 200, p. 201, p. 202, p. 203, p. 204, p. 205, p. 206, p. 207, p. 208, p. 209, p. 210, p. 211, p. 212, p. 213, p. 214, p. 215, p. 216, p. 217, p. 218, p. 219, p. 220, p. 221, p. 222, p. 223, p. 224, p. 225, p. 226, p. 227, p. 228, p. 229, p. 230, p. 231, p. 232, p. 233, p. 234, p. 235, p. 236, p. 237, p. 238, p. 239, p. 240, p. 241, p. 242, p. 243, p. 244, p. 245, p. 246, p. 247, p. 248, p. 249, p. 250, p. 251, p. 252, p. 253, p. 254, p. 255, p. 256, p. 257, p. 258, p. 259, p. 260, p. 261, p. 262, p. 263, p. 264, p. 265, p. 266, p. 267, p. 268, p. 269, p. 270, p. 271, p. 272, p. 273, p. 274, p. 275, p. 276, p. 277, p. 278, p. 279, p. 280, p. 281, p. 282, p. 283, p. 284, p. 285, p. 286, p. 287, p. 288, p. 289, p. 290, p. 291, p. 292, p. 293, p. 294, p. 295, p. 296, p. 297, p. 298, p. 299, p. 300, p. 301, 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son of Caracalla, and the East acknowledged with pleasure the first emperor of Asiatic extraction.

The letters of Macrinus had descended to inform the senate of the slight disturbance occasioned by an impostor in Syria, and a decree immediately passed, declaring the rebel and his family public enemies; with a promise of pardon, however, to such of his delinquent adherents as should merit it by an immediate return to their duty. During the twenty days that elapsed from the declaration to the victory of Antoninus (for in so short an interval was the fate of the Roman world decided), the capital and the provinces, more especially those of the East, were distracted with hopes and fears, agitated with tumult, and stained with a useless effusion of civil blood, since who-soever of the rivals prevailed in Syria must reign over the empire. The specious letters in which the young conqueror announced his victory to the obedient senate, were filled with professions of virtue and moderation; the shining examples of Marcus and Augustus, he should ever consider as the great rule of his administration; and he affected to dwell with pride on the striking resemblance of his own age and fortunes with those of Augustus, who in the earliest youth had revenged by a successful war the murder of his father. By adopting the style of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, son of Antoninus and grandson of Severus, he tacitly asserted his hereditary claim to the empire; but, by assuming the tribunitian and proconsular powers before they had been conferred on him by a decree of the senate, he offended the delicacy of Roman prejudice. This new and injudicious violation of the constitution was probably dictated either by the ignorance of his Syrian courtiers, or the fierce disdain of his military followers.<sup>50</sup>

Picture of  
Elagabalus.  
A. D. 219.

As the attention of the new emperor was diverted by the most trifling amusements, he wasted many months in his luxurious progress from Syria to Italy, passed at Nicomedia his first winter after his victory, and deferred till the ensuing summer his triumphal entry into the capital. A faithful picture, however, which preceded his arrival, and was placed by his immediate order over the altar of Victory in the senate-house, conveyed to the Romans the just but unworthy resemblance of his person and manners. He was drawn in his sacerdotal robes of silk and gold, after the loose flowing fashion of the Medes and Phœnicians; his head was covered with a lofty tiara, his numerous collars, and bracelets were adorned with gems of an inestimable value. His eyebrows were tinged with black, and his cheeks painted with an artificial red and white.<sup>51</sup> The grave senators confessed with a sigh, that, after having long experienced the stern tyranny of their own countrymen, Rome was at length humbled beneath the effeminate luxury of Oriental despotism.

<sup>50</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 133.

<sup>51</sup> Dio. l. xix. c. 17. Herod. l. i. c. 130.

<sup>52</sup> The most curious in the world, and the most singular, of all the monuments of antiquity, is the statue of Elagabalus, which was found in the ruins of the temple of the Sun at Emesa, and is now in the possession of the Emperor of the East.

<sup>53</sup> Herod. l. i. c. 130.

The Sun was worshipped at Emesa, under the name of Elagabalus,<sup>52</sup> and under the form of a black conical stone, which, as it was universally believed, had fallen from heaven on that sacred place. To this protecting deity, Antoninus, not without some reason, ascribed his elevation to the throne. The display of superstitious gratitude was the only serious business of his reign. The triumph of the god of Emesa over all the religions of the earth, was the great object of his zeal and vanity; and the appellation of Elagabalus (for he presumed as pontiff and favourite to adopt that sacred name) was dearer to him than all the titles of Imperial greatness. In a solemn procession through the streets of Rome, the way was strewn with gold dust; the black stone, set in precious gems, was placed on a chariot drawn by six milk-white horses richly caparisoned. The pious emperor held the reins, and, supported by his ministers, moved slowly backwards, that he might perpetually enjoy the felicity of the divine presence. In a magnificent temple raised on the Palatine Mount, the sacrifices of the god Elagabalus were celebrated with every circumstance of cost and solemnity. The richest wines, the most extraordinary victims, and the rarest aromatics, were profusely consumed on his altar. Around the altar a chorus of Syrian damsels performed their lascivious dances to the sound of barbarian music, whilst the gravest personages of the state and army, clothed in long Phœnician tunics, officiated in the meanest functions, with affected zeal and secret indignation.<sup>53</sup>

To this temple, as to the common centre of religious worship, the Imperial fanatic attempted to remove the Ancilia, the Palladium,<sup>54</sup> and all the sacred pledges of the faith of Numa. A crowd of inferior deities attended in various stations the majesty of the god of Emesa; but his court was still imperfect, till a female of distinguished rank was admitted to his bed. Pallas had been first chosen for his consort; but as it was dreaded lest her warlike terrors might affright the soft delicacy of a Syrian deity, the Moon, adored by the Africans under the name of Astarte, was deemed a more suitable companion for the Sun. Her image, with the rich offerings of her temple as a marriage portion, was transported with solemn pomp from Carthage to Rome, and the day of these mystic nuptials was a general festival in the capital and throughout the empire.<sup>55</sup>

A rational voluptuary adheres with invariable respect to the temperate dictates of nature, and improves the gratifications of sense by social intercourse, endearing connections, and the soft colouring of taste and the imagination. But Elagabalus (I speak of the emperor of that name), corrupted by his youth, his country, and his fortune, abandoned himself to the grossest pleasures with ungoverned fury, and soon found

His profligate  
and effeminate  
luxury.

<sup>54</sup> He broke into the sacredness of the temple, and carried away the statue of the goddess, which was the most sacred of all the images of the gods, and was the only one that was not made of wood.

<sup>55</sup> The most curious in the world, and the most singular, of all the monuments of antiquity, is the statue of Elagabalus, which was found in the ruins of the temple of the Sun at Emesa, and is now in the possession of the Emperor of the East.

disgust and satiety in the midst of his enjoyments. The inflammatory powers of art were summoned to his aid. the confused multitude of women, of wines, and of dishes, and the studied variety of attitudes and sauces, served to revive his languid appetites. New terms and new inventions in these sciences, the only ones cultivated and patronised by the monarch,<sup>56</sup> signalised his reign, and transmitted his infamy to succeeding times. A capricious prodigality supplied the want of taste and elegance; and whilst Elagabalus lavished away the treasures of his people in the wildest extravagance, his own voice and that of his flatterers applauded a spirit and magnificence unknown to the tameness of his predecessors. To confound the order of seasons and climates,<sup>57</sup> to sport with the passions and prejudices of his subjects, and to subvert every law of nature and decency, were in the number of his most delicious amusements. A long train of concubines, and a rapid succession of wives, among whom was a vestal virgin, ravished by force from her sacred asylum,<sup>58</sup> were insufficient to satisfy the impotence of his passions. The master of the Roman world affected to copy the dress and manners of the female sex, preferred the distaff to the sceptre, and dishonoured the principal dignities of the empire by distributing them among his numerous lovers; one of whom was publicly invested with the title and authority of the emperor's, or, as he more properly styled himself, of the empress's husband.<sup>59</sup>

It may seem probable, the vices and follies of Elagabalus have been adorned by fancy, and blackened by prejudice.<sup>60</sup> Yet confining ourselves to the public scenes displayed before the Roman people, and attested by grave and contemporary historians, their inexpressible infamy surpasses that of any other age or country. The licence of an eastern monarch is secluded from the eye of curiosity by the inaccessible walls of his seraglio. The sentiments of honour and gallantry have introduced a refinement of pleasure, a regard for decency, and a respect for the public opinion, into the modern courts of Europe; but the corrupt and opulent nobles of Rome gratified every vice that could be collected from the mighty conflux of nations and manners. Secure of impunity, careless of censure, they lived without restraint in the patient and humble society of their slaves and parasites. The emperor, in his turn, viewing every rank of his subjects with the same contemptuous indifference, asserted without control his sovereign privilege of lust and luxury.

The most worthless of mankind are not afraid to condemn in others the same disorders which they allow in themselves; and can readily discover some nice difference of age, character, or station, to justify

the partial distinction. The licentious soldiers, who had raised to the throne the dissolute son of Caracalla, blushed at their ignominious choice, and turned with disgust from that monster, to contemplate with pleasure the opening virtues of his cousin Alexander the son of Mamæa. The crafty Mæsa, sensible that her grandson Elagabalus must inevitably destroy himself by his own vices, had provided another and surer support of her family. Embracing a favourable moment of fondness and devotion, she had persuaded the young emperor to adopt Alexander, and to invest him with the title of Caesar, that his own di-

vine occupations might be no longer interrupted by the care of the earth. In the second rank that amiable prince soon acquired the affections of the public, and excited the tyrant's jealousy, who resolved to terminate the dangerous competition, either by corrupting the manners, or by taking away the life of his rival. His arts proved unsuccessful; his vain designs were constantly discovered by his own loquacious folly, and disappointed by those virtuous and faithful servants whom the prudence of Mamæa had placed about the person of her son. In a hasty sally of passion, Elagabalus resolved to execute by force what he had been unable to compass by fraud, and by a despotic sentence degraded his cousin from the rank and honours of Caesar. The message was received in the senate with silence, and in the camp with fury. The prætorian guards swore to protect Alexander, and to revenge the dishonoured majesty of the throne. The tears and promises of the trembling Elagabalus, who only begged them to spare his life, and to leave him in the possession of his beloved Hierocles, diverted their just indignation; and they contented themselves with empowering their prefects to watch over the safety of Alexander, and the conduct of the emperor.<sup>61</sup>

It was impossible that such a reconciliation should last, or that even the mean soul of Elagabalus could hold an empire on such humiliating terms of dependence. He soon attempted, by a dangerous experiment, to try the temper of the soldiers. The report of the death of Alexander, and the natural suspicion that he had been murdered, inflamed their passions into fury, and the tempest of the camp could only be appeased by the presence and authority of the popular youth. Provoked at this new instance of their affection for his cousin, and their contempt for his person, the emperor ventured to punish some of the leaders of the mutiny. His unseasonable severity proved instantly fatal to his minions, his mother, and himself. Elagabalus was massacred by the indignant prætorians, his mutilated corpse dragged through the streets of the city, and thrown into the Tiber. His memory was branded with eter-

tion, was driven with ignominy from the palace. Dion, l. lxxix. p. 1365. 1366. A dancer was made prefect of the city, a character proper to the watch, a harsher prefect of the provinces. These three honors, with many inferior offices, were all recommended *curiositate* men. *Hist. August.* p. 185.  
<sup>60</sup> It is the credulous example of his life, in the Augustan History, (p. 111) is inclined to suspect that his vices may have been exaggerated.  
<sup>61</sup> Dion, l. lxxix. p. 1365. Hierocles, l. c. p. 195. 201. H. E. August. p. 105. The last of the three historians seems to have followed the other two in his account of the resolution

<sup>56</sup> The invention of a new sauce was liberally rewarded; but if it was not relished, the inventor was compelled to eat of nothing else, till he had discovered another more agreeable to the Imperial palate. *Hist. August.* p. 131.  
<sup>57</sup> He never would eat sea-fish, except at a great distance from the coast; he then would drink but water, and the rest of his diet, brought at an immense expense, to the peasants of the inland country. *Hist. August.* p. 109.  
<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* l. lxxv. p. 1365.  
<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* l. lxxv. p. 1365. Hierocles, l. c. p. 195. 201. H. E. August. p. 105. The last of the three historians seems to have followed the other two in his account of the resolution

Sedition of the guards, and murder of Elagabalus. *A. D.* 222. March 10.

nal infamy by the senate; the justice of whose decree has been ratified by posterity.<sup>62</sup>

In the room of Elagabalus, his Accession of Alexander Severus. cousin Alexander was raised to the throne by the prætorian guards. His relation to the family of Severus, whose name he assumed, was the same as that of his predecessor; his virtue and his danger had already endeared him to the Romans, and the eager liberality of the senate conferred upon him, in one day, the various titles and powers of the Imperial dignity.<sup>63</sup> But as Alexander was a modest and dutiful youth, of only seventeen years of age, the reins of government were in the hands of two women, of his mother Mamaea, and of Mæsa, his grandmother. After the death of the latter, who survived but a short time the elevation of Alexander, Mamaea remained the sole regent of her son and of the empire.

In every age and country, the Power of his mother Mæsa. wiser, or at least the stronger, of the two sexes, has usurped the powers of the state, and confined the other to the cares and pleasures of domestic life. In hereditary monarchies, however, and especially in those of modern Europe, the gallant spirit of chivalry, and the law of succession, have accustomed us to allow a singular exception; and a woman is often acknowledged the absolute sovereign of a great kingdom, in which she would be deemed incapable of exercising the smallest employment, civil or military. But as the Roman emperors were still considered as the generals and magistrates of the republic, their wives and mothers, although distinguished by the name of Augusta, were never associated to their personal honours, and a female reign would have appeared an inexorable prodigy in the eyes of those primitive Romans, who married without love, or loved without delicacy and respect.<sup>64</sup> The haughty Agrippina aspired, indeed, to share the honours of the empire, which she had conferred on her son; but her mad ambition, detested by every citizen who felt for the dignity of Rome, was disappointed by the artful firmness of Seneca and Burrhus.<sup>65</sup> The good sense, or the indifference, of succeeding princes, restrained them from offending the prejudices of their subjects; and it was reserved for the profligate Elagabalus, to discharge the acts of the senate, with the name of his mother Soemias, who was placed by the side of the consuls, and subscribed, as a regular member, the decrees of the legislative assembly. Her more prudent sister, Mamaea, declined the useless and odious prerogative, and a solemn law was enacted, excluding women for ever from the senate, and devoting to the infernal

gods, the head of the wretch by whom this sanction should be violated.<sup>66</sup> The substance, not the pageantry, of power was the object of Mamaea's manly ambition. She maintained an absolute and lasting empire over the mind of her son, and in his affection the mother could not brook a rival. Alexander, with her consent, married the daughter of a patrician; but his respect for his father-in-law, and love for the empress, were inconsistent with the tenderness or interest of Mamaea. The patrician was executed on the ready accusation of treason, and the wife of Alexander driven with ignominy from the palace, and banished into Africa.<sup>67</sup>

Notwithstanding this act of jealous cruelty, as well as some instances of avarice, with which Wise and moderate administration. Mamaea is charged; the general tenor of her administration was equally for the benefit of her son and of the empire. With the approbation of the senate, she chose sixteen of the wisest and most virtuous senators, as a perpetual council of state, before whom every public business of moment was debated and determined. The celebrated Ulpian, equally distinguished by his knowledge of, and his respect for, the laws of Rome, was at their head; and the prudent firmness of this aristocracy restored order and authority to the government. As soon as they had purged the city from foreign superstition and luxury, the remains of the capricious tyranny of Elagabalus, they applied themselves to remove his worthless creatures from every department of public administration, and to supply their places with men of virtue and ability. Learning, and the love of justice, became the only recommendations for civil offices. Valour, and the love of discipline, the only qualifications for military employments.<sup>68</sup>

But the most important care of Education and virtuous temper of Alexander. Mamaea and her wise counsellors, was to form the character of the young emperor, on whose personal qualities the happiness or misery of the Roman world must ultimately depend. The fortunate soil assisted, and even prevented, the hand of cultivation. An excellent understanding soon convinced Alexander of the advantages of virtue, the pleasure of knowledge, and the necessity of labour. A natural mildness and moderation of temper preserved him from the assaults of passion, and the allurements of vice. His unalterable regard for his mother, and his esteem for the wise Ulpian, guarded his inexperienced youth from the poison of flattery.

The simple journal of his ordinary Journal of his ordinary life. occupations exhibits a pleasing pic-

<sup>62</sup> The era of the death of Elagabalus, and of the accession of Alexander, is computed by the writers and historians of Egypt, as well as by the Greek, Latin, and Persian historians. The date of the death of Elagabalus, is fixed by the authors of the *Chronicon*, to the month of March, in the year of the consulship of the emperor Alexander. The date of the death of Elagabalus, is fixed by the authors of the *Chronicon*, to the month of March, in the year of the consulship of the emperor Alexander. The date of the death of Elagabalus, is fixed by the authors of the *Chronicon*, to the month of March, in the year of the consulship of the emperor Alexander.

<sup>63</sup> The date of the death of Elagabalus, is fixed by the authors of the *Chronicon*, to the month of March, in the year of the consulship of the emperor Alexander.

<sup>64</sup> The date of the death of Elagabalus, is fixed by the authors of the *Chronicon*, to the month of March, in the year of the consulship of the emperor Alexander.

<sup>65</sup> The date of the death of Elagabalus, is fixed by the authors of the *Chronicon*, to the month of March, in the year of the consulship of the emperor Alexander.

ture of an accomplished emperor,<sup>69</sup> and with some allowance for the difference of manners, might well deserve the imitation of modern princes. Alexander rose early; the first moments of the day were consecrated to private devotion, and his domestic chapel was filled with the images of those heroes, who, by improving or reforming human life, had deserved the grateful reverence of posterity. But, as he deemed the service of mankind the most acceptable worship of the gods, the greatest part of his morning hours was employed in his council, where he discussed public affairs, and determined private causes, with a patience and discretion above his years. The dryness of business was relieved by the charms of literature; and a portion of time was always set apart for his favourite studies of poetry, history, and philosophy. The works of Virgil and Horace, the republics of Plato and Cicero, formed his taste, enlarged his understanding, and gave him the noblest ideas of man and government. The exercises of the body succeeded to those of the mind; and Alexander, who was tall, active, and robust, surpassed most of his equals in the gymnastic arts. Refreshed by the use of the bath and a slight dinner, he resumed, with new vigour, the business of the day; and, till the hour of supper, the principal meal of the Romans, he was attended by his secretaries, with whom he read and answered the multitudes of letters, memorials, and petitions, that must have been addressed to the master of the greatest part of the world. His table was served with the most frugal simplicity; and whenever he was at liberty to consult his own inclination, the company consisted of a few select friends, men of learning and virtue, amongst whom Ulpian was constantly invited. Their conversation was familiar and instructive; and the pauses were occasionally enlivened by the recital of some pleasing composition, which supplied the place of the dancers, comedians, and even gladiators, so frequently summoned to the tables of the rich and luxurious Romans.<sup>70</sup> The dress of Alexander was plain and modest, his demeanour courteous and affable: at the proper hours his palace was open to all his subjects, but the voice of a crier was heard, as in the Eleusinian mysteries, pronouncing the same salutary admonition; "Let none enter those holy walls, unless he is conscious of a pure and innocent mind."<sup>71</sup>

his pretended son, flourished in peace and prosperity, under the administration of magistrates, who were convinced by experience, that to deserve the love of the subjects, was their best and only method of obtaining the favour of their sovereign. While some gentle restraints were imposed on the innocent luxury of the Roman people, the price of provisions, and the interest of money, were reduced by the paternal care of Alexander, whose prudent liberality, without distressing the industrious, supplied the wants and amusements of the populace. The dignity, the freedom, the authority of the senate was restored; and every virtuous senator might approach the person of the emperor, without a fear, and without a blush.

The name of Antoninus, ennobled by the virtues of Pius and Marcus, had been communicated by adoption to the dissolute Verus, and by descent to the cruel Commodus. It became the honourable appellation of the sons of Severus, was bestowed on young Diadumenianus, and at length prostituted to the infamy of the high priest of Emesa. Alexander, though pressed by the studied, and, perhaps, sincere impotency of the senate, nobly refused the borrowed lustre of a name; whilst in his whole conduct he laboured to restore the glories and felicity of the age of the genuine Antonines.<sup>72</sup>

In the civil administration of Alexander, wisdom was enforced by power, and the people, sensible of the public felicity, repaid their benefactor with their love and gratitude. There still remained a greater, a more necessary, but a more difficult enterprise: the reformation of the military order, whose interest and temper, confirmed by long impunity, rendered them impatient of the restraints of discipline, and careless of the blessings of public tranquillity. In the execution of his design the emperor affected to display his love, and to conceal his fear, of the army. The most rigid economy in every other branch of the administration, supplied a fund of gold and silver for the ordinary pay and the extraordinary rewards of the troops. In their marches he relaxed the severe obligations of carrying seventeen days' provision on their shoulders. Ample magazines were formed along the public roads, and as soon as they entered the enemy's country, a numerous train of mules and camels waited on their haughty laziness. As Alexander despaired of correcting the luxury of his soldiers, he attempted, at least, to direct it to objects of martial pomp and ornament, fine horses, splendid armour, and shields enriched with silver and gold. He shared whatever fatigues he was obliged to impose, visited, in person, the sick and wounded, preserved an exact register of their services and his own gratitude, and expressed, on every occasion, the warmest regard for a body of men, whose welfare, as he affected to declare, was so closely connected with that of the state.<sup>73</sup> By

Alexander re-  
fuses the name  
of Antoninus.

General happiness of the Roman world  
A. D. 222-235.

Such an uniform tenour of life, which left not a moment for vice or folly, is a better proof of the wisdom and justice of Alexander's government, than all the trifling details preserved in the compilation of Lampridius. Since the accession of Commodus, the Roman world had experienced, during a term of forty years, the successive and various vices of four tyrants. From the death of Elagabalus, it enjoyed an auspicious calm of thirteen years. The provinces, relieved from the oppressive taxes invented by Caracalla and

60. See his 1966 essay "The Undisturbed" in *The Undisturbed*. The undisturbed philosophy comes under a load of trivia and

7. See in the Hist. August, p. 116, 117, the whole contest between Alexander and the senate, extracted from the journals of that assembly. It happened on the sixth or March, probably at the year 243.

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73 It was a favourite saying of the emperor's. See *militem magis retinere, quam senpsum; quod salus publica in his esset.* Hist. August. p. 304.

the most gentle arts he laboured to inspire the fierce multitude with a sense of duty, and to restore at least a faint image of that discipline to which the Romans owed their empire over so many other nations, as warlike and more powerful than themselves. But his prudence was vain, his courage fatal, and the attempt towards a reformation served only to inflame the ills it was meant to cure.

Seditions of the prætorian guards, and murder of Ulpian. The prætorian guards were attached to the youth of Alexander.

They loved him as a tender pupil, whom they had saved from a tyrant's fury, and placed on the Imperial throne. That amiable prince was sensible of the obligation; but as his gratitude was restrained within the limits of reason and justice, they soon were more dissatisfied with the virtues of Alexander, than they had ever been with the vices of Elagabalus. Their præfect, the wise Ulpian, was the friend of the laws and of the people; he was considered as the enemy of the soldiers, and to his pernicious counsels every scheme of reformation was imputed. Some trifling accident blew up their discontent into a furious mutiny; and a civil war raged, during three days, in Rome, whilst the life of that excellent minister was defended by the grateful people. Terrified, at length, by the sight of some houses in flames, and by the threats of a general conflagration, the people yielded with a sigh, and left the virtuous, but unfortunate, Ulpian to his fate. He was pursued into the Imperial palace, and massacred at the feet of his master, who vainly strove to cover him with the purple, and to obtain his pardon from the inexorable soldiers. Such was the deplorable weakness of government, that the emperor was unable to revenge his murdered friend and his insulted dignity, without stooping to the arts of patience and dissimulation. Epagathus, the principal leader of the mutiny, was removed from Rome, by the honourable employment of præfect of Egypt; from that high rank he was gently degraded to the government of Crete; and when, at length, his popularity among the guards was effaced by time and absence, Alexander ventured to inflict the tardy, but deserved punishment of his crimes.<sup>74</sup> Under the reign of a just and virtuous prince, the tyranny of the army threatened with instant death his most faithful ministers, who were suspected of an intention to correct their intolerable disorders.

Danger of Dion Cassius. The historian Dion Cassius had commanded the Pamonian legions with the spirit of ancient discipline. Their brethren of Rome, embracing the common cause of military licence, demanded the head of the reformer. Alexander, however, instead of yielding to their seditious clamours, showed a just sense of the merit and services, by appointing him his colleague in the consulship, and defraying from his own treasury the expense of that vain dignity; but as it was justly apprehended, that if the soldiers beheld him with the ensigns of his

office, they would revenge the insult in his blood, the nominal first magistrate of the state retired, by the emperor's advice, from the city, and spent the greatest part of his consulship at his villas in Campania.<sup>75</sup>

The lenity of the emperor confirmed the insolence of the troops; Tumults of the legions. the legions imitated the example of the guards, and defended their prerogative of licentiousness with the same furious obstinacy. The administration of Alexander was an unavailing struggle against the corruption of his age. In Illyricum, in Mauritania, in Armenia, in Mesopotamia, in Germany, fresh mutinies perpetually broke out; his officers were murdered, his authority was insulted, and his life at last sacrificed to the fierce discontents of the army.<sup>76</sup> One particular fact well deserves to be recorded, as it illustrates the manners of the troops, and exhibits a singular instance of their return to a sense of duty and obedience. Whilst the emperor lay at Antioch, in his Persian expedition, the particulars of which we shall hereafter relate, the punishment of some soldiers, who had been discovered in the baths of women, excited a sedition in the legion to which they belonged. Alexander ascended his tribunal, and with a modest firmness represented to the armed multitude, the absolute necessity as well as his inflexible resolution of correcting the vices introduced by his impure predecessor, and of maintaining the discipline, which could not be relaxed without the ruin of the Roman name and empire. Their clamours interrupted his mild expostulation. "Reserve your shouts," said the undaunted emperor, "till you take the field against the Persians, the Germans, and the Sarmatians. Be silent in the presence of your sovereign and benefactor, who bestows upon you the corn, the clothing, and the money of the provinces. Be silent, or I shall no longer style you soldiers, but *citizens*;<sup>77</sup> if those indeed who disclaim the laws of Rome deserve to be ranked among the meanest of the people." His menaces inflamed the fury of the legion, and their brandished arms already threatened his person. "Your courage," resumed the intrepid Alexander, "would be more nobly displayed in the field of battle; *me* you may destroy, you cannot intimidate; and the severe justice of the republic would punish your crime, and revenge my death." The legion still persisted in clamorous sedition, when the emperor pronounced, with a loud voice, the decisive sentence, "*Citizens!* lay down your arms, and dispart in peace to your respective habitations."

The tempest was instantly appeased; the soldiers, filled with grief and shame, silently confessed the justice of their punishment and the power of discipline, yielded up their arms and military ensigns, and retired in confusion, not to their camp, but to the several inns of the city. Alexander enjoyed, during thirty days, the edifying spectacle of their repentance; nor did he restore

<sup>74</sup> Though the author of the life of Alexander Hist. August. p. 154, mentions the sedition raised by Ulpian to the emperor, he considers the catastrophe as brought down by weakness in the administration of his reign. From this design of omission, we are told of the weakness and cowardice of that author.

<sup>75</sup> For an account of Ulpian's life and his own dangers, see the most candid compilation of Dion's Hist. l. lxxx. p. 1571.

<sup>76</sup> Annot. Roemer ad Dion Cassius, l. lxxx. p. 1569.

<sup>77</sup> Julius Cæsar had applied the same word *Quirites* to his troops, as used in a sense of contempt, a rebuke to the disorderly and dissipated condition of mere citizens. Tit. Liv. Ab Urbe cond. l. 37.



them to their former rank in the army, till he had punished with death those tribunes whose connivance had occasioned the mutiny. The grateful legion served the emperor, whilst living, and revenged him when dead.<sup>78</sup>

The revolutions of the multitude generally depend on a moment; and the caprice of passion might equally determine the seditious legion to lay down their arms at the emperor's feet, or to plunge them into his breast. Perhaps, if the singular transaction had been investigated by the penetration of a philosopher, we should discover the secret causes which on that occasion authorised the boldness of the prince, and commanded the obedience of the troops; and perhaps, if it had been related by a judicious historian, we should find this action, worthy of *Cæsar himself*, reduced nearer to the level of probability and the common standard of the character of *Alexander Severus*. The abilities of that amiable prince seem to have been inadequate to the difficulties of his situation, the firmness of his conduct inferior to the purity of his intentions. His virtues, as well as the vices of *Elagabalus*, contracted a tincture of weakness and effeminacy from the soft climate of Syria, of which he was a native; though he blushed at his foreign origin, and listened with a vain complacency to the flattering genealogists, who derived his race from the ancient stock of Roman nobility.<sup>79</sup> The pride and avarice of his mother cast a shade on the glories of his reign; and by exacting from his ripper years the same dutiful obedience which she had justly claimed from his unexperienced youth, *Mamæa* exposed to public ridicule both her son's character and her own.<sup>80</sup> The fatigues of the Persian war irritated the military discontent; the unsuccessful event degraded the reputation of the emperor as a general, and even as a soldier. Every cause prepared, and every circumstance hastened, a revolution, which distracted the Roman empire with a long series of intestine calamities.

The dissolute tyranny of *Commodus*, the civil war occasioned by his death, and the new maxims of policy introduced by the house of *Severus*, had all contributed to increase the dangerous power of the army, and to obliterate the faint image of laws and liberty that was still impressed on the minds of the Romans. This internal change, which undermined the foundations of the empire, we have endeavoured to explain with some degree of order and perspicuity. The personal characters of the emperors, their victories, laws, follies, and fortunes, can interest us no farther than as they are connected with the general history of the Decline and Fall of the monarchy.

<sup>78</sup> Hist. Aug. p. 172.

<sup>79</sup> From the *Metell. Hist. Aug.* p. 110. The choice was judicious. In one short period of twelve years, the *Metelli* could reckon seven consularships and five triumphs. See *Vel. Ant. Paternulus*, ii. 11.

<sup>80</sup> The life of *Alexander*, in the *Angustan History*, is the mere

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Our constant attention to that great object will not suffer us to overlook a most important edict of *Antoninus Caracalla*, which communicated to all the free inhabitants of the empire the name and privileges of Roman citizens. His unbounded liberality flowed not, however, from the sentiments of a generous mind; it was the sordid result of avarice, and will naturally be illustrated by some observations on the finances of that state, from the victorious ages of the commonwealth to the reign of *Alexander Severus*.

The siege of *Veii* in Tuscany, the first considerable enterprise of the Romans, was protracted to the tenth year, much less by the strength of the place than by the unskilfulness of the besiegers. The unaccustomed hardships of so many winter campaigns, at the distance of near twenty miles from home,<sup>81</sup> required more than common encouragements; and the senate wisely prevented the clamours of the people, by the institution of a regular pay for the soldiers, which was levied by a general tribute, assessed according to an equitable proportion on the property of the citizens.<sup>82</sup> During more than two hundred years after the conquest of *Veii*, the victories of the republic added less to the wealth than to the power of Rome. The states of Italy paid their tribute in military service only, and the vast force both by sea and land, which was exerted in the Punic wars, was maintained at the expense of the Romans themselves. That high-spirited people (such is often the generous enthusiasm of freedom) cheerfully submitted to the most excessive but voluntary burdens, in the just confidence that they should speedily enjoy the rich harvest of their labours. Their expectations were not disappointed. In the course of a few years, the riches of *Syracuse*, of *Carthage*, of *Macedonia*, and of *Asia*, were brought in triumph to Rome. The treasures of Persians alone amounted to near two millions sterling, and the Roman people, the sovereign of so many nations, was for ever delivered from the weight of taxes.<sup>83</sup> The increasing revenue of the provinces was found sufficient to defray the ordinary establishment of war and government, and the superfluous mass of gold and silver was deposited in the temple of *Saturn*, and reserved for any unforeseen emergency of the state.<sup>84</sup>

History has never, perhaps, suffered a greater or more irreparable injury than in the loss of the curious register bequeathed by *Augustus* to the senate, in which that experienced prince so accurately balanced the revenues and expenses of the Roman empire.<sup>85</sup> Deprived of this clear and comprehensive estimate, we are reduced to collect a few

<sup>81</sup> According to the more accurate *Dionysius*, the city itself was only an hundred and a twelve miles and a half from Rome, through some mountains might be a walled further on the side of Etruria. *Nardini*, in a pressed treatise, has combated the popular opinion and the authority of two poets, and has removed *Veii* from *Trivium Castellum*, to a little spot called *Isola*, in the midway between Rome and the lake *Bracciano*.

<sup>82</sup> See the 4th and 5th books of *Irty*. In the Roman Census, property, power, and taxation, were commensurate with each other.

<sup>83</sup> *Fin. Hist. Saturn.* i. xxxiii. c. 3. *Cætero de Offic.* ii. 22. *Plutarch. in P. Luc.* p. 275.

<sup>84</sup> See a description of this accumulated wealth of ages, in *Lucian. Flor.* i. c. 115, &c.

<sup>85</sup> *Tacit. in Annal.* ii. 11. It seems to have existed in the time of *Agrippa*.

imperfect hints from such of the ancients as have accidentally turned aside from the splendid to the more useful parts of history. We are informed that, by the conquests of Pompey, the

of Asia,

millions of drachms, or about four millions and a half sterling.<sup>86</sup> Under the last and most in-

of Egypt,

to twelve thousand five hundred talents; a sum equivalent to more than two millions and a half of our money; but which was afterwards considerably improved by the more exact economy of the Romans, and the increase of the trade of

of Gaul,

by commerce, and the tributes of those two great provinces have been compared as nearly equal to each other in value.<sup>58</sup> The ten thousand

of Africa,

quished Carthage was condemned to pay within the term of fifty years, were a slight acknowledgment of the superiority of Rome,<sup>50</sup> and cannot bear the least proportion with the taxes afterwards raised, both on the lands and on the persons of the inhabitants, when the fertile coast of Africa was reduced into a province.<sup>51</sup>

of Spain,

world. The discovery of the rich western continent by the Phœnicians, and the oppression of the simple natives, who were compelled to labour in their own mines for the benefit of strangers, form an exact type of the more recent history of Spanish America.<sup>2</sup> The Phœnicians were acquainted only with the sea-coast of Spain; avarice, as well as ambition, carried the arms of Rome and Carthage into the heart of the country, and almost every part of the soil was found pregnant with copper, silver, and gold. Mention is made of a mine near Carthægena, which yielded every day twenty-five thousand drachms of silver, or about three hundred thousand pounds a year.<sup>3</sup> Twenty thousand pounds weight of gold was annually received from the provinces of Asturia, Gallicia, and Lusitania.<sup>4</sup>

of the role  
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through the many potent states that were annihilated in the Rōman empire. Some notion, however, may be formed of the revenue of the provinces where considerable wealth had been deposited by nature, or collected by man, if we observe the severe attention that was directed to the abodes of solitude and sterility. Augustus once received a petition from the inhabitants of Gyarus, humbly praying that they might be relieved from one third of their excessive impositions. Their whole tax amounted indeed to no

more than one hundred and fifty drachms, or about five pounds: but Gyarus was a little island, or rather a rock, of the Egean Sea, destitute of fresh water and every necessary of life, and inhabited only by a few wretched fishermen.<sup>45</sup>

From the faint glimmerings of such doubtful and scattered lights, we should be inclined to believe, 1st, That (with every fair allowance for the difference of times and circumstances) the general income of the Roman provinces could seldom amount to less than fifteen or twenty millions of our money ;<sup>6</sup> and 2dly, That so ample a revenue must have been fully adequate to all the expenses of the moderate government instituted by Augustus, whose court was the modest family of a private senator, and whose military establishment was calculated for the defence of the frontiers, without any aspiring views of conquest, or any serious apprehension of a foreign invasion.

Notwithstanding the seeming probability of both these conclusions, the latter of them at least is positively disowned by the language and conduct of Augustus. It is not easy to determine whether, on this occasion, he acted as the common father of the Roman world, or as the oppressor of liberty; whether he wished to relieve the provinces, or to impoverish the senate and the equestrian order. But no sooner had he assumed the reins of government than he frequently intimated the insufficiency of the tributes, and the necessity of throwing an equitable proportion of the public burden upon Rome and Italy. In the prosecution of this unpopular design, he advanced, however, by cautious and well-weighed steps. The introduction of customs was followed by the establishment of an excise, and the scheme of taxation was completed by an artful assessment on the real and personal property of the Roman citizens, who had been exempted from any kind of contribution above a century and a half.

I. In a great empire like that of Rome, a natural balance of money must have gradually established itself. It has been already observed, that as the wealth of the provinces was attracted to the capital by the strong hand of conquest and power, so a considerable part of it was restored to the industrious provinces by the gentle influence of commerce and arts. In the reign of Augustus and his successors, duties were imposed on every kind of merchandise, which through a thousand channels flowed to the great centre of opulence and luxury; and in whatsoever manner the law was expressed, it was the Roman purchaser, and not the provincial merchant, who paid the tax.<sup>57</sup> The rate of the customs varied from the eighth to the fortieth part of the value of the commodity; and we have a right to suppose that the variation was

<sup>86</sup> Plutar. h. in Pompeio, p. 642.

87 Stral o, l xiv p  
88 V. g. l. o. l. p. xiv p

to the revenue of Gaul,

94 The Euboean, the Phoenician, and the Alexandrian talents were double in weight to the Attic. See Hooper on ancient Weights and Measures, p. v c 3. It is very probable that the same talent was carried from Tyre to Carthage.

<sup>90</sup> Pelyb 1, xv. c. 2.  
<sup>91</sup> *Armenia in History*.

92 Biondorus Siculus, l. v.

of *Macronus siculus*, 1 ♀. Caudal was built by the Phoenicia

a little more than a thousand years before Christ. See Veil, Pa-

95 Stat. 1, p. 118.

9) P. H. Nator xxxv c 3. He mentions likewise a slave  
named H. H. a. that was taken away from the house to the late  
Stradling, p 155. East Annual 1804 and 1805. See in  
Turner's Views on Egypt, where you may find a picture of  
the ancient use of Cyprus.

On the subject of the "Herald" the "Lancet" comments the reviewer as one who "dotes and frets" in the "sufficiency of crowns," but in a whole book, though "learned and vigorous" seems a very heated imagination.

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directed by the unalterable maxims of policy; that a higher duty was fixed on the articles of luxury than on those of necessity, and that the productions raised or manufactured by the labour of the subjects of the empire were treated with more indulgence than was shown to the pernicious, or at least the unpopular, commerce of Arabia and India.<sup>98</sup> There is still extant a long but imperfect catalogue of eastern commodities which, about the time of Alexander Severus, were subject to the payment of duties; cinnamon, myrrh, pepper, ginger, and the whole tribe of aromatics, a great variety of precious stones, among which the diamond was the most remarkable for its price, and the emerald for its beauty.<sup>99</sup> Parthian and Babylonian leather, cottons, silks, both raw and manufactured, ebony, ivory, and eunuchs.<sup>100</sup> We may observe, that the use and value of those effeminate slaves gradually rose with the decline of the empire.

### II. The excise, introduced by

The excise.

Augustus after the civil wars, was extremely moderate, but it was general. It seldom exceeded one *per cent.*; but it comprehended whatever was sold in the markets or by public auction, from the most considerable purchases of lands and houses to those minute objects which can only derive a value from their infinite multitude and daily consumption. Such a tax, as it affects the body of the people, has ever been the occasion of clamour and discontent. An emperor well acquainted with the wants and resources of the state was obliged to declare by a public edict, that the support of the army depended in a great measure on the produce of the excise.<sup>101</sup>

### III. When Augustus resolved to

Tax on legacies and inheritances,

establish a permanent military force for the defence of his government against foreign and domestic enemies, he instituted a peculiar treasury for the pay of the soldiers, the rewards of the veterans, and the extraordinary expenses of war. The ample revenue of the excise, though peculiarly appropriated to those uses, was found inadequate. To supply the deficiency, the emperor suggested a new tax of five *per cent.* on all legacies and inheritances. But the nobles of Rome were more tenacious of property than of freedom. Their indignant murmurings were received by Augustus with his usual temper. He candidly referred the whole business to the senate, and exhorted them to provide for the public service by some other expedient of a less odious nature. They were divided and perplexed. He insinuated to them, that their obstinacy would oblige him to propose a general land-tax and capitation. They acquiesced in silence.<sup>102</sup> The new imposition on legacies and inheritances was however mitigated by some restrictions. It did not take

place unless the object was of a certain value, most probably of fifty or an hundred pieces of gold;<sup>103</sup> nor could it be exacted from the nearest of kin on the father's side.<sup>104</sup> When the rights of nature and poverty were thus secured, it seemed reasonable, that a stranger, or a distant relation, who acquired an unexpected accession of fortune, should cheerfully resign a twentieth part of it, for the benefit of the state.<sup>105</sup>

Such a tax, plentiful as it must prove in every wealthy community, <sup>suit to the laws and manners.</sup> was most happily suited to the situation of the Romans, who could frame their arbitrary wills, according to the dictates of reason or caprice, without any restraint from the modern fetters of entails and settlements. From various causes the partiality of paternal affection often lost its influence over the stern patriots of the commonwealth, and the dissolute nobles of the empire; and if the father bequeathed to his son the fourth part of his estate, he removed all ground of legal complaint.<sup>106</sup> But a rich childless old man was a domestic tyrant, and his power increased with his years and infirmities. A servile crowd, in which he frequently reckoned prætors and consuls, courted his smiles, pampered his avarice, applauded his follies, served his passions, and waited with impatience for his death. The arts of attendance and flattery were formed into a most lucrative science; those who professed it acquired a peculiar appellation; and the whole city, according to the lively descriptions of satire, was divided between two parties, the hunters and their game.<sup>107</sup> Yet, while so many unjust and extravagant wills were every day dictated by cunning, and subscribed by folly, a few were the result of rational esteem and virtuous gratitude. Cicero, who had so often defended the lives and fortunes of his fellow-citizens, was rewarded with legacies to the amount of an hundred and seventy thousand pounds;<sup>108</sup> nor do the friends of the younger Pliny seem to have been less generous to that amiable orator.<sup>109</sup> Whatever was the motive of the testator, the treasury claimed, without distinction, the twentieth part of his estate; and in the course of two or three generations, the whole property of the subject must have gradually passed through the coffers of the state.

In the first and golden years of <sup>Regulations of the emperors.</sup> the reign of Nero, that prince, from a desire of popularity, and perhaps from a blind impulse of benevolence, conceived a wish of abolishing the oppression of the customs and excise. The wisest senators applauded his magnanimity; but they diverted him from the execution of a design, which would have dissolved the strength and resources of the republic.<sup>110</sup> Had it indeed been possible to realise this dream of fancy, such princes as Trajan and

<sup>98</sup> See Pliny. (Hist. Natur. l. vi. c. 23. l. x. c. 18.) His observation, that the Indian commodities were sold at Rome at a hundred times their original price, may give us some notion of the produce of the customs, since that original price amounted to more than eight hundred thousand pounds.

<sup>99</sup> The ancients were unacquainted with the art of cutting diamonds. (M. Bouchard, in his traité de l'impôt chez les Romains, has transcribed this catalogue from the Digest, and attempts to illustrate it by a very prolix commentary.)

<sup>101</sup> Tacit. Annal. l. 73. Two years afterwards, the reduction of the poor kingdom of Cappadocia gave Tiberius a pretext for diminishing the excise to one half, but the relief was of very short duration.

<sup>102</sup> Dion Cassius, l. lv. p. 791. l. lvi. p. 825.

<sup>103</sup> The sum is only fixed by conjecture.

<sup>104</sup> As the Roman law subsisted for many ages, the *Cognati*, or relations on the mother's side, were not called to the succession. This harsh institution was gradually undermined by humanity, and finally abolished by Justinian.

<sup>105</sup> Plin. Paneg. de c. 37.

<sup>106</sup> See Hæmælius in the Antiquit. Juris Romani, l. ii.

<sup>107</sup> Horat. l. ii. Sat. v. Petron. c. 116, &c. Plin. l. ii. Epist. 20.

<sup>108</sup> Cicero in Philip. ii. c. 16.

<sup>109</sup> See his epistles. Every such will give him an occasion of displaying his reverence to the dead, and his justice to the living. He reconciled both, in his behaviour to a son who had been disinherited by his mother. (v. 1.)

<sup>110</sup> Tacit. Annal. xlii. 50. Esprit des Loix, l. xii. c. 19.

the Antonines would surely have embraced with ardour the glorious opportunity of conferring so signal an obligation on mankind. Satisfied, however, with alleviating the public burden, they attempted not to remove it. The mildness and precision of their laws ascertained the rule and measure of taxation, and protected the subject of every rank, against arbitrary interpretations, antiquated claims, and the insolent vexation of the farmers of the revenue.<sup>111</sup> For it is somewhat singular, that, in every age, the best and wisest of the Roman governors persevered in this pernicious method of collecting the principal branches at least of the excise and customs.<sup>112</sup>

The sentiments, and, indeed, the situation of Caracalla, were very different from those of the Antonines. Inattentive, or rather averse to the welfare of his people, he found himself under the necessity of gratifying the insatiate avarice which he had excited in the army. Of the several impositions introduced by Augustus, the twentieth on inheritances and legacies was the most fruitful, as well as the most comprehensive. As its influence was not confined to Rome or Italy, the produce continually increased with the gradual extension of the Roman City. The new citizens, though charged, on equal terms,<sup>113</sup> with the payment of new taxes, which had not affected them as subjects, derived an ample compensation from the rank they obtained, the privileges they acquired, and the fair prospect of honours and fortune that was thrown open to their ambition. But the favour which implied a distinction was lost in the prodigality of Caracalla, and the reluctant provincials were compelled to assume the vain title, and the real obligations, of Roman citizens. Nor was the rapacious son of Severus contented with such a measure of taxation as had appeared sufficient to his moderate predecessors. Instead of a twentieth he exacted a tenth of all legacies and inheritances; and during his reign (for the ancient proportion was restored after his death) he crushed alike every part of the empire under the weight of his iron sceptre.<sup>114</sup>

When all the provincials became liable to the peculiar impositions of Roman citizens, they seemed to acquire a legal exemption from the tributes which they had paid in their former condition of subjects. Such were not the maxims of government adopted by Caracalla and his pretended son. The old as well as the new taxes were, at the same time, levied in the provinces. It was reserved for the virtue of Alexander to relieve them in a great measure from this intolerable grievance, by reducing the tributes to a thirtieth part of the sum exacted at the time of his accession.<sup>115</sup> It is impossible to conjecture the motive that engaged him to spare so trifling a remnant of the public evil; but the noxious weed, which had not been totally eradicated,

again sprang up with the most luxuriant growth, and in the succeeding age darkened the Roman world with its deadly shade. In the course of this history, we shall be too often summoned to explain the land-tax, the capitation, and the heavy contributions of corn, wine, oil, and meat, which were exacted from the provinces for the use of the court, the army, and the capital.

As long as Rome and Italy were respected as the centre of government, a national spirit was preserved by the ancient, and insensibly imbibed by the adopted, citizens. The principal commands of the army were filled by men who had received a liberal education, were well instructed in the advantages of laws and letters, and who had risen, by equal steps, through the regular succession of civil and military honours.<sup>116</sup> To their influence and example we may partly ascribe the modest obedience of the legions during the two first centuries of the Imperial history.

But when the last enclosure of the Roman constitution was trampled down by Caracalla, the separation of professions gradually succeeded to the distinction of ranks. The more polished citizens of the internal provinces were alone qualified to act as lawyers and magistrates. The rougher trade of arms was abandoned to the peasants and barbarians of the frontiers, who knew no country but their camp, no science but that of war, no civil laws, and scarcely those of military discipline. With bloody hands, savage manners, and desperate resolutions, they sometimes guarded, but much oftener subverted, the throne of the emperors.

## CHAP. VII.

*The Elevation and Tyranny of Maximin. — Rebellion in Africa and Italy, under the Authority of the Senate. — Civil Wars and Seditions. — Violent Deaths of Maximin and his Son, of Maximus and Balbinus. and of the three Gordians. — Usurpation and secular Games of Philip.*

Of the various forms of government, which have prevailed in the world, an hereditary monarchy seems to present the fairest scope for ridicule. Is it possible to relate, without an indignant smile, that, on the father's decease, the property of a nation, like that of a drove of oxen, descends to his infant son, as yet unknown to mankind and to himself; and that the bravest warriors and the wisest statesmen, relinquishing their natural right to empire, approach the royal cradle with bended knees and protestations of inviolable fidelity? Satire and declamation may paint these obvious topics in the most dazzling colours, but our more serious thoughts will respect a useful prejudice, that establishes a rule of succession, independent of the passions of mankind; and we shall cheer-

Temporary reduction of the tribute.

Edict of Caracalla.

The freedom of the city given to all the provincials, for the purpose of taxation.

Temporary reduction of the tribute.

<sup>111</sup> See Pliny's Panegyric, the Augustan History, and Burman. de Verticali passim.

<sup>112</sup> The tributes (properly so called) were not farmed; since the good prices often remitted many millions of aurei.

<sup>113</sup> The situation of the new citizens is minutely described by Pliny. (Panegyric, c. 37, 38, 39.) Trajan published a law very much in their favour.

<sup>114</sup> Dion, l. lxxviii. p. 1295.

<sup>115</sup> He who paid ten aurei, the usual tribute, was charged with no more than the third part of an aureus, and proportional pieces of gold were coined by Alexander's order. Hist. August. p. 127. with the commentary of Balmain.

<sup>116</sup> See the lives of Agricola, Vespasian, Trajan, Severus, and his three competitors, and indeed of all the eminent men of those times.

fully acquiesce in any expedient which deprives the multitude of the dangerous, and indeed the ideal, power of giving themselves a master.

In the cool shade of retirement <sup>and solid advantages of hereditary succession</sup> we may easily devise imaginary forms of government, in which the sceptre shall be constantly bestowed on the most worthy, by the free and incorrupt suffrage of the whole community. Experience overturns these airy fabrics, and teaches us, that in a large society, the election of a monarch can never devolve to the wisest, or to the most numerous, part of the people. The army is the only order of men sufficiently united to concur in the same sentiments, and powerful enough to impose them on the rest of their fellow-citizens: but the temper of soldiers, habituated at once to violence and to slavery, renders them very unfit guardians of a legal, or even a civil constitution. Justice, humanity or political wisdom, are qualities they are too little acquainted with in themselves to appreciate them in others. Valour will acquire their esteem, and liberality will purchase their suffrage; but the first of these merits is often lodged in the most savage breasts; the latter can only exert itself at the expense of the public; and both may be turned against the possessor of the throne, by the ambition of a daring rival.

The superior prerogative of birth, when it has obtained the sanction of time and popular opinion, is the plainest and least invidious of all distinctions among mankind. The acknowledged right extinguishes the hopes of faction, and the conscious security disarms the cruelty of the monarch. To the firm establishment of this idea, we owe the peaceful succession, and mild administration, of European monarchies. To the defect of it, we must attribute the frequent civil wars, through which an Asiatic despot is obliged to cut his way to the throne of his fathers. Yet, even in the east, the sphere of contention is usually limited to the princes of the reigning house, and as soon as the more fortunate competitor has removed his brethren, by the sword and the bow-string, he no longer entertains any jealousy of his meaner subjects. But the Roman empire, after the authority of the senate had sunk into contempt, was a vast scene of confusion. The royal, and even noble, families of the provinces, had long since been led in triumph before the ear of the haughty republicans. The ancient families of Rome had successively fallen beneath the tyranny of the Cæsars; and whilst those princes were shackled by the forms of a commonwealth, and disappointed by the repeated failure of their posterity,<sup>1</sup> it was impossible that any idea of hereditary succession should have taken root in the minds of their subjects. The right to the throne, which none could claim from birth, every one assumed from merit. The daring hopes of ambition were set loose from the salutary restraints of law and prejudice; and the meanest of mankind might, without folly, entertain a hope of being raised by valour and fortune to a

rank in the army, in which a single crime would enable him to wrest the sceptre of the world from his feeble and unpopular master. After the murder of Alexander Severus, and the elevation of Maximin, no emperor could think himself safe upon the throne, and every barbarian peasant of the frontier might aspire to that august, but dangerous station.

About thirty-two years before <sup>Birth and fortunes of Maximin.</sup> that event, the emperor Severus, returning from an eastern expedition, halted in Thrace, to celebrate, with military games, the birth-day of his younger son, Geta. The country flocked in crowds to behold their sovereign, and a young barbarian of gigantic stature earnestly solicited, in his rude dialect, that he might be allowed to contend for the prize of wrestling. As the pride of discipline would have been disgraced in the overthrow of a Roman soldier by a Thracian peasant, he was matched with the stoutest followers of the camp, sixteen of whom he successively laid on the ground. His victory was rewarded by some trifling gifts, and a permission to enlist in the troops. The next day, the happy barbarian was distinguished above a crowd of recruits, dancing and exulting after the fashion of his country. As soon as he perceived that he had attracted the emperor's notice, he instantly ran up to his horse, and followed him on foot, without the least appearance of fatigue, in a long and rapid career. "Thracian," said Severus with astonishment, "art thou disposed to wrestle the afterthy race?" "Most willingly, Sir," replied the unwearied youth; and, almost in a breath, overthrew seven of the strongest soldiers in the army. A gold collar was the prize of his matchless vigour and activity, and he was immediately appointed to serve in the horse-guards who always attended on the person of the sovereign.<sup>2</sup>

Maximin, for that was his name, <sup>His military service and honours.</sup> though born on the territories of the empire, descended from a mixed race of barbarians. His father was a Goth, and his mother of the nation of the Alani. He displayed, on every occasion, a valour equal to his strength; and his native fierceness was soon tempered or disguised by the knowledge of the world. Under the reign of Severus and his son, he obtained the rank of centurion, with the favour and esteem of both those princes, the former of whom was an excellent judge of merit. Gratitude forbade Maximin to serve under the assassin of Caracalla. Honour taught him to decline the effeminate insults of Elagabalus. On the accession of Alexander he returned to court, and was placed by that prince in a station useful to the service, and honourable to himself. The fourth legion, to which he was appointed tribune, soon became, under his care, the best disciplined of the whole army. With the general applause of the soldiers, who bestowed on their favourite hero the names of Ajax and Hercules, he was successively promoted to the first military command;<sup>3</sup> and had not he still retained

1 There had been no example of three successive generations on the throne; only three instances of sons who succeeded their fathers. The usurpations of the Cæsars (notwithstanding the permission, frequent practice of divorce) were generally unfruitful.

2 Hist. August. p. 158.

3 Hist. August. p. 110. Herodian, l. vi. p. 225. Aurelius Victor. By comparison these authors, it is almost seem that Maximin had the particular command of the Tribalian horse, with the general commission of disciplining the recruits of the whole army. His biographer ought to have marked, with more care, his exploits, and the successive steps of his military promotion.

too much of his savage origin, the emperor might perhaps have given his own sister in marriage to the son of Maximin.<sup>4</sup>

Conspiracy of  
Maximin.

Instead of securing his fidelity, these favours served only to inflame the ambition of the Thracian peasant, who deemed his fortune inadequate to his merit, as long as he was constrained to acknowledge a superior. Though a stranger to real wisdom, he was not devoid of a selfish cunning, which showed him that the emperor had lost the affection of the army, and taught him to improve their discontent to his own advantage. It is easy for faction and calumny to shed their poison on the administration of the best of princes, and to accuse even their virtues, by artfully confounding them with those vices to which they bear the nearest affinity. The troops listened with pleasure to the emissaries of Maximin. They blushed at their own ignominious patience, which, during thirteen years, had supported the vexatious discipline imposed by an effeminate Syrian, the timid slave of his mother and of the senate. It was time, they cried, to cast away that useless phantom of the civil power, and to elect for their prince and general a real soldier, educated in camps, exercised in war, who would assert the glory, and distribute among his companions the treasures of the empire. A great army was at that time assembled on the banks of the Rhine, under the command of the emperor himself, who, almost immediately after his return from the Persian war, had been obliged to march against the barbarians of Germany. The important care of training and reviewing the new levies was entrusted to Maximin. One day, as he entered the field of exercise, the troops, either from a sudden impulse, or a formed conspiracy, saluted him emperor, silenced by their loud acclamations his obstinate refusal, and hastened to consummate their rebellion by

A D. 255.  
March 19.

the murder of Alexander Severus.

The circumstances of his death are variously related. The writers, who suppose that he died in ignorance of the ingratitude and ambition of Maximin, affirm, that, after taking a frugal repast in the sight of the army, he retired to sleep, and that, about the seventh hour of the day, a part of his own guards broke into the Imperial tent, and, with many wounds, assassinated their virtuous and unsuspecting prince.<sup>5</sup> If we credit another, and indeed a more probable account, Maximin was invested with the purple by a numerous detachment, at the distance of several miles from the head-quarters; and he trusted for success rather to the secret wishes than to the public declarations of the great army. Alexander had sufficient time to awaken a faint sense of loyalty among his troops; but their reluctant professions of fidelity quickly vanished on the appearance of Maximin, who declared himself the friend and advocate of the military order,

and was unanimously acknowledged emperor of the Romans by the applauding legions. The son of Mamaea, betrayed and deserted, withdrew into his tent, desirous at least to conceal his approaching fate from the insults of the multitude. He was soon followed by a tribune and some centurions, the ministers of death; but instead of receiving with manly resolution the inevitable stroke, his unavailing cries and entreaties disgraced the last moments of his life, and converted into contempt some portion of the just pity which his innocence and misfortunes must inspire. His mother Mamaea, whose pride and avarice he loudly accused as the cause of his ruin, perished with her son. The most faithful of his friends were sacrificed to the first fury of the soldiers. Others were reserved for the more deliberate cruelty of the usurper; and those who experienced the mildest treatment, were stripped of their employments, and ignominiously driven from the court and army.<sup>6</sup>

The former tyrants, Caligula and Nero, Commodus and Caracalla, Tyranny of  
Maximin.

were all dissolute and unexperienced youths,<sup>7</sup> educated in the purple, and corrupted by the pride of empire, the luxury of Rome, and the perfidious voice of flattery. The cruelty of Maximin was derived from a different source, the fear of contempt. Though he depended on the attachment of the soldiers, who loved him for virtues like their own, he was conscious that his mean and barbarian origin, his savage appearance, and his total ignorance of the arts and institutions of civil life,<sup>8</sup> formed a very unfavourable contrast with the amiable manners of the unhappy Alexander. He remembered that, in his humbler fortune, he had often waited before the door of the haughty nobles of Rome, and had been denied admittance by the insolence of their slaves. He recollected too the friendship of a few who had relieved his poverty, and assisted his rising hopes. But those who had spurned, and those who had protected the Thracian, were guilty of the same crime, the knowledge of his original obscurity. For this crime many were put to death; and by the execution of several of his benefactors, Maximin published, in characters of blood, the indelible history of his baseness and ingratitude.<sup>9</sup>

The dark and sanguinary soul of the tyrant, was open to every suspicion against those among his subjects who were the most distinguished by their birth or merit. Whenever he was alarmed with the sound of treason, his cruelty was unhounded and unrelenting. A conspiracy against his life was either discovered or imagined, and Magnus, a consular senator, was named as the principal author of it. Without a witness, without a trial, and without an opportunity of defence, Magnus, with four thousand of his supposed accomplices, were put to death. Italy and the whole empire were infested with innumerable spies and informers. On the slightest

<sup>4</sup> See the original letter of Alexander Severus, *Et. c.* August. in 110.

<sup>5</sup> Hist. Aug. circumstance narration it entered the tent, and awakened the slumbering monarch, the fear of punishment urged him to persuade the disaffected soldiers to commit the murder.

<sup>6</sup> Herodian, l. vi. p. 223—227.

these historians has been most unjustly censured for sparing the vices of Maximin.

accusation, the first of the Roman nobles, who had governed provinces, commanded armies, and been adorned with the consular and triumphal ornaments, were chained on the public carriages, and hurried away to the emperor's presence. Confiscation, exile, or simple death, were esteemed uncommon instances of his lenity. Some of the unfortunate sufferers he ordered to be sewed up in the hides of slaughtered animals, others to be exposed to wild beasts, others again to be beaten to death with clubs. During the three years of his reign, he disdained to visit either Rome or Italy. His camp, occasionally removed from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Danube, was the seat of his stern despotism, which trampled on every principle of law and justice, and was supported by the avowed power of the sword.<sup>10</sup> No man of noble birth, elegant accomplishments, or knowledge of civil business, was suffered near his person; and the court of a Roman emperor revived the idea of those ancient chiefs of slaves and gladiators, whose savage power had left a deep impression of terror and detestation.<sup>11</sup>

As long as the cruelty of Maximin was confined to the illustrious senators, or even to the bold adventurers, who in the court or army expose themselves to the caprice of fortune, the body of the people viewed their sufferings with indifference, or perhaps with pleasure. But the tyrant's avarice, stimulated by the insatiate desires of the soldiers, at length attacked the public property. Every city of the empire was possessed of an independent revenue, destined to purchase corn for the multitude, and to supply the expenses of the games and entertainments. By a single act of authority, the whole mass of wealth was at once confiscated for the use of the Imperial treasury. The temples were stripped of their most valuable offerings of gold and silver, and the statues of gods, heroes, and emperors, were melted down and coined into money. These impious orders could not be executed without tumults and massacres, as in many places the people chose rather to die in the defence of their altars, than to behold in the midst of peace their cities exposed to the rapine and cruelty of war. The soldiers themselves, among whom this sacrilegious plunder was distributed, received it with a blush; and, hardened as they were in acts of violence, they dreaded the just reproaches of their friends and relations. Throughout the Roman world a general cry of indignation was heard, imploring vengeance on the common enemy of human kind; and at length, by an act of private oppression, a peaceful and unarmed province was driven into rebellion against him.<sup>12</sup>

The procurator of Africa was a servant wor-

thy of such a master, who considered the fines and confiscations of Africa as the richest one of the most fruitful branches of the Imperial revenue. An iniquitous sentence had been pronounced against some opulent youths of that country, the execution of which would have stripped them of far the greater part of their patrimony. In this extremity, a resolution that must either complete or prevent their ruin, was dictated by despair. A respite of three days, obtained with difficulty from the rapacious treasurer, was employed in collecting from their estates a great number of slaves and peasants, blindly devoted to the commands of their lords, and armed with the rustic weapons of clubs and axes. The leaders of the conspiracy, as they were admitted to the audience of the procurator, stabbed him with the daggers concealed under their garments, and, by the assistance of their tumultuary train, seized on the little town of Thydrus,<sup>13</sup> and erected the standard of rebellion against the sovereign of the Roman empire. They rested their hopes on the hatred of mankind against Maximin, and they judiciously resolved to oppose to that detested tyrant an emperor whose mild virtues had already acquired the love and esteem of the Romans, and whose authority over the province would give weight and stability to the enterprise. Gordianus, their proconsul, and the object of their choice, refused, with unfeigned reluctance, the dangerous honour, and begged with tears, that they would suffer him to terminate in peace a long and innocent life, without staining his feeble age with civil blood. Their menaces compelled him to accept the Imperial purple, his only refuge indeed against the jealous cruelty of Maximin; since, according to the reasoning of tyrants, those who have been esteemed worthy of the throne deserve death, and those who deliberate have already rebelled.<sup>14</sup>

The family of Gordianus was one of the most illustrious of the Roman senate. On the father's side, he was descended from the Gracchi; on his mother's, from the emperor Trajan. A great estate enabled him to support the dignity of his birth, and in the enjoyment of it he displayed an elegant taste, and beneficent disposition. The palace in Rome, formerly inhabited by the great Pompey, had been, during several generations, in the possession of Gordian's family.<sup>15</sup> It was distinguished by ancient trophies of naval victories, and decorated with the works of modern painting. His villa on the road to Praeneste, was celebrated for baths of singular beauty and extent, for three stately rooms of an hundred feet in length, and for a magnificent portico, supported by two hundred columns of the four most curious and costly

Character and  
taste of the  
two Gordians

<sup>10</sup> The wife of Maximin, by insinuating vice, conspired with female gentleness, sometimes brought back the tyrant to the way of truth and humanity. See Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xiv. c. 11, where he alludes to the fact which he had more fully related under the reign of the Gordians. We may collect from the *re-fusus*, that Faustina was the name of this benevolent empress, and from the title of *lacta*, that she died before Maximin. (See *Alcaeus ad loc. cit. Ammianus*, Spanheim de C. c. 11. N. tom. ii. p. 739.)

<sup>11</sup> He was compared to Spartacus and Athenio. Hist. August. p. 141.

<sup>12</sup> Herodian, l. vi. p. 278. Zosimus, l. i. p. 115.

<sup>13</sup> In the fertile territory of Byzantium, one hundred and fifty miles

to the south of Carthage. This city was decorated, probably by the Gordians, with the title of colony, and with a fine amphitheatre, which is still in a very perfect state. See *Itinerar. Wesseling*, p. 56, and *Shaw's Travels*, p. 117.

<sup>14</sup> Herodian, l. vi. p. 279. Hist. August. p. 153.  
<sup>15</sup> Hist. Aug. p. 152. The celebrated house of Pompey in *crinita* was usurped by Marc Antony, and consequently became, after the triumvir's death, a part of the Imperial domain. The emperor Trajan allowed and even encouraged the rich senators to purchase at a great and useless price (Plin. *Natural. Hist.* c. vi) and it was so common that, on the accession of Pompey's house came into the possession of Gordian's great grandfather.

sorts of marble.<sup>16</sup> The public shows exhibited at his expense, and in which the people were entertained with many hundreds of wild beasts and gladiators,<sup>17</sup> seem to surpass the fortune of a subject; and whilst the liberality of other magistrates was confined to a few solemn festivals in Rome, the magnificence of Gordian was repeated, when he was ædile, every month in the year, and extended, during his consulship to the principal cities of Italy. He was twice elevated to the last mentioned dignity, by Caracalla and by Alexander; for he possessed the uncommon talent of acquiring the esteem of virtuous princes, without alarming the jealousy of tyrants. His long life was innocently spent in the study of letters and the peaceful honours of Rome; and, till he was named proconsul of Africa by the voice of the senate and the approbation of Alexander,<sup>18</sup> he appears prudently to have declined the command of armies and the government of provinces. As long as that emperor lived, Africa was happy under the administration of his worthy representative; after the barbarous Maximin had usurped the throne, Gordianus alleviated the miseries which he was unable to prevent. When he reluctantly accepted the purple, he was above fourscore years old; a last and valuable remains of the happy age of the Antonines, whose virtues he revived in his own conduct, and celebrated in an elegant poem of thirty books. With the venerable proconsul, his son, who had accompanied him into Africa as his lieutenant, was likewise declared emperor. His manners were less pure, but his character was equally amiable with that of his father. Twenty-two acknowledged concubines, and a library of sixty-two thousand volumes, attested the variety of his inclinations; and from the productions which he left behind him, it appears that the former as well as the latter were designed for use rather than for ostentation.<sup>19</sup> The Roman people acknowledged in the features of the younger Gordian the resemblance of Scipio Africanus, recollected with pleasure that his mother was the grand-daughter of Antoninus Pius, and rested the public hope on those latent virtues which had hitherto, as they fondly imagined, lain concealed in the luxurious indolence of a private life.

As soon as the Gordians had appeared the first tumult of a popular election, they removed their court to Carthage. They were received with the acclamations of the Africans, who honoured their virtues, and who, since the visit of Hadrian, had never beheld the majesty of a Roman emperor. But these vain acclamations neither strengthened nor confirmed the title of the Gordians. They were induced by principle, as well as interest, to solicit the approbation of the senate; and a

deputation of the noblest provincials was sent, without delay, to Rome, to relate and justify the conduct of their countrymen, who, having long suffered with patience, were at length resolved to act with vigour. The letters of the new princes were modest and respectful, excusing the necessity which had obliged them to accept the Imperial title; but submitting their election and their fate to the supreme judgment of the senate.<sup>20</sup>

The inclinations of the senate were neither doubtful nor divided. The birth and noble alliances of the Gordians had intimately connected them with the most illustrious houses of Rome. Their fortune had created many dependants in that assembly, their merit had acquired many friends. Their mild administration opened the flattering prospect of the restoration, not only of the civil but even of the republican government. The terror of military violence, which had first obliged the senate to forget the murder of Alexander, and to ratify the election of a barbarian peasant,<sup>21</sup> now produced a contrary effect, and provoked them to assert the injured rights of freedom and humanity. The hatred of Maximin towards the senate was declared and implacable; the tamest submission had not appeased his fury, the most cautious innocence would not remove his suspicions; and even the care of their own safety urged them to share the fortune of an enterprise, of which (if unsuccessful) they were sure to be the first victims. These considerations, and perhaps others of a more private nature, were debated in a previous conference of the consuls and the magistrates. As soon as their resolution was decided, they convoked in the temple of Castor the whole body of the senate, according to an ancient form of secrecy,<sup>22</sup> calculated to awaken their attention, and to conceal their decrees. "Conscript fathers," said the consul Syllanus, "the two Gordians, both of consular dignity, the one your proconsul, the other your lieutenant, have been declared emperors by the general consent of Africa. Let us return thanks," he boldly continued, "to the youth of Thyndrus; let us return thanks to the faithful people of Carthage, our generous deliverers from an horrid monster — Why do you hear me thus coolly, thus timidly? Why do you cast those anxious looks on each other? why hesitate? Maximin is a public enemy! may his enmity soon expire with him, and may we long enjoy the prudence and felicity of Gordian the father, the valour and constancy of Gordian the son!"<sup>23</sup> The noble ardour of the consul revived the languid spirit of the senate. By an unanimous decree the election of the Gordians was ratified; Maximin, his son, and his adherents, were pronounced enemies of their

The senate ratifies the election of the Gordians;  
and declares Africanus a public enemy.

16 The Claudian, the Numidian, the Corsican, and the Sicilian. The colour of the marbles has been fairly described as imperfectly distinguished. It appears, however, that the Corsican was a sea-green, and that the Numidian Sicilian was white and with the oval spots of purple. See Salmon and Hottel, *Antiqu. vol. 1.*

[illegible]

18 See the original entry, in the *Augustine Edition*, 1:172. Although that entry shows Alexander's respect for the authority of the state, and as esteem for the procedural approach to that authority.

17. Breach of his capital was, the younger lord, on left side of the  
 ch. area. His literary productions, though few and far between, were by no

[illegible]

21.  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \sum_{k=1}^n f\left(\frac{k}{n}\right) = \int_0^1 f(x) dx$  (Riemann's theorem).  
 22.  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \sum_{k=1}^n f\left(\frac{k}{n}\right) = \int_0^1 f(x) dx$  (Riemann's theorem).  
 23.  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \sum_{k=1}^n f\left(\frac{k}{n}\right) = \int_0^1 f(x) dx$  (Riemann's theorem).  
 24.  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \sum_{k=1}^n f\left(\frac{k}{n}\right) = \int_0^1 f(x) dx$  (Riemann's theorem).  
 25.  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \sum_{k=1}^n f\left(\frac{k}{n}\right) = \int_0^1 f(x) dx$  (Riemann's theorem).  
 26.  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \sum_{k=1}^n f\left(\frac{k}{n}\right) = \int_0^1 f(x) dx$  (Riemann's theorem).  
 27.  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \sum_{k=1}^n f\left(\frac{k}{n}\right) = \int_0^1 f(x) dx$  (Riemann's theorem).  
 28.  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \sum_{k=1}^n f\left(\frac{k}{n}\right) = \int_0^1 f(x) dx$  (Riemann's theorem).  
 29.  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \sum_{k=1}^n f\left(\frac{k}{n}\right) = \int_0^1 f(x) dx$  (Riemann's theorem).  
 30.  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \sum_{k=1}^n f\left(\frac{k}{n}\right) = \int_0^1 f(x) dx$  (Riemann's theorem).

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country, and liberal rewards were offered to whosoever had the courage and good fortune to destroy them.

During the emperor's absence, a detachment of the prætorian guards remained at Rome, to protect, or rather to command, the capital. The præfect Vitalianus had signalised his fidelity to Maximin, by the alacrity with which he had obeyed, and even prevented, the cruel mandates of the tyrant. His death alone could rescue the authority of the senate and the lives of the senators from a state of danger and suspense. Before their resolves had transpired, a quæstor and some tribunes were commissioned to take his devoted life. They executed the order with equal boldness and success; and, with their bloody daggers in their hands, ran through the streets, proclaiming to the people and the soldiers the news of the happy revolution. The enthusiasm of liberty was seconded by the promise of a large donative, in lands and money; the statues of Maximin were thrown down; the capital of the empire acknowledged, with transport, the authority of the two Gordians and the senate;<sup>24</sup> and the example of Rome was followed by the rest of Italy.

A new spirit had arisen in that assembly, whose long patience had been insulted by wanton despotism and military licence. The senate assumed the reins of government, and, with a calm intrepidity, prepared to vindicate by arms the cause of freedom. Among the consular senators, recommended by their merit and services to the favour of the emperor Alexander, it was easy to select twenty, not unequal to the command of an army, and the conduct of a war. To these was the defence of Italy intrusted. Each was appointed to act in his respective department, authorised to enrol and discipline the Italian youth; and instructed to fortify the ports and highways, against the impending invasion of Maximin. A number of deputies, chosen from the most illustrious of the senatorian and equestrian orders, were dispatched at the same time to the governors of the several provinces, earnestly conjuring them to fly to the assistance of their country, and to remind the nations of their ancient ties of friendship with the Roman senate and people. The general respect with which these deputies were received, and the zeal of Italy and the provinces in favour of the senate, sufficiently prove that the subjects of Maximin were reduced to that uncommon distress, in which the body of the people has more to fear from oppression than from resistance. The consciousness of that melancholy truth, inspires a degree of persevering fury, seldom to be found in those civil wars which are artificially supported for the benefit of a few factious and designing leaders.<sup>25</sup>

For while the cause of the Gordians was embraced with such diffusive ardour, the Gordians themselves were no more. The feeble court of

Carthage was alarmed with the rapid approach of Capelianus, governor of Mauritania, who, with a small band of veterans, and a fierce host of barbarians, attacked a faithful, but unwarlike province. The younger Gordian sallied out to meet the enemy at the head of a few guards, and a numerous undisciplined multitude, educated in the peaceful luxury of Carthage. His useless valour served only to procure him an honourable death in the field of battle. His aged father, whose reign had not exceeded thirty-six days, put an end to his life on the first news of the defeat. Carthage, destitute of defence, opened her gates to the conqueror, and Africa was exposed to the rapacious cruelty of a slave, obliged to satisfy his unrelenting master with a large account of blood and treasure.<sup>26</sup>

The fate of the Gordians filled Rome with just but unexpected terror. The senate convoked in the temple of Concord, affected to transact the common business of the day; and seemed to decline, with trembling anxiety, the consideration of their own, and the public danger. A silent consternation prevailed on the assembly, till a senator, of the name and family of Trajan, awakened his brethren from their fatal lethargy. He represented to them, that the choice of cautious dilatory measures had been long since out of their power; that Maximin, implacable by nature, and exasperated by injuries, was advancing towards Italy, at the head of the military force of the empire; and that their only remaining alternative, was either to meet him bravely in the field, or tamely to expect the tortures and ignominious death reserved for unsuccessful rebellion. "We have lost," continued he, "two excellent princes; but unless we desert ourselves, the hopes of the republic have not perished with the Gordians. Many are the senators, whose virtues have deserved, and whose abilities would sustain, the Imperial dignity. Let us elect two emperors, one of whom may conduct the war against the public enemy, whilst his colleague remains at Rome to direct the civil administration. I cheerfully expose myself to the danger and envy of the nomination, and give my vote in favour of Maximus and Balbinus. Ratify my choice, conscript fathers, or appoint, in their place, others more worthy of the empire." The general apprehension silenced the whispers of jealousy; the merit of the candidates was universally acknowledged; and the house resounded with the sincere acclamations, of "long life and victory to the emperors Maximus and Balbinus. You are happy in the judgment of the senate; may the republic be happy under your administration!"<sup>27</sup>

The virtues and the reputation of the new emperors justified the most sanguine hopes of the Romans. The various nature of their talents seemed to appropriate to each his peculiar department of peace and war,

Election of Maximus and Balbinus by the senate, 9th July.

Their characters.

Defeat and death of the two Gordians, A. D. 257. 24 July.

<sup>24</sup> Herodian, l. vii. p. 241.

<sup>25</sup> Herodian, l. vii. p. 247. l. vii. p. 277. Hist. August. p. 156-157.

<sup>26</sup> Herodian, l. vii. p. 254. Hist. August. p. 159-160. We may observe, that one month and six days, for the reign of Gordian, is a just correction of Cassiodorus and Panvinus, instead of the absurd reading of one year and six months. See Continuator. p. 195. Zon-

arus relates, l. i. p. 17, that the two Gordians perished by a tempest in the midst of their navigation. A strange ignorance of history, or a strange abuse of metaphor!

<sup>27</sup> See the Augustan History, p. 166, from the registers of the senate, the date is confessedly faulty, but the coincidence of the Apollinarian games enables us to correct it.



that reigned on the frontiers of Italy. The villages and open towns had been abandoned on their approach by the inhabitants, the cattle was driven away, the provisions removed or destroyed, the bridges broke down, nor was any thing left which could afford either shelter or subsistence to an invader. Such had been the wise orders of the generals of the senate, whose design was to protract the war, to ruin the army of Maximin by the slow operation of famine, and to consume his strength in the sieges of the principal cities of Italy, which they had plentifully stored with men and provisions from the deserted country.

*Siege of Aquileia* Aquileia received and withstood the first shock of the invasion. The streams that issue from the head of the Adriatic Gulf, swelled by the melting of the winter snows, opposed an unexpected obstacle to the arms of Maximin. At length, on a singular bridge, constructed with art and difficulty of large hog-heads, he transported his army to the opposite bank, rooted up the beautiful vineyards in the neighbourhood of Aquileia, demolished the suburbs, and employed the timber of the buildings in the engines and towers, with which on every side he attacked the city. The walls, fallen to decay during the security of a long peace, had been hastily repaired on this sudden emergency; but the finest defence of Aquileia consisted in the constancy of the citizens; all ranks of whom, instead of being dismayed, were animated by the extreme danger, and their knowledge of the tyrant's unrelenting temper. Their courage was supported and directed by Crispinus and Menophilus, two of the twenty lieutenants of the senate, who, with a small body of regular troops, had thrown themselves into the besieged place. The army of Maximin was repulsed in repeated attacks, his machines destroyed by showers of artificial fire; and the generous enthusiasm of the Aquileians was exalted into a confidence of success by the opinion that Helenus, their tutelar deity, conhaled in person in the defence of his distressed worshippers.<sup>35</sup>

*Conduct of Maximin* The emperor Maximin, who had advanced as far as Ravenna, to secure that important place and to hasten the military preparations, beheld the event of the war in the more faithful mirror of reason and policy. He was too sensible that a single town could not resist the persevering efforts of a great army; and he dreaded lest the enemy, tired with the obstinate resistance of Aquileia, should on a sudden relinquish the fruitless siege, and march directly towards Rome. The fate of the empire and the cause of freedom must then be committed to the chance of a battle; and what arms could he oppose to the veteran legions of the Rhine and Danube? Some troops newly levied

among the generous but enervated youth of Italy, and a body of German auxiliaries, on whose firmness in the hour of trial it was dangerous to depend. In the midst of these just alarms, the stroke of domestic conspiracy punished the crimes of Maximin, and delivered Rome and the senate from the calamities that would surely have attended the victory of an enraged barbarian.

The people of Aquileia had scarcely experienced any of the common miseries of a siege; their magazines were plentifully supplied, and several fountains within the walls assured them of an inexhaustible resource of fresh water. The soldiers of Maximin were, on the contrary, exposed to the inclemency of the season, the contagion of disease, and the horrors of famine. The open country was ruined, the rivers filled with the slain and polluted with blood. A spirit of despair and disaffection began to diffuse itself among the troops; and as they were cut off from all intelligence, they easily believed that the whole empire had embraced the cause of the senate, and that they were left as devoted victims, to perish under the impregnable walls of Aquileia. The fierce temper of the tyrant was exasperated by disappointments, which he imputed to the cowardice of his army; and his wanton and ill-timed cruelty, instead of striking terror, inspired hatred, and a just desire of revenge. A party of prætorian guards, who trembled for their wives and children in the camp of Alba, near Rome, executed the sentence of the senate. Maximin, abandoned by his guards, was slain in his tent, with his son (whom he had associated to the honours of the purple), Anulinus the præfect, and the principal ministers of his tyranny.<sup>36</sup> The sight of their heads, borne on the point of spears, convinced the citizens of Aquileia that the siege was at an end; the gates of the city were thrown open, a liberal market was provided for the hungry troops of Maximin, and the whole army joined in solemn protestations of fidelity to the senate and the people of Rome, and to their lawful emperors Maximus and Balbinus. Such was the deserved fate of a brutal savage, destitute, as he has generally been represented, of every sentiment that distinguishes a civilised or even a human being. The body was suited to the soul. The stature of Maximin exceeded the measure of eight feet, and circumstances almost incredible are related of his matchless strength and appetite.<sup>37</sup> Had he lived in a less enlightened age, tradition and poetry might well have described him as one of those monstrous giants whose supernatural power was constantly exerted for the destruction of mankind.

of Aquileia, who had given up their hair to make ropes for the military engines.

<sup>36</sup> Herodian, l. viii. p. 279. Hist. August. p. 116. The duration of Maximin's reign is not here defined with much accuracy, except by Eutropius, who allows him three years and a few days (iii. 10). We may depend on the integrity of the text, as the Latin original is checked by the Greek version of Paganus.

<sup>37</sup> Eight Roman feet and one third, which are equal to above eight English feet, as the two measures are to each other, in the proportion of 167 to 160. See Strabo's discourse on the Roman foot. We are told that Maximin could drink in a day an amphora (or about seven gallons) of wine, and eat three or forty pounds of meat. He could break a shield, break a horse's leg with his fist, crumble stones with his head, and cut up small trees by the roots. See his life in the Augustan History.

<sup>35</sup> Muratori (Annot. d'Italia, tom. ii. p. 204.) thinks the melting of the snows not to be so early as the month of July, or July than with that of February. The opinion of a man who proposed to live between the Alps and the Apennines, is infinitely distant from the weight of a chain of mountains, of which Maximin takes advantage. At I. p. 10. he is found only on the left hand of the river, and not on the right, as Herodian says. That the multitude of snow and rain, which the cold of Maximin were expected (Hist. August. p. 116.) to check the progress of the army, is the result of a misapprehension. It is true, that the second year of the reign of Maximin was a very cold one, but that the spring rains, as we shall see, were not so much as to be expected. The spring rains, as we shall see, were not so much as to be expected. The spring rains, as we shall see, were not so much as to be expected.

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Joy of the Roman world. It is easier to conceive than to describe the universal joy of the Roman world on the fall of the tyrant, the news of which is said to have been carried in four days from Aquileia to Rome. The return of Maximus was a triumphal procession; his colleague and young Gordian went out to meet him; and the three princes made their entry into the capital, attended by the ambassadors of almost all the cities of Italy, saluted with the splendid offerings of gratitude and superstition, and received with the unfeigned acclamations of the senate and people, who persuaded themselves that a golden age would succeed to an age of iron.<sup>38</sup> The conduct of the two emperors corresponded with these expectations. They administered justice in person; and the rigour of the one was tempered by the other's clemency. The oppressive taxes with which Maximian had loaded the rights of inheritance and succession were repealed, or at least moderated. Discipline was revived, and, with the advice of the senate, many wise laws were enacted by their Imperial ministers, who endeavoured to restore a civil constitution on the ruins of military tyranny. "What reward may we expect for delivering Rome from a monster?" was the question asked by Maximus, in a moment of freedom and confidence. Balbinus answered without hesitation, "The love of the senate, of the people, and of all mankind." "Alas!" replied his more penetrating colleague, "Alas! I dread the hatred of the soldiers, and the fatal effects of their resentment."<sup>39</sup> His apprehensions were but too well justified by the event.

Whilst Maximus was preparing to defend Italy against the common foe, Balbinus, who remained at Rome, had been engaged in scenes of blood and intestine discord. Distrust and jealousy reigned in the senate; and even in the temples where they assembled, every senator carried either open or concealed arms. In the midst of their deliberations, two veterans of the guards, actuated either by curiosity or a sinister motive, audaciously thrust themselves into the house, and advanced by degrees beyond the altar of Victory. Gallicanus, a consular, and Mæcenus, a prætorian senator, viewed with indignation their insolent intrusion: drawing their daggers, they laid the spies, for such they deemed them, dead at the foot of the altar, and then advancing to the door of the senate, impudently exhorted the multitude to massacre the prætorians, as the secret adherents of the tyrant. Those who escaped the first fury of the tumult took refuge in the camp, which they defended with superior advantage against the reiterated attacks of the people, assisted by the numerous bands of gladiators, the property of opulent nobles. The civil war lasted many days, with infinite loss and confusion on both sides. When the pipes were broken that supplied the camp with water, the prætorians were reduced to intolerable distress; but in their turn they made desperate sallies into the city, set fire to a great number of houses, and filled the streets with the

blood of the inhabitants. The emperor Balbinus attempted, by ineffectual edicts and precarious truces, to reconcile the factions at Rome, but their animosity, though smothered for a while, burnt with redoubled violence. The soldiers, detesting the senate and the people, despised the weakness of a prince, who wanted either the spirit or the power to command the obedience of his subjects.<sup>40</sup>

After the tyrant's death, his formidable army had acknowledged, from necessity rather than from choice, the authority of Maximus, who transported himself without delay to the camp before Aquileia. As soon as he had received their oath of fidelity, he addressed them in terms full of mildness and moderation; lamented, rather than arraigned, the wild disorders of the times, and assured the soldiers, that of all their past conduct, the senate would remember only their generous desertion of the tyrant, and their voluntary return to their duty. Maximus enforced his exhortations by a liberal donative, purified the camp by a solemn sacrifice of expiation, and then dismissed the legions to their several provinces, impressed, as he hoped, with a lively sense of gratitude and obedience.<sup>41</sup> But nothing could reconcile the haughty spirit of the prætorians. They attended the emperors on the memorable day of their public entry into Rome; but amidst the general acclamations, the sullen dejected countenance of the guards sufficiently declared that they considered themselves as the object, rather than the partners, of the triumph. When the whole body was united in their camp, those who had served under Maximus, and those who had remained at Rome, insensibly communicated to each other their complaints and apprehensions. The emperors chosen by the army had perished with ignominy; those elected by the senate were seated on the throne.<sup>42</sup> The long discord between the civil and military powers was decided by a war, in which the former had obtained a complete victory. The soldiers must now learn a new doctrine of submission to the senate; and whatever clemency was affected by that politic assembly, they dreaded a slow revenge, coloured by the name of discipline, and justified by fair pretences of the public good. But their fate was still in their own hands; and if they had courage to despise the vain terrors of an impotent republic, it was easy to convince the world, that those who were masters of the arms, were masters of the authority, of the state.

When the senate elected two princes, it is probable that, besides the declared reason of providing for the various emergencies of peace and war, they were actuated by the secret desire of weakening by division the despotism of the supreme magistrature. Their policy was effectual, but it proved fatal both to their emperors and to themselves. The jealousy of power was soon exasperated by the influence of clemency. Maximus despised Balbinus as a luxurious noble, and was in his

<sup>38</sup> See the description of the fall of the tyrant, in the first book of the History of the Roman Empire.

<sup>39</sup> Hist. August. p. 174.

<sup>40</sup> Herodian, lib. vi. p. 8.

<sup>41</sup> Hist. August. p. 174.

<sup>42</sup> See the description of the fall of the tyrant, in the first book of the History of the Roman Empire.

turn disdained by his colleague as an obscure soldier. Their silent discord was understood rather than seen;<sup>43</sup> but the mutual consciousness prevented them from uniting in any vigorous measures of defence against their common enemies of the prætorian camp. The whole city was employed in the Capitoline games, and the emperors were left almost alone in the palace.

A. D. 238. July 15. On a sudden they were alarmed by the approach of a troop of desperate assassins. Ignorant of each other's situation or designs, for they already occupied very distant apartments, afraid to give or to receive assistance, they wasted the important moments in idle debates and fruitless recriminations. The arrival of the guards put an end to the vain strife. They seized on these emperors of the senate, for such they called them with malicious contempt, stripped them of their garments, and dragged them in insolent triumph through the streets of Rome, with a design of inflicting a slow and cruel death on these unfortunate princes. The fear of a rescue from the faithful Germans of the Imperial guards, shortened their tortures; and their bodies, mangled with a thousand wounds, were left exposed to the insults or to the pity of the populace.<sup>44</sup>

In the space of a few months, six princes had been cut off by the sword. Gordian, who had already received the title of Cæsar, was the only person that occurred to the soldiers as proper to fill the vacant throne.<sup>45</sup> They carried him to the camp, and unanimously saluted him Augustus and Emperor. His name was dear to the senate and people; his tender age promised a long impunity of military licence; and the submission of Rome and the provinces to the choice of the prætorian guards, saved the republic, at the expense indeed of its freedom and dignity, from the horrors of a new civil war in the heart of the capital.<sup>46</sup>

As the third Gordian was only nineteen years of age at the time of his death, the history of his life, were it known to us with greater accuracy than it really is, would contain little more than the account of his education, and the conduct of the ministers, who by turns abused or guided the simplicity of his unexperienced youth. Immediately after his accession, he fell into the hands of his mother's eunuchs, that pernicious vermin of the East, who, since the days of Elagabalus, had infested the Roman palace. By the artful conspiracy of these wretches, an impenetrable veil was drawn between an innocent prince and his oppressed subjects, the virtuous disposition of Gordian was deceived, and the honours of the empire sold without his knowledge, though in a very public manner, to the most worthless

of mankind. We are ignorant by what fortunate accident the emperor escaped from this ignominious slavery, and devolved his confidence on a minister, whose wise counsels had no object except the glory of his sovereign, and the happiness of the people. It should seem that love and learning introduced Mithreus to the favour of

A. D. 240. Administration of Mithreus.

Gordian. The young prince married the daughter of his master of rhetoric, and promoted his father-in-law to the first offices of the empire. Two admirable letters that passed between them are still extant. The minister, with the conscious dignity of virtue, congratulates Gordian that he is delivered from the tyranny of the eunuchs,<sup>47</sup> and still more that he is sensible of his deliverance. The emperor acknowledges, with an amiable confusion, the errors of his past conduct; and laments, with singular propriety, the misfortune of a monarch, from whom a venal tribe of courtiers perpetually labour to conceal the truth.<sup>48</sup>

The life of Mithreus had been spent in the profession of letters, not of arms; yet such was the versatile genius of that great man, that, when he was appointed prætorian præfect, he discharged the military duties of his place with vigour and ability. The Persians had invaded Mesopotamia, and threatened Antioch. By the persuasion of his father-in-law, the young emperor quitted the luxury of Rome, opened, for the last time recorded in history, the temple of Janus, and marched in person into the East. On his approach with a great army, the Persians withdrew their garrisons from the cities which they had already taken, and retired from the Euphrates to the Tigris. Gordian enjoyed the pleasure of announcing to the senate the first success of his arms, which he ascribed with a becoming modesty and gratitude to the wisdom of his father and præfect. During the whole expedition, Mithreus watched over the safety and discipline of the army; whilst he prevented their dangerous murmurs by maintaining a regular plenty in the camp, and by establishing ample magazines of vinegar, bacon, straw, barley, and wheat, in all the cities of the frontier.<sup>49</sup> But the prosperity of Gordian expired with Mithreus, who died of a flux, not without very strong suspicions of poison. Philip, his successor in the præfecture, was an Arab by birth, and consequently, in the earlier part of his life, a robber by profession. His rise from so obscure a station to the first dignities of the empire, seems to prove that he was a bold and able leader. But his boldness prompted him to aspire to the throne, and his abilities were employed to supplant, not to serve, his indulgent master. The minds of the soldiers were irritated by an artifi-

A. D. 243. Arts of Philip.

<sup>43</sup> *In discordia tacite, et que intelligentior potius quam videretur.* *Hist. August. p. 170.* This well-chosen expression is probably stolen from some better writer.

<sup>44</sup> *Herodian, l. viii. p. 287, 288.*

<sup>45</sup> *Quia non alius erat in præsentia, is the expression of the Augustan History.*

<sup>46</sup> *Quintus Curtius (l. x. c. 9.)* pays an elegant compliment to the emperor of the day, for having, by his happy accession, extinguished many firebrands, sheathed so many swords, and put an end to the wail of a divided government. After waxing with attention every word of the passage, I am of opinion, that it suits better with the elevation of Gordian than with any other period of the Roman History. In that case, it may serve to decide the age of Quintus Curtius. Those who date him, under the first Cæsar, derive him from the purity of his

style, but are embarrassed by the silence of Quintilian, in his accurate list of Roman historians.

<sup>47</sup> *Hist. August. p. 161.* From some hints in the two letters, I should expect that the eunuchs were not expelled the palace without some degree of civil violence, and that the young Gordian rather approved of it, than was sensible of the injury.

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cial scarcity, created by his contrivance in the camp; and the distress of the army was attributed to the youth and incapacity of the prince. It is not in our power to trace the successive steps of the secret conspiracy and open sedition, which were at length fatal to Gordian. A sepulchral monument was erected to his memory on the spot <sup>50</sup> where he was killed, near the conflux of the

*Murder of Gordian. A.D. 244. March.*

Euphrates with the little river Aboras.<sup>51</sup> The fortunate Philip, raised to the empire by the votes of the soldiers, found a ready obedience from the senate and the provinces.<sup>52</sup>

We cannot forbear transcribing the ingenious, though somewhat fanciful, description, which a celebrated writer of our own times has traced of the military government of the Roman empire. "What in that age was called the Roman empire, was only an irregular republic, not unlike the Aristocracy <sup>53</sup> of Algiers,<sup>54</sup> where the militia, possessed of the sovereignty, creates and deposes a magistrate, who is styled a Dey. Perhaps, indeed, it may be laid down as a general rule, that a military government is, in some respects, more republican than monarchical. Nor can it be said that the soldiers only partook of the government by their disobedience and rebellions. The speeches made to them by the emperors, were they not at length of the same nature as those formerly pronounced to the people by the consuls and the tribunes? And although the armies had no regular place or forms of assembly; though their debates were short, their action sudden, and their resolves seldom the result of cool reflection, did they not dispose, with absolute sway, of the public fortune? What was the emperor, except the minister of a violent government, elected for the private benefit of the soldiers?"

"When the army had elected Philip, who was prætorian prefect to the third Gordian, the latter demanded, that he might remain sole emperor; he was unable to obtain it. He requested, that the power might be equally divided between them; the army would not listen to his speech. He consented to be degraded to the rank of Cæsar; the favour was refused him. He desired, at least, he might be appointed prætorian prefect; his prayer was rejected. Finally, he pleaded for his life. The army, in these several judgments, exercised the supreme magistracy." According to the historian, whose doubtful narrative the President De Montesquieu has adopted, Philip,

who, during the whole transaction, had preserved a sullen silence, was inclined to spare the innocent life of his benefactor; till, recollecting that his innocence might excite a dangerous compassion in the Roman world, he commanded, without regard to his suppliant cries, that he should be seized, stript, and led away to instant death. After a moment's pause the inhuman sentence was executed.<sup>55</sup>

On his return from the East to Rome, Philip, desirous of obliterating the memory of his crimes, and of captivating the affections of the people, solemnised the secular games with infinite pomp and magnificence. Since their institution or revival by Augustus,<sup>56</sup> they had been celebrated by Claudius, by Domitian, and by Severus, and were now renewed the fifth time, on the accomplishment of the full period of a thousand years from the foundation of Rome.

Every circumstance of the secular games was skilfully adapted to inspire the superstitious mind with deep and solemn reverence. The long interval between them <sup>57</sup> exceeded the term of human life; and as none of the spectators had already seen them, none could flatter themselves with the expectation of beholding them a second time. The mystic sacrifices were performed, during three nights, on the banks of the Tyber; and the Campus Martius resounded with music and dances, and was illuminated with innumerable lamps and torches. Slaves and strangers were excluded from any participation in these national ceremonies. A chorus of twenty-seven youths, and as many virgins, of noble families, and whose parents were both alive, implored the propitious gods in favour of the present, and for the hope of the rising generation; requesting, in religious hymns, that, according to the faith of their ancient oracles, they would still maintain the virtue, the felicity, and the empire of the Roman people.<sup>58</sup> The magnificence of Philip's shows and entertainments dazzled the eyes of the multitude. The devout were employed in the rites of superstition, whilst the reflecting few revolved in their anxious minds the past history and the future fate of the empire.

Since Romulus, with a small band of shepherds and outlaws, fortified himself on the hills near the Tyber, ten centuries had already elapsed.<sup>59</sup> During the four first ages, the Romans, in the laborious school of poverty, had acquired the virtues of war and government: By the vigorous exertion of those virtues, and by the assistance of fortune, they

<sup>50</sup> About twenty miles from the little town of Caracorum, on the frontier of the Sarmatians.

<sup>51</sup> The river on which it stood was a single point was erected to the order of Gordian, who had been declared emperor by the Philip. Hist. August. p. 101. See the *Annals* of the reign of Gordian, which formed the empire of the East, in the time of Julian. See *Annals*, Marcell. lib. xviii. c. 2.

<sup>52</sup> Aurelius Victor. *Historia*, lib. 2. Orator. p. 20. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 2. *Historia*, lib. 12. Philip, who was a native of Ælium, was about forty years of age.

<sup>53</sup> See the *Annals* of the reign of Philip, lib. 12. *Historia*, lib. 12.

<sup>54</sup> See the *Annals* of the reign of Philip, lib. 12. *Historia*, lib. 12.

<sup>55</sup> See the *Annals* of the reign of Philip, lib. 12. *Historia*, lib. 12.

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<sup>58</sup> See the *Annals* of the reign of Philip, lib. 12. *Historia*, lib. 12.

<sup>59</sup> See the *Annals* of the reign of Philip, lib. 12. *Historia*, lib. 12.

the most usurper, was by no means a mad tyrant. Some chronological writers have likewise been discovered by the nice eyes of Lillmont.

See the *Annals* of the reign of Philip, lib. 12. *Historia*, lib. 12.

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had obtained, in the course of the three succeeding centuries, an absolute empire over many countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The last three hundred years had been consumed in apparent prosperity and internal decline. The nation of soldiers, magistrates, and legislators, who composed the thirty-five tribes of the Roman people, was dissolved into the common mass of mankind, and confounded with the millions of servile provincials, who had received the name, without adopting the spirit, of Romans. A mercenary army, levied among the subjects and barbarians of the frontier, was the only order of men who preserved and abused their independence. By their tumultuary election, a Syrian, a Goth, or an Arab, was exalted to the throne of Rome, and invested with despotic power over the conquests and over the country of the Scipios.

The limits of the Roman empire still extended from the Western Ocean to the Tigris, and from Mount Atlas to the Rhine and the Danube. To the undiscerning eye of the vulgar, Philip appeared a monarch no less powerful than Hadrian or Augustus had formerly been. The form was still the same, but the animating health and vigour were fled. The industry of the people was discouraged and exhausted by a long series of oppression. The discipline of the legions, which alone, after the extinction of every other virtue, had propped the greatness of the state, was corrupted by the ambition, or relaxed by the weakness, of the emperors. The strength of the frontiers, which had always consisted in arms rather than in fortifications, was insensibly undermined; and the fairest provinces were left exposed to the rapaciousness or ambition of the barbarians, who soon discovered the decline of the Roman empire.

### CHAP. VIII.

#### *Of the State of Persia after the Restoration of the Monarchy by Artaxerxes.*

The barbarians of the East and of the North.

WHENEVER Tacitus indulges himself in those beautiful episodes, in which he relates some domestic transaction of the Germans or of the Parthians, his principal object is to relieve the attention of the reader from a uniform scene of vice and misery. From the reign of Augustus to the time of Alexander Severus, the enemies of Rome were in her bosom—the tyrants, and the soldiers; and her prosperity had a very distant and feeble interest in the revolutions that might happen beyond the Rhine and the Euphrates. But when the military order had levelled, in wild anarchy, the power of the prince, the laws of the senate, and even the discipline of the camp, the barbarians of the North and of the East, who had

long hovered on the frontier, boldly attacked the provinces of a declining monarchy. Their vexatious inroads were changed into formidable irruptions, and, after a long vicissitude of mutual calamities, many tribes of the victorious invaders established themselves in the provinces of the Roman empire. To obtain a clearer knowledge of these great events, we shall endeavour to form a previous idea of the character, forces, and designs of those nations who avenged the cause of Hannibal and Mithridates.

In the more early ages of the world, whilst the forest that covered Europe afforded a retreat to a few wandering savages, the inhabitants of Asia were already collected into populous cities, and reduced under extensive empires, the seat of the arts, of luxury, and of despotism. The Assyrians reigned over the East,<sup>1</sup> till the sceptre of Nimus and Semiramis dropt from the hands of their enervated successors. The Medes and the Babylonians divided their power, and were themselves swallowed up in the monarchy of the Persians, whose arms could not be confined within the narrow limits of Asia. Followed, as it is said, by two millions of men, Xerxes, the descendant of Cyrus, invaded Greece. Thirty thousand soldiers, under the command of Alexander, the son of Philip, who was entrusted by the Greeks with their glory and revenge, were sufficient to subdue Persia. The princes of the house of Seleucus usurped and lost the Macedonian command over the East. About the same time, that, by an ignominious treaty, they resigned to the Romans the country on this side Mount Taurus, they were driven by the Parthians, an obscure horde of Scythian origin, from all the provinces of Upper Asia. The formidable power of the Parthians, which spread from India to the frontiers of Syria, was in its turn subverted by Artabaz, or Artaxerxes; the founder of a new dynasty, which, under the name of Sassanides, governed Persia till the invasion of the Arabs. This great revolution, whose fatal influence was soon experienced by the Romans, happened in the fourth year of Alexander Severus, two hundred and twenty six years after the Christian era.<sup>2</sup>

Artaxerxes had served with great reputation in the armies of Artaban, the last king of the Parthians, and it appears that he was driven into exile and rebellion by royal ingratitude, the customary reward for superior merit. His birth was obscure, and the obscurity equally gave room to the aspersions of his enemies, and the flattery of his adherents. If we credit the scandal of the former, Artaxerxes sprang from the illegitimate commerce of a tanner's wife with a common soldier.<sup>3</sup> The latter represent him as descended from a branch of the ancient kings of Persia, though time and misfortune had gradually reduced his ancestors to the humble station of pri-

The Persian monarchy restored by Artaxerxes.

<sup>1</sup> An ancient chronology quoted by Velleius Paterculus (l. ii. c. 6.) observes, that the Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians, and the Macedonians, reigned over Asia one thousand two hundred and ninety five years, from the creation of Adam, to the death of Alexander the Great. The latter of these ages is computed upon the Jewish chronology, the former upon the Greek. The Assyrian chronology, found at Babylon by Alexander the Great, has been corrected and brought to the year of the creation of Adam, by the learned and ingenious Mr. de la Harpe.

<sup>2</sup> The latter's name was Bales; the soldier's, Sassan; from the former Artaxerxes obtained the surname of Bilegan, from the latter all his descendants have been styled Sassanides.

<sup>3</sup> An ancient chronology quoted by Velleius Paterculus (l. ii. c. 6.) observes, that the Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians, and the Macedonians, reigned over Asia one thousand two hundred and ninety five years, from the creation of Adam, to the death of Alexander the Great. The latter of these ages is computed upon the Jewish chronology, the former upon the Greek. The Assyrian chronology, found at Babylon by Alexander the Great, has been corrected and brought to the year of the creation of Adam, by the learned and ingenious Mr. de la Harpe.

vate citizens.<sup>4</sup> As the lineal heir of the monarchy, he asserted his right to the throne, and challenged the noble task of delivering the Persians from the oppression under which they groaned above five centuries since the death of Darius. The Parthians were defeated in three great battles. In the last of these their king Artaban was slain, and the spirit of the nation was for ever broken.<sup>5</sup> The authority of Artaxerxes was solemnly acknowledged in a great assembly held at Bakh in Khorasan. Two younger branches of the royal house of Arsaces were confounded among the prostrate satraps. A third, more mindful of ancient grandeur than of present necessity, attempted to retire, with a numerous train of vassals, towards their kinsman, the king of Armenia; but this little army of deserters was intercepted, and cut off, by the vigilance of the conqueror,<sup>6</sup> who boldly assumed the double diadem, and the title of King of Kings, which had been enjoyed by his predecessor. But these pompous titles, instead of gratifying the vanity of the Persian, served only to admonish him of his duty, and to inflame in his soul the ambition of restoring, in their full splendour, the religion and empire of Cyrus.

Reformation of the Magian religion.

I. During the long servitude of Persia under the Macedonian and the Parthian yoke, the nations of Europe and Asia had mutually adopted and corrupted each other's super-titions. The Arsacides, indeed, practised the worship of the Magi; but they disgraced and polluted it with a various mixture of foreign idolatry. The memory of Zoroaster, the ancient prophet and philosopher of the Persians,<sup>7</sup> was still revered in the East; but the obsolete and mysterious languages, in which the Zendavesta was composed,<sup>8</sup> opened a field of dispute to seventy sects, who variously explained the fundamental doctrines of their religion, and were all indifferently derided by a crowd of infidels, who rejected the divine mission and miracles of the prophet. To suppress the idolaters, reunite the schismatics, and confute the unbelievers, by the infallible decision of a general council, the pious Artaxerxes summoned the Magi from all parts of his dominions. These priests, who had so long sighed in contempt and obscurity, obeyed the welcome summons; and on the appointed day appeared, to the number of about eighty thousand. But as the debates of so tumultuous an assembly could not have been directed by the authority of reason, or influenced by the art of policy, the Persian synod was reduced, by successive operations, to forty thousand, to four thousand, to four hundred, to forty, and at last to seven Magi, the most respected for their learning and piety. One of these, Erdravind, a young but holy prelate, received from the hands of his brethren three cups of sponiferous wine.

He drank them off, and instantly fell into a long and profound sleep. As soon as he waked, he related to the king and to the believing multitude, his journey to heaven, and his intimate conferences with the Deity. Every doubt was silenced by this supernatural evidence; and the articles of the faith of Zoroaster were fixed with equal authority and precision.<sup>9</sup> A short delineation of that celebrated system will be found useful, not only to display the character of the Persian nation, but to illustrate many of their most important transactions, both in peace and war, with the Roman empire.<sup>10</sup>

The great and fundamental article of the system, was the celebrated doctrine of the two principles; a bold and injudicious attempt of eastern philosophy to reconcile the existence of moral and physical evil, with the attributes of a beneficent creator and governor of the world. The first and original Being, in whom, or by whom, the universe exists, is denominated in the writings of Zoroaster, *Time without bounds*; but it must be confessed, that this infinite substance seems rather a metaphysical abstraction of the mind, than a real object endowed with self-consciousness, or possessed of moral perfections. From either the blind, or the intelligent operation of this infinite Time, which bears but too near an affinity with the Chaos of the Greeks, the two secondary but active principles of the universe, were from all eternity produced, Ormuzd and Ahriman, each of them possessed of the powers of creation, but each disposed, by his invariable nature, to exercise them with different designs. The principle of good is eternally absorbed in light; the principle of evil eternally buried in darkness. The wise benevolence of Ormuzd formed man capable of virtue, and abundantly provided his fair habitation with the materials of happiness. By his vigilant providence, the motion of the planets, the order of the seasons, and the temperate mixture of the elements, are preserved. But the malice of Ahriman has long since pierced Ormuzd's egg; or, in other words, has violated the harmony of his works. Since that fatal irruption, the most minute articles of good and evil are intimately intermingled and agitated together; the rankest poisons spring up amidst the most salutary plants; deluges, earthquakes, and conflagrations, attest the conflict of Nature, and the little world of man is perpetually shaken by vice and misfortune. Whilst the rest of human kind are led away captives in the chains of their infernal enemy, the faithful Persian alone reserves his religious adoration for his friend and protector Ormuzd, and fights under his banner of light, in the full confidence that he shall, in the last day, share the glory of his triumph. At that decisive period, the enlightened

Persian theology, two principles.

4 Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. c. 47. 5 Herodotus, lib. iii. c. 107. 6 A. D. 165. 7 See the account of Zoroaster, lib. iii. c. 107. 8 See the account of Zoroaster, lib. iii. c. 107. 9 See the account of Zoroaster, lib. iii. c. 107. 10 See the account of Zoroaster, lib. iii. c. 107.

See the account of Zoroaster, lib. iii. c. 107. The language of the Zendavesta is so obscure, that it is not possible to give a full account of it. The Zendavesta is a collection of the laws, customs, and religious opinions of the Persians, as they were in the time of Zoroaster. It is a very ancient work, and is written in the Zend language, which is a dialect of the Sanskrit language. The Zendavesta is divided into two parts, the Gathas and the Yasna. The Gathas are the hymns of Zoroaster, and the Yasna is the ceremony of the sacred fire. The Zendavesta is a very important work, and is one of the most ancient religious texts in the world.





tract of the most fertile lands of Media,<sup>18</sup> they levied a general tax on the fortunes and the industry of the Persians.<sup>19</sup> "Though your "good words," says the interested prophet, "exceed in number the leaves of the trees, the drops "of rain, the stars in the heaven, or the sands "on the sea-shore, they will all be unprofitable "to you, unless they are accepted by the *destour* "or priest. To obtain the acceptance of this "guide to salvation, you must faithfully pay *bin tithes* of all you possess, of your goods, of your "lands, and of your money. If the *destour* be "satisfied, your soul will escape hell tortures; "you will secure praise in this world, and happiness in the next. For the *destours* are the "teachers of religion; they know all things, and "they deliver all men."<sup>20</sup>

These convenient maxims of reverence and implicit faith were doubtless imprinted with care on the tender minds of youth; since the Magi were the masters of education in Persia, and to their hands the children even of the royal family were intrusted.<sup>21</sup> The Persian priests, who were of a speculative genius, preserved and investigated the secrets of Oriental philosophy; and acquired, either by superior knowledge or superior art, the reputation of being well versed in some occult sciences, which have derived their appellation from the Magi.<sup>22</sup> Those of more active dispositions mixed with the world in courts and cities; and it is observed, that the administration of Artaxerxes was in a great measure directed by the counsels of the sacerdotal order, whose dignity, either from policy or devotion, that prince restored to its ancient splendour.<sup>23</sup>

The first counsel of the Magi was agreeable to the unsocial genius of their faith,<sup>24</sup> to the practice of ancient kings,<sup>25</sup> and even to the example of their legislator, who had fallen a victim to a religious war, excited by his own intolerant zeal.<sup>26</sup> By an edict of Artaxerxes, the exercise of every worship except that of Zoroaster was severely prohibited. The temples of the Parthians, and the statues of their deified monarchs, were thrown down with ignominy.<sup>27</sup> The sword of Aristotle (such was the name given by the Orientals to the polytheism and philosophy of the Greeks) was easily broken;<sup>28</sup> the flames of persecution soon reached the more stubborn Jews and Christians;<sup>29</sup> nor did they spare the beretics of their own nation

and religion. The majesty of Ormusd, who was jealous of a rival, was seconded by the despotism of Artaxerxes, who could not suffer a rebel; and the schismatics within his vast empire were soon reduced to the inconsiderable number of eighty thousand.<sup>30</sup> This spirit of persecution reflects dishonour on the religion of Zoroaster; but as it was not productive of any civil commotion, it served to strengthen the new monarchy, by uniting all the various inhabitants of Persia in the bands of religious zeal.

II. Artaxerxes, by his valour and conduct, had wrested the sceptre of the East from the ancient royal family of Parthia. There still remained the more difficult task of establishing, throughout the vast extent of Persia, a uniform and vigorous administration. The weak indulgence of the Arsacides had resigned to their sons and brothers the principal provinces, and the greatest offices of the kingdom, in the nature of hereditary possessions. The *vixæ*, or eighteen most powerful satraps, were permitted to assume the regal title; and the vain pride of the monarch was delighted with the nominal dominion over so many vassal kings. Even tribes of barbarians in their mountains, and the Greek cities of Upper Asia,<sup>31</sup> within their walls, scarcely acknowledged, or seldom obeyed, any superior; and the Parthian empire exhibited, under other names, a lively image of the feudal system<sup>32</sup> which has since prevailed in Europe. But the active victor, at the head of a numerous and disciplined army, visited in person every province of Persia. The defeat of the boldest rebels, and the reduction of the strongest fortifications,<sup>33</sup> diffused the terror of his arms, and prepared the way for the peaceful reception of his authority. An obstinate resistance was fatal to the chiefs; but their followers were treated with lenity.<sup>34</sup> A cheerful submission was rewarded with honours and riches; but the prudent Artaxerxes, suffering no person except himself to assume the title of king, abolished every intermediate power between the throne and the people. His kingdom, nearly equal in extent to modern Persia, was on every side bounded by the sea, or by great rivers; by the Euphrates

Establishment of the royal authority in the provinces.

Extent and population of Persia.

the Tigris, the Araxes, the Oxus, and the Indus, by the Caspian Sea, and the Gulf of Persia.<sup>35</sup> That country was computed to contain, in the

18 Ammien Marcellin. xliii. 6. He informs us (as far as we may credit him) of two curious particulars; 1. that the M<sup>g</sup> derived some of their most secret doctrines from the Indian Brahmans; and, 2. that they were a tribe, or family, as well as order.

19 The divine institution of titles exhibits a singular instance of conformity between the law of Zoroaster and that of Moses. Those

continuity between the law of 2000-2001 and the law of 2002-2003.

kind by the triple chain of relation, of physics, and of astronomy.

23. Agathias, l. iv. p. 151.

21 Mr. Humie, in the *Natural History of Religion*, significantly remarks, that the most refined and philosophic sects are constantly the

25 Cicero de Legibus, ii. 10. Xerxes, by the advice of the Magi,

26 *Hyde de Relig. Persar.* c. 25. 24. D'Herbelot *Bibliothèque*

*[Faint handwritten notes at the bottom of the page]*

Marcelin.

encl.

Manes, who suffered an ignominious death, may be deemed a Magian as well as a Christian heretic.

31 These colonies were extremely numerous. *Solenus Nicator*

31 These colonies were extremely numerous. Seleucus Nicator founded thirty nine cities, all named from himself, or some of his

relations. (See Appian in Syriac. p. 124.) The era of Seleucus (still in use among the eastern Christians) appears as late as the year 508, of Christ 196, on the medals of the Greek cities within the Parthian empire. See Moyle's works, vol. I. p. 273, &c. and M. Freret, *Mém. de l'Académie*, tom. xix.

32 The modern Persians distinguish that period as the dynasty of the *Khans* of the *Yakhs*. See *Encyclopædia Persica*, p. 106.

83 Eutychus (Iorn i. p. 367-371, 375.) relates the siege of the

Island of Mesene in the Tigris, with some circumstances not unlike the story of Na-uc and Scylla.

34 Agathias, ii. 164. The princes of Segistan defended their independence during many years. As romances generally transport to

independence during many years. As romances generally transport to an ancient period the events of their own time, it is not impossible, that the Icelandic legends of Rurik, Hnuk, and some other men, have been

that the fabulous exploits of Rustan Prince of Nege-tan may have been

[illegible]

Alexander, and probably many ages afterwards, it was thickly inhaled

Alexander, and probably many ages afterwards, it was thinly inhabited by a savage people of Lithyophagi, or Fishermen, who knew no arts,

who acknowledged no master, and who were divided by inhospitable

... ..

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 273, 1995, 1033-1037.

... ..

two idolaters, who maintained their independence against the successors of Shah Abbas. (*Voyages de Tavernier*, part 1, v. p. 635.)

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last century, five hundred and fifty-four cities, sixty thousand villages, and about forty millions of souls.<sup>36</sup> If we compare the administration of the house of Sassan with that of the house of Sefi, the political influence of the Magian with that of the Mahometan religion, we shall probably infer that the kingdom of Artaxerxes contained at least as great a number of cities, villages, and inhabitants. But it must likewise be confessed, that in every age the want of harbours on the sea-coast, and the scarcity of fresh water in the inland provinces, have been very unfavourable to the commerce and agriculture of the Persians, who, in the calculation of their numbers, seem to have indulged one of the meanest, though most common, articles of national vanity.

Recapitulation of the war between the Parthian and Roman empire As soon as the ambitious mind of Artaxerxes had triumphed over the resistance of his vassals, he began to threaten the neighbouring states, who, during the long slumber of his predecessors, had insulted Persia with impunity. He obtained some easy victories over the wild Scythians and the effeminate Indians; but the Romans were an enemy, who, by their past injuries and present power, deserved the utmost efforts of his arms. A forty years' tranquillity, the fruit of valour and moderation, had succeeded the victories of Trajan. During the period that elapsed from the accession of Marcus to the reign of Alexander, the Roman and the Parthian empires were twice engaged in war; and although the whole strength of the Arsacides contended with a part only of the forces of Rome, the event was most commonly in favour of the latter. Macrinus indeed, prompted by his precarious situation and pusillanimous temper, purchased a peace at the expense of near two millions of our money;<sup>37</sup> but the generals of Marcus, the emperor Severus, and his son, erected many trophies in Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. Among their exploits, the imperfect relation of which would have unseasonably interrupted the more important series of domestic revolutions, we shall only mention the repeated calamities of the two great cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon.

Cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon. Seleucia, on the western bank of the Tigris, about forty-five miles to the north of ancient Babylon, was the capital of the Macedonian conquests in Upper Asia.<sup>38</sup> Many ages after the fall of their empire, Seleucia retained the genuine characters of a Greek colony; arts, military virtue, and the love of freedom. The independent republic was governed by a senate of three hundred nobles; the people consisted of six hundred thousand citizens; the walls were strong, and as long as concord prevailed among the several orders of the state, they viewed with contempt the power of the Parthian: but the madness of faction was some-

times provoked to implore the dangerous aid of the common enemy, who was posted almost at the gates of the colony.<sup>39</sup> The Parthian monarchs, like the Mogul sovereigns of Hindostan, delighted in the pastoral life of their Scythian ancestors; and the Imperial camp was frequently pitched in the plain of Ctesiphon, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, at the distance of only three miles from Seleucia.<sup>40</sup> The innumerable attendants on luxury and despotism resorted to the court, and the little village of Ctesiphon insensibly swelled into a great city.<sup>41</sup> Under the reign of Marcus, the Roman generals penetrated as far as Ctesiphon and Seleucia. They were received as friends by the Greek colony; they attacked as enemies the seat of the Parthian kings; yet both cities experienced the same treatment. The sack and conflagration of Seleucia, with the massacre of three hundred thousand of the inhabitants, tarnished the glory of the Roman triumph.<sup>42</sup> Seleucia, already exhausted by the neighbourhood of a too powerful rival, sunk under the fatal blow; but Ctesiphon, in about thirty-three years, had suf-

ficiently recovered its strength to maintain an obstinate siege against the emperor Severus. The city was, however, taken by assault; the king, who defended it in person, escaped with precipitation; an hundred thousand captives, and a rich booty, rewarded the fatigues of the Roman soldiers.<sup>43</sup> Notwithstanding these misfortunes, Ctesiphon succeeded to Babylon and to Seleucia, as one of the great capitals of the East. In summer the monarch of Persia enjoyed at Ecbatana the cool breezes of the mountains of Media: but the mildness of the climate engaged him to prefer Ctesiphon for his winter residence.

From these successful incursions the Romans derived no real or lasting benefit; nor did they attempt to preserve such distant conquests, separated from the provinces of the empire by a large tract of intermediate desert. The reduction of the kingdom of Osrohoene was an acquisition of less splendour indeed, but of a far more solid advantage. That little state occupied the northern and most fertile part of Mesopotamia, between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Edessa, its capital, was situated about twenty miles beyond the former of those rivers; and the inhabitants, since the time of Alexander, were a mixed race of Greeks, Arabs, Syrians, and Armenians.<sup>44</sup> The feeble sovereigns of Osrohoene, placed on the dangerous verge of two contending empires, were attached from inclination to the Parthian cause; but the superior power of Rome exacted from them a reluctant homage, which is still attested by their medals. After the conclusion of the Parthian war under Marcus, it was judged prudent to secure some substantial pledges of

Conquest of Osrohoene by the Romans.

<sup>36</sup> Chardin, tom. i. c. 1, 2, 3.

<sup>37</sup> Dion, l. xxviii. p. 1373.

<sup>38</sup> For the precise situation of Babylon, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Medin, and Bagdad, cities often mentioned with each other, see an excellent geographical Treatise of M. d'Anville, in Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxx.

<sup>39</sup> Tacit. Annal. vi. 42. Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 26.

<sup>40</sup> This may be inferred from Strabo, l. xvi. p. 713.

<sup>41</sup> Tacit. Annal. vi. 42.

and between 500,000 and 600,000 persons. Almost all Dehli followed the court, whose magnificence supported its industry.

<sup>42</sup> Dion, l. lxxv. p. 1178. Hist. August. p. 38. Eutrop. vi. 10. Euseb. in Chron. Quadrages. quoted in the Augustan History attempted to vilify the Romans by alleging, that the citizens of Seleucia had first violated their faith.

<sup>43</sup> Dion, l. lxxv. p. 1263. Herodian, l. iii. p. 120. Hist. August. p. 70.

<sup>44</sup> The polished citizens of Antioch called those of Edessa mixed barbarians. It was, however, some praise, that of the three dialects of the Syria, the purest and most elegant (the Armenian) was spoken at Edessa. This remark M. Bayer (Hist. Edess. p. 5) has borrowed from George of Maron, a Syrian writer.

their doubtful fidelity. Forts were constructed in several parts of the country, and a Roman garrison was fixed in the strong town of Nisibis. During the troubles that followed the death of Commodus, the princes of Osrhoene attempted to shake off the yoke; but the stern policy of Severus confirmed their dependence,<sup>45</sup> and the perfidy of Caracalla completed the easy conquest. Abgarus, the last king of

A. D. 216. quest. Abgarus, the last king of Edessa was sent in chains to Rome.

his dominions reduced into a province, and his capital dignified with the rank of colony; and thus the Romans, about ten years before the fall of the Parthian monarchy, obtained a firm and permanent establishment beyond the Euphrates.<sup>46</sup>

Artaxerxes claims the provinces of Asia, and declares war against the Roman.  
A D 250

If we credit what should seem the most authentic of all records, an oration, still extant, and delivered by the emperor himself to the senate, we must allow that the victory of Alexander Severus was not inferior to any of those formerly obtained over the Persians by the son of Philip. The army of the Great King consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, clothed in complete armour of steel; of seven hundred elephants, with towers filled with archers on their backs, and of eighteen hundred chariots armed with scythes. This formidable host, the like of which is not to be found in eastern history, and has scarcely been imagined in eastern romance,<sup>42</sup> was discomfited in a great battle, in which the Roman Alexander approved himself an intrepid soldier and a skilful general. The Great King fled before his valour; an immense booty, and the conquest of Mesopotamia, were the immediate fruits of this signal victory. Such are the circumstances of this ostentatious and improbable relation, dictated, as it too plainly appears, by the vanity of the monarch, adorned by the unblushing servility of his flatterers, and received without contradiction by a distant and obsequious senate.<sup>30</sup> Far from being inclined to believe that the arms of Alexander obtained any memorable advantage over the Persians, we are induced to suspect, that all this blaze of imaginary glory was designed to conceal some real disgrace.

Our suspicions are confirmed by the authority of a contemporary historian, who mentions the virtues

More probable account of the war.

45 Dec. 1, 1887 p. 1 (8, 144, 154) M. Boer has neglected to use the old orthography of  $\beta$  ( $\beta^2$ ) in the new edition of the

In the knowledge of the author, who gave a new name to the country, to the east of Albania, there is no other source. See the limited work of M. Rieu, *Hittite inscriptions de Cilicie*, p. 106.

47. Xenophon, on the present of the Persians, gives a clear and magnificent idea of the extent of the empire of Cyrus. His description in *Cyropædia* extends to the common and particular descriptions of the twenty great *Satrapies* into which the Persian empire was divided by Darius Hystaspes.

[illegible][illegible]

51. M. I. T. *Travels*, p. 175.  
52. M. I. T. *Travels*, p. 175. It is, of course, not true that Herodotus' geography was not a *tabula rasa*.  
53. M. I. T. *Travels*, p. 175. Arrian, p. 71, writes that, next to Macedonia, the Thracians were the most numerous of the peoples of the Balkans.  
54. M. I. T. *Travels*, p. 175. The Thracians were the most numerous of the peoples of the Balkans, and they were the most potent only to the Romans.

fortunate. In repassing the mountains, great numbers of soldiers perished by the badness of the roads, and the severity of the winter season. It had been resolved, that whilst these two great detachments penetrated into the opposite extremes of the Persian dominions, the main body, under the command of Alexander himself, should support their attack, by invading the centre of the kingdom. But the inexperienced youth, influenced by his mother's counsels, and perhaps by his own fears, deserted the bravest troops, and the fairest prospect of victory; and after consuming in Mesopotamia an inactive and inglorious summer, he led back to Antioch an army diminished by sickness, and provoked by disappointment. The behaviour of Artaxerxes had been very different. Flying with rapidity from the hills of Media to the marshes of the Euphrates, he had every where opposed the invaders in person; and in either fortune had united with the ablest conduct the most undaunted resolution. But in several obstinate engagements against the veteran legions of Rome, the Persian monarch had lost the flower of his troops. Even his victories had weakened his power. The favourable opportunities of the absence of Alexander, and of the confusions that followed that emperor's death, presented themselves in vain to his ambition. Instead of expelling the Romans, as he pretended, from the continent of Asia, he found himself unable to wrest from their hands the little province of Mesopotamia.<sup>53</sup>

The reign of Artaxerxes, which from the last defeat of the Parthians lasted only fourteen years, forms a memorable æra in the history of the east, and even in that of Rome. His character seems to have been marked by those bold and commanding features, that generally distinguish the princes who conquer, from those who inherit, an empire. Till the last period of the Persian monarchy, his code of laws was respected as the ground-work of their civil and religious policy.<sup>54</sup> Several of his sayings are preserved. One of them in particular discovers a deep insight into the constitution of government. "The authority of the prince," said Artaxerxes, "must be defended by a military force; that force can only be maintained by taxes; all taxes must, at last, fall upon agriculture; and agriculture can never flourish except under the protection of justice and moderation."<sup>55</sup> Artaxerxes bequeathed his new empire, and his ambitious designs against the Romans, to Sapor, a son not unworthy of his great father; but those designs were too extensive for the power of Persia, and served only to involve both nations in a long series of destructive wars and reciprocal calamities.

The Persians, long since civilised and corrupted, were very far from possessing the martial independence, and the

intrepid hardiness, both of mind and body, which have rendered the northern barbarians masters of the world. The science of war, that constituted the more rational force of Greece and Rome, as it now does of Europe, never made any considerable progress in the east. Those disciplined evolutions which harmonise and animate a confused multitude, were unknown to the Persians. They were equally unskilled in the arts of constructing, besieging, or defending regular fortifications. They trusted more to their numbers than to their courage; more to their courage than to their discipline. The infantry was a half-armed spiritless crowd of peasants, levied in haste by the allurements of plunder, and as easily dispersed by a victory as by a defeat. The monarch and his nobles transported into the camp the pride and luxury of the seraglio. Their military operations were impeded by a useless train of women, eunuchs, horses, and camels; and in the midst of a successful campaign, the Persian host was often separated or destroyed by an unexpected famine.<sup>56</sup>

But the nobles of Persia, in the bosom of luxury and despotism, preserved a strong sense of personal gallantry and national honour. From the age of seven years they were taught to speak truth, to shoot with the bow, and to ride; and it was universally confessed, that in the two last of these arts, they had made a more than common proficiency.<sup>57</sup> The most distinguished youth were educated under the monarch's eye, practised their exercises in the gate of his palace, and were severely trained up to the habits of temperance and obedience, in their long and laborious parties of hunting. In every province, the satrap maintained a like school of military virtue. The Persian nobles (so natural is the idea of feudal tenures) received from the king's bounty lands and houses, on the condition of their service in war. They were ready on the first summons to mount on horseback, with a martial and splendid train of followers, and to join the numerous hodies of guards, who were carefully selected from among the most robust slaves, and the bravest adventurers of Asia. These armies, both of light and of heavy cavalry, equally formidable by the impetuosity of their charge, and the rapidity of their motions, threatened, as an impending cloud, the eastern provinces of the declining empire of Rome.<sup>58</sup>

## CHAP. IX.

*The State of Germany till the Invasion of the Barbarians, in the Time of the Emperor Decius.*

THE government and religion of Persia have deserved some notice, from their connection with the decline and fall of the Roman empire.

<sup>53</sup> Herodian, l. vi. p. 214. Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxi. c. 6. Some differences may be observed between the two historians, the former describing the Persians as a people of hunters, and the latter as a people of warriors. The latter account is more probable, as it is more consistent with the nature of the Persian monarchy, and with the accounts of the Persian nobility, as seen either common to every age, or particular to that of the Sassanides.

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<sup>55</sup> D'Hierbois, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, art. mot. *Artakir*. We may observe, that after an ancient period of falset, and a long interval of darkness, the modern histories of Persia begun to assume an air of truth with the dynasty of the Sassanides.

We shall occasionally mention the Scythian or Sarmatian tribes, which, with their arms and horses, their flocks and herds, their wives and families, wandered over the immense plains which spread themselves from the Caspian Sea to the Vistula, from the confines of Persia to those of Germany. But the warlike Germans who first resisted, then invaded, and at length overturned, the western monarchy of Rome, will occupy a much more important place in this history, and possess a stronger, and, if we may use the expression, a more domestic, claim to our attention and regard. The most civilised nations of modern Europe issued from the woods of Germany; and in the rude institutions of those barbarians we may still distinguish the original principles of our present laws and manners. In their primitive state of simplicity and independence, the Germans were surveyed by the discerning eye, and delineated by the masterly pencil, of Tacitus, the first of historians who applied the science of philosophy to the study of facts. The expressive conciseness of his descriptions has deserved to exercise the diligence of innumerable antiquarians, and to excite the genius and penetration of the philosophic historians of our own times. The subject, however various and important, has already been so frequently, so ably, and so successfully discussed, that it is now grown familiar to the reader, and difficult to the writer. We shall therefore content ourselves with observing, and indeed with repeating, some of the most important circumstances of climate, of manners, and of institutions, which rendered the wild barbarians of Germany such formidable enemies to the Roman power.

From its independent limits the province westward of the Rhine, which had submitted to the Roman yoke, extended itself over a third part of Europe. Almost the whole of modern Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Livonia, Prussia, and the greater part of Poland, were peopled by the various tribes of one great nation, whose complexion, manners, and language, denoted a common origin, and preserved a striking resemblance. On the west, ancient Germany was divided by the Rhine from the Gallic, and on the south, by the Danube, from the Illyrian, provinces of the empire. A ridge of hills, rising from the Danube, and called the Carpathian mountains, covered Germany on the side of Dacia or Hungary. The eastern frontier was faintly marked by the mutual fears of the Germans and the Sarmatians, and was often confounded by the mixture of warring and confederating tribes of the two nations. In the remote darkness of the north, the ancients imperfectly descried a frozen ocean

that lay beyond the Baltic Sea, and beyond the Peninsula, or islands<sup>1</sup> of Scandinavia.

Some ingenious writers<sup>2</sup> have suspected that Europe was much colder formerly than it is at present; and the most ancient descriptions of the climate of Germany tend exceedingly to confirm their theory. The general complaints of intense frost, and eternal winter, are perhaps little to be regarded, since we have no method of reducing to the accurate standard of the thermometer, the feelings, or the expressions, of an orator born in the happier regions of Greece or Asia. But I shall select two remarkable circumstances of a less equivocal nature. 1. The great rivers which covered the Roman provinces, the Rhine and the Danube, were frequently frozen over, and capable of supporting the most enormous weights. The barbarians, who often chose that severe season for their inroads, transported, without apprehension or danger, their numerous armies, their cavalry, and their heavy wagons, over a vast and solid bridge of ice.<sup>3</sup> Modern ages have not presented an instance of a like phenomenon. 2. The rein-deer, that useful animal, from whom the savage of the north derives the best comforts of his dreary life, is of a constitution that supports, and even requires, the most intense cold. He is found on the rock of Spitzberg, within ten degrees of the Pole; he seems to delight in the snows of Lapland and Siberia; but at present he cannot subsist, much less multiply, in any country to the south of the Baltic.<sup>4</sup> In the time of Cæsar the rein-deer, as well as the elk, and the wild bull, was a native of the Hercynian forest, which then overshadowed a great part of Germany and Ireland.<sup>5</sup> The modern improvements sufficiently explain the causes of the diminution of the cold. These immense woods have been gradually cleared, which intercepted from the earth the rays of the sun.<sup>6</sup> The morasses have been drained, and, in proportion as the soil has been cultivated, the air has become more temperate. Canada, at this day, is an exact picture of ancient Germany. Although situated in the same parallel with the finest provinces of France and England, that country experiences the most rigorous cold. The rein-deer are very numerous, the ground is covered with deep and lasting snow, and the great river of St. Lawrence is regularly frozen, in a season when the waters of the Seine and the Thames are usually free from ice.<sup>7</sup>

It is difficult to ascertain, and easy to exaggerate, the influence of the climate of ancient Germany over the minds and bodies of the natives. Many writers have supposed, and most have allowed, though, as it should seem, without any adequate proof, that the rigorous cold of the north was favourable to

1 The eminent philosophers of Siam in general agreed that the waters of the Rattanaughta River in a very important position. It was considered to be most important to Siam in general. I went to the river to see the ruins of the city of Siam, but I did not have the opportunity to do so, while the high tide rose above the water, as so many did not of various reasons and did not rise. But indeed is the more given to us. Ma, Pansa, and Tacu, of the water can be found around the Rattanaughta. See in the Bibliotheca Bodemense, tome 1, and a large abstract of

3 In *Historia de Suecia*, i, v, p. 740. Edit. Wessell. Herodotus i, v, p. 224. *Journaldes*, c. 15. On the banks of the Parus, the wine, when

brought to table, was frequently frozen into great lumps, *frusta* rivaled Epist. ex Pon. c. 1 v. 7<sup>th</sup>, 1<sup>st</sup>. Vined Georgia has 7<sup>th</sup>. The fact is confirmed by a soldier and a philosopher, who both expressed their sense of the Thrac. See Xenophon, Anabasis, l. vi. p. 360. Ed. Hutchinson.

4 Buffon Histoire Nat. in 6 vols. p. 79. 116.  
5 Cesar de Be. l. Galus. vol. 27. 30. The most important of the  
Germanists were the French historians, but, although we could not  
find traces of any mention of the word, it is not likely that they

and -centered on a fire hole in the wood



istence, surpasses, but very little, his fellow-labourer the ox, in the exercise of his mental faculties. The same, and even a greater, difference will be found between nations than between individuals; and we may safely pronounce, that without some species of writings, no people has ever preserved the faithful annals of their history, ever made any considerable progress in the abstract sciences, or ever possessed, in any tolerable degree of perfection, the useful and agreeable arts of life.

Of these arts, the ancient Germans were wretchedly destitute. <sup>of arts and agriculture;</sup> They passed their lives in a state of ignorance and poverty, which it has pleased some declaimers to dignify with the appellation of virtuous simplicity. Modern Germany is said to contain about two thousand and three hundred walled towns.<sup>17</sup> In a much wider extent of country, the geographer Ptolemy could discover no more than ninety places, which he decorates with the name of cities;<sup>18</sup> though, according to our ideas, they would but ill deserve that splendid title. We can only suppose them to have been rude fortifications, constructed in the centre of the woods, and designed to secure the women, children, and cattle, whilst the warriors of the tribe marched out to repel a sudden invasion.<sup>19</sup> But Tacitus asserts, as a well-known fact, that the Germans, in his time, had *no* cities;<sup>20</sup> and that they affected to despise the works of Roman industry, as places of confinement rather than of security.<sup>21</sup> Their edifices were not even contiguous, or formed into regular villas;<sup>22</sup> each barbarian fixed his independent dwelling on the spot to which a plain, a wood, or a stream of fresh water, had induced him to give the preference. Neither stone, nor brick, nor tiles, were employed in these slight habitations.<sup>23</sup> They were indeed no more than low huts of a circular figure, built of rough timber, thatched with straw, and pierced at the top to leave a free passage for the smoke. In the most inclement winter the hardy German was satisfied with a scanty garment made of the skin of some animal. The nations who dwelt towards the north, clothed themselves in furs; and the women manufactured for their own use a coarse kind of linen.<sup>24</sup> The game of various sorts, with which the forests of Germany were plentifully stocked, supplied its inhabitants with food and exercise.<sup>25</sup> Their monstrous herds of cattle, less remarkable indeed for their beauty than for their utility,<sup>26</sup> formed the principal object of their wealth. A small quantity of corn was the only produce exacted from the earth: the use of orchards or artificial meadows was unknown to the Germans; nor can we expect any improvements in agriculture from a people, whose property every year experienced a general change by a new di-

vision of the arable lands, and who, in that strange operation, avoided disputes, by suffering a great part of their territory to lie waste and without tillage.<sup>27</sup>

Gold, silver, and iron, were extremely scarce in Germany. <sup>and of the use of metals.</sup> Its barbarous inhabitants wanted both skill and patience to investigate those rich veins of silver, which have so liberally rewarded the attention of the princes of Brunswick and Saxony. Sweden, which now supplies Europe with iron, was equally ignorant of its own riches; and the appearance of the arms of the Germans furnished a sufficient proof how little iron they were able to bestow on what they must have deemed the noblest use of that metal. The various transactions of peace and war had introduced some Roman coins (chiefly silver) among the borderers of the Rhine and Danube; but the more distant tribes were absolutely unacquainted with the use of money, carried on their confined traffic by the exchange of commodities, and prized their rude earthen vessels as of equal value with the silver vases, the presents of Rome to their princes and ambassadors.<sup>28</sup> To a mind capable of reflection, such leading facts convey more instruction, than a tedious detail of subordinate circumstances. The value of money has been settled by general consent to express our wants and our property; as letters were invented to express our ideas; and both these institutions, by giving a more active energy to the powers and passions of human nature, have contributed to multiply the objects they were designed to represent. The use of gold and silver is in a great measure fictitious; but it would be impossible to enumerate the important and various services which agriculture, and all the arts, have received from iron, when tempered and fashioned by the operation of fire, and the dexterous hand of man. Money, in a word, is the most universal incentive, iron the most powerful instrument, of human industry; and it is very difficult to conceive by what means a people, neither actuated by the one, nor seconded by the other, could emerge from the grossest barbarism.<sup>29</sup>

If we contemplate a savage nation <sup>Their indolence.</sup> in any part of the globe, a supine indolence and a carelessness of futurity will be found to constitute their general character. In a civilised state, every faculty of man is expanded and exercised; and the great chain of mutual dependence connects and embraces the several members of society. The most numerous portion of it is employed in constant and useful labour. The select few, placed by fortune above that necessity, can, however, fill up their time by the pursuits of interest or glory, by the improvement of their estate or of their understanding, by the duties, the pleasures, and even the

<sup>17</sup> Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains, tom. i. p. 28. The author of that very curious work, if I am not misinformed, is German by birth.

<sup>18</sup> The Alexandrian Geographer is often criticised by the accurate Strabo.

<sup>19</sup> See Caesar, and the learned Mr. Whitaker in his History of Manchester, vol. i.

<sup>20</sup> Tacit. Germ. lib. i.

<sup>21</sup> When the Germans commanded by Arminius fled from the Romans, they retired to the forests, and with their wives and children, in the most barbarous manner, they insisted on the necessity of being confined to the walls of the colony. Tacitus says, lib. i. c. 25. "omnesque in castris secesserunt." Tacit. Hist. lib. i. c. 25. "omnesque in castris secesserunt." Tacit. Hist. lib. i. c. 25.

<sup>22</sup> The straggling villages of Silesia are several miles in length. See Geogr. lib. i. c. 15.

<sup>23</sup> The kind of dwellings were often Tents, or a few small regular cottages were erected near the lakes and rivers. Tacit. Hist. lib. i. c. 25.

<sup>24</sup> Tacit. Germ. lib. i. c. 17.

<sup>25</sup> Tacit. Germ. lib. i. c. 18.

<sup>26</sup> Tacit. Germ. lib. i. c. 19.

<sup>27</sup> Tacit. Germ. lib. i. c. 20.

<sup>28</sup> Tacit. Germ. lib. i. c. 21.

<sup>29</sup> Tacit. Germ. lib. i. c. 22.



follies of social life. The Germans were not possessed of these varied resources. The care of the house and family, the management of the land and cattle, were delegated to the old and the infirm, to women and slaves. The lazy warrior, destitute of every art that might employ his leisure hours, consumed his days and nights in the animal gratifications of sleep and food. And yet, by a wonderful diversity of nature (according to the remark of a writer who had pierced into its darkest recesses), the same barbarians are by turns the most indolent and the most restless of mankind. They delight in sloth, they detest tranquillity.<sup>30</sup> The languid soul, oppressed with its own weight, anxiously required some new and powerful sensation; and war and danger were the only amusements adequate to its fierce temper. The sound that summoned the German to arms was grateful to his ear. It roused him from his uncomfortable lethargy, gave him an active pursuit, and, by strong exercise of the body, and violent emotions of the mind, restored him to a more lively sense of his existence. In the dull intervals of peace, these barbarians were immoderately addicted to deep gaming and excessive drinking; both of which, by different means, the one by inflaming their passions, the other by extinguishing their reason, alike relieved them from the pain of thinking. They gloried in passing whole days and nights at table; and the blood of friends and relations often stained their numerous and drunken assemblies.<sup>31</sup> Their debts of honour for in that light they have transmitted to us those of play) they discharged with the most romantic fidelity. The desperate gamester, who had staked his person and liberty on a last throw of the dice, patiently submitted to the decision of fortune, and suffered himself to be bound, chastised, and sold into remote slavery, by his weaker but more lucky antagonist.<sup>32</sup>

Strong beer, a liquor extracted with very little art from wheat or barley, and corrupted (as it is strongly expressed by Tacitus into a certain semblance of wine, was sufficient for the gross purposes of German debauchery. But those who had tasted the rich wines of Italy, and afterwards of Gaul, sighed for that more delicious species of intoxication. They attempted not, however, (as has since been executed with so much success), to naturalise the vine on the banks of the Rhine and Danube; nor did they endeavour to procure by industry the materials of an advantageous commerce. To solicit by labour what might be ravished by arms, was esteemed unworthy of the German spirit.<sup>33</sup> The intemperate thirst of strong liquors often urged the barbarians to invade the provinces on which art or nature had bestowed those much envied presents. The Tuscan who betrayed his country to the Celtic nations, attracted

them into Italy by the prospect of the rich fruits and delicious wines, the productions of a happier climate.<sup>34</sup> And in the same manner the German auxiliaries, invited into France during the civil wars of the sixteenth century, were allured by the promise of plenteous quarters in the provinces of Champagne and Burgundy.<sup>35</sup> Drunkenness, the most illiberal, but not the most dangerous of our vices, was sometimes capable, in a less civilised state of mankind, of occasioning a battle, a war, or a revolution.

The climate of ancient Germany <sup>State of population.</sup> has been mollified, and the soil fertilised, by the labour of ten centuries from the time of Charlemagne. The same extent of ground which at present maintains, in ease and plenty, a million of husbandmen and artificers, was unable to supply an hundred thousand lazy warriors with the simple necessaries of life.<sup>36</sup> The Germans abandoned their immense forests to the exercise of hunting, employed in pasturage the most considerable part of their lands, bestowed on the small remainder a rude and careless cultivation, and then accused the scantiness and sterility of a country that refused to maintain the multitude of its inhabitants. When the return of famine severely admonished them of the importance of the arts, the national distress was sometimes alleviated by the emigration of a third, perhaps, or a fourth part of their youth.<sup>37</sup> The possession and the enjoyment of property are the pledges which bind a civilised people to an improved country. But the Germans, who carried with them what they most valued, their arms, their cattle, and their women, cheerfully abandoned the vast silence of their woods for the unbounded hopes of plunder and conquest. The innumerable swarms that issued, or seemed to issue, from the great storehouse of nations, were multiplied by the fears of the vanquished, and by the credulity of succeeding ages. And from facts thus exaggerated, an opinion was gradually established, and has been supported by writers of distinguished reputation, that, in the age of Caesar and Tacitus, the inhabitants of the North were far more numerous than they are in our days.<sup>38</sup> A more serious enquiry into the causes of population seems to have convinced modern philosophers of the falsehood, and indeed the impossibility, of the supposition. To the names of Mariana and of Machiavel,<sup>39</sup> we can oppose the equal names of Robertson and Hume.<sup>40</sup>

A warlike nation like the German <sup>German freedom.</sup> without either cities, letters, arts, or money, found some compensation for this savage state in the enjoyment of liberty. Their poverty secured their freedom, since our desires and our possessions are the strongest fetters of despotism. "Among the Suiones" (says Tacitus), riches are held in honour. "They are therefore subject to an absolute mo-

<sup>30</sup> Tacit. Germ. 15.

<sup>31</sup> Tacit. Germ. 22, 23.

<sup>32</sup> Id. 24. The Germans might borrow the arts of play from the Romans, but the passion is wonderfully inherent in the human species.

<sup>33</sup> Tacit. Germ. 14.

<sup>34</sup> Plutarch in Camillo. T. Liv. v. 53.

<sup>35</sup> Tacit. Hist. v. 10, where he says that the country called Switzerland, and contained, of every age and sex, 300,000 persons. (L'air de Bell. Gall. i. 29.) At present, the number of people in the Pays de Vaud (a small district on the banks of the Lemman Lake,

much more distinguished for politeness than for industry) amounts to 112,000. See an excellent tract of M. Muret, in the *Mémoires de la Société de Berne*.

<sup>36</sup> Pausanias, c. 1, 2, 3. Machiavel, Davila, and the rest of migrators too much as regular and

<sup>37</sup> Pausanias, c. 1, 2, 3. Machiavel, Davila, and the rest of migrators too much as regular and

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<sup>39</sup> Pausanias, c. 1, 2, 3. Machiavel, Davila, and the rest of migrators too much as regular and

<sup>40</sup> Robertson's Charles V. Hume's Political Essays

"narch, who, instead of intrusting his people  
"with the free use of arms, as is practised in  
"the rest of Germany, commits them to the  
"safe custody not of a citizen, or even of a  
"freedman, but of a slave. The neighbours of  
"the Sniones, the Sitones, are sunk even below  
"servitude; they obey a woman."<sup>41</sup> In the  
mention of these exceptions, the great historian  
sufficiently acknowledges the general theory of  
government. We are only at a loss to conceive  
by what means riches and despotism could  
penetrate into a remote corner of the North,  
and extinguish the generous flame that blazed  
with such fierceness on the frontier of the Ro-  
man provinces; or how the ancestors of those  
Danes and Norwegians, so distinguished in  
latter ages by their unconquered spirit, could  
thus tamely resign the great character of Ger-  
man liberty.<sup>42</sup> Some tribes, however, on the  
coast of the Baltic, acknowledged the authority  
of kings, though without relinquishing the rights  
of men;<sup>43</sup> but in the far greater part of Ger-  
many, the form of government was a democracy,  
tempered, indeed, and controlled, not so much  
by general and positive laws, as by the occasional  
ascendant of birth or valour, of eloquence or  
superstition.<sup>44</sup>

Assembly of  
the people. Civil governments, in their first  
institutions, are voluntary associa-  
tions for mutual defence. To obtain the de-  
sired end, it is absolutely necessary, that each  
individual should conceive himself obliged to  
submit his private opinions and actions, to the  
judgment of the greater number of his associates.  
The German tribes were contented with this  
rude but liberal outline of political society. As  
soon as a youth, born of free parents, had at-  
tained the age of manhood, he was introduced  
into the general council of his countrymen,  
solemnly invested with a shield and spear, and  
adopted as an equal and worthy member of the  
military commonwealth. The assembly of the  
warriors of the tribe was convened at stated  
seasons, or on sudden emergencies. The trial  
of public offences, the election of magistrates,  
and the great business of peace and war, were  
determined by its independent voice. Some-  
times, indeed, these important questions were  
previously considered, and prepared in a more  
select council of the principal chieftains.<sup>45</sup> The  
magistrates might deliberate and persuade, the  
people only could resolve and execute; and the  
resolutions of the Germans were for the most  
part hasty and violent. Barbarians accustomed  
to place their freedom in gratifying the present  
passion, and their courage in overlooking all  
future consequences, turned away with indig-  
nant contempt from the remonstrances of justice  
and policy, and it was the practice to signify by  
a hollow murmur their dislike of such kind

counsels. But whenever a more popular orator  
proposed to vindicate the meanest citizen from  
either foreign or domestic injury, whenever he  
called upon his fellow-countrymen to assert the  
national honour, or to pursue some enterprize  
full of danger and glory, a loud clashing of  
shields and spears expressed the eager applause  
of the assembly. For the Germans always met  
in arms, and it was constantly to be dreaded, lest  
an irregular multitude, inflamed with faction  
and strong liquors, should use those arms to  
enforce, as well as to declare, their furious  
resolves. We may recollect how often the diets  
of Poland have been polluted with blood, and  
the more numerous party has been compelled to  
yield to the more violent and seditious.<sup>46</sup>

A general of the tribe was elected Authority of  
the princes and  
magistrates. on occasions of danger; and, if the  
danger was pressing and extensive,  
several tribes concurred in the choice of the  
same general. The bravest warrior was named  
to lead his countrymen into the field, by his  
example, rather than by his commands. But  
this power, however limited, was still invidious.  
It expired with the war, and in time of peace  
the German tribes acknowledged not any su-  
preme chief.<sup>47</sup> Princes were, however, ap-  
pointed, in the general assembly, to administer  
justice, or rather to compose differences,<sup>48</sup> in  
their respective districts. In the choice of these  
magistrates, as much regard was shown to birth  
as to merit.<sup>49</sup> To each was assigned by the  
public, a guard, and a council of an hundred  
persons; and the first of the princes appears to  
have enjoyed a pre-eminence of rank and honour  
which sometimes tempted the Romans to com-  
pliment him with the regal title.<sup>50</sup>

The comparative view of the more absolute  
over the pro-  
perty than over  
the persons of  
the Germans. powers of the magistrates, in two  
remarkable instances, is alone suffi-  
cient to represent the whole system  
of German manners. The disposal of the  
landed property within their district was abso-  
lutely vested in their hands, and they distributed  
it every year according to a new division.<sup>51</sup>  
At the same time they were not authorised to  
punish with death, to imprison, or even to strike  
a private citizen.<sup>52</sup> A people thus jealous of  
their persons, and careless of their possessions,  
must have been totally destitute of industry and  
the arts, but animated with a high sense of  
honour and independence.

The Germans respected only those Voluntary en-  
gagements. duties which they imposed on them-  
selves. The most obscure soldier resisted with  
disdain the authority of the magistrates. "The  
"noblest youths blushed not to be numbered  
"among the faithful companions of some re-  
"nowned chief, to whom they devoted their  
"arms and service. A noble emulation pre-

41 Tacit. Germ. 14, 45. French writers, who find his com-  
pliance to have displayed a weakness, and a little reason, for  
arguing with the Roman who expressed a little reason, for  
Northern queens.

42 M. de Voltaire suggests that superstition was the great cause of  
this. The despotism of this was a very natural extension of the  
superstition of the North, and was not a little justified by the  
temple of Ivald, the most ancient of the kind in the North.  
In the year 1155 Ivald was burnt down, and the temple was  
freedom of arms to the people of the North, and the temple was  
that it was destroyed by the fire of the temple, and the temple was  
S. of Adam's History of Sweden in the Bibliotheca Rationis, tom. 11.  
and 12.

43 Tacit. Germ. 14, 45.

44 Tacit. Germ. 14, 45.

45 Tacit. Germ. 14, 45. Tacit. Germ. 14, 45. Tacit. Germ. 14, 45.  
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The assembly of the people was not a little justified by the  
temple of Ivald, the most ancient of the kind in the North.

"vailed among the companions, to obtain the first place in the esteem of their chief; amongst the chiefs, to acquire the greatest number of valiant companions. To be ever surrounded by a band of select youths, was the pride and strength of the chiefs, their ornament in peace, their defence in war. The glory of such distinguished heroes diffused itself beyond the narrow limits of their own tribe. Presents and embassies solicited their friendship, and the fame of their arms often ensured victory to the party which they espoused. In the hour of danger it was shameful for the chief to be surpassed in valour by his companions; shameful for the companions not to equal the valour of their chief. To survive his fall in battle was indelible infamy. To protect his person, and to adorn his glory with the trophies of their own exploits, were the most sacred of their duties. The chiefs combated for victory, the companions for the chief. The noblest warriors, whenever their native country was sunk in the laziness of peace, maintained their numerous bands in some distant scene of action, to exercise their restless spirit, and to acquire renown by voluntary dangers. Gifts worthy of soldiers, the warlike steed, the bloody and ever victorious lance, were the rewards which the companions claimed from the liberality of their chief. The rude plenty of his hospitable board was the only pay that he could bestow, or they would accept. War, rapine, and the free-will offerings of his friends, supplied the materials of this munificence."<sup>53</sup> This institution, however it might accidentally weaken the several republics, invigorated the general character of the Germans, and even ripened amongst them all the virtues of which barbarians are susceptible; the faith and valour, the hospitality and the courtesy, so conspicuous long afterwards in the ages of chivalry. The honourable gifts, bestowed by the chief on his brave companions, have been supposed, by an ingenious writer, to contain the first rudiments of the fief, distributed, after the conquest of the Roman provinces, by the barbarian lords among their vassals, with a similar duty of homage and military service.<sup>54</sup> These conditions are, however, very repugnant to the maxims of the ancient Germans, who delighted in mutual presents; but without either imposing, or accepting, the weight of obligations.<sup>55</sup>

German character "In the days of chivalry, or more properly of romance, all the men were brave, and all the women were chaste;" and notwithstanding the latter of these virtues is acquired and preserved with much more difficulty than the former, it is ascribed, almost without exception, to the wives of the ancient Germans. Polygamy was not in use, except among the princes, and among them only for

the sake of multiplying their alliances. Divorces were prohibited by manners rather than by laws. Adulteries were punished as rare and inexcusable crimes; nor was seduction justified by example and fashion. We may easily discover, that Tacitus indulges an honest pleasure in the contrast of barbarian virtue with the dissolute conduct of the Roman ladies; yet there are some striking circumstances that give an air of truth, or at least of probability, to the conjugal faith and chastity of the Germans.

Although the progress of civilisation has undoubtedly contributed Its probable causes. to assuage the fiercer passions of human nature, it seems to have been less favourable to the virtue of chastity, whose most dangerous enemy is the softness of the mind. The refinements of life corrupt while they polish the intercourse of the sexes. The gross appetite of love becomes most dangerous when it is elevated, or rather, indeed, disguised by sentimental passion. The elegance of dress, of motion, and of manners, gives a lustre to beauty, and inflames the senses through the imagination. Luxurious entertainments, midnight dances, and licentious spectacles, present at once temptation and opportunity to female frailty.<sup>57</sup> From such dangers the unpolished wives of the barbarians were secured by poverty, solitude, and the painful cares of a domestic life. The German huts, open on every side to the eye of indiscretion or jealousy, were a better safeguard of conjugal fidelity, than the walls, the bolts, and the emulchs of a Persian haram. To this reason another may be added, of a more honourable nature. The Germans treated their women with esteem and confidence, consulted them on every occasion of importance, and fondly believed, that in their breasts resided a sanctity and wisdom more than human. Some of these interpreters of fate, such as Velleda, in the Batavian war, governed, in the name of the deity, the fiercest nations of Germany.<sup>58</sup> The rest of the sex, without being adored as goddesses, were respected as the free and equal companions of soldiers; associated even by the marriage ceremony to a life of toil, of danger, and of glory.<sup>59</sup> In their great invasions, the camps of the barbarians were filled with a multitude of women, who remained firm and undaunted amidst the sound of arms, the various forms of destruction, and the honourable wounds of their sons and husbands.<sup>60</sup> Fainting armies of Germans have, more than once, been driven back upon the enemy, by the generous despair of the women, who dreaded death much less than servitude. If the day was irrecoverably lost, they well knew how to deliver themselves and their children, with their own hands, from an insulting victor.<sup>61</sup> Heroines of such a cast may claim our admiration; but they were most assuredly neither lovely, nor very susceptible of

best adapted to collect the Beauties of Rome, and to melt them into

<sup>53</sup> Tacit. Germ. l. 15, 11.  
<sup>54</sup> Eyrnt des loas, l. 1. c. 3. The brilliant imagination of Montesquieu is corrected, however, by the dry cold reason of the Abbe de Mably. Observations sur l'Histoire de France, l. 1. c. 176.

<sup>55</sup> Grandem munibus, sed nec data imputant, nec acceptis obligantur. Tacit. Germ. l. 1, 21.  
<sup>56</sup> The adulteress was whipped through the village. Neither wealth nor beauty could inspire compassion, or procure her a second husband, l. 19.  
<sup>57</sup> Tacit. implies two hundred times in the search of places the most favourable to love. Above all, he considers the theatre as the

<sup>58</sup> Tacit. Germ. c. 7. Plutarch, in Marob. Before the wives of the Teutones destroyed themselves and their children, they had offered to surrender, on condition that they should be received as the slaves of the vestal virgins.

<sup>59</sup> See

love. Whilst they affected to emulate the stern virtues of *man*, they must have resigned that attractive softness, in which principally consist the charm and weakness of *woman*. Conscious pride taught the German females to suppress every tender emotion that stood in competition with honour, and the first honour of the sex has ever been that of chastity. The sentiments and conduct of these high-piufed matrons may, at once, be considered as a cause, as an effect, and as a proof of the general character of the nation. Female courage, however it may be raised by fanaticism, or confirmed by habit, can be only a faint and imperfect imitation of the manly valour that distinguishes the age or country in which it may be found.

Religion.

The religious system of the Germans of the wild opinions of savages can deserve that name was dictated by their wants, their fears, and their ignorance.<sup>62</sup> They adored the great visible objects and agents of nature, the Sun and the Moon, the Fire and the Earth; together with those imaginary deities who were supposed to preside over the most important occupations of human life. They were persuaded that, by some ridiculous arts of divination, they could discover the will of the superior beings, and that human sacrifices were the most precious and acceptable offering to their altars. Some applause has been hastily bestowed on the sublime notion entertained by that people of the Deity, whom they neither confined within the walls of a temple, nor represented by any human figure; but when we recollect that the Germans were unskilled in architecture, and totally unequipped with the art of sculpture, we shall readily assign the true reason of a temple which arose not so much from a superiority of reason as from a want of ingenuity. The only temples in Germany were dark and ancient groves, consecrated by the reverence of succeeding generations. Their secret gloom, the imagined residence of an invisible power, by presenting no distinct object of fear or worship, impressed the mind with a still deeper sense of religious horror;<sup>63</sup> and the priests, rude and illiterate as they were, had been taught by experience the use of every artifice that could preserve and fortify impressions so well suited to their own interest.

Terror of  
priests.

The same ignorance which renders barbarians incapable of conceiving or embracing the useful restraints of laws, exposes them naked and unarmed to the blind terrors of superstition. The German priests, improving this favourable temper of their countrymen, had assumed a jurisdiction even in temporal concerns which the magistrate could not venture to exercise; and the haughty warrior patiently submitted to the lash of correction, when it was inflicted, not by any human power, but by the immediate order of the god of war.<sup>64</sup> The

defects of civil policy were sometimes supplied by the interposition of ecclesiastical authority. The latter was constantly exerted to maintain silence and decency in the popular assemblies; and was sometimes extended to a more enlarged concern for the national welfare. A solemn procession was occasionally celebrated in the present countries of Mecklenburgh and Pomerania. The unknown symbol of the *Earth*, covered with a thick veil, was placed on a carriage drawn by cows; and in this manner the goddess, whose common residence was in the isle of Rugen, visited several adjacent tribes of her worshippers. During her progress the sound of war was hushed, quarrels were suspended, arms laid aside, and the restless Germans had an opportunity of tasting the blessings of peace and harmony.<sup>65</sup> The *truce of God*, so often and so ineffectually proclaimed by the clergy of the eleventh century, was an obvious imitation of this ancient custom.<sup>66</sup>

But the influence of religion was

In war.

far more powerful to inflame, than to moderate, the fierce passions of the Germans. Interest and fanaticism often prompted its ministers to smetify the most daring and the most unjust enterprises, by the approbation of heaven and full assurances of success. The consecrated standards, long revered in the groves of superstition, were placed in the front of the battle;<sup>67</sup> and the hostile army was devoted with dire execrations to the gods of war and of thunder.<sup>68</sup> In the faith of soldiers (and such were the Germans) cowardice is the most unpardonable of sins. A brave man was the worthy favourite of their mutual deities; the wretch who had lost his shield was alike banished from the religious and the civil assemblies of his countrymen. Some tribes of the north seem to have embraced the doctrine of transmigration;<sup>69</sup> others imagined a gross paradise of inebriated drunkenness.<sup>70</sup> All agreed that a life spent in arms, and a glorious death in battle, were the best preparations for a happy futurity, either in this or in another world.

The immortality so vainly promised by the priests was in some

The bards.

degree conferred by the bards. That singular order of men has most deservedly attracted the notice of all who have attempted to investigate the antiquities of the Celts, the Scandinavians, and the Germans. Their genius and character, as well as the reverence paid to that important office, have been sufficiently illustrated. But we cannot so easily express, or even conceive, the enthusiasm of arms and glory which they kindled in the breast of their audience. Among a polished people, a taste for poetry is rather an amusement of the fancy than a passion of the soul. And yet, when in calm retirement we peruse the combats described by Homer or Tasso, we are insensibly seduced by the fiction, and feel a momentary glow of martial ardour.

<sup>62</sup> Tacitus has placed a few words on this subject, but they are not sufficient to give us a full idea of the religion of the Germans; and the ancient writers and poets have not been able to give us a more complete one. The most complete account of the religion of the Germans is to be found in the *Teutonic Mythology*, by Grimm, which is a very valuable work.

<sup>63</sup> The sacred wood was decorated with images, and the priests were in the neighbourhood of the altars, but there were none of the same kind in Germany.

<sup>64</sup> Tacit. Germania, c. 7.

<sup>65</sup> Tacit. Germania, c. 10.

<sup>66</sup> See the *History of the Holy Roman Empire*, by the Abbé de Mably, t. 1, c. 10.

<sup>67</sup> Tacit. Germania, c. 7. The standards were carried by the old

bards.

<sup>68</sup> See the *History of the Holy Roman Empire*, t. 1, c. 10.

<sup>69</sup> See the *History of the Holy Roman Empire*, t. 1, c. 10.

<sup>70</sup> See the *History of the Holy Roman Empire*, t. 1, c. 10.

<sup>71</sup> See the *History of the Holy Roman Empire*, t. 1, c. 10.

<sup>72</sup> See the *History of the Holy Roman Empire*, t. 1, c. 10.

<sup>73</sup> See the *History of the Holy Roman Empire*, t. 1, c. 10.

<sup>74</sup> See the *History of the Holy Roman Empire*, t. 1, c. 10.

But how faint, how cold is the sensation which a peaceful mind can receive from solitary study! It was in the hour of battle, or in the feast of victory, that the bards celebrated the glory of heroes of ancient days, the ancestors of those warlike chieftains, who listened with transport to their artless but animated strains. The view of arms and of danger heightened the effect of the military song; and the passions which it tended to excite, the desire of fame, and the contempt of death, were the habitual sentiments of a German mind.<sup>71</sup>

Such was the situation, and such were the manners, of the ancient Germans. Their climate, their want of learning, of arts, and of laws; their notions of honour, of gallantry, and of religion; their sense of freedom, impatience of peace, and thirst of enterprise, all contributed to form a people of military heroes. And yet we find, that, during more than two hundred and fifty years that elapsed from the defeat of Varus to the reign of Decius, these formidable barbarians made few considerable attempts, and not any material impression on the luxurious and enslaved provinces of the empire. Their progress was checked by their want of arms and discipline, and their fury was diverted by the intestine divisions of ancient Germany.

I. It has been observed, with ingenuity, and not without truth, that the command of iron soon gives a nation the command of gold. But the rude tribes of Germany, alike destitute of both those valuable metals, were reduced slowly to acquire, by their unassisted strength, the possession of the one as well as the other. The face of a German army displayed their poverty of iron. Swords, and the longer kind of lances, they could seldom use. Their *frumæ* (as they called them in their own language) were long spears, headed with a sharp but narrow iron point, and which, as occasion required, they either darted from a distance or pushed in close onset. With this spear, and with a shield, their cavalry was contented. A multitude of darts, scattered<sup>72</sup> with incredible force, were an additional resource of the infantry. Their military dress, when they wore any, was nothing more than a loose mantle. A variety of colours was the only ornament of their wooden or osier shields. Few of the chiefs were distinguished by cuirasses, scarce any by helmets. Though the horses of Germany were neither beautiful, swift, nor practised in the skillful evolutions of the Roman manæge, several of the nations obtained renown by their cavalry; but in general the principal strength of the Germans consisted in their infantry,<sup>73</sup> which was drawn up in several deep columns, according to the distinction of tribes and families.

Impatient of fatigue or delay, these half-armed warriors rushed to battle with dis-

sonant shouts and disordered ranks; and sometimes, by the effort of native valour, prevailed over the constrained and more artificial bravery of the Roman mercenaries. But as the barbarians poured forth their whole souls on the first onset, they knew not how to rally or to retire. A repulse was a sure defeat; and a defeat was most commonly total destruction. When we recollect the complete armour of the Roman soldiers, their discipline, exercises, evolutions, fortified camps, and military engines, it appears a just matter of surprise, how the naked and unassisted valour of the barbarians could dare to encounter in the field the strength of the legions, and the various troops of the auxiliaries which seconded their operations. The contest was too unequal, till the introduction of luxury had enervated the vigour, and a spirit of disobedience and sedition had relaxed the discipline, of the Roman armies. The introduction of barbarian auxiliaries into those armies was a measure attended with very obvious dangers, as it might gradually instruct the Germans in the arts of war and of policy. Although they were admitted in small numbers, and with the strictest precaution, the example of Civilis was proper to convince the Romans that the danger was not imaginary, and that their precautions were not always sufficient.<sup>74</sup> During the civil wars that followed the death of Nero, that artful and intrepid Batavian, whom his enemies condescended to compare with Hannibal and Sertorius,<sup>75</sup> formed a great design of freedom and ambition. Eight Batavian cohorts, renowned in the wars of Britain and Italy, repaired to his standard. He introduced an army of Germans into Gaul, prevailed on the powerful cities of Treves and Langres to embrace his cause, defeated the legions, destroyed their fortified camps, and employed against the Romans the military knowledge which he had acquired in their service. When at length, after an obstinate struggle, he yielded to the power of the empire, Civilis secured himself and his country by an honourable treaty. The Batavians still continued to occupy the islands of the Rhine,<sup>76</sup> the allies, not the servants of the Roman monarchy.

II. The strength of ancient Germany appears formidable, when we consider the effects that might have been produced by its united effort. The wide extent of country might very possibly contain a million of warriors, as all who were of age to bear arms were of a temper to use them. But this fierce multitude, incapable of concerting or executing any plan of national greatness, was agitated by various, and often hostile, intentions. Germany was divided into more than forty independent states; and even in each state the union of the several tribes was extremely loose and precarious. The barbarians were easily provoked; they knew not how to forgive an injury, much less an insult;

<sup>71</sup> See Tacit. Germ. c. 3. Dio. S. ubi l. v. Strabo, l. iv. p. 197. The classical reader may remember the rank of the *adoles* in the Platonic conf. and the order imposed by Lycurgus into the Spartan *epheboi*. Yet there is little probability that the Greeks and the Germans were the same people. Much learned trifling may be spared, if our inquiries would descend to the point, that if similar manners will necessarily be induced by similar situations.

<sup>72</sup> *Missilia* *superiora*, Tacit. Germ. c. 6. Either that historian used a vague expression, or he meant that they were thrown at each other.

<sup>73</sup> It was their principal distinction from the Samnites, who generally fought on horseback.

<sup>74</sup> The relation of this enterprise occupies a great part of the fourth and fifth books of the History of Tacitus, and is more remarkable for its closeness than for its pertinacity. Sir Henry Savile has observed several misprints.

<sup>75</sup> I. v. c. 13. l. 15. Like them, he had lost an eye.

<sup>76</sup> It was contained between the two branches of the old Rhine, as the *sub* is before the face of the country was changed by art and nature. See Cluver. German. Antiq. l. i. m. c. 30, 37.

their resentments were bloody and implacable. The casual disputes that so frequently happened in their tumultuous parties of hunting or drinking, were sufficient to inflame the minds of whole nations; the private feud of any considerable chieftains diffused itself among their followers and allies. To chastise the insolent, or to plunder the defenceless, were alike causes of war. The most formidable states of Germany affected to encompass their territories with a wide frontier of solitude and devastation. The awful distance preserved by their neighbours attested the terror of their arms, and in some measure defended them from the danger of unexpected incursions.<sup>77</sup>

“The Bructeri (it is Tacitus who now speaks) were totally exterminated by the neighbouring tribes,<sup>75</sup> provoked by their insolence, allured by the hopes of spoil, and perhaps inspired by the tutelary deities of the empire. Above sixty thousand barbarians were destroyed; not by the Roman arms, but in our sight, and for our entertainment. May the nations, enemies of Rome, ever preserve this enmity to each other! We have now attained the utmost verge of prosperity,<sup>76</sup> and have nothing left to demand of fortune, except the discord of the barbarians.”<sup>80</sup> — These sentiments, less worthy of the humanity than of the patriotism of Tacitus, express the invariable maxims of the policy of his countrymen. They deemed it a much safer expedient to divide than to combat the barbarians, from whose defeat they could derive neither honour nor advantage. The money and negotiations of Rome insinuated themselves into the heart of Germany; and every art of seduction was used with dignity, to conciliate those nations whom their proximity to the Rhine or Danube might render the most useful friends, as well as the most troublesome enemies. Chiefs of renown and power were flattered by the most trifling presents, which they received either as marks of distinction, or as the instruments of luxury. In civil dissensions the weaker faction endeavoured to strengthen its interest by entering into secret connections with the governors of the frontier provinces. Every quarrel among the Germans was fomented by the intrigues of Rome; and every plan of union and public good was defeated by the stronger bias of private jealousy and interest.<sup>81</sup>

The general conspiracy which terrified the Romans under the reign of Marcus Antoninus, comprehended almost all the nations of Germany, and even Sarmatia, from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Danube.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible for us to determine whether this hasty confederation was formed by necessity, by reason, or by passion;

but we may rest assured, that the barbarians were neither allured by the indolence, or provoked by the ambition, of the Roman monarch. This dangerous invasion required all the firmness and vigilance of Marcus. He fixed generals of ability in the several stations of attack, and assumed in person the conduct of the most important province on the Upper Danube. After a long and doubtful conflict, the spirit of the barbarians was subdued. The Quadi and the Marcomanni,<sup>83</sup> who had taken the lead in the war, were the most severely punished in its catastrophe. They were commanded to retire five miles<sup>84</sup> from their own banks of the Danube, and to deliver up the flower of the youth, who were immediately sent into Britain, a remote island, where they might be secure as hostages, and useful as soldiers.<sup>85</sup> On the frequent rebellions of the Quadi and Marcomanni, the irritated emperor resolved to reduce their country into the form of a province. His designs were disappointed by death. This formidable league, however, the only one that appears in the two first centuries of the Imperial history, was entirely dissipated, without leaving any traces behind in Germany.

In the course of this introductory chapter we have confined ourselves to the general outlines of the manners of Germany, without attempting to describe or to distinguish the various tribes which filled that great country in the time of Cæsar, of Tacitus, or of Ptolemy. As the ancient, or as new tribes successively present themselves in the series of this history, we shall concisely mention their origin, their situation, and their particular character. Modern nations are fixed and permanent societies, connected among themselves by laws and government, bound to their native soil by arts and agriculture. The German tribes were voluntary and fluctuating associations of soldiers, almost of savages. The same territory often changed its inhabitants in the tide of conquest and emigration. The same communities, uniting in a plan of defence or invasion, bestowed a new title on their new confederacy. The dissolution of an ancient confederacy restored to the independent tribes their peculiar but long-forgotten appellation. A victorious state often communicated its own name to a vanquished people. Sometimes crowds of volunteers flocked from all parts to the standard of a favourite leader; his camp became their country, and some circumstance of the enterprise soon gave a common denomination to the mixed multitude. The distinctions of the ferocious invaders were perpetually varied by themselves, and confounded by the astonished subjects of the Roman empire.

Wars, and the administration of public affairs, are the principal sub-

77. Cu-37 de B. J. Gold 1952. 25.

75. These are mentioned, however, in the fourth and fifth centuries by Nemesius, Ambrose, and Chrysostom, as a kind of Trinitas. See Calaneo Germ. in *op. cit.* p. 17.

So the boys are the result of a machine, but good sense, lips, eyes, and some *Moss*, do not enter into it.

81 Many terms of this series may be  $\rho_{2n+1}$  and  $\rho_{2n+2}$ . For  $n=0$  and  $1000$ , and many more may be inferred from the properties of function  $\rho_{2n}$ .

52 Hist. August. p. 51. Annular Martialis. 1888. c. 7. Al.

pl. V. 400. The superior Murena was required to sell the rub fur.<sup>9</sup>

57 The Middle Ages, however, shied from the banks of the Phrygia, and the Phrygia and Mysia had no record of any of the

of the new war he under their king Maroboduus. See Strabo, l. vi. Vol. i. p. 100. Last Edition, 175.

Six are also put in circulation with the sign of monetary reform.

It is clear, that the arequian and the pharyngar are

jects of history; but the number of persons interested in these busy scenes, is very different, according to the different condition of mankind. In great monarchies, millions of obedient subjects pursue their useful occupations in peace and obscurity. The attention of the writer, as well as of the reader, is solely confined to a court, a capital, a regular army, and the districts which happen to be the occasional scene of military operations. But a state of freedom and barbarism, the season of civil commotions, or the situation of petty republics,<sup>87</sup> raises almost every member of the community into action, and consequently into notice. The irregular divisions, and the restless motions, of the people of Germany, dazzle our imagination, and seem to multiply their numbers. The profuse enumeration of kings and warriors, of armies and nations, inclines us to forget that the same objects are continually repeated under a variety of appellations, and that the most splendid appellations have been frequently lavished on the most inconsiderable objects.

## CHAP. X.

*The Emperors Decius, Gallus, Æmilianus, Valerianus, and Gallienus. — The general Irruption of the Barbarians. — The thirty Tyrants.*

FROM the great secular games celebrated by Philip, to the death of the emperor Gallienus, there elapsed twenty years of shame and misfortune. During that calamitous period, every instant of time was marked, every province of the Roman world was afflicted, by barbarous invaders and military tyrants, and the ruined empire seemed to approach the last and fatal moment of its dissolution. The confusion of the times, and the scarcity of authentic memorials, oppose equal difficulties to the historian, who attempts to preserve a clear and unbroken thread of narration. Surrounded with imperfect fragments, always concise, often obscure, and sometimes contradictory, he is reduced to collect, to compare, and to conjecture: and though he ought never to place his conjectures in the rank of facts, yet the knowledge of human nature, and of the sure operation of its fierce and unrestrained passions, might, on some occasions, supply the want of historical materials.

There is not, for instance, any difficulty in conceiving, that the successive murders of so many emperors had loosened all the ties of allegiance between the prince and people; that all the generals of Philip were disposed to imitate the example of their master; and that the caprice of armies, long since habituated to frequent and violent revolutions, might every day raise to the throne the most obscure of their fellow-soldiers. History can only add, that the rebellion against the emperor Philip

broke out in the summer of the year two hundred and forty-nine, among the legions of Mæsia; and that a subaltern officer<sup>1</sup> named Marinus was the object of their seditious choice. Philip was alarmed. He dreaded lest the treason of the Mælian army should prove the first spark of a general conflagration. Distracted with the consciousness of his guilt and of his danger, he communicated the intelligence to the senate. A gloomy silence prevailed, the effect of fear, and perhaps of disaffection. Services, revolt, victory, and resignation of the emperor Decius.  
A. D. 249.

till at length Decius, one of the assembly, assuming a spirit worthy of his noble extraction, ventured to discover more intrepidity than the emperor seemed to possess. He treated the whole business with contempt, as a hasty and inconsiderate tumult, and Philip's rival as a phantom of royalty, who in a very few days would be destroyed by the same inconstancy that had created him. The speedy completion of the prophecy inspired Philip with a just esteem for so able a counsellor; and Decius appeared to him the only person capable of restoring peace and discipline to an army whose tumultuous spirit did not immediately subside after the murder of Marinus. Decius, who long resisted his own nomination, seems to have insinuated the danger of presenting a leader of merit to the angry and apprehensive minds of the soldiers; and his prediction was again confirmed by the event. The legions of Mæsia forced their judge to become their accomplice. They left him only the alternative of death or the purple. His subsequent conduct, after that decisive measure, was unavoidable. He conducted, or followed, his army to the confines of Italy, whither Philip, collecting all his force to repel the formidable competitor whom he had raised up, advanced to meet him. The Imperial troops were superior in number;<sup>2</sup> but the rebels formed an army of veterans, commanded by an able and experienced leader. Philip was either killed in the battle, or put to death a few days afterwards at Verona. His son and associate in the empire was massacred at Rome by the prætorian guards; and the victorious Decius, with more favourable circumstances than the ambition of that age can usually plead, was universally acknowledged by the senate and provinces. It is reported, that, immediately after his reluctant acceptance of the title of Augustus, he had assured Philip by a private message of his innocence and loyalty, solemnly protesting, that on his arrival in Italy he would resign the Imperial ornaments, and return to the condition of an obedient subject. His professions might be sincere; but in the situation where fortune had placed him, it was scarcely possible that he could either forgive or be forgiven.<sup>3</sup>

The emperor Decius had employed a few months in the works against the Goths of peace and the administration of justice, when he was summoned to the banks of the Danube by the invasion of the Goths.  
He marches against the Goths.  
A. D. 250.

<sup>87</sup> Should we suppose that Athens contained only 21,000 citizens, and Sparta no more than 9000? see Hume and Walpole on the number of mankind in ancient and modern times.  
<sup>1</sup> The expression used by Zosimus and Zonaras may signify that Marinus commanded a century, a cohort, or a legion.  
<sup>2</sup> His birth at Buxidula, a little village in Pannonia (Eutrop. re Victor in Cosarib. et Epitom.) seems to contradict, unless it was

merely accidental, his supposed descent from the Decii. Six hundred years had bestowed nobility on the Decii, but at the commencement of that blood, they were only 11 years of merit, and among it, not who shared the consulship with the illustrious patricians. Plebeian Decimius Annianus, See Zosimus, Hist. viii. 23. See the spirited speech of Decius, in Hist. x. 9, 10.  
<sup>3</sup> Zosimus, l. i. c. 20. Zonaras, l. 12. p. 621. Edit. Louvre.

This is the first considerable occasion in which history mentions that great people, who afterwards broke the Roman power, sacked the Capitol, and reigned in Gaul, Spain, and Italy. So memorable was the part which they acted in the subversion of the Western empire, that the name of *Goths* is frequently but improperly used as a general appellation of rude and warlike barbarism.

In the beginning of the sixth century, and after the conquest of Italy, the *Goths*, in possession of present greatness, very naturally indulged themselves in the prospect of past and of future glory. They wished to preserve the memory of their ancestors, and to transmit to posterity their own achievements. The principal minister of the court of Ravenna, the learned Cassiodorus, gratified the inclination of the conquerors in a Gothic history, which consisted of twelve books, now reduced to the imperfect abridgment of Jordanes.<sup>1</sup> These writers passed with the most artful conciseness over the misfortunes of the nation, celebrated its successful valour, and adorned the triumph with many Asiatic trophies, that more properly belonged to the people of Scythia. On the faith of ancient songs, the uncertain, but the only, memorials of barbarians, they deduced the first origin of the *Goths*, from the vast island, or peninsula, of Scandinavia.<sup>2</sup> That extreme country of the North was not unknown to the conquerors of Italy; the ties of ancient consanguinity had been strengthened by recent offices of friendship; and a Scandinavian king had cheerfully abdicated his savage greatness, that he might pass the remainder of his days in the peaceful and polished court of Ravenna.<sup>3</sup> Many vestiges, which cannot be ascribed to the arts of popular vanity, attest the ancient residence of the *Goths* in the countries beyond the Baltic. From the time of the geographer Ptolemy the southern part of Sweden seems to have continued in the possession of the less enterprising remnant of the nation, and a large territory is even at present divided into east and west Gothland. During the middle ages (from the ninth to the twelfth century,) whilst Christianity was advancing with a slow progress into the North, the *Goths* and the *Swedes* composed two distinct and sometimes hostile members of the same monarchy.<sup>4</sup> The latter of these two names has prevailed without extinguishing the former. The *Swedes*, who might well be satisfied with their own fame in arms, have, in every age, claimed the kindred glory of the *Goths*. In a moment of discontent against the court of Rome, Charles the Twelfth insinuated, that his victorious troops were not degenerated from their brave ancestors, who had already subdued the mistress of the world.

Till the end of the eleventh century, a celebrated temple subsisted

at Upsal, the most considerable town of the *Swedes* and *Goths*. It was enriched with the gold which the Scandinavians had acquired in their piratical adventures, and sanctified by the uncouth representations of the three principal deities, the god of war, the goddess of generation, and the god of thunder. In the general festival, that was solemnised every ninth year, nine animals of every species (without excepting the human) were sacrificed, and their bleeding bodies suspended in the sacred grove adjacent to the temple.<sup>5</sup> The only traces that now subsist of this barbaric superstition are contained in the *Edda*, a system of mythology, compiled in Iceland about the thirteenth century, and studied by the learned of Denmark and Sweden, as the most valuable remains of their ancient traditions.

Notwithstanding the mysterious institutions, and obscurity of the *Edda*, we can easily distinguish two persons confounded under the name of *Odin*; the god of war, and the great legislator of Scandinavia. The latter, the Mahomet of the North, instituted a religion adapted to the climate and to the people. Numerous tribes on either side of the Baltic were subdued by the invincible valour of *Odin*, by his persuasive eloquence, and by the fame, which he acquired, of a most skillful magician. The faith that he had propagated, during a long and prosperous life, he confirmed by a voluntary death. Apprehensive of the ignominious approach of disease and infirmity, he resolved to expire as became a warrior. In a solemn assembly of the *Swedes* and *Goths*, he wounded himself in nine mortal places, hastening away (as he asserted with his dying voice) to prepare the feast of heroes in the palace of the god of war.<sup>6</sup>

The native and proper habitation of *Odin* is distinguished by the appellation of *As-gard*. The happy resemblance of that name with *As-burg*, or *As-od*, words of a similar signification, has given rise to an historical system of so pleasing a texture, that we could almost wish to persuade ourselves of its truth. It is supposed that *Odin* was the chief of a tribe of barbarians which dwelt on the banks of the lake Mæotis, till the fall of Mithridates and the arms of Pompey menaced the North with servitude. That *Odin*, yielding with indignant fury to a power which he was unable to resist, conducted his tribe from the frontiers of the Asiatic Sarmatia into Sweden, with the great design of forming, in that inaccessible retreat of freedom, a religion and a people, which, in some remote age, might be subservient to his immortal revenge; when his invincible *Goths*, armed with martial fanaticism, should issue in numerous swarms from the neighbourhood of the Polar circle, to chastise the oppressors of mankind.<sup>7</sup>

It is always represented that *Odin* was the lineal successor of *Alf*, or *Hresvel*, the first of the *Ases*, or *Ases*.

<sup>1</sup> See *History of the Goths*, by Jordanes, p. 101. The temple of Upsal was destroyed by the king of Sweden, who died in the year 1000, and the temple of Upsal was destroyed in the year 1000.

<sup>2</sup> See the *History of the Goths*, by Jordanes, p. 101. The temple of Upsal was destroyed by the king of Sweden, who died in the year 1000, and the temple of Upsal was destroyed in the year 1000.

<sup>3</sup> See the *History of the Goths*, by Jordanes, p. 101. The temple of Upsal was destroyed by the king of Sweden, who died in the year 1000, and the temple of Upsal was destroyed in the year 1000.

<sup>4</sup> See the *History of the Goths*, by Jordanes, p. 101. The temple of Upsal was destroyed by the king of Sweden, who died in the year 1000, and the temple of Upsal was destroyed in the year 1000.

<sup>5</sup> See the *History of the Goths*, by Jordanes, p. 101. The temple of Upsal was destroyed by the king of Sweden, who died in the year 1000, and the temple of Upsal was destroyed in the year 1000.

<sup>6</sup> See the *History of the Goths*, by Jordanes, p. 101. The temple of Upsal was destroyed by the king of Sweden, who died in the year 1000, and the temple of Upsal was destroyed in the year 1000.

<sup>7</sup> See the *History of the Goths*, by Jordanes, p. 101. The temple of Upsal was destroyed by the king of Sweden, who died in the year 1000, and the temple of Upsal was destroyed in the year 1000.

<sup>1</sup> See the Preface of Cassiodorus and Jordanes. It is supposed that the latter should be corrected in the exact manner published by the friends of the Gothic writers.

<sup>2</sup> In the authority of Jordanes, Jordanes quotes a very old Gothic chronicle, or rather a Danish tract, &c.

<sup>3</sup> See the Preface of Cassiodorus and Jordanes, p. 101. The temple of Upsal was destroyed by the king of Sweden, who died in the year 1000, and the temple of Upsal was destroyed in the year 1000.

<sup>4</sup> See the *History of the Goths*, by Jordanes, p. 101. The temple of Upsal was destroyed by the king of Sweden, who died in the year 1000, and the temple of Upsal was destroyed in the year 1000.

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<sup>6</sup> See the *History of the Goths*, by Jordanes, p. 101. The temple of Upsal was destroyed by the king of Sweden, who died in the year 1000, and the temple of Upsal was destroyed in the year 1000.

<sup>7</sup> See the *History of the Goths*, by Jordanes, p. 101. The temple of Upsal was destroyed by the king of Sweden, who died in the year 1000, and the temple of Upsal was destroyed in the year 1000.



Emigration of  
the Goths from  
Scandinavia  
into Prussia.

If so many successive generations of Goths were capable of preserving a faint tradition of their Scandinavian origin, we must not expect, from such unlettered barbarians, any distinct account of the time and circumstances of their emigration. To cross the Baltic was an easy and natural attempt. The inhabitants of Sweden were masters of a sufficient number of large vessels, with oars,<sup>13</sup> and the distance is little more than one hundred miles from Carlsroon to the nearest ports of Pomerania and Prussia. Here, at length, we land on firm and historic ground. At least as early as the Christian era,<sup>14</sup> and as late as the age of the Antonines,<sup>15</sup> the Goths were established towards the mouth of the Vistula, and in that fertile province where the commercial cities of Thorn, Elbing, Königsberg, and Dantzic, were long afterwards founded.<sup>16</sup> Westward of the Goths, the numerous tribe, of the Vandals were spread along the banks of the Oder, and the sea-coast of Pomerania and Mecklenburgh. A striking resemblance of manners, complexion, religion, and language, seemed to indicate that the Vandals and the Goths were originally one great people.<sup>17</sup> The latter appear to have been subdivided into Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Gepidae.<sup>18</sup> The distinction among the Vandals was more strongly marked by the independent names of Hérul, Burgundians, Lombards, and a variety of other petty states, many of which, in a future age, expanded themselves into powerful monarchies.

In the age of the Antonines, the Goths were still seated in Prussia. About the reign of Alexander Severus, the Roman province of Dacia had already experienced their proximity by frequent and destructive incursions.<sup>19</sup> In this interval, therefore, of about seventy years, we must place the second migration of the Goths from the Baltic to the Euxine; but the cause that produced it lies concealed among the various motives which actuate the conduct of unsettled barbarians. Either a pestilence, or a famine, a victory, or a defeat, an oracle of the gods, or the eloquence of a daring leader, were sufficient to impel the Gothic arms on the milder climates of the south. Besides the influence of a martial religion, the numbers and spirit of the Goths were equal to the most dangerous adventures. The use of round bucklers and short swords rendered them formidable in a close engagement: the manly

obedience which they yielded to hereditary kings, gave uncommon union and stability to their councils:<sup>20</sup> and the renowned Amala, the hero of that age, and the tenth ancestor of Theodoric, king of Italy, enforced, by the ascendant of personal merit, the prerogative of his birth, which he derived from the *Anses*, or demigods of the Gothic nation.<sup>21</sup>

The fame of a great enterprise excited the bravest warriors from all the Vandalic states of Germany, many of whom are seen a few years afterwards combating under the common standard of the Goths.<sup>22</sup> The first motions of the emigrants carried them to the banks of the Prypce, a river universally conceived by the ancients to be the southern branch of the Borysthenes.<sup>23</sup> The windings of that great stream through the plains of Poland and Russia gave a direction to their line of march, and a constant supply of fresh water and pasturage to their numerous herds of cattle. They followed the unknown course of the river, confident in their valour, and careless of whatever power might oppose their progress. The Bastarnæ and the Venedi were the first who presented themselves; and the flower of their youth, either from choice or compulsion, increased the Gothic army. The Bastarnæ dwelt on the northern side of the Carpathian mountains: the immense tract of land that separated the Bastarnæ from the savages of Finland was possessed, or rather wasted, by the Venedi.<sup>24</sup> We have some reason to believe that the first of these nations, which distinguished itself in the Macedonian war,<sup>25</sup> and was afterwards divided into the formidable tribes of the Pencini, the Borani, the Carpi, &c. derived its origin from the Germans. With better authority, a Sarmatian extraction may be assigned to the Venedi, who rendered themselves so famous in the middle ages.<sup>26</sup> But the confusion of blood and manners on that doubtful frontier often perplexed the most accurate observers.<sup>27</sup> As the Goths advanced near the Euxine Sea, they encountered a purer race of Sarmatians, the Jazyges, the Alani, and the Roxolani; and they were probably the first Germans who saw the mouths of the Borysthenes, and of the Tanais. If we enquire into the characteristic marks of the people of Germany and of Sarmatia, we shall discover that those two great portions of human kind were principally distinguished by fixed huts or moveable tents,

The Gothic nation increases in its march.

Distinction of Germans and Sarmatians.

enmity of the Goths and Romans from so memorable a cause, might supply the noble groundwork of an Epic poem, cannot it be received as authentic history. According to the obvious sense of the *Edda*, and the interpretation of the most skilful critics, Asgard, instead of denoting a residence of the Asæ, Sarmatians, is the first sons appellations of the noblest blood of the gods, the Olympian of mythology, from which the prophet is supposed to descend, when he announced his new religion to the Gothic nations, who were already seated in the northern part of Sweden.

13 Tacit. Germania, c. 4.  
14 Fact. Annal. i. 12. If we could yield a firm consent to the navigations of Pytheas of Marseille, we must allow that the Goths

afterwards  
appellation  
etymologi-  
cal Em-  
20 *Omniū hūmānū gentiū mores, rotunda scuta, breves gladii, et erga reges obsequium.* Tacit. Germania, c. 15. The Goths probably acquired their iron by the commerce of amber.  
21 Jordanes, c. 13, 14.  
22 The Hérul, and the Fregundi or Burundi, are particularly mentioned. See Masco's History of the Germans, l. v. A passage in the Augustan History, p. 28, seems to allude to this great emigration. The Marcomannic war was partly occasioned by the pressure of barbarous tribes, who fled before the arms of more northern barbarians.

23 The Borysthenes, and the Tanaïs, are particularly mentioned. See Masco's History of the Germans, l. v. A passage in the Augustan History, p. 28, seems to allude to this great emigration. The Marcomannic war was partly occasioned by the pressure of barbarous tribes, who fled before the arms of more northern barbarians.

24 The Venedi, and the Fregundi or Burundi, are particularly mentioned. See Masco's History of the Germans, l. v. A passage in the Augustan History, p. 28, seems to allude to this great emigration. The Marcomannic war was partly occasioned by the pressure of barbarous tribes, who fled before the arms of more northern barbarians.

25 The Macedonian war was partly occasioned by the pressure of barbarous tribes, who fled before the arms of more northern barbarians.

by a close dress, or flowing garments, by the marriage of one or of several wives, by a military force, consisting, for the most part, either of infantry or cavalry; and above all by the use of the Teutonic, or of the Slavonian language; the last of which has been diffused by conquest, from the confines of Italy to the neighbourhood of Japan.

Description of the Ukraine. The Goths were now in possession of the Ukraine, a country of considerable extent and uncommon fertility, intersected with navigable rivers, which, from either side, discharge themselves into the Borysthènes; and interspersed with large and lofty forests of oaks. The plenty of game and fish, the innumerable bee-hives, deposited in the hollow of old trees, and in the cavities of rocks, and forming, even in that rude age, a valuable branch of commerce, the size of the cattle, the temperature of the air, the aptness of the soil for every species of grain, and the luxuriance of the vegetation, all displayed the liberality of Nature, and tempted the industry of man.<sup>28</sup> But the Goths withstood all these temptations, and still adhered to a life of idleness, of poverty, and of rapine.

The Goths no longer to be considered as a Roman province. The Scythian hordes, which, towards the east, bordered on the Roman provinces, presented nothing to their arms, except the doubtful chance of an unprofitable victory. But the prospect of the Roman territories was far more alluring; and the fields of Dacia were covered with rich harvests, sown by the hands of an industrious, and exposed to be gathered by those of a warlike, people. It is probable, that the conquests of Trajan, maintained by his successors, less for any real advantage, than for ideal dignity, had contributed to weaken the empire on that side. The new and unsettled province of Dacia was neither strong enough to resist, nor rich enough to satiate, the rapaciousness of the barbarians. As long as the remote banks of the Niester were considered as the boundary of the Roman power, the fortifications of the Lower Danube were more carelessly guarded, and the inhabitants of Mæsia lived in supine security, fondly conceiving themselves at an inaccessible distance from any barbarian invaders. The irruptions of the Goths, under the reign of Philip, fatally convinced them of their mistake. The king, or leader, of that fierce nation, traversed with contempt the province of Dacia, and passed both the Niester and the Danube without encountering any opposition capable of retarding his progress. The relaxed discipline of the Roman troops betrayed the most important posts, where they were stationed, and the fear of deserved punishment induced great numbers of them to enlist under the Gothic standard.

The various multitude of barbarians appeared at length, under the walls of Marcianopolis, a city built by Trajan in honour of his sister, and at that time the capital of the second Mæsia.<sup>29</sup> The inhabitants consented to ransom their lives and property, by the payment of a huge sum of money, and the invaders retreated back into their deserts, animated rather than satisfied with the first success of their arms against an opulent but feeble country. Intelligence was soon transmitted to the emperor Decius, that Cniva, king of the Goths, had passed the Danube a second time, with more considerable forces; that his numerous detachments scattered devastation over the province of Mæsia, whilst the main body of the army, consisting of seventy thousand Germans and Sarmatians, a force equal to the most daring achievements, required the presence of the Roman monarch, and the exertion of his military power.

Decius found the Goths engaged before Nicopolis, on the Istrus, one of the many monuments of Trajan's victories.<sup>30</sup> On his approach they raised the siege, but with a design only of marching away to a conquest of greater importance, the siege of Philippopolis, a city of Thrace, founded by the father of Alexander, near the foot of Mount Hæmus.<sup>31</sup> Decius followed them through a difficult country, and by forced marches; but when he imagined himself at a considerable distance from the rear of the Goths, Cniva turned with rapid fury on his pursuers. The camp of the Romans was surprised and pillaged, and, for the first time, their emperor fled in disorder before a troop of half-armed barbarians. After a long resistance, Philippopolis, destitute of succour, was taken by storm. A hundred thousand persons are reported to have been massacred in the sack of that great city.<sup>32</sup> Many prisoners of consequence became a valuable accession to the spoil; and Priscus, a brother of the late emperor Philip, blushed not to assume the purple under the protection of the barbarous enemies of Rome.<sup>33</sup> The time, however, consumed in that tedious siege, enabled Decius to revive the courage, restore the discipline, and recruit the numbers of his troops. He intercepted several parties of Carpi, and other Germans, who were hastening to share the victory of their countrymen,<sup>34</sup> intrusted the passes of the mountains to officers of approved valour and fidelity,<sup>35</sup> repaired and strengthened the fortifications of the Danube, and exerted his utmost vigilance to oppose either the progress or the retreat of the Goths. Encouraged by the return of fortune, he anxiously waited for an opportunity to retrieve, by a great and decisive blow, his own glory, and that of the Roman arms.<sup>36</sup>

Various events of the Gothic A. D. 250.

<sup>28</sup> Geographical History of the Emperors, p. 77. Mr. Del. Me. p. 779 traces the German nation to the north of the Baltic, and to the neighbourhood of the modern lake of the Cyprian, a region of the north-east, in the neighbourhood of the modern lake of the Cyprian, a region of the north-east, in the neighbourhood of the modern lake of the Cyprian.

<sup>29</sup> In the seventh chapter of *Itinerary*, a description of the city of Marcianopolis, which was destroyed by the Goths, is given. It is a city of the province of Mæsia, and was founded by Trajan. It is a city of the province of Mæsia, and was founded by Trajan. It is a city of the province of Mæsia, and was founded by Trajan.

<sup>30</sup> The place is called Nicopolis. The river, on which it is situated, is the Danube. D. Anon. Geographie, p. 100. It is a city of the province of Mæsia, and was founded by Trajan.

<sup>31</sup> Stephan. Byzant. de Urbibus, p. 779. It is a city of the province of Mæsia, and was founded by Trajan.

<sup>32</sup> Zonaras, by an odd mistake, ascribes the foundation of Philippopolis to the emperour predecessor of Decius.

<sup>33</sup> See the account of Priscus, in the *Itinerary*, p. 779. It is a city of the province of Mæsia, and was founded by Trajan.

<sup>34</sup> *Itinerary*, p. 779. It is a city of the province of Mæsia, and was founded by Trajan.

<sup>35</sup> *Itinerary*, p. 779. It is a city of the province of Mæsia, and was founded by Trajan.

<sup>36</sup> *Itinerary*, p. 779. It is a city of the province of Mæsia, and was founded by Trajan.

<sup>37</sup> *Itinerary*, p. 779. It is a city of the province of Mæsia, and was founded by Trajan.

<sup>38</sup> *Itinerary*, p. 779. It is a city of the province of Mæsia, and was founded by Trajan.

Decius revives  
the office of  
censor in the  
person of Vale-  
rian.

At the same time when Decius was struggling with the violence of the tempest, his mind, calm and deliberate amidst the tumult of war, investigated the more general causes, that, since the age of the Antonines, had so impetuously urged the decline of the Roman greatness. He soon discovered that it was impossible to replace that greatness on a permanent basis, without restoring public virtue, ancient principles and manners, and the oppressed majesty of the laws. To execute this noble but arduous design, he first resolved to revive the obsolete office of censor; an office, which, as long as it had subsisted in its pristine integrity, had so much contributed to the perpetuity of the state,<sup>37</sup> till it was usurped and gradually neglected by the Cæsars.<sup>38</sup> Conscious that the favour of the sovereign may confer power, but that the esteem of the people can alone bestow authority, he submitted the choice of the censor to the unbiassed voice of the senate. By their unanimous votes, or rather acclamations, Valerian, who was afterwards emperor, and who then served with distinction in the army of Decius, was declared the most worthy of that exalted honour. As soon as the decree of the senate was transmitted to the emperor, he assembled a great council in his camp, and before the investiture of the censor elect, he apprised him of the difficulty and importance of his great office. "Happy Valerian," said the prince to his distinguished subject, "happy in the general approbation of the senate and of the Roman republic! Accept the censorship of mankind; and judge of our manners. You will select those who deserve to continue members of the senate; you will restore the equestrian order to its ancient splendour; you will improve the revenue, yet moderate the public burdens. You will distinguish into regular classes the various and infinite multitude of citizens, and accurately review the military strength, the wealth, the virtue, and the resources of Rome. Your decisions shall obtain the force of laws. The army, the palace, the ministers of justice, and the great officers of the empire, are all subject to your tribunal. None are exempted, excepting only the ordinary consuls,<sup>39</sup> the præfect of the city, the king of the sacrifices, and (as long as she preserves her chastity inviolate) the eldest of the vestal virgins. Even these few, who may not dread the severity, will anxiously solicit the esteem, of the Roman censor."<sup>40</sup>

The design im-  
practicable, and  
without effect.

A magistrate invested with such extensive powers, would have appeared not so much the minister as the colleague of his sovereign.<sup>41</sup> Valerian justly dreaded an elevation so full of envy and of suspicion. He modestly urged the alarming

greatness of the trust, his own insufficiency, and the incurable corruption of the times. He artfully insinuated that the office of censor was inseparable from the Imperial dignity, and that the feeble hands of a subject were unequal to the support of such an immense weight of cares and of power.<sup>42</sup> The approaching event of war soon put an end to the prosecution of a project so specious but so impracticable; and whilst it preserved Valerian from the danger, saved the emperor Decius from the disappointment, which would most probably have attended it. A censor may maintain, he can never restore, the morals of a state. It is impossible for such a magistrate to exert his authority with benefit, or even with effect, unless he is supported by a quick sense of honour and virtue in the minds of the people; by a decent reverence for the public opinion, and by a train of useful prejudices combating on the side of national manners. In a period when these principles are annihilated, the censorial jurisdiction must either sink into empty pageantry, or be converted into a partial instrument of vexatious oppression.<sup>43</sup> It was easier to vanquish the Goths than to eradicate the public vices, yet, even in the first of these enterprises, Decius lost his army and his life.

The Goths were now, on every side, surrounded and pursued by the Roman arms. The flower of their troops had perished in the long siege of Philippopolis, and the exhausted country could no longer afford subsistence for the remaining multitude of licentious barbarians. Reduced to this extremity, the Goths would gladly have purchased, by the surrender of all their booty and prisoners, the permission of an undisturbed retreat. But the emperor, confident of victory, and resolving, by the chastisement of these invaders, to strike a salutary terror into the nations of the north, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation. The high-spirited barbarians preferred death to slavery. An obscure town of Macedonia, called Forum Terebronii,<sup>44</sup> was the scene of the battle. The Gothic army was drawn up in three lines, and, either from choice or accident, the front of the third line was covered by a morass. In the beginning of the action, the son of Decius, a youth of the fairest hopes, and already associated to the honours of the purple, was slain by an arrow, in the sight of his afflicted father; who summoning all his fortitude, admonished the dismayed troops that the loss of a single soldier was of little importance to the republic.<sup>45</sup> The conflict was terrible; it was the combat of despair against grief and rage. The first line of the Goths at length gave way in disorder; the second, advancing to sustain it, shared its fate; and the third only remained entire, prepared to dispute the passage of the morass, which

Defeat and  
death of Decius  
and his son.

<sup>37</sup> Montesquieu, *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, c. viii. He illustrates the nature and use of the censorship by his usual magnanimity, and with uncommon precision.

<sup>38</sup> Vespasian and Titus were the last censors. (Pliny *Hist. Natur.* vii. 49. *Censorius de Die Natali*.) The modesty of Titus refused an honour which he deserved, and his example became a law to the Antonines. See Pliny, *l. c.*

<sup>39</sup> See the account of the censorship in the *Legationes*, *l. c.* p. 177, 178.

<sup>41</sup> This transaction might deceive Zonaras, who supposes that Valerian was actually declared the colleague of Decius, *l. c.* p. 625.

<sup>42</sup> Hist. August. p. 271. The emperor's reply is omitted.

<sup>43</sup> See the remarks on the constitution of the censor.

<sup>44</sup> See the account of the battle in the *Legationes*, *l. c.* p. 177, 178.

<sup>45</sup> Aurelius Victor allows two distinct actions for the deaths of the two Decii, but I have preferred the account of Jornandes.

was imprudently attempted by the presumption of the enemy. "Here the fortune of the day turned, and all things became adverse to the Romans: the place deep with ooze, sinking under those who stood, slippery to such as advanced; their armour heavy, the waters deep; nor could they wield in that uneasy situation their weighty javelins. The barbarians, on the contrary, were insured to encounters in the bogs, their persons tall, their spears long, such as could wound at a distance."<sup>46</sup> In this morass the Roman army, after an ineffectual struggle, was irrecoverably lost; nor could the body of the emperor ever be found.<sup>47</sup> Such was the fate of Decius in the fiftieth year of his age; an accomplished prince, active in war, and affable in peace; <sup>48</sup> who, together with his son, has deserved to be compared, both in life and death, with the brightest examples of ancient virtue.<sup>49</sup>

This fatal blow humbled, for a very little time, the insolence of the legions. They appear to have patiently expected, and submissively obeyed, the decree of the senate which regulated the succession to the throne. From a just regard for the memory of Decius, the Imperial title was conferred on Hostilianus, his only surviving son; but an equal rank, with more effectual power, was granted to Gallus, whose experience and ability seemed equal to the great trust of guardian to the young prince and the distressed empire.<sup>50</sup> The first care of the new emperor was to deliver the Illyrian provinces from the intolerable weight of the victorious Goths. He

consented to leave in their hands the rich fruits of their invasion, an immense booty, and, what was still more disgraceful, a great number of prisoners of the highest merit, and quality. He plentifully supplied their camp with every convenience that could assuage their angry spirits, or facilitate their so much wished-for departure; and he even promised to pay them annually a large sum of gold, on condition they should never afterwards infest the Roman territories by their incursions.<sup>51</sup>

In the age of the Scipios, the most opulent kings of the earth, who courted the protection of the victorious commonwealth, were gratified with such trifling presents as could only derive a value from the hand that bestowed them; an ivory chair, a coarse garment of purple, an inconsiderable piece of plate, or a quantity of copper coin.<sup>52</sup> After the wealth of nations had retired in Rome, the emperors displayed their greatness, and even their policy, by the regular exercise of a steady and moderate liberality towards the allies of the state. They relieved the

poverty of the barbarians, honoured their merit, and recompensed their fidelity. These voluntary marks of bounty were understood to flow, not from the fears, but merely from the generosity or the gratitude of the Romans; and whilst presents and subsidies were liberally distributed among friends and suppliants, they were sternly refused to such as claimed them as a debt.<sup>53</sup> But this stipulation, of popular discontent, an annual payment to a victorious enemy, appeared without disguise in the light of an ignominious tribute; the minds of the Romans were not yet accustomed to accept such unequal laws from a tribe of barbarians; and the prince, who by a necessary concession had probably saved his country, became the object of the general contempt and aversion. The death of Hostilianus, though it happened in the midst of a raging pestilence, was interpreted as the personal crime of Gallus;<sup>54</sup> and even the defeat of the late emperor was ascribed by the voice of suspicion to the perfidious counsels of his hated successor.<sup>55</sup> The tranquillity which the empire enjoyed during the first year of his administration,<sup>56</sup> served rather to inflame than to appease the public discontent; and, as soon as the apprehensions of war were removed, the infamy of the peace was more deeply and more sensibly felt.

But the Romans were irritated to a still higher degree, when they discovered that they had not even secured their repose, though at the expense of their honour. The dangerous secret of the wealth and weakness of the empire had been revealed to the world. New swarms of barbarians, encouraged by the success, and not conceiving themselves bound by the obligation, of their brethren, spread devastation through the Illyrian provinces, and terror as far as the gates of Rome. The defence of the monarchy, which seemed abandoned by the pusillanimous emperor, was assumed by Æmilianus, governor of Pannonia and Mæsia; who rallied the scattered forces, and revived the fainting spirits of the troops. The barbarians were unexpectedly attacked, routed, chased, and pursued beyond the Danube. The victorious leader distributed as a donative the money collected for the tribute, and the acclamations of the soldiers proclaimed him emperor on the field of battle.<sup>57</sup> Gallus, who, careless of the general welfare, indulged himself in the pleasures of Italy, was almost in the same instant informed of the success, of the revolt, and of the rapid approach, of his aspiring lieutenant. He advanced to meet him as far as the plains of Spoleto. When the armies came in sight of each other, the soldiers of Gallus compared the ignominious conduct of their sovereign with the glory of his rival. They admired the valour of

<sup>46</sup> These ventures into the bog, the last of the Roman army, of a similar encounter between a Roman army and a barbarian tribe.

<sup>47</sup> Jornandes, c. 15. Zonaras, l. x. p. 62. Zosterius, l. x. p. 7. Aurelius Victor.

<sup>48</sup> The Decii were killed before the end of the second century, and the name of the emperor took no more part in the succession on the ensuing clouds of obscurity.

<sup>49</sup> Herodian, p. 225. Zonaras, l. x. p. 62. Zosterius, l. x. p. 7. The small number of good emperors who reigned between Augustus and the close of the second century.

<sup>50</sup> Herodian Patres conperere . . . . . desert. unt. Vol. I. in Cæsaribus.

<sup>51</sup> Zonaras, l. x. p. 62.

<sup>52</sup> A. S. l. x. p. 7. and Zosterius, l. x. p. 7. The words of the text are, "The Romans, who were not yet accustomed to accept such unequal laws from a tribe of barbarians, and the prince, who by a necessary concession had probably saved his country, became the object of the general contempt and aversion." The words are, "The Romans, who were not yet accustomed to accept such unequal laws from a tribe of barbarians, and the prince, who by a necessary concession had probably saved his country, became the object of the general contempt and aversion."

<sup>53</sup> The words of the text are, "The Romans, who were not yet accustomed to accept such unequal laws from a tribe of barbarians, and the prince, who by a necessary concession had probably saved his country, became the object of the general contempt and aversion." The words are, "The Romans, who were not yet accustomed to accept such unequal laws from a tribe of barbarians, and the prince, who by a necessary concession had probably saved his country, became the object of the general contempt and aversion."

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<sup>55</sup> Zosterius, l. x. p. 7.

Æmilianus; they were attracted by his liberality, for he offered a considerable increase of pay to all deserters.<sup>58</sup> The murder of Gallus, and of his son Volusianus, put an end to the civil war; and the senate gave a legal sanction to the rights of conquest. The letters of Æmilianus to that assembly displayed a mixture of moderation and vanity. He assured them, that he should resign to their wisdom the civil administration; and contenting himself with the quality of their general, would in a short time assert the glory of Rome, and deliver the empire from all the barbarians both of the North and of the East.<sup>59</sup> His pride was flattered by the applause of the senate; and medals are still extant, representing him with the name and attributes of Hercules the Victor, and of Mars the Avenger.<sup>60</sup>

If the new monarch possessed the abilities, he wanted the time, necessary to fulfil these splendid promises. Less than four months intervened between his victory and his fall.<sup>61</sup> He had vanquished Gallus: he sunk under the weight of a competitor more formidable than Gallus. That unfortunate prince had sent Valerian, already distinguished by the honourable title of censor, to bring the legions of Gaul and Germany<sup>62</sup> to his aid. Valerian executed that commission with zeal and fidelity; and as he arrived too late to save his sovereign, he resolved to revenge him. The troops of Æmilianus, who still lay encamped in the plains of Spoleto, were awed by the sanctity of his character, but much more by the superior strength of his army; and as they were now become as incapable of personal attachment as they had always been of constitutional principle, they readily imbrued their hands in the blood of a prince who

so lately had been the object of their partial choice. The guilt was theirs, but the advantage it was Valerian's; who obtained the possession of the throne by the means indeed of a civil war, but with a degree of innocence singular in that age of revolutions; since he owed neither gratitude nor allegiance to his predecessor, whom he dethroned.

Valerian was about sixty years of age<sup>63</sup> when he was invested with the purple, not by the caprice of the populace, or the clamours of the army, but by the unanimous voice of the Roman world. In his gradual ascent through the honours of the state, he had deserved the favour of virtuous princes, and had declared himself the enemy of tyrants.<sup>64</sup> His noble birth, his mild but unblemished manners, his learning, prudence, and experience, were revered by the senate and people; and if mankind (according to the observation of an ancient writer) had been left at liberty to

choose a master, their choice would most assuredly have fallen on Valerian.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps the merit of this emperor was inadequate to his reputation; perhaps his abilities, or at least his spirit, were affected by the languor and coldness of old age. The consciousness of his decline engaged him to share the throne with a younger and more active associate;<sup>66</sup> the emergency of the times demanded a general no less than a prince; and the experience of the Roman censor might have directed him where to bestow the Imperial purple, as the reward of military merit. But instead of making a judicious choice, which would have confirmed his reign and endeared his memory, Valerian, consulting only the dictates of affection or vanity, immediately invested with the supreme honours his son Gallienus, a youth whose effeminate vices had been hitherto concealed by the obscurity of a private station. The joint government of the father and the son subsisted about seven, and the sole administration of Gallienus continued about eight, years. But the whole period was one uninterrupted series of confusion and calamity. As the Roman empire was at the same time, and on every side, attacked by the blind fury of foreign invaders, and the wild ambition of domestic usurpers, we shall consult order and perspicuity, by pursuing, not so much the doubtful arrangement of dates, as the more natural distribution of subjects. The most dangerous enemies of Rome, during the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, were, 1. The Franks. 2. The Alemanni. 3. The Goths; and, 4. The Persians. Under these general appellations, we may comprehend the adventures of less considerable tribes, whose obscure and uncouth names would only serve to oppress the memory and perplex the attention of the reader.

I. As the posterity of the Franks compose one of the greatest and most enlightened nations of Europe, the powers of learning and ingenuity have been exhausted in the discovery of their unlettered ancestors. To the tales of credulity, have succeeded the systems of fancy. Every passage has been sifted, every spot has been surveyed, that might possibly reveal some faint traces of their origin. It has been supposed, that Pannonia,<sup>67</sup> that Gaul, that the northern parts of Germany,<sup>68</sup> gave birth to that celebrated colony of warriors. At length the most rational critics, rejecting the fictitious emigrations of ideal conquerors, have acquiesced in a sentiment whose simplicity persuades us of its truth.<sup>69</sup> They suppose that about the year two hundred and forty,<sup>70</sup> a new confederacy was formed under the name of Franks, by the old inhabitants of

<sup>58</sup> Victor in Crispinus.

<sup>59</sup> Zonaras, l. xiv. p. 628.

<sup>60</sup> Banduri Nummista, p. 91.

<sup>61</sup> Eutropius, l. vi. c. 6. says tertio mense. Eusebius omits this expression.

<sup>62</sup> Zonaras, l. i. p. 28. Eutropius and Victor station Valerian's army in Rhetia.

<sup>63</sup> He was about seventy at the time of his accession, or, as it is 175. Tillemont, Hist.

175. In the glorious an acted a very spirited

<sup>64</sup> According to the distinction of Victor, he seems to have received

the title of *Imperator* from the army, and that of *Augustus* from the senate.

<sup>65</sup> From Victor and from the medals, Tillemont (tom. iii. p. 710) very justly infers, that Gallienus was associated to the empire about the month of June, A.D. 253.

<sup>66</sup> The passage

the Franks, gave

<sup>67</sup> Freret, in the

<sup>70</sup> Most probably under the reign of Gordian, from an accidental circumstance fully canvassed by Tillemont, tom. iii. p. 710. 1181.

the title of *Imperator* from the army, and that of *Augustus* from the senate.

the Lower Rhine and the Weser. The present circle of Westphalia, the landgraviate of Hesse, and the duchies of Brunswick and Lüneburg, were the ancient seat of the Chauci, who, in their inaccessible morasses, defied the Roman arms; <sup>71</sup> of the Cherusci, proud of the fame of Arminius; of the Catti, formidable by their firm and intrepid infantry; and of several other tribes of inferior power and renown. <sup>72</sup> The love of liberty was the ruling passion of these Germans; the enjoyment of it their best treasure; the word that expressed that enjoyment, the most pleasing to their ear. They deserved, they assumed, they maintained the honourable epithet of Franks, or Freemen; which concealed, though it did not extinguish, the peculiar names of the several states of the confederacy. <sup>73</sup> Tacit consent, and mutual advantage, dictated the first laws of the union; it was gradually cemented by habit and experience. The league of the Franks may admit of some comparison with the Helvetic body; in which every canton, retaining its independent sovereignty, consults with its brethren in the common cause, without acknowledging the authority of any supreme head, or representative assembly. <sup>74</sup> But the principle of the two confederacies was extremely different. A peace of two hundred years has rewarded the wise and honest policy of the Swiss. An inconstant spirit, the thirst of rapine, and a disregard to the most solemn treaties, disgraced the character of the Franks.

The Romans had long experienced the daring valour of the people of Lower Germany. The union of their strength threatened Gaul with a more formidable invasion, and required the presence of Gallienus, the heir and colleague of Imperial power. <sup>75</sup> Whilst that prince, and his infant son Salonius, displayed, in the court of Treves, the majesty of the empire, its arms were ably conducted by their general Posthumus, who, though he afterwards betrayed the family of Valerian, was ever faithful to the great interest of the monarchy. The treacherous language of panegyrics and medals darkly announces a long series of victories. Trophies and titles attest (if such evidence can attest) the fame of Posthumus, who is repeatedly styled The Conqueror of the Germans, and The Saviour of Gaul. <sup>76</sup>

But a single fact, the only one indeed of which we have any distinct knowledge, erases, in a great measure, these monuments of vanity and adulation. The Rhine, though dignified with the title of *Sacred* against the daring spirit of enterprise with which the Franks were actuated. Their rapid devastations stretched from the river to the foot

of the Pyrenees. nor were they stopped by those mountains. Spain, which had never dreaded, was unable to resist, the inroads of the Germans. During twelve years, the greatest part of the reign of Gallienus, that opulent country was the theatre of unequal and destructive hostilities. Tarragona, the flourishing capital of a peaceful province, was sacked and almost destroyed; <sup>77</sup> and so late as the days of Orosius, who wrote in the fifth century, wretched cottages, scattered amidst the ruins of magnificent cities, still recorded the rage of the barbarians. <sup>78</sup> When the exhausted country no longer supplied a variety of plunder, the Franks seized on some vessels in the ports of Spain, <sup>79</sup> and transported themselves into Mauritania. The distant province was astonished with the fury of these barbarians, who seemed to fall from a new world, as their name, manners, and complexion, were equally unknown on the coast of Africa. <sup>80</sup>

II. In that part of Upper Saxony beyond the Elbe, which is at present called the Marquisate of Lusace, there existed, in ancient times, a sacred wood, the awful seat of the superstition of the Suevi. None were permitted to enter the holy precincts, without confessing, by their servile bonds and suppliant posture, the immediate presence of the sovereign Deity. <sup>81</sup> Patriotism contributed as well as devotion to consecrate the Sonnenwald, or wood of the Semnonen. <sup>82</sup> It was universally believed, that the nation had received its first existence on that sacred spot. At stated periods, the numerous tribes who gloried in the Suevic blood resorted thither by their ambassadors; and the memory of their common extraction was perpetuated by barbaric rites and human sacrifices. The wide-extended name of Suevi filled the interior countries of Germany, from the banks of the Oder to those of the Danube. They were distinguished from the other Germans by their peculiar mode of dressing their long hair, which they gathered into a rude knot on the crown of the head; and they delighted in an ornament that showed their ranks more lofty and terrible in the eyes of the enemy. <sup>83</sup> Jealous, as the Germans were, of military renown, they all confessed the superior valour of the Suevi; and the tribes of the Usipetes and Tencteri, who, with a vast army, encountered the dictator Cæsar, declared that they esteemed it not a disgrace to have fled before a people, to whose arms the immortal gods themselves were unequal. <sup>84</sup>

In the reign of the emperor Caracalla, an innumerable swarm of Suevi appeared on the banks of the Main, and in the neighbourhood of the Roman provinces, in quest either of food, of plunder, or

<sup>71</sup> Plin. Hist. Natur. lib. 4. The Panegyrics from the altar of the martyrs of the Franks.

<sup>72</sup> Tacit. Germ. c. 1. p. 77. In a subsequent period, the Franks were divided into several tribes, and the name of Chauci was given to the whole.

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Origin and renown of the Suevi.

A mixed body of Suevi and the name of Alemanni.

of glory.<sup>85</sup> The hasty army of volunteers gradually coalesced into a great and permanent nation, and, as it was composed from so many different tribes, assumed the name of Alemanni, or *All-men*; to denote at once their various lineage, and their common bravery.<sup>86</sup> The latter was soon felt by the Romans in many a hostile inroad. The Alemanni fought chiefly on horseback; but their cavalry was rendered still more formidable by a mixture of light infantry, selected from the bravest and most active of the youth, whom frequent exercise had inured to accompany the horseman in the longest march, the most rapid charge, or the most precipitate retreat.<sup>87</sup>

This warlike people of Germans had been astonished by the immense preparations of Alexander Severus, they were dismayed by the arms of his successor, a barbarian equal in valour and fierceness to themselves. But still hovering on the frontiers of the empire, they increased the general disorder that ensued after the death of Decius. They inflicted severe wounds on the rich provinces of Gaul: they were the first who removed the veil that covered the feeble majesty of Italy. A numerous body of the Alemanni penetrated across the Danube, and through the Rhetian Alps, into the plains of Lombardy, advanced as far as Ravenna, and displayed the victorious banners of barbarians almost in sight of Rome.<sup>88</sup> The insult and the danger rekindled in the senate some sparks of their ancient virtue.

Both the emperors were engaged in far distant wars, Valerian in the East, and Gallienus on the Rhine. All the hopes and resources of the Romans were in themselves. In this emergency, the senators resumed the defence of the republic, drew out the prætorian guards, who had been left to garrison the capital, and filled up their numbers by enlisting into the public service the stoutest and most willing of the plebeians. The Alemanni, astonished with the sudden appearance of an army more numerous than their own, retired into Germany, laden with spoil; and their retreat was esteemed as a victory by the unwarlike Romans.<sup>89</sup>

When Gallienus received the intelligence that his capital was delivered from the barbarians, he was much less delighted, than alarmed, with the courage of the senate, since it might one day prompt them to rescue the public from domestic tyranny, as well as from foreign invasion. His timid ingratitude was published to his subjects, in an edict which prohibited the senators from exercising any military employment, and even from approaching the camps of the legions. But his fears were groundless. The rich and luxurious nobles, sinking into their natural character, accepted, as a favour, this disgraceful exemption from military service; and as long as

they were indulged in the enjoyment of their baths, their theatres, and their villas, they cheerfully resigned the more dangerous cares of empire, to the rough hands of peasants and soldiers.<sup>90</sup>

Another invasion of the Alemanni, of a more formidable aspect, but more glorious event, is mentioned by a writer of the lower empire. Three hundred thousand of that warlike people are said to have been vanquished, in a battle near Milan, by Gallienus in person, at the head of only ten thousand Romans.<sup>91</sup> We may however, with great probability, ascribe this incredible victory, either to the credulity of the historian, or to some exaggerated exploits of one of the emperor's lieutenants. It was by arms of a very different nature, that Gallienus endeavoured to protect Italy from the fury of the Germans. He espoused Pipa the daughter of a king of the Marcomanni, a Suevic tribe, which was often confounded with the Alemanni in their wars and conquests.<sup>92</sup> To the father, as the price of his alliance, he granted an ample settlement in Pannonia. The native charms of unpolished beauty seem to have fixed the daughter in the affections of the inconstant emperor, and the bands of policy were more firmly connected by those of love. But the haughty prejudice of Rome still refused the name of marriage, to the profane mixture of a citizen and a barbarian; and has stigmatised the German princess with the opprobrious title of concubine of Gallienus.<sup>93</sup>

III. We have already traced the emigration of the Goths from Scandinavia, or at least from Prussia, to the mouth of the Borysthenes, and have followed their victorious arms from the Borysthenes to the Danube. Under the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, the frontier of the last-mentioned river was perpetually infested by the inroads of Germans and Sarmatians; but it was defended by the Romans with more than usual firmness and success. The provinces that were the seat of war, recruited the armies of Rome with an inexhaustible supply of hardy soldiers; and more than one of these Illyrian peasants attained the station, and displayed the abilities of a general. Though flying parties of the barbarians, who incessantly hovered on the banks of the Danube, penetrated sometimes to the confines of Italy and Macedonia; their progress was commonly checked, or their return intercepted, by the Imperial lieutenants.<sup>94</sup> But the great stream of the Gothic hostilities was diverted into a very different channel. The Goths, in their new settlement of the Ukraine, soon became masters of the northern coast of the Euxine: to the south of that inland sea, were situated the soft and wealthy provinces of Asia Minor, which possessed all that could attract, and nothing that could resist, a barbarian conqueror.

<sup>85</sup> Victor in Caracal. Dion Cassius, l. x. p. 1350.

<sup>86</sup> This etymology (far different from those which amuse the fancy of the learned) is preserved by Aulus Quadratus, an original historian, quoted by Agathias, l. c. 5.

<sup>87</sup> The Sarmatians, in this manner, and the marae were (in Bello Gallico, l. 15.) s in the Excerpta Legationis, p. 22.

<sup>89</sup> Zosimus, l. i. p. 31.

<sup>90</sup> Aurel. Victor in Gallieno et Probo. His complaints breathe an uncommon spirit of freedom.

<sup>91</sup> Zosimus, l. xii. p. 631.

<sup>92</sup> One of the Victor calls him king of the Marcomanni; the other, of the Germans.

<sup>93</sup> See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iii. p. 594, &c.

<sup>94</sup> See the lives of Claudius, Aurélian, and Probus, in the Augustan History.

Gallienus contracts an alliance with the Alemanni.

Inroads of the Goths.

The banks of the Borysthènes are only sixty miles distant from the narrow entrance<sup>75</sup> of the peninsula of Crim Taitary, known to the ancients under the name of Chersonesus Taurica.<sup>76</sup> On that inhospitable shore, Euripides, embellishing with exquisite art the tales of antiquity, has placed the scene of one of his most affecting tragedies.<sup>77</sup> The bloody sacrifices of Diana, the arrival of Orestes and Pylades, and the triumph of virtue and religion over savage fierceness, serve to represent an historical truth, that the Tauri, the original inhabitants of the peninsula, were, in some degree, reclaimed from their brutal manners, by a gradual intercourse with the Grecian colonies, which settled along the maritime coast. The little kingdom of Bosphorus, whose capital was situated on the Straits, through which the Mæotis communicates itself to the Euxine, was composed of degenerate Greeks, and half-civilised barbarians. It subsisted, as an independent state, from the time of the Peloponnesian war;<sup>78</sup> was at last swallowed up by the ambition of Mithridates;<sup>79</sup> and, with the rest of his dominions, sunk under the weight of the Roman arms. From the reign of Augustus,<sup>100</sup> the kings of Bosphorus were the humble, but not useless, allies of the empire. By presents, by arms, and by a slight fortification drawn across the Isthmus, they effectually guarded against the roving plunderers of Sarmatia, the access of a country, which, from its peculiar situation and convenient harbours, commanded the Euxine Sea and Asia Minor.<sup>101</sup> As long as the sceptre was possessed by a lineal succession of kings, they acquitted themselves of their important charge with vigilance and success. Domestic factions, and the fears, or private interest, of obscure usurpers, who seized on the vacant throne, admitted the Goths into the heart of Bosphorus. With the acquisition of a superfluous waste of fertile soil, the conquerors obtained the command of a naval force, sufficient to transport their armies to the coast of Asia.<sup>102</sup>

The ships used in the navigation of the Euxine were of a very singular construction. They were slight flat-bottomed barks framed of timber only, without the least mixture of iron, and occasionally covered with a shelving roof, on the appearance of a tempest.<sup>103</sup> In these floating houses, the Goths carelessly trusted themselves to the mercy of an unknown sea, under the conduct of sailors pressed into the service, and whose skill and fidelity were equally suspicious. But the hopes of plunder had banished every idea of danger, and a natural fearlessness of temper supplied in their mind the more rational confidence, which is the just result of knowledge and experience. Warriors of such a daring spirit must have often mur-

inured against the cowardice of their guides, who required the strongest assurances of a settled calm before they would venture to embark; and would scarcely ever be tempted to lose sight of the land. Such, at least, is the practice of the modern Turks; <sup>104</sup> and they are probably not inferior, in the art of navigation, to the ancient inhabitants of Bosphorus.

The fleet of the Goths, leaving the coast of Circassia on the left hand, first appeared before Pityus,<sup>105</sup> the utmost limits of the Roman provinces; a city provided with a convenient port, and fortified with a strong wall. Here they met with a resistance more obstinate than they had reason to expect from the feeble garrison of a distant fortress. They were repulsed; and their disappointment seemed to diminish the terror of the Gothic name. As long as Successianus, an officer of superior rank and merit, defended that frontier, all their efforts were ineffectual; but as soon as he was removed by Valerian to a more honourable but less important station, they resumed the attack of Pityus; and, by the destruction of that city, obliterated the memory of their former disgrace.<sup>106</sup>

Circling round the eastern extremity of the Euxine Sea, the navigation from Pityus to Trebizond is about three hundred miles.<sup>107</sup> The course of the Goths carried them in sight of the country of Colchis, so famous by the expedition of the Argonauts; and they even attempted, though without success, to pillage a rich temple at the mouth of the river Phasis. Trebizond, celebrated in the retreat of the ten thousand and as an ancient colony of Greeks,<sup>108</sup> derived its wealth and splendour from the munificence of the emperor Hadrian, who had constructed an artificial port on a coast left destitute by nature of secure harbours.<sup>109</sup> The city was large and populous; a double enclosure of walls seemed to defy the fury of the Goths, and the usual garrison had been strengthened by a reinforcement of ten thousand men. But there are not any advantages capable of supplying the absence of discipline and vigilance. The numerous garrison of Trebizond, dissolved in riot and luxury, disdained to guard their impregnable fortifications. The Goths soon discovered the supine negligence of the besieged, erected a lofty pile of fascines, ascended the walls in the silence of the night, and entered the defenceless city, sword in hand. A general massacre of the people ensued, whilst the affrighted soldiers escaped through the opposite gates of the town. The most holy temples, and the most splendid edifices, were involved in a common destruction. The booty that fell into the hands of the Goths was immense, the wealth of the adjacent countries

9) It is about half a league in breadth (Munroe, *History of the Tartars*, p. 508).

Observations sur les Peuples Barbares, qui ont habité les bords du Danube.

<sup>95</sup> Strabo, l. viii, p. 502. The last kings of Bosphorus were the allies of Athens.

100 It was reduced to the arms of  $\Delta$  and  $\nabla$  by the  $SL_2$  En-

of the Tanais. Tacit. Annal. x. 17.  
 But see the Tarsus of Lucan, if we credit the S. copy and the

107 See also *ibid.* p. 23.  
108 See also *ibid.* p. 23. The were called *Chambers*.

104 See a very natural picture of the Famine ravages, in the xx. h  
letter of 1799, p. 107.

...fourteen miles to the east of Pinar. The population of this  
...of only four hundred but the length of

107. Arrived in Rio de Janeiro 17th, and the distance 219

$\Gamma \vdash \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda z. x y z = \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda z. x (y z)$      $\vdash \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda z. x y z = \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda z. x (y z)$   
 $\vdash \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda z. x y z = \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda z. x (y z)$      $\vdash \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda z. x y z = \lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda z. x (y z)$



had been deposited in Trebizond, as in a secure place of refuge. The number of captives was incredible, as the victorious barbarians ranged without opposition through the extensive province of Pontus.<sup>110</sup> The rich spoils of Trebizond filled a great fleet of ships that had been found in the port. The robust youth of the sea-coast were chained to the oar; and the Goths, satisfied with the success of their first naval expedition, returned in triumph to their new establishments in the kingdom of Bosphorus.<sup>111</sup>

The second expedition of the Goths was undertaken with greater powers of men and ships; but they steered a different course, and, disdaining the exhausted provinces of Pontus, followed the western coast of the Euxine, passed before the wide mouths of the Borysthenes, the Niester, and the Danube, and increasing their fleet by the capture of a great number of fishing barks, they approached the narrow outlet through which the Euxine Sea pours its waters into the Mediterranean, and divides the continents of Europe and Asia. The garrison of Chalcedon was encamped near the temple of Jupiter Urius, on a promontory that commanded the entrance of the strait; and so inconsiderable were the dreaded invasions of the barbarians, that this body of troops surpassed in number the Gothic cities of Bithynia.<sup>112</sup> But it was in numbers alone that they surpassed it. They deserted with precipitation their advantageous post, and abandoned the town of Chalcedon, most plentifully stored with arms and money, to the discretion of the conquerors. Whilst they hesitated whether they should prefer the sea or land, Europe or Asia, for the scene of their hostilities, a perfidious fugitive pointed out Nicomedia, once the capital of the kings of Bithynia, as a rich and easy conquest. He guided the march, which was only sixty miles from the camp of Chalcedon,<sup>113</sup> directed the resistless attack, and partook of the booty; for the Goths had learned sufficient policy to reward the traitor, whom they detested. Nice, Prusa, Apamæa, Cius, cities that had sometimes rivalled, or imitated, the splendour of Nicomedia, were involved in the same calamity, which, in a few weeks, raged without control through the whole province of Bithynia. Three hundred years of peace, enjoyed by the soft inhabitants of Asia, had abolished the exercise of arms, and removed the apprehension of danger. The ancient walls were suffered to moulder away, and all the revenue of the most opulent cities was reserved for the construction of baths, temples, and theatres.<sup>114</sup>

When the city of Cyzicus stood the utmost effort of Mithridates,<sup>115</sup> it was distinguished by wise laws, a naval power of two hundred galleys, and three arsenals, of arms, of military engines, and of

corn.<sup>116</sup> It was still the seat of wealth and luxury; but of its ancient strength nothing remained except the situation, in a little island of the Propontis, connected with the continent of Asia only by two bridges. From the recent sack of Prusa, the Goths advanced within eighteen miles<sup>117</sup> of the city, which they had devoted to destruction; but the ruin of Cyzicus was delayed by a fortunate accident. The season was rainy, and the lake Apolloniates, the reservoir of all the springs of Mount Olympus, rose to an uncommon height. The little river of Rhyndacus, which issues from the lake, swelled into a broad and rapid stream, and stopped the progress of the Goths. Their retreat to the maritime city of Heraclea, where the fleet had probably been stationed, was attended by a long train of wagons, laden with the spoils of Bithynia, and was marked by the flames of Nice and Nicomedia, which they wantonly burnt.<sup>118</sup> Some obscure hints are mentioned of a doubtful combat that secured their retreat.<sup>119</sup> But even a complete victory would have been of little moment, as the approach of the autumnal equinox summoned them to hasten their return. To navigate the Euxine before the month of May, or after that of September, is esteemed by the modern Turks the most unquestionable instance of rashness and folly.<sup>120</sup>

When we are informed that the third fleet equipped by the Goths in the ports of Bosphorus, consisted of five hundred sail of ships,<sup>121</sup> our ready imagination instantly computes and multiplies the formidable armament; but, as we are assured by the judicious Strabo,<sup>122</sup> that the piratical vessels used by the barbarians of Pontus and the Lesser Scythia, were not capable of containing more than twenty-five or thirty men, we may safely affirm, that fifteen thousand warriors, at the most, embarked in this great expedition. Impatient of the limits of the Euxine, they steered their destructive course from the Cimmerian to the Thracian Bosphorus. When they had almost gained the middle of the Straits, they were suddenly driven back to the entrance of them; till a favourable wind, springing up the next day, carried them in a few hours into the placid sea, or rather lake, of the Propontis. Their landing on the little island of Cyzicus was attended with the ruin of that ancient and noble city. From thence issuing again through the narrow passage of the Hellespont, they pursued their winding navigation amidst the numerous islands scattered over the Archipelago, or the Ægean Sea. The assistance of captives and deserters must have been very necessary to pilot their vessels, and to direct their various incursions, as well on the coast of Greece as on that of Asia. At length the Gothic fleet anchored in the port of Piræus, five miles distant from

The second expedition of the Goths.

They plunder the cities of Bithynia.

Third naval expedition of the Goths.

They pass the Bosphorus and the Hellespont.

<sup>110</sup> See an epistle of Gregory Thaumaturgus, Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, quoted by Nicæus, v. 72.

<sup>111</sup> Zosimus, l. i. p. 72, 73.

<sup>112</sup> Procopius, l. i. p. 72. Wesseling

<sup>113</sup> Zosimus, l. i. p. 72.

<sup>114</sup> He besieged the place with 100 galleys, 100,000 foot, and a numerous cavalry. See Procopius in Lucul. Appian in Mithrid. l. c. p. mo. Lege Mandat, v. 3.

<sup>115</sup> Strabo, l. x. p. 73.

<sup>116</sup> Procopius, Description of the East, l. i. c. 25, 21.

<sup>117</sup> Zosimus, l. i. p. 73.

<sup>118</sup> Syncellus tells an untrustworthy story of Prince Odoallus, who defeated the Goths, and who was killed by Prince Odoallus.

<sup>119</sup> I have been deceived by a mistake in the text. He sailed with the Turks from Constantinople, l. i. p. 13.

<sup>120</sup> See the account of this expedition, as undertaken by the Goths.

<sup>121</sup> See l. i. c. p. 495.

Athens,<sup>122</sup> which had attempted to make some preparations for a vigorous defence. Cleodamus, one of the engineers employed by the emperor's orders to fortify the maritime cities against the Goths, had already begun to repair the ancient walls fallen to decay since the time of Sylla. The efforts of his skill were ineffectual, and the barbarians became masters of the native seat of the muses and the arts. But while the conquerors abandoned themselves to the licence of plunder and intemperance, their fleet, that lay with a slender guard in the harbour of Piræus, was unexpectedly attacked by the brave Dexippus who, flying with the engineer Cleodamus from the sack of Athens, collected a hasty band of volunteers, peasants as well as soldiers, and in some measure avenged the calamities of his country.<sup>123</sup>

But this exploit, whatever lustre it might shed on the declining age of Athens, served rather to irritate than to subdue the undaunted spirit of the northern invaders. A general conflagration blazed out at the same time in every district of Greece. Thebes and Argos, Corinth and Sparta, which had formerly waged such memorable wars against each other, were now unable to bring an army into the field, or even to defend their ruined fortifications. The rage of war, both by land and by sea, spread from the eastern point of Sunium to the western coast of Epirus. The Goths had already advanced within sight of Italy, when the approach of such imminent danger awakened the indolent Gallienus from his dream of pleasure. The emperor appeared in arms; and his presence seems to have checked the ardour, and to have divided the strength, of the enemy.

The first news and retreat. Naubolatus, a chief of the Heruli, accepted an honourable capitulation, entered with a large body of his countrymen into the service of Rome, and was invested with the ornaments of the consular dignity, which had never before been profaned by the hands of a barbarian.<sup>124</sup> Great numbers of the Goths, disgusted with the perils and hardships of a tedious voyage, broke into Mæsia, with a design of forcing their way over the Danube to their settlements in the Ukraine. The wild attempt would have proved inevitable destruction, if the discord of the Roman generals had not opened to the barbarians the means of an escape.<sup>125</sup> The small remainder of this destroying host returned on board their vessels; and measuring back their way through the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, ravaged in their passage the shores of Troy, whose fame, immortalised by Homer, will probably survive the memory of the Gothic conquests. As soon as they found themselves in safety within the basin of the Euxine, they landed at Anchialus in Thracia, near the foot of Mount Hæmus: and, after all their toils, indulged themselves in the use of those pleasant

and salutary hot baths. What remained of the voyage was a short and easy navigation.<sup>126</sup> Such was the various fate of this third and greatest of their naval enterprises. It may seem difficult to conceive, how the original body of fifteen thousand warriors could sustain the losses and divisions of so bold an adventure. But as their numbers were gradually wasted by the sword, by shipwrecks, and by the influence of a warm climate, they were perpetually renewed by troops of Landitti and deserters, who flocked to the standard of plunder, and by a crowd of fugitive slaves, often of German or Sarmatian extraction, who eagerly seized the glorious opportunity of freedom and revenge. In these expeditions, the Gothic nation claimed a superior share of honour and danger; but the tribes that fought under the Gothic banners are sometimes distinguished and sometimes confounded in the imperfect histories of that age; and as the barbarian fleets seemed to issue from the mouth of the Tanais, the vague but familiar appellation of Seythians was frequently bestowed on the mixed multitude.<sup>127</sup>

In the general calamities of mankind, the death of an individual, however exalted, the ruin of an edifice, however famous, are passed over with careless inattention. Yet we cannot forget that the temple of Diana at Ephesus, after having risen with increasing splendour from seven repeated misfortunes,<sup>128</sup> was finally burnt by the Goths in their third naval invasion. The arts of Greece, and the wealth of Asia, had conspired to erect that sacred and magnificent structure. It was supported by an hundred and twenty-seven marble columns of the Ionic order. They were the gifts of devout monarchs, and each was sixty feet high. The altar was adorned with the masterly sculptures of Praxiteles, who had, perhaps, selected from the favourite legends of the place the birth of the divine children of Latoria, the concealment of Apollo after the slaughter of the Cyclops, and the clemency of Bacchus to the vanquished Amazons.<sup>129</sup> Yet the length of the temple of Ephesus was only four hundred and twenty-five feet, about two-thirds of the measure of the church of St. Peter's at Rome.<sup>130</sup> In the other dimensions, it was still more inferior to that sublime production of modern architecture. The spreading arms of a Christian cross require a much greater breadth than the oblong temples of the Pagans; and the boldest artists of antiquity would have been startled at the proposal of raising in the air a dome of the size and proportions of the pantheon. The temple of Diana was, however, admired as one of the wonders of the world. Successive empires, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman, had revered its sanctity, and enriched its splendour.<sup>131</sup> But the rude savages of the

Ruin of the temple of Ephesus.

<sup>122</sup> Tim. Hist. Natur. lib. 7.

<sup>123</sup> Hist. August. p. 181. Victor. c. 73. Orosius, lib. 12. Zonaras, lib. 13. Symeonides, p. 782. It is not without some attention that we can explain and connect the different perfect hints. We can at least discover some traces of the exploits of Dexippus, in the relation of his own and his countrymen's exploits.

<sup>124</sup> See Claudius, p. 594. This body of Heruli was later a more faithful and furious.

<sup>125</sup> Claudius, who commanded on the Danube, thought with propriety and acted with spirit. His dialogue was given by Victor. Hist. August. p. 181.

<sup>126</sup> See Claudius, p. 594.

<sup>127</sup> See Claudius and the Greek writers. See also the Tim. Hist. lib. 7.

the name of Seythians to those whom Jornandes, and the Latin writers, call the most numerous of Goths.

<sup>128</sup> Hist. August. p. 178. Jornandes, c. 20.

<sup>129</sup> See lib. 1. c. 20. p. 6. Victor. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 181. Tim. Hist. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 181.

<sup>130</sup> The length of St. Peter's is 850 Roman palms, each palm a

foot, but not of the English and Irish. See Graves's Measure,

p. 10. p. 10. in the Roman measure.

<sup>131</sup> The temple was erected by the Romans, and used them in the

temple of the goddess Diana, which was the principal place of

the temple of the goddess Diana, which was the principal place of

Baltic were destitute of a taste for the elegant arts, and they despised the ideal terrors of a foreign superstition.<sup>132</sup>

Another circumstance is related of these invasions, which might deserve our notice, were it not justly to be suspected as the fanciful conceit of a recent sophist. We are told, that in the sack of Athens the Goths had collected all the libraries, and were on the point of setting fire to this funeral pile of Grecian learning, had not one of their chiefs, of more refined policy than his brethren, dissuaded them from the design; by the profound observation, that as long as the Greeks were addicted to the study of books, they would never apply themselves to the exercise of arms.<sup>133</sup> The sagacious counsellor (should the truth of the fact be admitted) reasoned like an ignorant barbarian. In the most polite and powerful nations, genius of every kind has displayed itself about the same period; and the age of science has generally been the age of military virtue and success.

IV. The new sovereigns of Persia, Artaxerxes and his son Sapor, had triumphed (as we have already seen) over the house of Arsaces. Of the many princes of that ancient race, Chosroes, king of Armenia, had alone preserved both his life and his independence. He defended himself by the natural strength of his country; by the perpetual resort of fugitives and malecontents; by the alliance of the Romans, and, above all, by his own courage. Invincible in arms, during a thirty years' war, he was at length assassinated by the emissaries of Sapor, king of Persia. The patriotic satraps of Armenia, who asserted the freedom and dignity of the crown, implored the protection of Rome in favour of Tiridates the lawful heir. But the son of Chosroes was an infant, the allies were at a distance, and the Persian monarch advanced towards the frontier at the head of an irresistible force. Young Tiridates, the future hope of his country, was saved by the fidelity of a servant, and Armenia continued above twenty-seven years a reluctant province of the great monarchy of Persia.<sup>134</sup> Elated with this easy conquest, and presuming on the distresses or the degeneracy of the Romans, Sapor obliged the strong garrisons of Carrhe and Nisibis to surrender, and spread devastation and terror on either side of the Euphrates.

The loss of an important frontier, the ruin of a faithful and natural ally, and the rapid success of Sapor's ambition, affected Rome with a deep sense of the insult as well as of the danger. Valerian flattered himself, that the vigilance of his lieutenants would sufficiently provide for the safety of the Rhine and of the Danube; but he resolved, notwithstanding his advanced age, to march in person to the defence of the Euphrates. During

his progress through Asia Minor, the naval enterprises of the Goths were suspended, and the afflicted province enjoyed a transient and fallacious calm. He passed the Euphrates, encountered the Persian monarch near the walls of Edessa, was vanquished, and taken prisoner by Sapor. The particulars of this great event are darkly and imperfectly represented; yet, by the glimmering light which is afforded us, we may discover a long series of imprudence, of error, and of deserved misfortunes on the side of the Roman emperor. He reposed an implicit confidence in Macrianus, his prætorian præfect.<sup>135</sup> That worthless minister rendered his master formidable only to the oppressed subjects, and contemptible to the enemies of Rome.<sup>136</sup> By his weak or wicked counsels, the Imperial army was betrayed into a situation, where valour and military skill were equally unavailing.<sup>137</sup> The vigorous attempt of the Romans to cut their way through the Persian host was repulsed with great slaughter;<sup>138</sup> and Sapor, who encompassed the camp with superior numbers, patiently waited till the increasing rage of famine and pestilence had ensured his victory. The licentious murmurs of the legions soon accused Valerian as the cause of their calamities; their seditious clamours demanded an instant capitulation. An immense sum of gold was offered to purchase the permission of a disgraceful retreat. But the Persian, conscious of his superiority, refused the money with disdain; and detaining the deputies, advanced in order of battle to the foot of the Roman rampart, and insisted on a personal conference with the emperor. Valerian was reduced to the necessity of intrusting his life and dignity to the faith of an enemy. The interview ended as it was natural to expect. The emperor was made a prisoner; and his astonished troops laid down their arms.<sup>139</sup> In such a moment of triumph, the pride and policy of Sapor prompted him to fill the vacant throne with a successor entirely dependent on his pleasure. Cyriades, an obscure fugitive of Antioch, stained with every vice, was chosen to dishonour the Roman purple; and the will of the Persian victor could not fail of being ratified by the acclamations, however reluctant, of the captive army.<sup>140</sup>

The imperial slave was eager to secure the favour of his master by an act of treason to his native country. He conducted Sapor over the Euphrates, and, by the way of Chalcis, to the metropolis of the east. So rapid were the motions of the Persian cavalry, that, if we may credit a very judicious historian,<sup>141</sup> the city of Antioch was surprised when the idle multitude was fondly gazing on the amusements of the theatre. The splendid buildings of Antioch, private as well as public, were either pillaged or destroyed; and the

Conduct of  
the Goths  
at Athens.

Is defeated  
and taken  
prisoner by  
Sapor king  
of Persia.  
A. D. 260.

Conquest of  
Armenia by  
the Persians.

Valerian  
driven into  
the East.

Sapor over-  
runs Syria,  
Cilicia, and  
Cappadocia.

<sup>132</sup> They offered no sacrifices to the Grecian gods. See Epistol. Gregor. I. i. i. p. 13.

<sup>133</sup> Zonaras, l. vi. p. 635. Such an anecdote was perfectly suited to the taste of Montaigne. He makes use of it in his agreeable Essay on Solitude, l. i. c. 24.

<sup>134</sup> Moses Chorenensis, l. i. c. 71, 72, 73. Zonaras, l. v. p. 638. The authentic relation of the Armenian history, in order to rectify the confused account of the Greeks. The latter talks of the children of Tiridates, who at that time was himself an infant.

<sup>135</sup> Hist. Aug. p. 191. As Macrianus was an enemy to the Christians, they charged him with being a magician.

<sup>136</sup> Zonaras, l. i. p. 55.

xii. p. 650. Peter Patricius.

of Cyriades appears in that

but I have preferred a pro-

of a most inaccurate

writer

<sup>141</sup> The sack of Antioch, and treated by some historians, is assigned to the decisive history of Ammianus Marcellinus, to the reign of Valerian, l. xii. c. 5.

numerous inhabitants were put to the sword, or led away into captivity.<sup>142</sup> The tide of devastation was stopped for a moment by the resolution of the high priest of Emesa. Arrayed in his sacerdotal robes, he appeared at the head of a great body of fanatic peasants, armed only with slings, and defended his god and his property from the sacrilegious hands of the followers of Zoroaster.<sup>143</sup> But the ruin of Tarsus, and of many other cities, furnishes a melancholy proof, that, except in this singular instance, the conquest of Syria and Cilicia scarcely interrupted the progress of the Persian arms. The advantages of the narrow passes of Mount Taurus were abandoned, in which an invader, whose principal force consisted in his cavalry, would have been engaged in a very unequal combat : and Sapor was permitted to form the siege of Cæsarea, the capital of Cappadocia ; a city, though of the second rank, which was supposed to contain four hundred thousand inhabitants. Demosthenes commanded in the place, not so much by the commission of the emperor, as in the voluntary defence of his country. For a long time he deferred its fate ; and, when at last Cæsarea was betrayed by the perfidy of a physician, he cut his way through the Persians, who had been ordered to exert their utmost diligence to take him alive. This heroic chief escaped the power of a foe, who might either have honoured or punished his obstinate valour ; but many thousands of his fellow-citizens were involved in a general massacre, and Sapor is accused of treating his prisoners with wanton and unrelenting cruelty.<sup>144</sup> Much should undoubtedly be allowed for national animosity, much for humbled pride and impotent revenge ; yet, upon the whole, it is certain, that the same prince, who, in Armenia, had displayed the mild aspect of a legislator, showed himself to the Romans under the stern features of a conqueror. He despaired of making any permanent establishment in the empire, and sought only to leave behind him a wasted desert, whilst he transported into Persia the people and the treasures of the provinces.<sup>145</sup>

At the time when the East trembled at the name of Sapor, he received a present not unworthy of the greatest kings ; a long train of camels laden with the most rare and valuable merchandises. The rich offering was accompanied with an epistle, respectful but not servile, from Odenathus, one of the noblest and most opulent senators of Palmyra. " Who is this Odenathus," said the haughty victor, and he commanded that the presents should be cast into the Euphrates ; " that he thus insolently presumes to write to his lord ? If he entertains a hope of mitigating his punishment, let him fall prostrate before the foot of our throne with his

" hands bound behind his back. Should he hesitate, swift destruction shall be poured on his head, on his whole race, and on his country."<sup>146</sup> The desperate extremity to which the Palmyrenian was reduced, called into action all the latent powers of his soul. He met Sapor ; but he met him in arms. Infusing his own spirit into a little army collected from the villages of Syria,<sup>147</sup> and the tents of the desert,<sup>148</sup> he hovered round the Persian host, harassed their retreat, carried off part of the treasure, and what was dearer than any treasure, several of the women of the Great King ; who was at last obliged to repass the Euphrates with some marks of haste and confusion.<sup>149</sup> By this exploit, Odenathus laid the foundations of his future fame and fortunes. The majesty of Rome, oppressed by a Persian, was protected by a Syrian or Arab of Palmyra.

The voice of history, which is <sup>Treatment of</sup> often little more than the organ of <sup>Valerian.</sup> hatred or flattery, reproaches Sapor with a proud abuse of the rights of conquest. We are told that Valerian, in chains, but invested with the Imperial purple, was exposed to the multitude, a constant spectacle of fallen greatness ; and that whenever the Persian monarch mounted on horseback, he placed his foot on the neck of a Roman emperor. Notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his allies, who repeatedly advised him to remember the vicissitude of fortune, to dread the returning power of Rome, and to make his illustrious captive the pledge of peace, not the object of insult, Sapor still remained inflexible. When Valerian sunk under the weight of shame and grief, his skin, stuffed with straw, and formed into the likeness of a human figure, was preserved for ages in the most celebrated temple of Persia ; a more real monument of triumph, than the fancied trophies of brass and marble so often erected by Roman vanity.<sup>150</sup> The tale is moral and pathetic, but the truth of it may very fairly be called in question. The letters still extant from the princes of the East to Sapor, are manifest forgeries ;<sup>151</sup> nor is it natural to suppose that a jealous monarch should, even in the person of a rival, thus publicly degrade the majesty of kings. Whatever treatment the unfortunate Valerian might experience in Persia, it is at least certain, that the only emperor of Rome who had ever fallen into the hands of the enemy, languished away his life in hopeless captivity.

The emperor Gallienus, who had long supported with impatience the censorial severity of his father and colleague, received the intelligence of his misfortunes with secret pleasure and avowed indifference. " I knew that my father was a mortal," said he ; " and since he has acted as becomes a brave man, I am satisfied." Whilst Rome

Character and administration of Gallienus.

<sup>142</sup> Zosimus, l. 1. p. 55.

<sup>143</sup> John Malacta, tom. i. p. 541. He corrupts this probable event to some fatal circumstance.

<sup>144</sup> Zosimus, l. 1. p. 100. Deep ravages were first made up with the sword. Groups of prisoners were driven to assist the labour, and many perished for want of food.

<sup>145</sup> Zosimus, l. 1. p. 105. asserts, that Sapor did not prefer the spoils to his captives, but reserved them as a reward of merit.

<sup>146</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 10. c. 20.

<sup>147</sup> See the account of the battle of Emesa, in the Hist. Eccl. l. 10. c. 20. R. Hist. Eccl. l. 10. c. 20. H. Hist. Eccl. l. 10. c. 20. Several manuscripts have the name of the Emperor in the margin.

<sup>148</sup> He possessed an powerful interest among the wandering tribes, the Persians, the Arabs, and the Indians.

<sup>149</sup> The Persian monarch, the Christian apostle, the misfortune of Valerian. The Romans, however, were not so much affected by the capture of the Emperor as the Persians were by the capture of the Emperor.

<sup>150</sup> The Emperor Gallienus, in the year 260, was captured by the Persians, and his skin, stuffed with straw, was preserved for ages in the most celebrated temple of Persia.

<sup>151</sup> The letters are manifest forgeries, and the only emperor of Rome who had ever fallen into the hands of the enemy, languished away his life in hopeless captivity.

lamented the fate of her sovereign, the savage coldness of his son was extolled by the servile courtiers, as the perfect firmness of a hero and a stoic.<sup>152</sup> It is difficult to paint the light, the various, the inconstant character of Gallienus, which he displayed without constraint, as soon as he became sole possessor of the empire. In every art that he attempted, his lively genius enabled him to succeed; and as his genius was destitute of judgment, he attempted every art, except the important ones of war and government. He was a master of several curious but useless sciences, a ready orator, and elegant poet,<sup>153</sup> a skilful gardener, an excellent cook, and most contemptible prince. When the great emergencies of the state required his presence and attention, he was engaged in conversation with the philosopher Plotinus,<sup>154</sup> wasting his time in trifling or licentious pleasures, preparing his initiation to the Grecian mysteries, or soliciting a place in the Areopagus of Athens. His profuse magnificence insulted the general poverty; the solemn ridicule of his triumphs impressed a deeper sense of the public disgrace.<sup>155</sup> The repeated intelligence of invasions, defeats, and rebellions, he received with a careless smile; and singling out, with affected contempt, some particular production of the lost province, he carelessly asked, whether Rome must be ruined, unless it was supplied with linen from Egypt, and Arras cloth from Gaul? There were, however, a few short moments in the life of Gallienus, when, exasperated by some recent injury, he suddenly appeared the intrepid soldier, and the cruel tyrant; till, satiated with blood, or fatigued by resistance, he insensibly sunk into the natural mildness and indolence of his character.<sup>156</sup>

The thirty tyrants.

At a time when the reins of government were held with so loose a hand, it is not surprising that a crowd of usurpers should start up in every province of the empire against the son of Valerian. It was probably some ingenious fancy, of comparing the thirty tyrants of Rome with the thirty tyrants of Athens, that induced the writers of the Augustan history to select that celebrated number, which has been gradually received into a popular appellation.<sup>157</sup> But in every light the parallel is idle and defective. What resemblance can we discover between a council of thirty persons, the united oppressors of a single city, and an uncertain list of independent rivals, who rose and fell in irregular succession through the extent of a vast empire? Nor can the number of thirty be completed, unless we include

in the account the women and children who were honoured with the Imperial title. The reign of Gallienus, distracted as it was, produced only nineteen pretenders to the throne; Cyriades, Macrianus, Balista, Odenathus, and Zenobia, in the east; in Gaul, and the western provinces, Posthumus, Lollianus, Victorinus and his mother Victoria, Marius, and Tetricus. In Illyricum and the confines of the Danube, Ingenuus, Regillianus, and Aureolus; in Pontus,<sup>158</sup> Saturninus; in Isauria, Trebellianus; Piso in Thessaly; Valens in Achaia; Æmilianus in Egypt; and Celsus in Africa. To illustrate the obscure monuments of the life and death of each individual, would prove a laborious task, alike barren of instruction and of amusement. We may content ourselves with investigating some general characters, that most strongly mark the condition of the times, and the manners of the men, their pretensions, their motives, their fate, and the destructive consequences of their usurpation.<sup>159</sup>

It is sufficiently known, that the odious appellation of *Tyrant* was often employed by the ancients to express the illegal seizure of supreme power, without any reference to the abuse of it. Several of the pretenders, who raised the standard of rebellion against the emperor Gallienus, were shining models of virtue, and almost all possessed a considerable share of vigour and ability. Their merit had recommended them to the favour of Valerian, and gradually promoted them to the most important commands of the empire. The generals, who assumed the title of Augustus, were either respected by their troops for their able conduct and severe discipline, or admired for valour and success in war, or beloved for frankness and generosity. The field of victory was often the scene of their election; and even the armourer Marius, the most contemptible of all the candidates for the purple, was distinguished however by intrepid courage, matchless strength, and blunt honesty.<sup>160</sup> His mean and recent trade east indeed an air of ridicule on his elevation; but his birth could not be more obscure than was that of the greater part of his rivals, who were born of peasants, and enlisted in the army as private soldiers. In times of confusion, every active genius finds the place assigned him by nature: in a general state of war, military merit is the road to glory and to greatness. Of the nineteen tyrants, Tetricus only was a senator; Piso alone was a noble. The blood of Numa, through twenty-eight successive generations, ran in the

Their real number was no more than nineteen.

Character and merit of the tyrants.

Their obscure birth.

<sup>152</sup> See his life in the Augustan History.

<sup>153</sup> There is still extant a very pretty Epithalamium, composed by Gallienus for the nuptials of his nephews.

Te aut, O Juvenes, pariter sultate medullis  
Omnia bis inter vos non in urbe ra vestra columbe  
Brachia non federe, non vincunt oscula Conche

<sup>154</sup> He was on the point of giving Plotin a ruined city of Campania to try the experiment of raising Pto's Republic. See the Life of Plotinus, by Porphyry, in Fabricius's Biblioth. Græc. l. iv.

<sup>155</sup> A medal which bears the head of Gallienus has perplexed the antiquaries by its legend and reverse, the former *Salvete Auguste*, the latter *Ubiq. Pax*. M. Spauheim supposes that the coin was struck by some of the enemies of Gallienus, and was designed as a severe satire on that effeminate prince. But as the use of money may seem unworthy of the gravity of the Roman mint, M. de la Monnoy has deduced from a passage of Trebellian Polio (Hist. Aug. l. p. 194) 11 ingenious and natural solution. Gallienus was first called to the empire. He detaching Africa from the emperor Celsus, he drew off the title of Augustus. On a medal in the French king's collection, we

read a similar inscription of *Faustina Augusta* round the head of Marcus Aurelius. With regard to the *Ubiq. Pax*, it is easily explained by the severity of Gallienus, who seized, perhaps, the occasion of some momentary calm. See *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, Janvier 1709, p. 21—54.

<sup>156</sup> This singular character has, I believe, been fully transmitted to us. The rest of his more dignified successor was short and ugly, and the historians who wrote before the elevation of the family of Constantine, could not have the most remote interest to misrepresent the character of Gallienus.

<sup>157</sup> Polio expresses the most minute anxiety to complete the number.

<sup>158</sup> The place of his reign is somewhat doubtful; but there was a tyrant in Pontus, and we are acquainted with the seat of all the others.

<sup>159</sup> Tillemont, tom. ii. p. 1163, reckons them somewhat differently.

<sup>160</sup> See the speech of Marius, in the Augustan History, p. 197. The accidental death of Marius was the only circumstance that could tempt Lollius to imitate Salust.

veins of Calphurnius Piso,<sup>161</sup> who, by female alliances, claimed a right of exhibiting, in his house, the images of Crassus and of the great Pompey.<sup>162</sup> His ancestors had been repeatedly dignified with all the honours which the commonwealth could bestow; and of all the ancient families of Rome, the Calphurnian alone had survived the tyranny of the Cæsars. The personal qualities of Piso added new lustre to his race. The usurper Valens, by whose order he was killed, confessed, with deep remorse, that even an enemy ought to have respected the sanctity of Piso; and although he died in arms against Gallienus, the senate, with the emperor's generous permission, decreed the triumphal ornaments to the memory of so virtuous a rebel.<sup>163</sup>

The causes of  
their rebellion,

The lieutenants of Valerian were grateful to the father, whom they esteemed. They disdained to serve the luxurious indolence of his unworthy son. The throne of the Roman world was unsupported by any principle of loyalty; and treason against such a prince might easily be considered as patriotism to the state. Yet if we examine with candour the conduct of these usurpers, it will appear, that they were much oftener driven into rebellion by their fears, than urged to it by their ambition. They dreaded the cruel suspicions of Gallienus; they equally dreaded the capricious violence of their troops. If the dangerous favour of the army had imprudently declared them deserving of the purple, they were marked for sure destruction; and even prudence would counsel them, to secure a short enjoyment of empire, and rather to try the fortune of war than to expect the hand of an executioner. When the clamour of the soldiers invested the reluctant victims with the emblems of sovereign authority, they sometimes mourned in secret their approaching fate. "You *" have lost,"* said Saturninus, on the day of his elevation, *" you have lost a useful commander, and you have made a very wretched emperor."*<sup>1154</sup>

**Their violent deaths**

Their violent deaths. The apprehensions of Saturninus were justified by the repeated experience of revolutions. Of the nineteen tyrants who started up under the reign of Gallienus, there was not one who enjoyed a life of peace, or a natural death. As soon as they were invested with the bloody purple, they inspired their adherents with the same fears and ambition which had occasioned their own revolt. Encompassed with domestic conspiracy, military sedition, and civil war, they trembled on the edge of precipices, in which, after a longer or shorter term of anxiety, they were inevitably lost. These precarious monarchs received, however, such honours, as the flattery of their respective armies and provinces could bestow but their claim, founded on rebellion, could never obtain the sanction of law or history. Italy, Rome, and

the senate, constantly adhered to the cause of Gallienus, and he alone was considered as the sovereign of the empire. That prince condescended, indeed, to acknowledge the victorious arms of Odenathus, who deserved the honourable distinction by the respectful conduct which he always maintained towards the son of Valerian. With the general applause of the Romans, and the consent of Gallienus, the senate conferred the title of Augustus on the brave Palmyrenian; and seemed to intrust him with the government of the East, which he already possessed, in so independent a manner, that, like a private succession, he bequeathed it to his illustrious widow Zenobia.<sup>[15]</sup>

The rapid and perpetual transitions from the cottage to the throne, and from the throne to the grave, might have amused an indifferent philosopher; were it possible for a philosopher to remain indifferent amidst the general calamities of human kind. The election of these precarious emperors, their power and their death, were equally destructive to their subjects and adherents. The price of their fatal elevation was instantly discharged to the troops by an immense donative, drawn from the bowels of the exhausted people. However virtuous was their character, however pure their intentions, they found themselves reduced to the hard necessity of supporting their usurpation by frequent acts of rapine and cruelty. When they fell, they involved armies and provinces in their fall. There is still extant a most savage mandate from Gallienus to one of his ministers, after the suppression of Ingenuus, who had assumed the purple in Illyricum. "It is not enough," says that soft but inhuman prince, "that you exterminate such as have appeared in arms; the chance of battle might have served me as effectually. The male sex of every age must be extirpated; provided that, in the execution of the children and old men, you can contrive means to save our reputation. Let every one die who has dropt an expression, who has entertained a thought against me, against me, the son of Valerian, the father and brother of so many princes!"<sup>166</sup> Remember that Ingenuus was made emperor: tear, kill, hew in pieces. I write to you with my own hand, and would inspire you with my own feelings."<sup>167</sup> Whilst the public forces of the state were dissipated in private quarrels, the defenceless provinces lay exposed to every invader. The bravest usurpers were compelled, by the perplexity of their situation, to conclude ignominious treaties with the common enemy, to purchase with oppressive tributes the neutrality or services of the barbarians, and to introduce hostile and independent nations into the heart of the Roman monarchy.<sup>168</sup>

Such were the barbarians, and such the

161. Vos, O Pomphilius sanguis, is Horace's address to the Flies. See Art. Poetry, 202, with Bannister and Nares's notes.

192. The Act Annii xv is Hist. i. 1. In the former of these passages we may venture to change *pater* into *matr*. In the latter, however, from Augustus to Alex. under Severus, or even Pius, appear as consuls. A *fil* was created a *pater* of the throne by Augustus (Hist. Annii i. 1). A second adopted a *fil* in the manner against Nero, and a third was adopted, and declared Caesar by Galba.

10 Hist. August. p. 164. The senate, in a moment of enthusiasm, seems to have pronounced on the approbation of Gallienus.

155 The association of the brave Palmyestien was the most popular  
and he was a group of citizens. His name is 180.

[illegible]

1. The first is the *Minneapolis Tribune*, from which p. 202:  
 17th Nov. 1918.  
 The President had received a report from his service. Post-

tyrants, who, under the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, dismembered the provinces, and reduced the empire to the lowest pitch of disgrace and ruin, from whence it seemed impossible that it should ever emerge. As far as the barrenness of materials would permit, we have attempted to trace, with order and perspicuity, the general events of that calamitous period. There still remain some particular facts; I. The disorders of Sicily; II. The tumults of Alexandria; and, III. The rebellion of the Isaurians, which may serve to reflect a strong light on the horrid picture.

<sup>Disorders of Sicily.</sup> I. Whenever numerous troops of banditti, multiplied by success and impunity, publicly defy, instead of eluding the justice of their country, we may safely infer, that the excessive weakness of the government is felt and abused by the lowest ranks of the community. The situation of Sicily preserved it from the barbarians; nor could the disarmed province have supported an usurper. The sufferings of that once flourishing and still fertile island, were inflicted by baser hands. A licentious crowd of slaves and peasants reigned for a while over the plundered country, and renewed the memory of the servile wars of more ancient times.<sup>163</sup> Devastations, of which the husbandman was either the victim or the accomplice, must have ruined the agriculture of Sicily; and as the principal estates were the property of the opulent senators of Rome, who often enclosed within a farm the territory of an old republic, it is not improbable, that this private injury might affect the capital more deeply than all the conquests of the Goths or the Persians.

<sup>Tumults of Alexandria.</sup> II. The foundation of Alexandria was a noble design, at once conceived and executed by the son of Philip. The beautiful and regular form of that great city, second only to Rome itself, comprehended a circumference of fifteen miles;<sup>164</sup> it was peopled by three hundred thousand free inhabitants, besides at least an equal number of slaves.<sup>165</sup> The lucrative trade of Arabia and India flowed through the port of Alexandria to the capital and provinces of the empire. Idleness was unknown. Some were employed in blowing of glass, others in weaving of linen, others again manufacturing the papyrus. Either sex, and every age, was engaged in the pursuits of industry, nor did even the blind or the lame want occupations suited to their condition.<sup>166</sup> But the people of Alexandria, a various mixture of nations, united the vanity and inconstancy of the Greeks with the superstition and obstinacy of the Egyptians. The most trifling occasion, a transient scarcity of flesh or lentils, the neglect of an accustomed salutation, a mistake of precedence in the public baths, or even a religious dispute,<sup>167</sup> were at any time sufficient to kindle

a sedition among that vast multitude, whose resentments were furious and implacable.<sup>174</sup> After the captivity of Valerian and the insolence of his son had relaxed the authority of the laws, the Alexandrians abandoned themselves to the ungoverned rage of their passions, and their unhappy country was the theatre of a civil war, which continued (with a few short and suspicious truces) above twelve years.<sup>175</sup> All intercourse was cut off between the several quarters of the afflicted city, every street was polluted with blood, every building of strength converted into a citadel; nor did the tumults subside, till a considerable part of Alexandria was irretrievably ruined. The spacious and magnificent district of Bruchion, with its palaces and museum, the residence of the kings and philosophers of Egypt, is described, above a century afterwards, as already reduced to its present state of dreary solitude.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>Rebellion of the Isaurians.</sup> III. The obscure rebellion of Trebellianus, who assumed the purple in Isauria, a petty province of Asia Minor, was attended with strange and memorable consequences. The pageant of royalty was soon destroyed by an officer of Gallienus; but his followers, despairing of mercy, resolved to shake off their allegiance, not only to the emperor, but to the empire, and suddenly returned to the savage manners, from which they had never perfectly been reclaimed. Their craggy rocks, a branch of the wide extended Taurus, protected their inaccessible retreat. The tillage of some fertile vallies<sup>177</sup> supplied them with necessaries, and a habit of rapine with the luxuries of life. In the heart of the Roman monarchy, the Isaurians long continued a nation of wild barbarians. Succeeding princes, unable to reduce them to obedience, either by arms or policy, were compelled to acknowledge their weakness, by surrounding the hostile and independent spot, with a strong chain of fortifications,<sup>178</sup> which often proved insufficient to restrain the incursions of these domestic foes. The Isaurians, gradually extending their territory to the sea-coast, subdued the western and mountainous part of Cilicia, formerly the nest of those daring pirates, against whom the republic had once been obliged to exert its utmost force, under the conduct of the great Pompey.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>Famine and pestilence.</sup> Our habits of thinking so fondly connect the order of the universe with the fate of man, that this gloomy period of history has been decorated with inundations, earthquakes, uncommon meteors, preternatural darkness, and a crowd of prodigies fictitious or exaggerated.<sup>180</sup> But a long and general famine was a calamity of a more serious kind. It was the inevitable consequence of rapine and oppression, which extirpated the produce of the present, and the hope of future harvests. Famine is almost always followed by epidemical diseases,

<sup>163</sup> The Augustan History, p. 177, calls it *terrible bellum*. See Dodor. Scul. l. xviii.

<sup>164</sup> Plin. H. N. vi. c. 10.

<sup>165</sup> Dodor. Scul. l. vi. p. 590. Edit. Wees Lang.

<sup>166</sup> See a curious letter of Hadrian, in the Augustan History, p. 21.

<sup>167</sup> Such as the sacrilegious murder of a divine cat. See Plin. H. N. l. vi.

<sup>168</sup> Hist. August. p. 195. The long and terrible sedition was first excited by a dispute between a soldier and a townsman in about a year

<sup>174</sup> Dionysius apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vii. p. 21. Ammian. xxi. 16.

<sup>175</sup> Scaliger. Annadrev. ad Euseb. Chron. p. 258. Three dissertations of M. Bonamy, in the Mem. de l'Academie, tom. ix.

<sup>176</sup> Strabo, l. xxi. p. 569.

<sup>177</sup> Hist. August. p. 197.

<sup>178</sup> See Cellarius, Geogr. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 157. upon the limits of

<sup>179</sup> Hist.

<sup>180</sup> Hist. August. p. 177.

the effect of scanty and unwholesome food. Other causes must, however, have contributed to the furious plague, which, from the year two hundred and fifty to the year two hundred and sixty-five, raged without interruption in every province, every city, and almost every family, of the Roman empire. During some time five thousand persons died daily in Rome; and many towns, that had escaped the hands of the barbarians, were entirely depopulated.<sup>181</sup>

We have the knowledge of a very curious circumstance, of some use perhaps in the melancholy calculation of human calamities. An exact register was kept at Alexandria of all the citizens entitled to receive the distribution of corn. It was found, that the ancient number of those comprised between the ages of forty and seventy, had been equal to the whole sum of claimants, from fourteen to four-score years of age, who remained alive after the reign of Gallienus.<sup>182</sup> Applying this authentic fact to the most correct tables of mortality, it evidently proves, that above half the people of Alexandria had perished; and could we venture to extend the analogy to the other provinces, we might suspect, that war, pestilence, and famine, had consumed, in a few years, the moiety of the human species.<sup>183</sup>

CHAP. XI.

*Reign of Claudius. — Defeat of the Goths. — Victories, Triumph, and Death of Aurelian.*

UNDER the deplorable reigns of Valerian and Gallienus, the empire was oppressed and almost destroyed by the soldiers, the tyrants, and the barbarians. It was saved by a series of great princes, who derived their ob-scure origin from the martial provinces of Illyricum. Within a period of about thirty years, Claudius, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian and his colleagues, triumphed over the foreign and domestic enemies of the state, re-established, with the military discipline, the strength of the frontiers, and deserved the glorious title of Restorers of the Roman world.

The removal of an effeminate tyrant made way for a succession of heroes. The indignation of the people imputed all their calamities to Gallienus, and the far greater part were, indeed, the consequence of his dissolute manners and careless administration. He was even destitute of a sense of honour, which so frequently supplies the absence of public virtue: and as long as he was permitted to enjoy the possession of Italy, a victory of the barbarians, the loss of a province, or the rebellion of a general, seldom disturbed the tranquil course of his pleasures. At length, a

A D 25. considerable army, stationed on the Upper Danube, invested with the Imperial purple their leader Anicobus; who

disdaining a confined and barren reign over the mountains of Rhetia, passed the Alps, occupied Milan, threatened Rome, and challenged Gallienus to dispute in the field the sovereignty of Italy. The emperor, provoked by the insult, and alarmed by the instant danger, suddenly exerted that latent vigour which sometimes broke through the indolence of his temper. Forcing himself from the luxury of the palace, he appeared in arms at the head of his legions, and advanced beyond the Po to encounter his competitor. The corrupted name of Pontirolo still preserves the memory of a bridge over the Adda, which, during the action, must have proved an object of the utmost importance to both armies. The Rhetian usurper, after receiving a total defeat and a dangerous wound, retired into Milan. The siege of that great city was immediately formed; the walls were battered with every engine in use among the ancients; and Aureolus, doubtful of his internal strength, and hopeless of foreign succours, already anticipated the fatal consequences of unsuccessful rebellion.

His last resource was an attempt to seduce the loyalty of the besiegers. He scattered libels through their camp, inviting the troops to desert an unworthy master, who sacrificed the public happiness to his luxury, and the lives of his most valuable subjects to the slightest suspicions. The arts of Aureolus diffused fears and discontent among the principal officers of his rival. A conspiracy was formed by Hærculianus the prætorian præfect, by Marcian, a general of rank and reputation, and by Cæropus, who commanded a numerous body of Dalmatian guards. The death of Gallienus was resolved ; and notwithstanding their desire of first terminating the siege of Milan, the extreme danger which accompanied every moment's delay obliged them to hasten the execution of their daring purpose. At a late hour of the night, but while the emperor still protracted the pleasures of the table, an alarm was suddenly given, that Aureolus, at the head of all his forces, had made a desperate sally from the town ; Gallienus, who was never deficient in personal bravery, started from his silken couch, and without allowing himself time either to put on his armour, or to assemble his guards, he mounted on horseback, and rode full speed towards the supposed place of the attack. Encompassed by his declared or concealed enemies, he soon, amidst the nocturnal tumult, received a mortal dart from an uncertain hand. Before he expired, a patriotic sentiment rising in the mind of Gallienus, induced him to name a deserving successor, and it was his last request, that the Imperial ornaments should be delivered to Claudius, who then commanded a detached army in the neighbourhood of Pavia. The report at least was diligently propagated, and the order cheerfully obeyed by the con-

A D 268.  
March 21st  
Death of Gal-  
lienus.

[illegible]

15.  $\int_0^1 \int_0^1 \int_0^1 \frac{1}{1+x+y+z} dx dy dz$  The + etc. taken from the Integral of the integrand, which in the limit of these from 0 to 1, will give

185 In a great number of parishes 11,000 persons were added between

from 1815 to 1875 between firs and seventy. See Baffin, *U.S. Nat. Mus. Bull.* 1875, p. 240.

1.  $P$  is a  $\mathbb{Z}$ -module,  $P \otimes_{\mathbb{Z}} \mathbb{Z}/p\mathbb{Z} \cong P/pP$ , and  $P/pP$  is a free  $\mathbb{Z}/p\mathbb{Z}$ -module of rank  $n$ .

At 3 miles over the lake, the water is 100 ft. deep. Near the shore, a

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

1. The first idea is that the ground is the base of the tree or de  
1. The second idea is that the ground is the base of the tree or de



spirators, who had already agreed to place Claudius on the throne. On the first news of the emperor's death, the troops expressed some suspicion and resentment, till the one was removed, and the other assuaged, by a donative of twenty pieces of gold to each soldier. They then ratified the election, and acknowledged the merit of their new sovereign.<sup>2</sup>

Character and  
elevation of  
the Emperor  
Claudius.

The obscurity which covered the origin of Claudius, though it was afterward embellished by some flattering fictions,<sup>3</sup> sufficiently betrays the meanness of his birth. We can only discover that he was a native of one of the provinces bordering on the Danube; that his youth was spent in arms, and that his modest valour attracted the favour and confidence of Decius. The senate and people already considered him as an excellent officer, equal to the most important trusts; and censured the inattention of Valerian, who suffered him to remain in the subordinate station of a tribune. But it was not long before that emperor distinguished the merit of Claudius, by declaring him general and chief of the Illyrian frontier, with the command of all the troops in Thrace, Mœsia, Dacia, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, the appointments of the præfect of Egypt, the establishment of the pro-consul of Africa, and the sure prospect of the consulship. By his victories over the Goths, he deserved from the senate the honour of a statue, and excited the jealous apprehensions of Gallienus. It was impossible that a soldier could esteem so dissolute a sovereign, nor is it easy to conceal a just contempt. Some unguarded expressions which dropt from Claudius, were officially transmitted to the royal ear. The emperor's answer to an officer of confidence, describes in very lively colours his own character and that of the times. "There is not any thing capable of giving me more serious concern, than the intelligence contained in your last despatch;<sup>4</sup> that some malicious suggestions have indisposed towards us the mind of our friend and parent Claudius. As you regard your allegiance, use every means to appease his resentment, but conduct your negotiation with secrecy; let it not reach the knowledge of the Dacian troops: they are already provoked, and it might inflame their fury. I myself have sent him some presents: be it your care that he accept them with pleasure. Above all, let him not suspect that I am made acquainted with his imprudence. The fear of my anger might urge him to desperate counsels."<sup>5</sup> The presents which accompanied this humble epistle, in which the monarch solicited a reconciliation with his discontented subject, consisted of a considerable sum of money, a splendid wardrobe, and

a valuable service of silver and gold plate. By such arts Gallienus softened the indignation and dispelled the fears of his Illyrian general; and, during the remainder of that reign, the formidable sword of Claudius was always drawn in the cause of a master whom he despised. At last, indeed, he received from the conspirators the bloody purple of Gallienus: but he had been absent from their camp and counsels; and however he might applaud the deed, we may candidly presume that he was innocent of the knowledge of it.<sup>6</sup> When Claudius ascended the throne he was about fifty-four years of age.

The siege of Milan was still continued, and Aureolus soon discovered that the success of his artifices had only raised up a more determined adversary. He attempted to negotiate with Claudius a treaty of alliance and partition. "Tell him," replied the intrepid emperor, "that such proposals should have been made to Gallienus; he, perhaps, might have listened to them with patience, and accepted a league as despicable as himself."<sup>7</sup> This stern refusal, and a last unsuccessful effort, obliged Aureolus to yield the city and himself to the discretion of the conqueror. The judgment of the army pronounced him worthy of death, and Claudius, after a feeble resistance, consented to the execution of the sentence. Nor was the zeal of the senate less ardent in the cause of their new sovereign. They ratified, perhaps with a sincere transport of zeal, the election of Claudius; and as his predecessor had shown himself the personal enemy of their order, they exercised, under the name of justice, a severe revenge against his friends and family. The senate was permitted to discharge the ungrateful office of punishment, and the emperor reserved for himself the pleasure and merit of obtaining by his intercession a general act of indemnity.<sup>8</sup>

Death of  
Aureolus.

Such ostentatious clemency discovers less of the real character of Claudius, than a trifling circumstance in which he seems to have consulted only the dictates of his heart. The frequent rebellions of the provinces had involved almost every person in the guilt of treason, almost every estate in the case of confiscation; and Gallienus often displayed his liberality by distributing among his officers the property of his subjects. On the accession of Claudius, an old woman threw herself at his feet, and complained that a general of the late emperor had obtained an arbitrary grant of her patrimony. This general was Claudius himself, who had not entirely escaped the contagion of the times. The emperor blushed at the reproach, but deserved the confidence which she had reposed in his equity. The confession of his fault was accompanied with immediate and ample restitution.<sup>9</sup>

Clemency  
and justice of  
Claudius.

<sup>2</sup> On the death of Gallienus, see Trebellius Pollio in Hist. August. p. 181. Zosimus, l. i. p. 77. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 674. Eusebius, ix. 11. Aurelius Victor in Epitom. Victor in 6<sup>th</sup> ear. I have compared all, but find them all, but have chiefly followed Aurelius Victor, who seems to have had the best access to the original.

<sup>3</sup> Some

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despatch which the emperor  
dispersed through the pro-

<sup>5</sup> Hist. August. p. 208. Gallienus describes the plate, vestments, &c. like a man who loved and understood those splendid trifles.

<sup>6</sup> Julian (Orat. i. p. 6) affirms that Claudius acquired the empire in a just and even holy manner. But we may distrust the partiality of a kinsman.

<sup>7</sup> Hist. August. p. 205. There are some trifling differences concerning the circumstances of the last defeat and death of Aureolus.

<sup>8</sup> Aurelius Victor in Gallien. The people loudly pressed for the termination of Gallienus. The senate decreed that his relations and servants should be thrown down headlong from the Germanian street. An obnoxious officer of the revenue had his eyes torn out whilst under examination.

<sup>9</sup> Zonaras, l. xii. p. 137.

He undertakes  
the reformation  
of the army.

In the arduous task which Claudius had undertaken, of restoring the empire to its ancient splendour, it was first necessary to revive among his troops a sense of order and obedience. With the authority of a veteran commander, he represented to them, that the relaxation of discipline had introduced a long train of disorders, the effects of which were at length experienced by the soldiers themselves; that a people ruined by oppression, and indolent from despair, could no longer supply a numerous army with the means of luxury, or even of subsistence; that the danger of each individual had increased with the despotism of the military order, since princes who tremble on the throne will guard their safety by the instant sacrifice of every obnoxious subject. The emperor expatiated on the mischiefs of a lawless caprice which the soldiers could only gratify at the expense of their own blood; as their seditious elections had so frequently been followed by civil wars, which consumed the flower of the legions either in the field of battle or in the cruel abuse of victory. He painted in the most lively colours the exhausted state of the treasury, the desolation of the provinces, the disgrace of the Roman name, and the insolent triumph of rapacious barbarians. It was against those barbarians, he declared, that he intended to point the first effort of their arms. Tetricus might reign for a while over the West, and even Zenobia might preserve the dominion of the East.<sup>10</sup> These usurpers were his personal adversaries; nor could he think of indulging any private resentment till he had saved an empire, whose impending ruin would, unless it was timely prevented, crush both the army and the people.

A. D. 69 The  
Goths invade  
the empire.

The various nations of Germany and Sarmatia, who fought under the Gothic standard, had already collected an armament more formidable than any which had yet issued from the Euxine. On the banks of the Niester, one of the great rivers that discharge themselves into that sea, they constructed a fleet of two thousand, or even of six thousand vessels;<sup>11</sup> numbers which, however incredible they may seem, would have been insufficient to transport their pretended army of three hundred and twenty thousand barbarians. Whatever might be the real strength of the Goths, the vigour and success of the expedition were not adequate to the greatness of the preparations. In their passage through the Bosphorus, the unskilful pilots were overpowered by the violence of the current; and while the multitude of their ships were crowded in a narrow channel, many were dashed against each other, or against the shore. The barbarians made several descents on the coasts both of Europe and Asia; but the open country was already plundered, and they were repulsed with shame and loss from the fortified cities which they assaulted. A spirit of discouragement and division arose in the fleet, and some of their chiefs sailed away towards the islands of Crete and Cyprus; but the main body, pursuing

a more steady course, anchored at length near the foot of Mount Athos, and assaulted the city of Thessalonica, the wealthy capital of all the Macedonian provinces. Their attacks, in which they displayed a fierce but artless bravery, were soon interrupted by the rapid approach of Claudius, hastening to a scene of action that deserved the presence of a warlike prince at the head of the remaining powers of the empire. Impatient for battle, the Goths immediately broke up their camp, relinquished the siege of Thessalonica, left their navy at the foot of Mount Athos, traversed the hills of Macedonia, and pressed forwards to engage the last defence of Italy.

We still possess an original letter addressed by Claudius to the senate and people on this memorable occasion.

Distress and  
firmness of  
Claudius.

"Conscript fathers," says the emperor, "know that three hundred and twenty thousand Goths have invaded the Roman territory. If I vanquish them, your gratitude will reward my services. Should I fall, remember that I am the successor of Gallienus. The whole republic is fatigued and exhausted. We shall fight after Valerian, after Ingenuus, Regillianus, Lollianus, Posthumus, Celsus, and a thousand others, whom a just contempt for Gallienus provoked into rebellion. We are in want of darts, of spears, and of shields. The strength of the empire, Gaul, and Spain, are usurped by Tetricus, and we blush to acknowledge that the archers of the East serve under the banners of Zenobia. Whatever we shall perform, will be sufficiently great."<sup>12</sup> The melancholy firmness of this epistle announces a hero careless of his fate, conscious of his danger, but still deriving a well-grounded hope from the resources of his own mind.

The event surpassed his own expectations and those of the world.

His victory over  
the Goths.

By the most signal victories he delivered the empire from this host of barbarians, and was distinguished by posterity under the glorious appellation of the Gothic Claudius. The imperfect historians of an irregular war<sup>13</sup> do not enable us to describe the order and circumstances of his exploits; but, if we could be indulged in the allusion, we might distribute into three acts this memorable tragedy. I. The decisive battle was fought near Naisus, a city of Dardania. The legions at first gave way, oppressed by numbers, and dismayed by misfortunes. Their ruin was inevitable, had not the abilities of their emperor prepared a seasonable relief. A large detachment rising out of the secret and difficult passes of the mountains, which, by his order, they had occupied, suddenly assailed the rear of the victorious Goths. The favourable instant was improved by the activity of Claudius. He revived the courage of his troops, restored their ranks, and pressed the barbarians on every side. Fifty thousand men are reported to have been slain in the battle of Naisus. Several large bodies of barbarians, covering their retreat with a movable fortification of wagons, retired, or

<sup>10</sup> Zonaras on the accession of our Posthumus; but the real cause of the war is Augustus 295; prove that the Goths were a body of emigrants from the north of Europe.

<sup>11</sup> The number of the fleet is not mentioned by Zonaras; but it is probable that the number of the fleet was considerable.

<sup>12</sup> The letter is preserved in the Hist. August. p. 7. The letter is preserved in the Hist. August. p. 7. The letter is preserved in the Hist. August. p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> The imperfect historians of an irregular war.

rather escaped, from the field of slaughter. II. We may presume that some insurmountable difficulty, the fatigue, perhaps, or the disobedience of the conquerors, prevented Claudius from completing in one day the destruction of the Goths. The war was diffused over the provinces of Mæsia, Thrace, and Macedonia, and its operations drawn out into a variety of marches, surprises, and tumultuary engagements, as well by sea as by land. When the Romans suffered any loss, it was commonly occasioned by their own cowardice or rashness; but the superior talents of the emperor, his perfect knowledge of the country, and his judicious choice of measures as well as officers, assured, on most occasions, the success of his arms. The immense booty, the fruit of so many victories, consisted for the greater part of cattle and slaves. A select body of the Gothic youth was received among the Imperial troops; the remainder was sold into servitude; and so considerable was the number of female captives, that every soldier obtained to his share two or three women. A circumstance from which we may conclude, that the invaders entertained some designs of settlement as well as of plunder; since even in a naval expedition they were accompanied by their families. III. The loss of their fleet, which was either taken or sunk, had intercepted the retreat of the Goths. A vast circle of Roman posts, distributed with skill, supported with firmness, and gradually closing towards a common centre, forced the barbarians into the most inaccessible parts of Mount Hæmus, where they found a safe refuge, but a very scanty subsistence. During the course of a rigorous winter, in which they were besieged by the emperor's troops, famine and pestilence, desertion and the sword, continually diminished the imprisoned multitude. On the return of spring, nothing appeared in arms except a hardy and desperate band, the remnant of that mighty host which had embarked at the mouth of the Niester.

A. D. 270.

March. Death of the emperor, who recommends Aurelian for his successor.

such numbers of the barbarians at length proved fatal to their conqueror. After a short but glorious reign of two years, Claudius expired at Sirmium, amidst the tears and acclamations of his subjects. In his last illness, he convened the principal officers of the state and army, and in their presence recommended Aurelian, one of his generals, as the most deserving of the throne, and the best qualified to execute the great design which he himself had been permitted only to undertake. The virtues of Claudius, his valour, affability,<sup>13</sup> justice, and temperance, his love of fame and of his country, place him in that short list of emperors who added lustre to the Roman purple. Those virtues, however, were celebrated with peculiar zeal and complacency by the courtly writers of the age of Constantine, who was the great grand-

son of Crispus, the elder brother of Claudius. The voice of flattery was soon taught to repeat, that the gods, who so hastily had snatched Claudius from the earth, rewarded his merit and piety by the perpetual establishment of the empire in his family.<sup>15</sup>

Notwithstanding these oracles, the greatness of the Flavian family (a name which it had pleased them to assume) was deferred above twenty years, and the elevation of Claudius occasioned the immediate ruin of his brother Quintilius, who possessed not sufficient moderation or courage to descend into the private station to which the patriotism of the late emperor had condemned him. Without delay or reflection, he assumed the purple at Aquileia, where he commanded a considerable force; and though his reign lasted only seventeen days, he had time to obtain the sanction of the senate, and to experience a mutiny of the troops. As soon as he was informed that the great army of the Danube had invested the well-known valour of Aurelian with Imperial power, he sunk under the fame and merit of his rival; and ordering his veins to be opened, prudently withdrew himself from the unequal contest.<sup>16</sup>

April.

The general design of this work will not permit us minutely to relate the actions of every emperor after he ascended the throne, much less to deduce the various fortunes of his private life. We shall only observe, that the father of Aurelian was a peasant of the territory of Sirmium, who occupied a small farm the property of Aurelius, a rich senator. His warlike son enlisted in the troops as a common soldier, successively rose to the rank of a centurion, a tribune, the præfect of a legion, the inspector of the camp, the general, or, as it was then called, the duke, of a frontier; and at length, during the Gothic war, exercised the important office of commander in chief of the cavalry. In every station he distinguished himself by matchless valour,<sup>17</sup> rigid discipline, and successful conduct. He was invested with the consulship by the emperor Valerian, who styles him, in the pompous language of that age, the deliverer of Illyricum, the restorer of Gaul, and the rival of the Scipios. At the recommendation of Valerian, a senator of the highest rank and merit, Ulpius Crinitus, whose blood was derived from the same source as that of Trajan, adopted the Pannonian peasant, gave him his daughter in marriage, and relieved with his ample fortune the honourable poverty which Aurelian had preserved inviolate.<sup>18</sup>

The reign of Aurelian lasted only four years and about nine months; but every instant of that short period was filled by some memorable achievement. He put an end to the Gothic war, chastised the Germans who invaded Italy, recovered Gaul, Spain, and

The attempt and fall of Quintilius.

Origin and services of Aurelian.

Aurelian's successful reign.

u. before his death, Iact is rather common.

orations of Mæm-

o. a. s. of d. 100.

P. 513. In Julian it was not adoration, but superstition and ceremony. 16 Zosimus, l. i. p. 42. P. 510 (Hist. August. p. 207) attributes to virtue, and says, that, like Pertinax, he was killed by the ambitious soldiers. According to Dexippus, he died of a disease.

17 Theodorus (as quoted in the Augustin History, p. 211.) affirms, that in one day he killed with his own hand forty-eight savannas, and in the same day he killed with his own hand forty-eight savannas. The rest of the text is in the original.

ceremony of presence of



semblance of the name of *Gæta*, infused among the credulous Goths a vain persuasion, that, in a remote age, their own ancestors, already seated in the Dacian provinces, had received the instructions of *Zamolxis*, and checked the victorious arms of *Sesostris* and *Darius*.<sup>24</sup>

The Alemanni war. While the vigorous and moderate conduct of *Aurelian* restored the Illyrian frontier, the nation of the *Alemanni*<sup>25</sup> violated the conditions of peace, which either *Gallienus* had purchased, or *Claudius* had imposed, and, inflamed by their impatient youth, suddenly flew to arms. Forty thousand horse appeared in the field,<sup>26</sup> and the numbers of the infantry doubled those of the cavalry.<sup>27</sup> The first objects of their avarice were a few cities of the Rhetian frontier; but their hopes soon rising with success, the rapid march of the *Alemanni* traced a line of devastation from the Danube to the Po.<sup>28</sup>

A. D. 270. The emperor was almost at the same time informed of the irruption, and of the retreat of the barbarians. Collecting an active body of troops, he marched with silence and celerity along the skirts of the Hercynian forest: and the *Alemanni*, laden with the spoils of Italy, arrived at the Danube, without suspecting that on the opposite bank, and in an advantageous post, a Roman army lay concealed and prepared to intercept their return. *Aurelian* indulged the fatal security of the barbarians, and permitted about half their forces to pass the river without disturbance and without precaution. Their situation and astonishment gave him an easy victory; his skilful conduct improved the advantage. Disposing the legions in a semicircular form, he advanced the two horns of the crescent across the Danube, and wheeling them on a sudden towards the centre, enclosed the rear of the German host. The dismayed barbarians, on whatsoever side they cast their eyes, beheld with despair, a wasted country, a deep and rapid stream, a victorious and implacable enemy.

Reduced to this distressed condition, the *Alemanni* no longer disdained to sue for peace. *Aurelian* received their ambassadors at the head of his camp, and with every circumstance of martial pomp that could display the greatness and discipline of Rome. The legions stood to their arms in well ordered ranks and awful silence. The principal commanders, distinguished by the ensigns of their rank, appeared on horseback on either side of the Imperial throne. Behind the throne, the consecrated images of the emperor, and his predecessors,<sup>29</sup> the golden eagles, and the various titles of the legions, engraved in letters of gold, were exalted in the air on lofty pikes covered with silver. When *Aurelian* assumed his seat, his manly grace and majestic figure<sup>30</sup> taught the barbarians to revere

the person as well as the purple of their conqueror. The ambassadors fell prostrate on the ground in silence. They were commanded to rise, and permitted to speak. By the assistance of interpreters they extenuated their perfidy, magnified their exploits, expatiated on the vicissitudes of fortune and the advantages of peace, and, with an ill-timed confidence, demanded a large subsidy, as the price of the alliance which they offered to the Romans. The answer of the emperor was stern and imperious. He treated their offer with contempt, and their demand with indignation, reproached the barbarians, that they were as ignorant of the arts of war as of the laws of peace, and finally dismissed them with the choice only of submitting to his unconditioned mercy, or awaiting the utmost severity of his resentment.<sup>31</sup> *Aurelian* had resigned a distant province to the Goths; but it was dangerous to trust or to pardon these perfidious barbarians, whose formidable power kept Italy itself in perpetual alarms.

Immediately after this conference, The Alemanni invade Italy, emergency required the emperor's presence in Pannonia. He devolved on his lieutenants the care of finishing the destruction of the *Alemanni*, either by the sword, or by the surer operation of famine. But an active despair has often triumphed over the indolent assurance of success. The barbarians, finding it impossible to traverse the Danube and the Roman camp, broke through the posts in their rear, which were more feebly or less carefully guarded; and with incredible diligence, but by a different road, returned towards the mountains of Italy.<sup>32</sup> *Aurelian*, who considered the war as totally extinguished, received the mortifying intelligence of the escape of the *Alemanni*, and of the ravage which they already committed in the territory of Milan. The legions were commanded to follow, with as much expedition as those heavy bodies were capable of exerting, the rapid flight of an enemy, whose infantry and cavalry moved with almost equal swiftness. A few days afterwards the emperor himself marched to the relief of Italy, at the head of a chosen body of auxiliaries (among whom were the hostages and cavalry of the Vandals), and of all the pratorian guards who had served in the wars on the Danube.<sup>33</sup>

As the light troops of the Alemanni had spread themselves from the Alps to the Apennines, the incessant vigilance of *Aurelian* and his officers was exercised in the discovery, the attack, and the pursuit of the numerous detachments. Notwithstanding this desultory war, three considerable battles are mentioned, in which the principal force of both armies was obstinately engaged.<sup>34</sup> The success was various. In the

and are at last  
vanquished by  
Aurelian.

<sup>24</sup> See the first chapter of *Jordanes*. The *Vandals*, *Longobardi*, &c. (c. 22.) maintained a short independence on the river *Marva* and *Uscia* (*Maros* and *Kere*) which fell into the *Tess*.

<sup>25</sup> *Descriptio*, p. 7-12. *Geogr.*, l. i. p. 15. *Venerabilis* *Aurelian* in *Hist. August.* He never the least transgresses the names of *Victor*, *Julianus*, and *Marcominus*, it is evident that he meant the same people, and the same war; but it requires some care to correct and explain them.

<sup>26</sup> *Cassiodorus*, with his usual accuracy, chose to transcribe those hundred thousand; his version is equally respectful to sense and to grammar.

<sup>27</sup> We may remark, as an instance of bad taste, that *Descriptio* of

places to the light infantry of the Alemanni the technical terms proper only, to the *Grecian* phalanx.

<sup>28</sup> In *Descriptio*, we at present read *Rhodanus*, *M. de Valois* very judiciously alters the word into *Rudanus*.

<sup>29</sup> The emperor *Carinus* was certainly of the number; but we are ignorant how far the mark of respect was extended, if to *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, it must have produced a very awful spectacle; a long line of the emperors of the world.

<sup>30</sup> *Vespasian* in *Hist. August.* p. 210.

<sup>31</sup> *Descriptio* gives them a subtle and proud oration, worthy of a *Cæsar* himself.

<sup>32</sup> *Hist. August.* p. 215.

<sup>33</sup> *Descriptio*, p. 12.

<sup>34</sup> *Victor Junior* in *Aurelian*.

first, fought near Placentia, the Romans received so severe a blow, that, according to the expression of a writer extremely partial to Aurelian, the immediate dissolution of the empire was apprehended.<sup>35</sup> The crafty barbarians, who had lined the woods, suddenly attacked the legions in the dusk of the evening, and, it is most probable, after the fatigue and disorder of a long march. The fury of their charge was irresistible; but at length, after a dreadful slaughter, the patient firmness of the emperor rallied his troops, and restored, in some degree, the honour of his arms. The second battle was fought near Fano in Umbria; on the spot which, five hundred years before, had been fatal to the brother of Hannibal.<sup>36</sup> Thus far the successful Germans had advanced along the Æmilian and Flaminian way, with a design of sacking the defenceless mistress of the world. But Aurelian, who, watchful for the safety of Rome, still hung on their rear, found in this place the decisive moment, of giving them a total and irretrievable defeat.<sup>37</sup> The flying remnant of their host was exterminated in a third and last battle near Pavia; and Italy was delivered from the inroads of the Alemanni.

Fear has been the original parent of superstition, and every new calamity urges trembling mortals to deprecate the wrath of their invisible enemies. Though the best hope of the republic was in the valour and conduct of Aurelian, yet such was the public consternation, when the barbarians were hourly expected at the gates of Rome, that, by a decree of the senate, the Sibylline books were consulted. Even the emperor himself, from a motive either of religion or of policy, recommended this salutary measure, chided the tardiness of the senate,<sup>38</sup> and offered to supply whatever expense, whatever animals, whatever captives of any nation, the gods should require. Notwithstanding this liberal offer, it does not appear that any human victims expiated with their blood the sins of the

Roman people. The Sibylline books enjoined ceremonies of a more harmless nature, processions of priests in white robes, attended by a chorus of youths and virgins; lustrations of the city and adjacent country; and sacrifices, whose powerful influence disabled the barbarians from passing the mystic ground on which they had been celebrated. However puerile in themselves, these superstitious arts were subservient to the success of the war; and it, in the decisive battle of Fano, the Alemanni fancied they saw an army of spectres combating on the side of Aurelian, he received a real and effectual aid from this imaginary reinforcement.

But whatever confidence might be placed in fidal ramparts, the ex-

perience of the past, and the dread of the future, induced the Romans to construct fortifications of a grosser and more substantial kind. The seven hills of Rome had been surrounded, by the successors of Romulus, with an ancient wall of more than thirteen miles.<sup>40</sup> The vast enclosure may seem disproportioned to the strength and numbers of the infant state. But it was necessary to secure an ample extent of pasture and arable land, against the frequent and sudden incursions of the tribes of Latium, the perpetual enemies of the republic. With the progress of Roman greatness, the city and its inhabitants gradually increased, filled up the vacant space, pierced through the useless walls, covered the field of Mars, and on every side followed the public highways in long and beautiful suburbs.<sup>41</sup> The extent of the new walls, erected by Aurelian, and finished in the reign of Probus, was magnified by popular estimation to near fifty,<sup>42</sup> but is reduced by accurate measurement to about twenty-one, miles.<sup>43</sup> It was a great but a melancholy labour, since the defence of the capital betrayed the decline of the monarchy. The Romans of a more prosperous age, who trusted to the arms of the legions the safety of the frontier camps,<sup>44</sup> were very far from entertaining a suspicion, that it would ever become necessary to fortify the seat of empire against the inroads of the barbarians.<sup>45</sup>

The victory of Claudius over the Goths, and the success of Aurelian against the Alemanni, had already restored to the arms of Rome their ancient superiority over the barbarous nations of the North. To chastise domestic tyrants, and to reunite the dismembered parts of the empire, was a task reserved for the second of those warlike emperors. Though he was acknowledged by the senate and people, the frontiers of Italy, Africa, Illyrium, and Thrace, confined the limits of his reign. Gaul, Spain, and Britain, Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, were still possessed by two rebels, who alone, out of so numerous a list, had hitherto escaped the dangers of their situation; and to complete the ignominy of Rome, these rival thrones had been usurped by women.

A rapid succession of monarchs had arisen and fallen in the provinces of Gaul. The rigid virtues of Posthumus served only to hasten his destruction. After suppressing a competitor, who had assumed the purple at Mentz, he refused to gratify his troops with the plunder of the rebellious city; and, in the seventh year of his reign, became the victim of their disappointed avarice.<sup>46</sup> The death of Victorinus, his friend and associate, was occasioned by a less worthy

Aurelian suppressed the two usurpers.

Succession of usurpers in Gaul.

Superstitious ceremonies.

A. D. 271.  
Jan. 11.

Fourth vision of Rome.

<sup>35</sup> Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 116.

<sup>36</sup> The little river, or river of Fano, of Marston, in Italy, has been immortalised, by being said to have killed Hannibal, as is said in a passage of Horace.

<sup>37</sup> It is recorded by an inscription found at Tivoli, see Geogr. antiqu. c. lxxv.

<sup>38</sup> The senate should imagine, however, that the emperor was not so easily deceived, and that the people were not so easily misled.

<sup>39</sup> Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 116. The emperor was not so easily deceived, and that the people were not so easily misled.

<sup>40</sup> The city of Rome was surrounded by a wall of more than thirteen miles.

<sup>41</sup> The city of Rome was surrounded by a wall of more than thirteen miles.

<sup>42</sup> The city of Rome was surrounded by a wall of more than thirty miles.

<sup>43</sup> The city of Rome was surrounded by a wall of more than thirty miles.

<sup>44</sup> The city of Rome was surrounded by a wall of more than thirty miles.

<sup>45</sup> The city of Rome was surrounded by a wall of more than thirty miles.

<sup>46</sup> The city of Rome was surrounded by a wall of more than thirty miles.

cause. The shining accomplishments<sup>47</sup> of that prince were stained by a licentious passion, which he indulged in acts of violence, with too little regard to the laws of society, or even to those of love.<sup>48</sup> He was slain at Cologne, by a conspiracy of jealous husbands, whose revenge would have appeared more justifiable, had they spared the innocence of his son. After the murder of so many valiant princes, it is somewhat remarkable, that a female for a long time controlled the fierce legions of Gaul, and still more singular, that she was the mother of the unfortunate Victorinus. The arts and treasures of Victoria enabled her successively to place Marius and Tetricus on the throne, and to reign with a manly vigour under the name of those dependent emperors. Money of copper, of silver, and of gold, was coined in her name; she assumed the titles of Augusta and Mother of the Camps: her power ended only with her life; but her life was perhaps shortened by the ingratitude of Tetricus.<sup>49</sup>

When, at the instigation of his ambitious patroness, Tetricus assumed the ensigns of royalty, he was governor of the peaceful province of Aquitaine, an employment suited to his character and education. He reigned four or five years over Gaul, Spain, and Britain, the slave and sovereign of a licentious army, whom he dreaded, and by whom he was despised. The valour and fortune of Aurelian at length opened the prospect of a deliverance. He ventured to disclose his melancholy situation, and conjured the em-

peror to hasten to the relief of his unhappy rival. Had this secret correspondence reached the ears of the soldiers, it would most probably have cost Tetricus his life; nor could he resign the sceptre of the West, without committing an act of treason against himself. He affected the appearances of a civil war, led his forces into the field against Aurelian, posted them in the most disadvantageous manner, betrayed his own counsels to the enemy, and with a few chosen friends deserted in the beginning of the action. The rebel legions, though disordered and dismayed by the unexpected treachery of their chief, defended themselves with desperate valour, till they were cut in pieces almost to a man, in this bloody and memorable battle, which was fought near Chalons in Champagne.<sup>50</sup> The retreat of the irregular auxiliaries, Franks and Batavians,<sup>51</sup> whom the conqueror soon compelled or persuaded to repass the Rhine, restored the general tranquillity, and the power of Aurelian was acknowledged from the wall of Antoninus to the columns of Hercules.

As early as the reign of Claudius, the city of

Autun, alone and unassisted, had ventured to declare against the legions of Gaul. After a siege of seven months, they stormed and plundered that unfortunate city, already wasted by famine.<sup>52</sup> Lyons, on the contrary, had resisted with obstinate disaffection the arms of Aurelian. We read of the punishment of Lyons,<sup>53</sup> but there is not any mention of the rewards of Autun. Such, indeed, is the policy of civil war: severely to remember injuries, and to forget the most important services. Revenge is profitable, gratitude is expensive.

Aurelian had no sooner secured the person and provinces of Tetricus, than he turned his arms against Zenobia, the celebrated queen of Palmyra and the East. Modern Europe has produced several illustrious women who have sustained with glory the weight of empire; nor is our own age destitute of such distinguished characters. But if we except the doubtful achievements of Semiramis, Zenobia is perhaps the only female whose superior genius broke through the servile indolence imposed on her sex by the climate and manners of Asia.<sup>54</sup> She claimed her descent from the Macedonian kings of Egypt, equalled in beauty her ancestor Cleopatra, and far surpassed that princess in chastity<sup>55</sup> and valour. Zenobia was esteemed the most lovely as well as the most heroic of her sex. She was of a dark complexion (for in speaking of a lady, these trifles become important): her teeth were of a pearly whiteness, and her large black eyes sparkled with uncommon fire, tempered by the most attractive sweetness. Her voice was strong and harmonious. Her manly understanding was strengthened and adorned by study. She was not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but possessed in equal perfection the Greek, the Syriac, and the Egyptian languages. She had drawn up for her own use an epitome of oriental history, and familiarly compared the beauties of Homer and Plato under the tuition of the sublime Longinus.

This accomplished woman gave her hand to Odenathus, who, from a private station, raised himself to the dominion of the East. She soon became the friend and companion of a hero. In the intervals of war Odenathus passionately delighted in the exercise of hunting; he pursued with ardour the wild beasts of the desert, lions, panthers, and bears; and the ardour of Zenobia in that dangerous amusement was not inferior to his own. She had injured her constitution to fatigue, disdained the use of a covered carriage, generally appeared on horseback in a military habit, and sometimes marched several miles on foot at the head of the

<sup>47</sup> The character of this prince by Julius Strabon (sup. Hist. August. p. 157) is worth transcribing, as it seems far and impartial. Victorinus qui post Iulium Postumum Gallias rexit, non minus ex ingenio præferendum, non in virtute Transmissum. *sup. Hist. August. p. 157.*

<sup>48</sup> *sup. Hist. August. p. 157.*

<sup>49</sup> *sup. Hist. August. p. 157.*

<sup>50</sup> *sup. Hist. August. p. 157.*

<sup>51</sup> *sup. Hist. August. p. 157.*

<sup>52</sup> *sup. Hist. August. p. 157.*

<sup>53</sup> *sup. Hist. August. p. 157.*

<sup>54</sup> *sup. Hist. August. p. 157.*

<sup>55</sup> *sup. Hist. August. p. 157.*

with strong probability place the fall of Tetricus before that of Zenobia. M. de Boze (in the Academy of Inscriptions, tom. xxx.) does not wish, and Tilletot (tom. iii. p. 1180) does not dare to follow them. I have been faster than the one, and bolder than the other.

<sup>51</sup> Victor Junior in Aurelian. Eodem tempore mentionem habuit, *sup. Hist. August. p. 157.*

<sup>52</sup> Eumen in Vet. Patrolog. iv. 9.

<sup>53</sup> Victorinus in Hist. August. p. 216. Autun was not restored till the reign of Diocletian. See Eumenius de restaurandis scholis.

<sup>54</sup> Almost every thing that is said of the manners of Cleopatra and Zenobia is taken from their lives in the Augustan History, by Trebellius Pollio, see pp. 192, 193.

<sup>55</sup> She never admitted her husband's embraces but for the sake of posterity. If her hopes were baffled, in the ensuing month she reiterated the experiment.

troops. The success of Odenathus was in a great measure ascribed to her incomparable prudence and fortitude. Their splendid victories over the Great King, whom they twice pursued as far as the gates of Ctesiphon, laid the foundations of their united fame and power. The armies which they commanded and the provinces which they had saved, acknowledged not any other sovereigns than their invincible chiefs. The senate and people of Rome revered a stranger who had avenged their captive emperor, and even the insensible son of Valerian accepted Odenathus for his legitimate colleague.

After a successful expedition against the Gothic plunderers of Asia, the Palmyrenian prince returned to the city of Emesa in Syria. Invincible in war, he was there cut off by domestic treason, and his favourite amusement of hunting was the cause, or at least the occasion, of his death.<sup>56</sup> His nephew, Mæonius, presumed to dart his javelin before that of his uncle; and though admonished of his error, repeated the same insolence. As a monarch, and as a sportsman, Odenathus was provoked, took away his horse, a mark of ignominy among the barbarians, and chastised the rash youth by a short confinement.

The offence was soon forgot, but the punishment was remembered; and Mæonius, with a few daring associates, assassinated his uncle in the midst of a great entertainment. Herod, the son of Odenathus, though not of Zenobia, a young man of a soft and effeminate temper,<sup>57</sup> was killed with his father. But Mæonius obtained only the pleasure of revenge by this bloody deed. He had scarcely time to assume the title of Augustus, before he was sacrificed by Zenobia to the memory of her husband.<sup>58</sup>

With the assistance of his most faithful friends, she immediately filled the vacant throne, and governed with manly counsels Palmyra, Syria, and the East, above five years. By the death of Odenathus, that authority was at an end which the senate had granted him only as a personal distinction; but his martial widow, disdaining both the senate and Gallienus, obliged one of the Roman generals, who was sent against her, to retreat into Europe, with the loss of his army and his reputation.<sup>59</sup> Instead of the little passions which so frequently perplex a female reign, the steady administration of Zenobia was guided by the most judicious maxims of policy. If it was expedient to pardon, she could calm her resentment; if it was necessary to punish, she could impose silence on the voice of pity. Her strict economy was accused of avarice; yet on every proper occasion she appeared magnificent and liberal. The neighbouring states of Arabia, Armenia, and Persia,

dreaded her enmity, and solicited her alliance. To the dominions of Odenathus, which extended from the Euphrates to the frontiers of Bithynia, his widow added the inheritance of her ancestors, the populous and fertile kingdom of Egypt. The emperor Claudius acknowledged her merit, and was content, that, while he pursued the Gothic war, she should assert the dignity of the empire in the East.<sup>60</sup> The conduct, however, of Zenobia was attended with some ambiguity; nor is it unlikely that she had conceived the design of erecting an independent and hostile monarchy. She blended with the popular manners of Roman princes the stately pomp of the courts of Asia, and exacted from her subjects the same adoration that was paid to the successors of Cyrus. She bestowed on her three sons<sup>61</sup> a Latin education, and often showed them to the troops adorned with the imperial purple. For herself she reserved the diadem, with the splendid but doubtful title of Queen of the East.

When Aurelian passed over into Asia, against an adversary whose sex alone could render her an object of contempt, his presence restored obedience to the province of Bithynia, already shaken by the arms and intrigues of Zenobia.<sup>62</sup> Advancing at the head of his legions, he accepted the submission of Ancyra, and was admitted into Tiana, after an obstinate siege, by the help of a perfidious citizen. The generous though fierce temper of Aurelian abandoned the traitor to the rage of the soldiers: a superstitious reverence induced him to treat with lenity the countrymen of Apollonius the philosopher.<sup>63</sup> Antioch was deserted on his approach, till the emperor, by his salutary edicts, recalled the fugitives, and granted a general pardon to all who, from necessity rather than choice, had been engaged in the service of the Palmyrenian Queen. The unexpected mildness of such a conduct reconciled the minds of the Syrians, and, as far as the gates of Emesa, the wishes of the people seconded the terror of his arms.<sup>64</sup>

Zenobia would have ill deserved her reputation, had she indolently permitted the emperor of the West to approach within an hundred miles of her capital. The fate of the East was decided in two great battles; so similar in almost every circumstance, that we can scarcely distinguish them from each other, except by observing that the first was fought near Antioch,<sup>65</sup> and the second near Emesa.<sup>66</sup> In both, the queen of Palmyra animated the armies by her presence, and devolved the execution of her orders on Zabdas, who had already signalised his military talents by the conquest of Egypt. The numerous forces of Zenobia consisted for the most part of light archers, and of heavy cavalry, clothed in

56 Hist. August. p. 192, 193. Zosimus, l. i. p. 56. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 633. The last is clear and probable, the others confused and inconsistent. The text of Synkelus, id est corrupti, absolute nonsense.

57 Odenathus and Zenobia often sent him, from the spoils of the enemy, presents of gems and toys, which he received with infinite delight.

58 Zosimus, l. i. p. 56. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 633. The last is clear and probable, the others confused and inconsistent.

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rehan bestowed a small province of Armenia, with the title of King; several of his medals are still extant. See Tillemont, tom. iii. p. 1199.

61 Zosimus, l. i. p. 56. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 633. The last is clear and probable, the others confused and inconsistent.

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67 Zosimus, l. i. p. 56. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 633. The last is clear and probable, the others confused and inconsistent.

68 Zosimus, l. i. p. 56. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 633. The last is clear and probable, the others confused and inconsistent.

69 Zosimus, l. i. p. 56. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 633. The last is clear and probable, the others confused and inconsistent.

70 Zosimus, l. i. p. 56. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 633. The last is clear and probable, the others confused and inconsistent.

71 Zosimus, l. i. p. 56. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 633. The last is clear and probable, the others confused and inconsistent.

72 Zosimus, l. i. p. 56. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 633. The last is clear and probable, the others confused and inconsistent.

73 Zosimus, l. i. p. 56. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 633. The last is clear and probable, the others confused and inconsistent.

74 Zosimus, l. i. p. 56. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 633. The last is clear and probable, the others confused and inconsistent.



complete steel. The Moorish and Illyrian horse of Aurelian were unable to sustain the ponderous charge of their antagonists. They fled in real or affected disorder, engaged the Palmyrenians in a laborious pursuit, harassed them by a desultory combat, and at length discomfited this impenetrable but unwieldy body of cavalry. The light infantry, in the mean time, when they had exhausted their quivers, remaining without protection against a closer onset, exposed their naked sides to the swords of the legions. Aurelian had chosen these veteran troops, who were usually stationed on the Upper Danube, and whose valour had been severely tried in the Alemannic war.<sup>67</sup> After the defeat of Emesa, Zenobia found it impossible to collect a third army. As far as the frontier of Egypt, the nations subject to her empire had joined the standard of the conqueror, who detached Probus, the bravest of his generals, to possess himself of the Egyptian provinces. Palmyra was the last resource of the widow of Odenathus. She retired within the walls of her capital, made every preparation for a vigorous resistance, and declared, with the intrepidity of a heroine, that the last moment of her reign and her life should be the same.

Amid the barren deserts of Arabia, a few cultivated spots rise like islands out of the sandy ocean. Even the name of Tadmor, or Palmyra, by its signification in the Syriac as well as in the Latin language, denoted the multitude of palm trees which afforded shade and verdure to that temperate region. The air was pure, and the soil, watered by some invaluable springs, was capable of producing fruit as well as corn. A place possessed of such singular advantages, and situated at a convenient distance<sup>68</sup> between the Gulf of Persia and the Mediterranean, was soon frequented by the caravans which conveyed to the nations of Europe a considerable part of the rich commodities of India. Palmyra insensibly increased into an opulent and independent city, and connecting the Roman and the Parthian monarchies by the mutual benefits of commerce, was suffered to observe an humble neutrality, till at length, after the victories of Trajan, the little republic sunk into the bosom of Rome, and flourished more than one hundred and fifty years in the subordinate though honourable rank of a colony. It was during that peaceful period, if we may judge from a few remaining inscriptions, that the wealthy Palmyrenians constructed those temples, palaces, and porticos of Grecian architecture, whose ruins, scattered over an extent of several miles, have deserved the curiosity of our travellers. The elevation of Odenathus and Zenobia appeared to reflect new splendour on their country, and Palmyra, for a while, stood

forth the rival of Rome but the competition was fatal, and ages of prosperity were sacrificed to a moment of glory.<sup>69</sup>

In his march over the sandy desert <sup>It is besieged by Aurelian,</sup> between Emesa and Palmyra, the emperor Aurelian was perpetually harassed by the Arabs; nor could he always defend his army, and especially his baggage, from those flying troops of active and daring robbers, who watched the moment of surprise, and eluded the slow pursuit of the legions. The siege of Palmyra was an object far more difficult and important, and the emperor, who, with incessant vigour, pressed the attacks in person, was himself wounded with a dart. "The Roman people," says Aurelian, in an original letter, "speak with contempt of the war which I am waging against a woman. They are ignorant both of the character and of the power of Zenobia. It is impossible to enumerate her warlike preparations, of stones, of arrows, and of every species of missile weapons. Every part of the walls is provided with two or three *ballistæ*, and artificial fires are thrown from her military engines. The fear of punishment has armed her with a desperate courage. Yet still I trust in the protecting deities of Rome, who have hitherto been favourable to all my undertakings."<sup>70</sup> Doubtful, however, of the protection of the gods, and of the event of the siege, Aurelian judged it more prudent to offer terms of an advantageous capitulation; to the queen, a splendid retreat; to the citizens, their ancient privileges. His proposals were obstinately rejected, and the refusal was accompanied with insult.

The firmness of Zenobia was supported by the hope, that in a very short time famine would compel the Roman army to repossess the desert; and by the reasonable expectation that the kings of the East, and particularly the Persian monarch, would arm in the defence of their most natural ally. But fortune and the perseverance of Aurelian overcame every obstacle. The death of Sapor, which happened about this time,<sup>71</sup> distracted the councils of Persia, and the inconsiderable succours that attempted to relieve Palmyra, were easily intercepted either by the arms or the liberality of the emperor. From every part of Syria a regular succession of convoys safely arrived in the camp, which was increased by the return of Probus with his victorious troops from the conquest of Egypt. It was then that Zenobia resolved to fly. She mounted the fleetest of her dromedaries,<sup>72</sup> and had already reached the banks of the Euphrates, about sixty miles from Palmyra, when she was overtaken by the pursuit of Aurelian's light horse, seized, and brought back a captive to the feet of the emperor. Her capital soon afterwards

A. D. 257.

<sup>67</sup> Zosimus, l. i. p. 44—45. His account of the two battles is clear and circumstantial.

<sup>68</sup> It was five hundred and thirty-seven miles from Seleucia, and two hundred and three from the western coast of Syria, according to the reckoning of Ptolemy, who, in a few words (Hist. Natur. v. 21), gives an excellent description of Palmyra.

<sup>69</sup> Some English travellers from Aleppo discovered the ruins of Palmyra, about the end of the last century. Our countrymen have been gratified in a more peculiar manner by Messrs Wood and Dawkins. For the history of the city, see in the second volume the masterly description of Dr Halévy in p. 212, &c. physical Transactions; Lessing's Abhandlung, vol. iii. p. 515.

<sup>70</sup> endeavoured to extract

<sup>71</sup> Though the camel is neither of the same size and speed as the Arabian, the Arab affirm, that he will run over a much greater distance in one day than the fleetest horse can perform in eight or ten. See Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. xi. p. 222. and Shaw's Travels, p. 167.

surrendered, and was treated with unexpected lenity. The arms, horses, and camels, with an immense treasure of gold, silver, silk, and precious stones, were all delivered to the conqueror, who, leaving only a garrison of six hundred archers, returned to Emesa, and employed some time in the distribution of rewards and punishments at the end of so memorable a war, which restored to the obedience of Rome those provinces that had renounced their allegiance since the captivity of Valerian.

When the Syrian queen was brought into the presence of Aurelian, he sternly asked her, How she had presumed to rise in arms against the emperors of Rome? The answer of Zenobia was a prudent mixture of respect and firmness. "Because I declined to consider as Roman emperors an Aureolus or a Gallienus. You alone I acknowledge as my conqueror and my sovereign."<sup>73</sup> But as female fortitude is commonly artificial, so it is seldom steady or consistent. The courage of Zenobia deserted her in the hour of trial; she trembled at the angry clamours of the soldiers, who called aloud for her immediate execution, forgot the generous despair of Cleopatra, which she had proposed as her model, and ignominiously purchased life by the sacrifice of her fame and her friends. It was to their counsels, which governed the weakness of her sex, that she imputed the guilt of her obstinate resistance; it was on their heads that she directed the vengeance of the cruel Aurelian. The fame of Longinus, who was included among the numerous and perhaps innocent victims of her fear, will survive that of the queen who betrayed, or the tyrant who condemned him. Genius and learning were incapable of moving a fierce unlettered soldier, but they had served to elevate and harmonise the soul of Longinus. Without uttering a complaint, he calmly followed the executioner, pitying his unhappy mistress, and bestowing comfort on his afflicted friends.<sup>74</sup>

Returning from the conquest of the East, Aurelian had already crossed the straits which divide Europe from Asia, when he was provoked by the intelligence that the Palmyrenians had massacred the governor and garrison which he had left among them, and again erected the standard of revolt. Without a moment's deliberation, he once more turned his face towards Syria. Antioch was alarmed by his rapid approach, and the helpless city of Palmyra felt the irresistible weight of his resentment. We have a letter of Aurelian himself, in which he acknowledges,<sup>75</sup> that old men, women, children, and peasants, had been involved in that dreadful execution, which should have been confined to armed rebellion; and although his principal concern seems directed to the re-establishment of a temple of the Sun, he discovers some pity for the remnant of the Palmyrenians, to whom he grants the permission of rebuilding and inhabit-

ing their city. But it is easier to destroy than to restore. The seat of commerce, of arts, and of Zenobia, gradually sunk into an obscure town, a trifling fortress, and at length a miserable village. The present citizens of Palmyra, consisting of thirty or forty families, have erected their mud-cottages within the spacious court of a magnificent temple.

Another and a last labour still awaited the indefatigable Aurelian; to suppress a dangerous though obscure rebel, who, during the revolt of Palmyra, had arisen on the banks of the Nile. Firmus, the friend and ally, as he proudly styled himself, of Odenathus and Zenobia, was no more than a wealthy merchant of Egypt. In the course of his trade to India, he had formed very intimate connections with the Saracens and the Blemmyes, whose situation on either coast of the Red Sea gave them an easy introduction into the Upper Egypt. The Egyptians he inflamed with the hope of freedom, and, at the head of their furious multitude, broke into the city of Alexandria, where he assumed the Imperial purple, coined money, published edicts, and raised an army, which, as he vainly boasted, he was capable of maintaining from the sole profits of his paper trade. Such troops were a feeble defence against the approach of Aurelian; and it seems almost unnecessary to relate, that Firmus was routed, taken, tortured, and put to death. Aurelian might now congratulate the senate, the people, and himself, that in little more than three years he had restored universal peace and order to the Roman world.<sup>76</sup>

Since the foundation of Rome, no general had more nobly deserved a triumph than Aurelian; nor was a triumph ever celebrated with superior pride and magnificence.<sup>77</sup> The pomp was opened by twenty elephants, four royal tigers, and above two hundred of the most curious animals from every climate of the North, the East, and the South. They were followed by sixteen hundred gladiators, devoted to the cruel amusement of the amphitheatre. The wealth of Asia, the arms and ensigns of so many conquered nations, and the magnificent plate and wardrobe of the Syrian queen, were disposed in exact symmetry or artful disorder. The ambassadors of the most remote parts of the earth, of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, Bactriana, India, and China, all remarkable by their rich or singular dresses, displayed the fame and power of the Roman emperor, who exposed likewise to the public view the presents that he had received, and particularly a great number of crowns of gold, the offerings of grateful cities. The victories of Aurelian were attested by the long train of captives who reluctantly attended his triumph. Goths, Vandals, Sarmatians, Alemanni, Franks, Gauls, Syrians, and Egyptians. Each people was distinguished by its peculiar inscription, and the title of Amazons was bestowed on ten martial heroines of the Gothic

Aurelian suppresses the rebellion of Firmus in Egypt.

A.D. 274. Triumph of Aurelian.

Defection and murder of Palmyra.

<sup>73</sup> Pothon Hist. August. p. 194.  
<sup>74</sup> Vortumnus Hist. August. p. 119. Zosimus, l. i. c. 51.  
<sup>75</sup> Hist. August. c. 27.  
<sup>76</sup> See Velleius p. 114. l. ii. c. 12. A. V. 274. c. 1.  
<sup>77</sup> His strength and dignity, his courage and beauty. From the

Victory of Aurelian, we may see that Firmus was the last of the Egyptian emperors, and that the empire was now entirely in the hands of the Romans. The reign of Firmus was the last of the Egyptian emperors, and that the empire was now entirely in the hands of the Romans. The reign of Firmus was the last of the Egyptian emperors, and that the empire was now entirely in the hands of the Romans.

nation who had been taken in arms.<sup>78</sup> But every eye, disregarding the crowd of captives, was fixed on the emperor Tetricus, and the Queen of the East. The former, as well as his son, whom he had created Augustus, was dressed in Gallic trowsers, <sup>79</sup> a saffron tunic, and a robe of purple. The beautiful figure of Zenobia was confined by fetters of gold; a slave supported the gold chain which encircled her neck, and she almost fainted under the intolerable weight of jewels. She preceded on foot the magnificent chariot, in which she once hoped to enter the gates of Rome. It was followed by two other chariots, still more sumptuous, of Odenathus and of the Persian monarch. The triumphal car of Aurelian (it had formerly been used by a Gothic king) was drawn, on this memorable occasion, either by four stags or by four elephants.<sup>80</sup> The most illustrious of the senate, the people, and the army, closed the solemn procession. Unfeigned joy, wonder, and gratitude, swelled the acclamations of the multitude; but the satisfaction of the senate was clouded by the appearance of Tetricus; nor could they suppress a rising murmur, that the haughty emperor should thus expose to public ignominy the person of a Roman and a magistrate.<sup>81</sup>

But however, in the treatment of his unfortunate rivals, Aurelian might indulge his pride, he behaved towards them with a generous clemency, which was seldom exercised by the ancient conquerors. Princes who, without success, had defended their throne or freedom, were frequently strangled in prison, as soon as the triumphal pomp ascended the Capitol. These usurpers, whom their defeat had convicted of the crime of treason, were permitted to spend their lives in affluence and honourable repose. The emperor presented Zenobia with an elegant villa at Tibur, or Tivoli, about twenty miles from the capital; the Syrian queen insensibly sunk into a Roman matron, her daughters married into noble families, and her race was not yet extinct in the fifth century.<sup>82</sup> Tetricus and his son were reinstated in their rank and fortunes. They erected on the Cælian hill a magnificent palace, and as soon as it was finished, invited Aurelian to supper. On his entrance he was agreeably surprised with a picture which represented their singular history. They were delineated offering to the emperor a civic crown and the sceptre of Gaul, and again receiving at his hands the ornaments of the senatorial dignity. The father was afterwards invested with the government of Lucania,<sup>83</sup> and Aurelian, who soon admitted the abdicated monarch to his friendship and conversation, familiarly asked him, Whether it were not more

desirable to administer a province of Italy, than to reign beyond the Alps? The son long continued a respectable member of the senate; nor was there any one of the Roman nobility more esteemed by Aurelian, as well as by his successors.<sup>84</sup>

So long and so various was the pomp of Aurelian's triumph, that <sup>His magnificence and devotion.</sup> although it opened with the dawn of day, the slow majesty of the procession ascended not the Capitol before the ninth hour; and it was already dark when the emperor returned to the palace. The festival was protracted by theatrical representations, the games of the circus, the hunting of wild beasts, combats of gladiators, and naval engagements. Liberal donatives were distributed to the army and people, and several institutions, agreeable or beneficial to the city, contributed to perpetuate the glory of Aurelian. A considerable portion of his oriental spoils was consecrated to the gods of Rome; the Capitol, and every other temple, glittered with the offerings of his ostentatious piety; and the temple of the Sun alone received above fifteen thousand pounds of gold.<sup>85</sup> This last was a magnificent structure, erected by the emperor on the side of the Quirinal hill, and dedicated soon after the triumph to that deity whom Aurelian adored as the parent of his life and fortunes. His mother had been an inferior priestess in a chapel of the Sun; a peculiar devotion to the god of light, was a sentiment which the fortunate peasant imbibed in his infancy; and every step of his elevation, every victory of his reign, fortified superstition by gratitude.<sup>86</sup>

The arms of Aurelian had van- <sup>He suppresses a sedition at Rome.</sup> quished the foreign and domestic foes of the republic. We are assured, that, by his salutary rigour, crimes and factions, mischievous arts and pernicious connivance, the luxuriant growth of a feeble and oppressive government, were eradicated throughout the Roman world.<sup>87</sup> But if we attentively reflect how much swifter is the progress of corruption than its cure, and if we remember that the years abandoned to public disorders exceeded the months allotted to the martial reign of Aurelian, we must confess that a few short intervals of peace were insufficient for the arduous work of reformation. Even his attempt to restore the integrity of the coin, was opposed by a formidable insurrection. The emperor's vexation breaks out in one of his private letters: "Surely," says he, "the gods have decreed that my life should be a perpetual warfare. A sedition within the walls has just now given birth to a very serious civil war. The workmen of the mint, at the instigation of Felicissimus, a slave to

<sup>78</sup> Among barbarous nations, women have often combated by the side of their husbands. But it is almost impossible, that a society of old or new world.

<sup>79</sup> The expression of Calpurnius (Fring. i. 50.), Nudis ductæ triumpho, as applied to Rome, contains a very manifest allusion to the manner in which the emperor Tetricus was dressed.

<sup>80</sup> The expression of Calpurnius (Fring. i. 50.), Nudis ductæ triumpho, as applied to Rome, contains a very manifest allusion to the manner in which the emperor Tetricus was dressed.

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<sup>82</sup> The expression of Calpurnius (Fring. i. 50.), Nudis ductæ triumpho, as applied to Rome, contains a very manifest allusion to the manner in which the emperor Tetricus was dressed.

<sup>82</sup> Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 199. Hieronym. in Chron. Propter in Chron. Baronius supposes that Zenobius, bishop of Florence in the time of St. Ambrose, was of her family.

<sup>83</sup> Vopisc. in Hist. August. p. 222. Eutropius, ix. 13. Victor Junior. But Pollio, in Hist. August. p. 196. says, that Tetricus was made corrector of all Italy.

<sup>84</sup> Hist. August. p. 197.

<sup>85</sup> Vopiscus in Hist. August. 222. Zosimus, l. i. p. 56. He placed in it the images of Belus and of the Sun, which he had brought from Palmyra. It was dedicated in the fourth year of his reign (Euseb. in Chron.), but was most assuredly begun immediately on his accession.

<sup>86</sup> See in the Augustan History, p. 210. the omens of his fortune. His devotion to the Sun appears in his letters, on his medals, and is mentioned in the *Cæsars* of Julian. *Commentaire de Spanheim*, p. 119.

<sup>87</sup> Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 221.

"whom I had entrusted an employment in the finances, have risen in rebellion. They are at length suppressed; but seven thousand of my soldiers have been slain in the contest, of those troops whose ordinary station is in Dacia, and the camps along the Danube."<sup>88</sup> Other writers, who confirm the same fact, add likewise, that it happened soon after Aurelian's triumph; that the decisive engagement was fought on the Cælian hill; that the workmen of the mint had adulterated the coin; and that the emperor restored the public credit, by delivering out good money in exchange for the bad, which the people was commanded to bring into the treasury.<sup>89</sup>

Observations upon it. We might content ourselves with relating this extraordinary transaction, but we cannot dissemble how much in its present form it appears to us inconsistent and incredible. The debasement of the coin is indeed well suited to the administration of Gallienus; nor is it unlikely that the instruments of the corruption might dread the inflexible justice of Aurelian. But the guilt, as well as the profit, must have been confined to a few; nor is it easy to conceive by what arts they could arm a people whom they had injured, against a monarch whom they had betrayed. We might naturally expect, that such miscreants should have shared the public detestation, with the informers and the other ministers of oppression; and that the reformation of the coin should have been an action equally popular with the destruction of those obsolete accounts, which by the emperor's order were burnt in the forum of Trajan.<sup>90</sup> In an age when the principles of commerce were so imperfectly understood, the most desirable end might perhaps be effected by harsh and injudicious means; but a temporary grievance of such a nature can scarcely excite and support a serious civil war. The repetition of intolerable taxes, imposed either on the land or on the necessities of life, may at last provoke those who will not, or who cannot, relinquish their country. But the case is far otherwise in every operation which, by whatsoever expedients, restores the just value of money. The transient evil is soon obliterated by the permanent benefit, the loss is divided among multitudes; and if a few wealthy individuals experience a sensible diminution of treasure, with their riches they at the same time lose the degree of weight and importance which they derived from the possession of them. However Aurelian might choose to disguise the real cause of the insurrection, his reformation of the coin could only furnish a faint pretence to a party already powerful and discontented. Rome, though deprived of freedom, was distracted by faction. The people, towards whom the emperor, himself a plebeian, always expressed a peculiar fondness, lived in perpetual dissension with the senate, the equestrian order, and the praetorian guards.<sup>91</sup> No-

thing less than the firm though secret conspiracy of those orders, of the authority of the first, the wealth of the second, and the arms of the third, could have displayed a strength capable of contending in battle with the veteran legions of the Danube, which, under the conduct of a martial sovereign, had achieved the conquest of the West and of the East.

Whatever was the cause or the object of this rebellion, imputed with Cruelty of Aurelian. so little probability to the workmen of the mint, Aurelian used his victory with unrelenting rigour.<sup>92</sup> He was naturally of a severe disposition. A peasant and a soldier, his nerves yielded not easily to the impressions of sympathy, and he could sustain without emotion the sight of tortures and death. Trained from his earliest youth in the exercise of arms, he set too small a value on the life of a citizen, chastised by military execution the slightest offences, and transferred the stern discipline of the camp into the civil administration of the laws. His love of justice often became a blind and furious passion; and whenever he deemed his own or the public safety endangered, he disregarded the rules of evidence, and the proportion of punishments. The unprovoked rebellion with which the Romans rewarded his services, exasperated his haughty spirit. The noblest families of the capital were involved in the guilt or suspicion of this dark conspiracy. A hasty spirit of revenge urged the bloody prosecution, and it proved fatal to one of the nephews of the emperor. The executioners (if we may use the expression of a contemporary poet) were fatigued, the prisons were crowded, and the unhappy senate lamented the death or absence of its most illustrious members.<sup>93</sup> Nor was the pride of Aurelian less offensive to that assembly than his cruelty. Ignorant or impatient of the restraints of civil institutions, he disdained to hold his power by any other title than that of the sword, and governed by right of conquest an empire which he had saved and subdued.<sup>94</sup>

It was observed by one of the most sagacious of the Roman princes, He marches into the East, and is assassinated. that the talents of his predecessor Aurelian were better suited to the command of an army, than to the government of an empire.<sup>95</sup> Conscious of the character in which nature and experience had enabled him to excel, he again took the field a few months after his triumph. It was expedient to exercise the restless temper of the legions in some foreign war, and the Persian monarch, exulting in the shame of Valerian, still braved with impunity the offended majesty of Rome. At the head of an army, less formidable by its numbers than by its discipline and valour, the emperor advanced as far as the straits which divide Europe from Asia. He there experienced, that the most absolute power is a weak defence against the effects of despair. He had threat-

<sup>88</sup> Hist. August. p. 222. Aurelian calls those soldiers *Huberi Riparienses, Galatians, and Dacians*.

<sup>89</sup> Zonaras, l. i. p. 74. Eutropius, ix. 14. Aurel. Victor.

<sup>90</sup> Hist. August. p. 222. Aurel. Victor.

<sup>91</sup> It already appeared before Aurelian's return from Egypt. See Vopiscus, who quotes an original letter. Hist. August. p. 221.

<sup>92</sup> Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 222. The same facts in Eutropius, ix. 14. Zonaras l. i. p. 74. mentions only three senators, and places their death before the eastern war.

<sup>93</sup> Nili's cæternis fides pompa senatoris.

Cum nimis vastis equis, totisque pleno

Indicis rarus numeratus curas. Elog. l. 60.

Calpurn. Elog. l. 60.

<sup>94</sup> According to the emperor Valerian's son, the senators wore the diadem.

<sup>95</sup> It was the observation of Bractian. See Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 221.

ened one of his secretaries who was accused of extortion, and it was known that he seldom threatened in vain. The last hope which remained for the criminal, was to involve some of the principal officers of the army in his danger, or at least in his fears. Artfully counterfeiting his master's hand, he showed them, in a long and bloody list, their own names devoted to death. Without suspecting or examining the fraud, they resolved to secure their lives by the murder of the emperor. On his march, between Byzantium and Heraclea, Aurelian was suddenly attacked by the conspirators, whose stations gave them a right to surround his person, and, after a short resistance, fell by the hand of Mucapor, a general whom he had always loved and trusted.

He died regretted by the army, detested by the senate, but universally acknowledged as a warlike and fortunate prince, the useful though severe reformer of a degenerate state.<sup>96</sup>

## CHAP. XII.

*Conduct of the Army and Senate after the Death of Aurelian. — Reigns of Tacitus, Probus, Carus, and his Sons.*

Extraordinary. Such was the unhappy condition of the Roman emperors, that, whatever might be their conduct, their fate was commonly the same. A life of pleasure or virtue, of severity or mildness, of indolence or glory, alike led to an untimely grave; and almost every reign is closed by the same disgusting repetition of treason and murder. The death of Aurelian, however, is remarkable by its extraordinary consequences. The legions admired, lamented, and revenged their victorious chief. The artifice of his perfidious secretary was discovered and punished. The deluded conspirators attended the funeral of their injured sovereign, with sincere or well-feigned contrition, and submitted to the unanimous resolution of the military order, which was signified by the following epistle: "The brave and fortunate armies to the senate and people of Rome. — "The crime of one man, and the error of many, have deprived us of the late emperor Aurelian. "May it please you, venerable lords and fathers! "to place him in the number of the gods, and to appoint a successor whom your judgment shall declare worthy of the Imperial purple! None "of those, whose guilt or misfortune have contributed to our loss, shall ever reign over us." The Roman senators heard without surprise that another emperor had been assassinated in his camp: they secretly rejoiced in the fall of Aurelian; but the modest and dutiful address of the legions, when it was communicated in full assembly by the consul, diffused the most pleasing astonishment. Such honours as fear, and perhaps esteem, could extort, they liberally poured forth on the memory of their deceased sovereign.

Such acknowledgments as gratitude could inspire they returned to the faithful armies of the republic, who entertained so just a sense of the legal authority of the senate in the choice of an emperor. Yet, notwithstanding this flattering appeal, the most prudent of the assembly declined exposing their safety and dignity to the caprice of an armed multitude. The strength of the legions was, indeed, a pledge of their sincerity, since those who may command are seldom reduced to the necessity of dissembling; but could it naturally be expected, that a hasty repentance would correct the inveterate habits of fourscore years? Should the soldiers relapse into their accustomed seditious, their insolence might disgrace the majesty of the senate, and prove fatal to the object of its choice. Motives like these dictated a decree, by which the election of a new emperor was referred to the suffrage of the military order.

The contention that ensued is one of the best attested, but most improbable events in the history of mankind.<sup>97</sup> The troops, as if satiated with the exercise of power, again conjured the senate to invest one of its own body with the Imperial purple. The senate still persisted in its refusal; the army in its request. The reciprocal offer was pressed and rejected at least three times; and whilst the obstinate modesty of either party was resolved to receive a master from the hands of the other, eight months insensibly elapsed: an amazing period of tranquil anarchy, during which the Roman world remained without a sovereign, without an usurper, and without a sedition. The generals and magistrates appointed by Aurelian continued to execute their ordinary functions; and it is observed, that a proconsul of Asia was the only considerable person removed from his office in the whole course of the interregnum.

An event somewhat similar, but much less authentic, is supposed to have happened after the death of Romulus, who, in his life and character, bore some affinity with Aurelian. The throne was vacant during twelve months, till the election of a Sabine philosopher, and the public peace was guarded in the same manner, by the union of the several orders of the state. But, in the time of Numa and Romulus, the arms of the people were controlled by the authority of the patricians; and the balance of freedom was easily preserved in a small and virtuous community.<sup>98</sup> The decline of the Roman state, far different from its infancy, was attended with every circumstance that could banish from an interregnum the prospect of obedience and harmony: an immense and tumultuous capital, a wide extent of empire, the servile equality of despotism, an army of four hundred thousand mercenaries, and the experience of frequent revolutions. Yet, notwithstanding all these temptations, the discipline and memory of Aurelian still restrained the seditious temper of the troops,

<sup>96</sup> Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 221. Zosimus, l. i. p. 57. Eutrop. l. 10. The two Vectors.

<sup>97</sup> Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 222. Aurelius Victor narrates a formal deposition from the troops to the senate.

<sup>98</sup> See, in our principal authors, before a Roman history is written, the death of Romulus, and the election of Numa, which is the subject of the first book of the second volume of the history.

and the original papers of the Ulpian library. Zosimus and Zonaras appear as ignorant of this transaction as they were in general of the Roman constitution. 5. Bay. 1. 17. Pons. Halm. l. i. p. 115. Plutarch in Numa, p. 99. The first of these writers relates the story as an error, the second as a fiction, and the third as a tradition, and none of them probably with any other objection to the fact.

as well as the fatal ambition of their leaders. The flower of the legions maintained their stations on the banks of the Bosphorus, and the Imperial standard avowed the less powerful camps of Rome and of the provinces. A generous though transient enthusiasm seemed to animate the military order; and we may hope that a few real patriots cultivated the returning friendship of the army and the senate, as the only expedient capable of restoring the republic to its ancient beauty and vigour.

A. D. 275 Sept. 25. On the twenty-fifth of September, near eight months after the murder of Aurelian, the consul convoked an assembly of the senate, and reported the doubtful and dangerous situation of the empire. He slightly insinuated, that the previous loyalty of the soldiers depended on the chance of every hour, and of every accident; but he represented, with the most convincing eloquence, the various dangers that might attend any farther delay in the choice of an emperor. Intelligently, he said, was already received, that the Germans had passed the Rhine, and occupied some of the strongest and most opulent cities of Gaul. The ambition of the Persian king kept the East in perpetual alarms; Egypt, Africa, and Illyrium were exposed to foreign and domestic arms, and the levy of Syria would prefer even a female sceptre to the sanctity of the Roman laws. The consul then addressing himself to Tacitus, the first of the senators,<sup>4</sup> required his opinion on the important subject of a proper candidate for the vacant throne.

Character of  
T. cilius

If we can prefer personal merit to accidental greatness, we shall esteem the birth of Tacitus more truly noble than that of kings. He claimed his descent from the philosophic historian, whose works were a noble instruction to last generations of mankind. The senator Tacitus was then seventy-five years of age. The long period of his innocent life was adorned with wealth and honours. He had twice been invested with the consular dignity, and enjoyed with elegance and sobriety his ample patrimony of between two and three millions sterling. The experience of so many princes, whom he had esteemed or endured, from the vain follies of Elagabalus to the useful meour of Aurelian, taught him to form a just estimate of the duties, the dangers, and the temptations, of their sublime station. From the assiduous study of his immortal ancestor, he derived the knowledge of the Roman constitution, and of human nature. The voice of the people had already named Tacitus as the citizen the most worthy of empire. The ungrateful honour reached his ears, and induced him to seek the retirement of one of his villas in Campania. He had passed two months in the delightful privacy of Baïe, when he reluctantly obeyed the summons of the consul

to resume his honourable place in the senate,  
and to assist the republic with his counsels on  
this important occasion.

He arose to speak, when, from every quarter of the house, he was saluted with the names of Augustus and Emperor. " Tacitus Augustus, the gods preserve thee; we choose thee for our sovereign; to thy care we intrust the republic and the world. " Accept the empire from the authority of the senate. It is due to thy rank, to thy conduct, to thy manners." As soon as the tumult of acclamations subsided, Tacitus attempted to decline the dangerous honour, and to express his wonder that they should cleet his age and infirmities to succeed the martial vigour of Aulian. " Are these limbs, conscript fathers! " fitted to sustain the weight of armour, or to practise the exercises of the camp? The variety of climates, and the hardships of a military life, would soon oppress a feeble constitution, which subsists only by the most tender management. My exhausted strength scarcely enables me to discharge the duty of a senator; how insufficient would it prove to the arduous labours of war and government! Can you hope that the legions will respect a weak old man, whose days have been spent in the shade of peace and retirement? Can you desire that I should ever find reason to regret the favourable opinion of the senate?"

The reluctance of Tacitus, and it <sup>and accents</sup> might possibly be sincere, was encountered the purple. by the intemperate obstinacy of the senate. Five hundred voices repeated at once, in eloquent confusion, that the greatest of the Roman princes, Numa, Tiber, Hadrian, and the Antonines, had ascended the throne in a very advanced season of life; that the mind, not the body, a sovereign, not a soldier, was the object of their choice; and that they expected from him no more than to guide by his wisdom, the valour of the legions. These pressing though tumultuary instances were seconded by a more regular oration of Metius Falcovius, the next on the consular bench to Tacitus himself. He reminded the assembly of the evils which Rome had endured from the vices of headstrong and capricious youths; congratulated them on the election of a virtuous and experienced senator; and, with a manly, though perhaps a selfish freedom, exhorted Tacitus to remember the reasons of his elevation, and to seek a successor, not in his own family, but in the republic. The speech of Falcovius was enforced by a general acclamation. The emperor elect submitted to the authority of his country, and received the voluntary homage of his equals. The judgment of the senate was confirmed by the consent of the Roman people, and of the praetorian guards.<sup>11</sup>

4. Voprosy o Iliot. Avtor otvetil na 10 voprosov, postavlennykh uchashchimsya, i skazal, imenno pri etom on i razsuzhdal, kak pravilno razbiratsya v tekste. On predpolozhil, chto eto mozhno sdelat' s pomoshch'yu takogo priema, kak analiza i razbirochka teksta na slova i frazy. On skazal, chto eto mozhno sdelat' s pomoshch'yu takogo priema, kak analiza i razbirochka teksta na slova i frazy.

[illegible]

Authority of  
the senate.

The administration of Tacitus was not unworthy of his life and principles. A grateful servant of the senate, he considered that national council as the author, and himself as the subject, of the laws.<sup>12</sup> He studied to heal the wounds which Imperial pride, civil discord, and military violence, had inflicted on the constitution, and to restore at least the image of the ancient republic, as it had been preserved by the policy of Augustus, and the virtues of Trajan and the Antonines. It may not be useless to recapitulate some of the most important prerogatives which the senate appeared to have regained by the election of Tacitus.<sup>13</sup>

1. To invest one of their body, under the title of emperor, with the general command of the armies, and the government of the frontier provinces. 2. To determine the list, or, as it was then styled, the College of Consuls. They were twelve in number, who, in successive pairs, each, during the space of two months, filled the year, and represented the dignity of that ancient office. The authority of the senate, in the nomination of the consuls, was exercised with such independent freedom, that no regard was paid to an irregular request of the emperor in favour of his brother Florianus. "The senate," exclaimed Tacitus, with the honest transport of a patriot, "understand the character of a prince whom 'they have chosen.'" 3. To appoint the proconsuls and presidents of the provinces, and to confer on all the magistrates their civil jurisdiction. 4. To receive appeals, through the intermediate office of the præfect of the city, from all the tribunals of the empire. 5. To give force and validity, by their decrees, to such as they should approve of the emperor's edicts. 6. To these several branches of authority we may add some inspection over the finances, since, even in the stern reign of Aurelian, it was in their power to divert a part of the revenue from the public service.<sup>14</sup>

Their joy and  
confidence.

Circular epistles were sent, without delay, to all the principal cities of the empire, Treves, Milan, Aquileia, Thessalonica, Corinth, Athens, Antioch, Alexandria, and Carthage, to claim their obedience, and to inform them of the happy revolution which had restored the Roman senate to its ancient dignity. Two of these epistles are still extant. We likewise possess two very singular fragments of the private correspondence of the senators on this occasion. They discover the most excessive joy, and the most unbounded hopes. "Cast away 'your indolence,'" it is thus that one of the senators addresses his friend, "emerge from 'your retirements of Baia and Puteoli. Give 'yourself to the city, to the senate. Rome 'flourishes, the whole republic flourishes. 'Thanks to the Roman army, to an army 'truly Roman; at length we have recovered 'our just authority, the end of all our desires. 'We hear appeals, we appoint proconsuls, we 'create emperors; perhaps too we may restrain

"them—to the wise a word is sufficient."<sup>15</sup> These lofty expectations were, however, soon disappointed; nor, indeed, was it possible that the armies and the provinces should long obey the luxurious and unwarlike nobles of Rome. On the slightest touch, the unsupported fabric of their pride and power fell to the ground. The expiring senate displayed a sudden lustre, blazed for a moment, and was extinguished for ever.

All that had yet passed at Rome was no more than a theatrical representation, unless it was ratified by the more substantial power of the legions. Leaving the senators to enjoy their dream of freedom and ambition, Tacitus proceeded to the Thracian camp, and was there, by the prætorian præfect, presented to the assembled troops, as the prince whom they themselves had demanded, and whom the senate had bestowed. As soon as the præfect was silent, the emperor addressed himself to the soldiers with eloquence and propriety. He gratified their avarice by a liberal distribution of treasure, under the names of pay and donative. He engaged their esteem by a spirited declaration, that although his age might disable him from the performance of military exploits, his counsels should never be unworthy of a Roman general, the successor of the brave Aurelian.<sup>16</sup>

A. D. 276.  
Tacitus is  
acknowledged  
by the army.

Whilst the deceased emperor was making preparations for a second expedition into the east, he had negotiated with the Alani, a Scythian people, who pitched their tents in the neighbourhood of the lake Mæotis. Those barbarians, allured by presents and subsidies, had promised to invade Persia with a numerous body of light cavalry. They were faithful to their engagements; but when they arrived on the Roman frontier, Aurelian was already dead, the design of the Persian war was at least suspended, and the generals, who, during their interregnum, exercised a doubtful authority, were unprepared either to receive or to oppose them. Provoked by such treatment, which they considered as trifling and perfidious, the Alani had recourse to their own valour for their payment and revenge; and as they moved with the usual swiftness of Tartars, they had soon spread themselves over the provinces of Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Galatia. The legions, who from the opposite shores of the Bosphorus could almost distinguish the flames of the cities and villages, impatiently urged their general to lead them against the invaders. The conduct of Tacitus was suitable to his age and station. He convinced the barbarians of the faith, as well as of the power, of the empire. Great numbers of the Alani, appeased by the punctual discharge of the engagements which Aurelian had contracted with them, relinquished their booty and captives, and quietly retreated to their own deserts, beyond the Phasis. Against the remainder, who refused peace, the Roman emperor waged, in

The Alani invade Asia and are repulsed by Tacitus.

<sup>12</sup> In his manuscripts he never exceeded the number of an hundred, as limited by the Caninian law, which was enacted under Augustus, and at length repealed by Justinian. See Casaubon ad locum Vopiscæ.

<sup>13</sup> See the lives of Tacitus, Florianus, and Probus, in the Augustan History: we may be well assured, that whatever the soldier gave, the senator had already given.

<sup>14</sup> Vopiscus in Vita A. D. 276.

person, a successful war. Seconded by an army of brave and experienced veterans, in a few weeks he delivered the provinces of Asia from the terror of the Scythian invasion.<sup>17</sup>

But the glory and life of Tacitus were of short duration. Transported, in the depth of winter, from the soft retirement of Canipania to the foot of Mount Caucasus, he sunk under the unaccustomed hardships of a military life. The fatigues of the body were aggravated by the cares of the mind. For a while, the angry and selfish passions of the soldiers had been suspended by the enthusiasm of public virtue. They soon broke out with redoubled violence, and raged in the camp, and even in the tent, of the aged emperor. His mild and amiable character served only to inspire contempt, and he was incessantly tormented with factions which he could not assuage, and by demands which it was impossible to satisfy. Whatever flattering expectations he had conceived of reconciling the public disorders, Tacitus soon was convinced, that the licentiousness of the army disdained the feeble restraint of laws, and his last hour was hastened by anguish and disappointment. It may be doubtful whether the soldiers inbrued their hands in the blood of this innocent prince.<sup>18</sup> It is certain that their insolence was the cause of his death.

A.D. 116. He expired at Tyana in Cappadocia, after a reign of only six months and about twenty days.<sup>19</sup>

The eyes of Tacitus were scarcely closed, before his brother Florianus showed himself unworthy to reign, by the hasty usurpation of the purple, without expecting the approbation of the senate. The reverence for the Roman constitution, which yet influenced the camp and the provinces, was sufficiently strong to dispose them to censure, but not to provoke them to oppose, the precipitate ambition of Florianus. The discontent would have evaporated in idle murmurs, had not the general of the east, the heroic Probus, boldly declared himself the avenger of the senate. The contest, however, was still unequal; nor could the most able leader, at the head of the effeminate troops of Egypt and Syria, encounter, with any hopes of victory, the legions of Europe, whose irresistible strength appeared to support the brother of Tacitus. But the fortune and activity of Probus triumphed over every obstacle. The hardy veterans of his rival, accustomed to cold climates, sickened and consumed away in the sultry heats of Cilicia, where the summer proved remarkably unwholesome. Their numbers were diminished by frequent desertion, the passes of the mountains were feebly defended; Tarsus opened its gates; and the soldiers of Florianus, when they had permitted him to enjoy

the Imperial title about three months, delivered the empire from civil war by the easy sacrifice of a prince whom they despised.<sup>20</sup>

The perpetual revolutions of the throne had so perfectly erased every notion of hereditary right, that the family of an unfortunate emperor was incapable of exciting the jealousy of his successors. The children of Tacitus and Florianus were permitted to descend into a private station, and to mingle with the general mass of the people. Their poverty indeed became an additional safeguard to their innocence. When Tacitus was elected by the senate, he resigned his ample patrimony to the public service,<sup>21</sup> an act of generosity specious in appearance, but which evidently disclosed his intention of transmitting the empire to his descendants. The only consolation of their fallen state, was the remembrance of transient greatness, and a distant hope, the child of a flattering prophecy, that, at the end of a thousand years, a monarch of the race of Tacitus should arise, the protector of the senate, the restorer of Rome, and the conqueror of the whole earth.<sup>22</sup>

The peasants of Illyricum, who had already given Claudius and Aurelian to the sinking empire, had an equal right to glory in the elevation of Probus.<sup>23</sup> Above twenty years before, the emperor Valerian, with his usual penetration, had discovered the rising merit of the young soldier, on whom he conferred the rank of tribune, long before the age prescribed by the military regulations. The tribune soon justified his choice, by a victory over a great body of Sarmatians, in which he saved the life of a near relation of Valerian; and deserved to receive from the emperor's hand the collars, bracelets, spears, and banners, the mural and the civic crown, and all the honourable rewards reserved by ancient Rome for successful valour. The third, and afterwards the tenth, legion were intrusted to the command of Probus, who, in every step of his promotion, showed himself superior to the station which he filled. Africa and Pontus, the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, and the Nile, by turns afforded him the most splendid occasions of displaying his personal prowess and his conduct in war. Aurelian was indebted to him for the conquest of Egypt, and still more indebted for the honest courage with which he often checked the cruelty of his master. Tacitus, who desired by the abilities of his generals to supply his own deficiency of military talents, named him commander in chief of all the eastern provinces, with five times the usual salary, the promise of the consulship, and the hope of a triumph. When Probus as-

<sup>17</sup> Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 270. Zosimus, l. i. p. 57. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 657. Two passages in the *Historia Augusta* p. 270. 657. seem to imply, that these Scythian invasions of Pontus were Alani. If we may be so bold as to say, Zosimus (l. i. p. 58) has copied from him as far as the Emperor's Bo-herus. But he had scarce time for so long and difficult an expedition.

<sup>18</sup> Eutropius and Aurelius Victor only say that he died: Victor Junior adds, that it was of a fever. Zonaras and Zonaras affirm, that he was killed by the soldiers. Vopiscus mentions both accounts, and seems to hesitate. Yet surely these jarring opinions are easily reconciled.

<sup>19</sup> According to the two Vectors, he reigned exactly two hundred

<sup>20</sup> Hist. August. p. 271. Zosimus, l. i. p. 58, 59. Zonaras, l. xii. p. 657. Aurelius Victor says, that Probus assumed the empire in Persum, a common which (though adapted by a very learned man) would be a short period of history into inevitable confusion.

<sup>21</sup> Hist. August. p. 270.

<sup>22</sup> He was to send judges to the Parthians, Persians, and Sarmatians, a president to Taprobana, and a consul to the Korean island (supposed by Cassiodorus and Strabo to be the British) such a list of provinces as Vopiscus with proper modesty will not submit a thousand years to expose or just the prediction.

<sup>23</sup> For the private life of Probus, see Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 271-277.

July.  
Their family  
subsists in  
obscurity.

Character and  
elevation of the  
emperor Probus.



cended the Imperial throne, he was about forty-four years of age;<sup>24</sup> in the full possession of his fame, of the love of the army, and of a mature vigour of mind and body.

His acknowledged merit, and the success of his arms against Flavianus, left him without an enemy or a competitor. Yet, if we may credit his own professions, very far from being desirous of the empire, he had accepted it with the most sincere reluctance. "But it is no longer in my power," says Probus, in a private letter, "to lay down a title so full of envy and of danger. I must continue to personate the character which the soldiers have imposed upon me."<sup>25</sup> His dutiful address to the senate displayed the sentiments, or at least the language, of a Roman patriot: "When you elected one of your order, conscript fathers! to succeed the emperor Aurelian, you acted in a manner suitable to your justice and wisdom. For you are the legal sovereigns of the world, and the power which you derive from your ancestors, will descend to your posterity. Happy would it have been, if Flavianus, instead of usurping the purple of his brother, like a private inheritance, had expected what your majesty might determine, either in his favour, or in that of any other person. The prudent soldiers have punished his rashness. To me they have offered the title of Augustus. But I submit to your clemency my pretensions and my merits."<sup>26</sup>

A. D. 276. When this respectful epistle was read by the consul, the senators were unable to disguise their satisfaction, that Probus should condescend thus humbly to solicit a sceptre which he already possessed. They celebrated with the warmest gratitude his virtues, his exploits, and above all his moderation. A decree immediately passed, without a dissenting voice, to ratify the election of the eastern armies, and to confer on their chief all the several branches of the Imperial dignity: the names of Caesar and Augustus, the title of Father of his Country, the right of making in the same day three motions in the senate,<sup>27</sup> the office of Pontifex Maximus, the tribunitian power, and the proconsular command; a mode of investiture, which, though it seemed to multiply the authority of the emperor, expressed the constitution of the ancient republic. The reign of Probus corresponded with this fair beginning. The senate was permitted to direct the civil administration of the empire. Their faithful general asserted the honour of the Roman arms, and often laid at their feet crowns of gold and barbaric trophies, the fruits of his numerous victories.<sup>28</sup> Yet, whilst he gratified their vanity, he must secretly have despised their indolence and weakness. Though it was every

moment in their power to repeal the disgraceful edict of Gallienus, the proud successors of the Scipios patiently acquiesced in their exclusion from all military employments. They soon experienced, that those who refuse the sword, must renounce the sceptre.

The strength of Aurelian had crushed on every side the enemies of Rome. After his death they seemed to revive with an increase of fury and of numbers. They were again vanquished by the active vigour of Probus, who, in a short reign of about six years,<sup>29</sup> equalled the fame of ancient heroes, and restored peace and order to every province of the Roman world. The dangerous frontier of Rhetia he so firmly secured, that he left it without the suspicion of an enemy. He broke the wandering power of the Sarmatian tribes, and by the terror of his arms compelled those barbarians to relinquish their spoil. The Gothic nation courted the alliance of so warlike an emperor.<sup>30</sup> He attacked the Isaurians in their mountains, besieged and took several of their strongest castles,<sup>31</sup> and flattered himself that he had for ever suppressed a domestic foe, whose independence so deeply wounded the majesty of the empire. The troubles excited by the usurper Firmus in the Upper Egypt, had never been perfectly appeased, and the cities of Ptolemais and Coptos, fortified by the alliance of the Blemmyes, still maintained an obscure rebellion. The chastisement of those cities, and of their auxiliaries the savages of the South, is said to have alarmed the court of Persia,<sup>32</sup> and the Great King sued in vain for the friendship of Probus. Most of the exploits which distinguished his reign, were achieved by the personal valour and conduct of the emperor, inasmuch that the writer of his life expresses some amazement how, in so short a time, a single man could be present in so many distant wars. The remaining actions he intrusted to the care of his lieutenants, the judicious choice of whom forms no inconsiderable part of his glory. Carus, Diocletian, Maximian, Constantius, Galerius, Asclepiodatus, Anibalbanus, and a crowd of other chiefs, who afterwards ascended or supported the throne, were trained to arms in the severe school of Aurelian and Probus.<sup>33</sup>

But the most important service which Probus rendered to the republic, was the deliverance of Gaul, and the recovery of seventy flourishing cities oppressed by the barbarians of Germany, who, since the death of Aurelian, had ravaged that great province with impunity.<sup>34</sup> Among the various multitude of those fierce invaders, we may distinguish, with some degree of clearness, three great armies, or rather nations, successively vanquished by the valour of Probus.

<sup>29</sup> The date and duration of the reign of Probus are very correctly ascertained by Cardinal Noris in his learned work, *De Epochis Syn-Mac II. c. 10*, p. 96-105. A passage of Eusebius connects the second year of Probus with the general seizure of the Syrian cities.

<sup>30</sup> Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 239.

<sup>31</sup> Zonaras (l. i. p. 62-65) tells a very long and trailing story of Isauria the Isaurian robber.

<sup>32</sup> Zonaras (l. i. p. 65) Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 239, 240. But it seems incredible that the defeat of the savages of Ethiopia could affect the court of Persia.

<sup>33</sup> Besides these well-known chiefs, several others are named by Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 241, whose actions have not reached our knowledge.

<sup>34</sup> See the causes of Julian, and Hist. August. p. 236, 240, 241.

<sup>24</sup> According to the Alexandrian chronicle he was fifty at the time of his death.

<sup>25</sup> The letter was addressed to the provincial prefect, whom the condition of his good behaviour had prompted to continue in his post. See Hist. August. l. i. p. 237.

<sup>26</sup> Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 237. The date of the letter is ascertained by Zonaras (l. i. p. 62).

<sup>27</sup> Hist. August. l. i. p. 238. It is said, that the senate thanked the emperor, less favourably than Marcus Antoninus. This praise had been even before the death of Probus, but could not be given. See Zonaras in Hist. August. p. 64.

<sup>28</sup> See the distant letter of Probus to the senate after his first military successes. Hist. August. p. 232.

Victories of  
Probus over  
the barbarians.

A. D. 277.  
He delivers  
Gaul from the  
invaders of  
the Germans.

He drove back the Franks into their morasses; a descriptive circumstance from whence we may infer, that the confederacy known by the manly appellation of *free*, already occupied the flat maritime country, intersected and almost over-drown by the stagnating waters of the Rhine, and that several tribes of the Frijians and Bata-vians had acceded to their alliance. He vanquished the Burgundians, a considerable people of the Vandalic race. They had wandered in quest of booty from the banks of the Oder to those of the Seine. They esteemed themselves sufficiently fortunate to purchase, by the restitution of all their booty, the permission of an undisturbed retreat. They attempted to elude that article of the treaty. Their punishment was immediate and terrible.<sup>35</sup> But of all the invaders of Gaul, the most formidable were the Lygians, a distant people, who reigned over a wide domain on the frontiers of Poland and Silesia.<sup>36</sup> In the Lygian nation, the Arian held the first rank by their numbers and fierceness. "The Arian (it is thus that they are described by "the energy of Tacitus) study to improve by "art and circumstances the innate terrors of "their barbarism. Their shields are black, their "bodies are painted black. They choose for "the combat the darkest hour of the night. "Their host advances, covered as it were with "a funeral shade;<sup>37</sup> nor do they often find an "enemy capable of sustaining so strange and "infernal an aspect. Of all our senses, the "eyes are the first vanquished in battle."<sup>38</sup> Yet the arms and discipline of the Romans easily discomfited these horrid phantoms. The Lygii were defeated in a general engagement, and Sennio, the most renowned of their chiefs, fell alive into the hands of Probus. That prudent emperor, unwilling to reduce a brave people to despair, granted them an honourable capitulation, and permitted them to return in safety to their native country. But the losses which they suffered in the march, the battle, and the retreat, broke the power of the nation: nor is the Lygian name ever repeated in the history either of Germany or of the empire. The deliverance of Gaul is reported to have cost the lives of four hundred thousand of the invaders; a work of labour to the Romans, and of expence to the emperor, who gave a piece of gold for the head of every barbarian.<sup>39</sup> But as the fame of warriors is built on the destruction of human kind, we may naturally suspect, that the sanguinary account was multiplied by the avarice of the soldiers, and accepted without any very severe examination by the liberal vanity of Probus.

Since the expedition of Maximin, the Roman generals had confined their ambition to a defensive war against the nations of Germany, who perpetually pressed on the frontiers of the empire. The more daring Probus pursued his Gallic victo-

ries, passed the Rhine, and displayed his invincible eagles on the banks of the Elbe and the Necker. He was fully convinced that nothing could reconcile the minds of the barbarians to peace, unless they experienced in their own country the calamities of war. Germany, exhausted by the ill success of the last emigration, was astonished by his presence. Nine of the most considerable princes repaired to his camp, and fell prostrate at his feet. Such a treaty was humbly received by the Germans, as it pleased the conqueror to dictate. He exacted a strict restitution of the effects and captives which they had carried away from the provinces; and obliged their own magistrates to punish the more obstinate robbers who presumed to detain any part of the spoil. A considerable tribute of corn, cattle, and horses, the only wealth of barbarians, was reserved for the use of the garrisons which Probus established on the limits of their territory. He even entertained some thoughts of compelling the Germans to relinquish the exercise of arms, and to trust their differences to the justice, their safety to the power, of Rome. To accomplish these salutary ends, the constant residence of an imperial governor, supported by a numerous army, was indispensably requisite. Probus therefore judged it more expedient to defer the execution of so great a design; which was indeed rather of specious than solid utility.<sup>40</sup> Had Germany been reduced into the state of a province, the Romans, with immense labour and expence, would have acquired only a more extensive boundary to defend against the fiercer and more active barbarians of Scythia.

Instead of reducing the warlike <sup>Belinda's</sup> natives of Germany to the condition <sup>settled in the</sup> of subjects, Probus contented him- <sup>Druidic</sup> self with the humble expedient of raising a bulwark against their invasions. The country, which now forms the circle of Swabia, had been left desert in the age of Augustus by the emigration of its ancient inhabitants.<sup>41</sup> The fertility of the soil soon attracted a new colony from the adjacent provinces of Gaul. Crowds of adventurers, of a loving temper and of desperate fortunes, occupied the doubtful possession, and acknowledged, by the payment of tithes, the majesty of the empire.<sup>42</sup> To protect these new subjects, a line of frontier garrisons was gradually extended from the Rhine to the Danube. About the reign of Hadrian, when that mode of defence began to be practised, these garrisons were fortified and covered by a strong intrenchment of trees and palisades. In the place of so rude a bulwark, the emperor Probus constructed a stone wall of a considerable height, and strengthened it by towers at convenient distances. From the neighbourhood of Newstadt and Ratisbon on the Danube, it stretched across hills, valleys, rivers, and morasses, as far as Wimpfen on the Neckar, and at length terminated on the banks of the

<sup>35</sup> Zosimus, lib. p. 62. H. E. August. c. 210. But the barbarians possess the plain himself, and with the assistance of the black ages, as it is said, the first of the

<sup>36</sup> See Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 41. Probus placed them in their country, and they were the first of the

<sup>37</sup> *Frontiniana*, c. 1. Expressions of the same kind, c. 46, 47, 48.

<sup>38</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 15.

<sup>39</sup> Zosimus, lib. August. c. 210.

<sup>40</sup> H. E. August. p. 272, 273. A very singular letter from the emperor, in the sense in which he conceived his design of obliging

the natives to settle in the country, is given in the *Epist. ad Germanos*, c. 1. The same is also in the *Epist. ad Germanos*, c. 1.

<sup>41</sup> See Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 41. Probus placed them in their country, and they were the first of the

<sup>42</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 15.

Rhine, after a winding course of near two hundred miles.<sup>43</sup> This important barrier, uniting the two mighty streams that protected the provinces of Europe, seemed to fill up the vacant space through which the barbarians, and particularly the Alemanni, could penetrate with the greatest facility into the heart of the empire. But the experience of the world, from China to Britain, has exposed the vain attempt of fortifying any extensive tract of country.<sup>44</sup> An active enemy, who can select and vary his points of attack, must, in the end, discover some feeble spot, or some unguarded moment. The strength as well as the attention, of the defenders is divided; and such are the blind effects of terror on the firmest troops, that a line broken in a single place is almost instantly deserted. The fate of the wall which Probus erected, may confirm the general observation. Within a few years after his death, it was overthrown by the Alemanni. Its scattered ruins, universally ascribed to the power of the Dæmon, now serve only to excite the wonder of the Swabian peasant.

Among the useful conditions of peace imposed by Probus on the vanquished nations of Germany, was the obligation of supplying the Roman army with sixteen thousand recruits, the bravest and most robust of their youth. The emperor dispersed them through all the provinces, and distributed this dangerous reinforcement in small bands, of fifty or sixty each, among the national troops; judiciously observing, that the aid which the republic derived from the barbarians, should be felt but not seen.<sup>45</sup> Their aid was now become necessary. The feeble elegance of Italy and the internal provinces could no longer support the weight of arms. The hardy frontier of the Rhine and Danube still produced minds and bodies equal to the labours of the camp; but a perpetual series of wars had gradually diminished their numbers. The infrequency of marriage, and the ruin of agriculture, affected the principles of population, and not only destroyed the strength of the present, but intercepted the hope of future generations. The wisdom of Probus embraced a great and beneficial plan of replenishing the exhausted frontiers, by new colonies of captive or fugitive barbarians, on whom he bestowed lands, cattle, instruments of husbandry, and every encouragement that might engage them to educate a race of soldiers for the service of the republic. Into Britain, and most probably into Cambridgeshire,<sup>46</sup> he transported a considerable body of Vandals. The impossibility of an escape reconciled them to their situation, and in the subsequent troubles of that island, they approved themselves the most faithful servants of the state.<sup>47</sup> Great numbers of Franks and Gepidae were settled on

the banks of the Danube and the Rhine. An hundred thousand Bastarnæ, expelled from their own country, cheerfully accepted an establishment in Thrace, and soon imbibed the manners and sentiments of Roman subjects.<sup>48</sup> But the expectations of Probus were too often disappointed. The impatience and idleness of the barbarians could ill brook the slow labours of agriculture. Their unconquerable love of freedom, rising against despotism, provoked them into hasty rebellions, alike fatal to themselves and to the provinces,<sup>49</sup> nor could these artificial supplies, however repeated by succeeding emperors, restore the important limit of Gaul and Illyricum to its ancient and native vigour.

Of all the barbarians who abandoned their new settlements, and disturbed the public tranquillity, a very small number returned to their own country. For a short season they might wander in arms through the empire; but in the end they were surely destroyed by the power of a warlike emperor. The successful rashness of a party of Franks was attended, however, with such memorable consequences, that it ought not to be passed unnoticed. They had been established by Probus on the sea-coast of Pontus, with a view of strengthening the frontier against the inroads of the Alani. A fleet stationed in one of the harbours of the Euxine, fell into the hands of the Franks; and they resolved, through unknown seas, to explore their way from the mouth of the Phasis to that of the Rhine. They easily escaped through the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, and cruising along the Mediterranean, indulged their appetite for revenge and plunder, by frequent descents on the unsuspecting shores of Asia, Greece, and Africa. The opulent city of Syracuse, in whose port the navies of Athens and Carthage had formerly been sunk, was sacked by a handful of barbarians, who massacred the greatest part of the trembling inhabitants. From the island of Sicily, the Franks proceeded to the columns of Hercules, trusted themselves to the ocean, coasted round Spain and Gaul, and steering their triumphant course through the British channel, at length finished their surprising voyage, by landing in safety on the Batavian or Frisian shores.<sup>50</sup> The example of their success, instructing their countrymen to conceive the advantages, and to despise the dangers, of the sea, pointed out to their enterprising spirit, a new road to wealth and glory.

Notwithstanding the vigilance and activity of Probus, it was almost impossible that he could at once retain in obedience every part of his wide-extended dominions. The barbarians, who broke their chains, had seized the favourable opportunity of a domestic war. When the emperor marched to the

Daring enterprise of the Franks.

Revolt of Sarmatians in the East.

<sup>43</sup> See notes de l'Abbé de St. Hieron à la Germanie de Tacite, p. 133. His account of the wall is chiefly borrowed (as he says himself) from the *Attilia Illustrata* of Schoepfin.

<sup>44</sup> See Recherches sur les Chinois et les Egyptiens, tom. i. p. 51-102. The anonymous author is well acquainted with the globe in general, and with Germany in particular. With regard to the latter, he quotes a work of St. Hilarion, but he seems to confound the wall of Probus, designed against the Alemanni, with the fortification of the Matraci, constructed in the neighbourhood of Frankfurt against the Catti.

<sup>45</sup> He distributed about fifty or sixty barbarians to a *Numerus*, as it was then called, a corps, with whose established number we are not exactly acquainted.

<sup>46</sup> Camden's Britannia, Introduction, p. 136, but he speaks from a very doubtful conjecture.

<sup>47</sup> Zosimus, l. i. p. 62. According to Vopiscus, another body of Vandals, was less faithful.

<sup>48</sup> Hist. August. p. 210. They were probably expelled by the Goths. Zosim. l. i. p. 66.

<sup>49</sup> Hist. August. p. 210.

<sup>50</sup> Panegyric. l. et. v. 15. Zosimus, l. i. p. 66.

relief of Gaul he devolved the command of the East on Saturninus. That general, a man of merit and experience, was driven into rebellion by the absence of his sovereign, the levity of the Alexandrian people, the pressing instances of his friends, and his own fears; but from the moment of his elevation, he never entertained a hope of empire, or even of life. "Alas!" he said, "the republic has lost a useful servant, and the rashness of an hour has destroyed the services of many years. You know not," continued he, "the misery of sovereign power; a sword is perpetually suspended over our head. We dread our very guards, we distrust our companions. The choice of action or of repose is no longer in our disposition, nor is there any age, or character, or conduct, that can protect us from the censure of envy. In thus exalting me to the throne you have doomed me to a life of cares, and to an untimely fate. The only consolation which remains is, the assurance that I shall not fall alone."<sup>51</sup> But as the former part of his prediction was verified by the victory, so the latter was disappointed by the clemency, of Probus. That amiable prince attempted even to save the unhappy Saturninus from the fury of the soldiers. He had more than once solicited the usurper

himself, to place some confidence in the mercy of a sovereign who so highly esteemed his character, that he had punished, as a malicious informer, the first who related the improbable news of his defection.<sup>52</sup> Saturninus might, perhaps, have embraced the generous offer, had he not been restrained by the obstinate distrust of his adherents. Their guilt was deeper, and their hopes more sanguine, than those of their experienced leader.

The revolt of Saturninus was scarcely extinguished in the East, before new troubles were excited in the West, by the rebellion of Bonosus and Proculus, in Gaul. The most distinguished merit of those two officers, was their respective prowess, of the one in the combats of Bacchus, of the other in those of Venus,<sup>53</sup> yet neither of them were destitute of courage and capacity, and both sustained, with honour, the august character which the fear of punishment had engaged them to assume, till they sunk at length beneath the superior genius of Probus. He used the victory with his accustomed moderation, and spared the fortunes as well as the lives of their innocent families.<sup>54</sup>

The arms of Probus had now suppressed all the foreign and domestic enemies of the state. His mild but steady administration confirmed the re-establishment of the public tranquillity; nor was there left in the provinces a hostile bar-

barian, a tyrant, or even a robber, to revive the memory of past disorders. It was time that the emperor should revisit Rome, and celebrate his own glory and the general happiness. The triumph due to the valour of Probus was conducted with a magnificence suitable to his fortune, and the people who had so lately admired the trophies of Aurelian, gazed with equal pleasure on those of his heroic successor.<sup>55</sup> We cannot, on this occasion, forget the desperate courage of about fourscore gladiators, reserved, with near six hundred others, for the inhuman sports of the amphitheatre. Disdaining to shed their blood for the amusement of the populace, they killed their keepers, broke from the place of their confinement, and filled the streets of Rome with blood and confusion. After an obstinate resistance, they were overpowered and cut in pieces by the regular forces; but they obtained at least an honourable death, and the satisfaction of a just revenge.<sup>56</sup>

The military discipline which <sup>His discipline.</sup> reigned in the camps of Probus was less cruel than that of Aurelian, but it was equally rigid and exact. The latter had punished the irregularities of the soldiers with unrelenting severity, the former prevented them by employing the legions in constant and useful labours. When Probus commanded in Egypt, he executed many considerable works for the splendour and benefit of that rich country. The navigation of the Nile, so important to Rome itself, was improved; and temples, bridges, porticoes, and palaces, were constructed by the hands of the soldiers, who acted by turns as architects, as engineers, and as husbandmen.<sup>57</sup> It was reported of Hannibal, that, in order to preserve his troops from the dangerous temptations of idleness, he had obliged them to form large plantations of olive trees along the coast of Africa.<sup>58</sup> From a similar principle, Probus exercised his legions in covering, with rich vineyards, the hills of Gaul and Pannonia, and two considerable spots are described, which were entirely dug and planted by military labour.<sup>59</sup> One of these, known under the name of Mount Almo, was situated near Sirmium, the country where Probus was born, for which he ever retained a partial affection, and whose gratitude he endeavoured to secure, by converting into tillage a large and unhealthy tract of marshy ground. An army thus employed, constituted perhaps the most useful, as well as the bravest, portion of Roman subjects.

But in the prosecution of a favourite scheme, the best of men, <sup>His death.</sup> satisfied with the rectitude of their intentions, are subject to forget the bounds of moderation; nor did Probus himself sufficiently consult the patience and disposition of his fierce legion-

<sup>51</sup> Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 215, 216. The unfortunate error had sprung from a fault in the text, and was not in the original. A Minor (Zonar. l. i. p. 60) than a bad day, but a good one.

<sup>52</sup> Zonaras, l. i. p. 63.

<sup>53</sup> A very surprising instance is recorded of the prowess of Probus. He had taken one hundred warriors in arms. The rest of the army he must rate in his own language. Ex his armis, non deinde, non omnes armati, quod in hoc erat, trinites intra quatuordecim redidit. Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 216.

<sup>54</sup> Probus, who was a native of Albanopolis, on the German coast, armed two thousand of his own slaves. His in his own ground, if they were found by robbery. It was from this family that the family, Nere (from the sea), the principles also placed. Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 217.

<sup>55</sup> Hist. August. p. 210.

<sup>56</sup> Zonaras, l. i. p. 64.

<sup>57</sup> Hist. August. p. 216.

<sup>58</sup> Aurel. Victor in Prob. But the policy of Hannibal, unimproved by any more ancient writer, is, in some, made with the history of his life. He left Africa when he was nine years old, returned to it when he was fifteen, and in immediately lost his army in the decisive battle of Zama. Frontin. l. i. p. 17.

<sup>59</sup> Hist. August. p. 217. Aurel. Victor in Prob. Victor in Prob. Hist. August. p. 217. The emperor, who was a native of Sirmium, the country where Probus was born, for which he ever retained a partial affection, and whose gratitude he endeavoured to secure, by converting into tillage a large and unhealthy tract of marshy ground. An army thus employed, constituted perhaps the most useful, as well as the bravest, portion of Roman subjects.

aries.<sup>60</sup> The dangers of the military profession seem only to be compensated by a life of pleasure and idleness; but if the duties of the soldier are incessantly aggravated by the labours of the peasant, he will at last sink under the intolerable burden, or shake it off with indignation. The imprudence of Probus is said to have inflamed the discontent of his troops. More attentive to the interests of mankind than to those of the army, he expressed the vain hope, that, by the establishment of universal peace, he should soon abolish the necessity of a standing and mercenary force.<sup>61</sup> The unguarded expression proved fatal to him. In one of the hottest days of summer, as he severely urged the unwholesome labour of draining the marshes of Simium, the soldiers, impatient of fatigue, on a sudden threw down their tools, grasped their arms, and broke out into a furious mutiny. The emperor, conscious of his danger, took refuge in a lofty tower, constructed for the purpose of surveying the progress of the work.<sup>62</sup> The tower was instantly forced, and a thousand

A. D. 282.

August.

swords were plunged at once into the bosom of the unfortunate Probus. The rage of the troops subsided as soon as it had been gratified. They then lamented their fatal rashness, forgot the severity of the emperor, whom they had massacred, and hastened to perpetuate, by an honourable monument, the memory of his virtues and victories.<sup>63</sup>

Election and character of Carus.

When the legions had indulged their grief and repentance for the death of Probus, their unanimous consent declared Carus, his prætorian præfect, the most deserving of the Imperial throne. Every circumstance that relates to this prince appears of a mixed and doubtful nature. He gloried in the title of Roman Citizen; and affected to compare the purity of his blood, with the foreign and even barbarous origin of the preceding emperors; yet the most inquisitive of his contemporaries, very far from admitting his claim, have variously deduced his own birth, or that of his parents, from Illyricum, from Gaul, or from Africa.<sup>64</sup> Though a soldier, he had received a learned education; though a senator, he was invested with the first dignity of the army; and in an age, when the civil and military professions began to be irrecoverably separated from each other, they were united in the person of Carus. Notwithstanding the severe justice which he exercised against the assassins of Probus, to whose favour and esteem he was highly indebted, he could not escape the suspicion of being accessory to a deed from whence he derived the principal advantage. He enjoyed, at least before his elevation, an acknowledged character of virtue and abilities;<sup>65</sup> but his austere temper insensibly degenerated into

moroseness and cruelty; and the imperfect writers of his life almost hesitate whether they shall not rank him in the number of Roman tyrants.<sup>66</sup> When Carus assumed the purple, he was about sixty years of age, and his two sons, Carinus and Numerian, had already attained the season of manhood.<sup>67</sup>

Th. sentiments of the senate and people.

The authority of the senate expired with Probus; nor was the repentance of the soldiers displayed by the same dutiful regard for the civil power, which they had testified after the unfortunate death of Aurelian. The election of Carus was decided without expecting the approbation of the senate, and the new emperor contented himself with announcing, in a cold and stately epistle, that he had ascended the vacant throne.<sup>68</sup> A behaviour so very opposite to that of his amiable predecessor, afforded no favourable presage of the new reign; and the Romans, deprived of power and freedom, asserted their privilege of licentious murmurs.<sup>69</sup> The voice of congratulation and flattery was not however silent; and we may still perceive, with pleasure and contempt, an eclogue, which was composed on the accession of the emperor Carus. Two shepherds, avoiding the noontide heat, retire into the cave of Faunus. On a spreading beech they discover some recent characters. The rural deity had described, in prophetic verses, the felicity promised to the empire under the reign of so great a prince. Faunus hails the approach of that hero, who, receiving on his shoulders the sinking weight of the Roman world, shall extinguish war and fiction, and once again restore the innocence and security of the golden age.<sup>70</sup>

It is more than probable, that Carus defeats the Sarmatians, and marches into the East.

with the consent of the legions, was preparing to execute the long suspended design of the Persian war. Before his departure for this distant expedition, Carus conferred on his two sons, Carinus and Numerian, the title of Cæsar, and investing the former with almost an equal share of the Imperial power, directed the young prince, first to suppress some troubles which had arisen in Gaul, and afterwards to fix the seat of his residence at Rome, and to assume the government of the Western provinces.<sup>71</sup> The safety of Illyricum was confirmed by a memorable defeat of the Sarmatians; sixteen thousand of those barbarians remained on the field of battle, and the number of captives amounted to twenty thousand. The old emperor, animated with the fame and prospect of victory, pursued his march, in the midst of winter, through the countries of Thrace and Asia Minor, and at length, with his younger son Numerian, arrived

marble palace, at the public expense, as a just recompense of the singular merit of Carus. August. in Hist. August. p. 219.

<sup>66</sup> Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 212, 219. Julian excludes the emperor Carus, and both his sons from the catalogue of the Cæsars.

<sup>67</sup> John Malacta, tom. i. p. 401. But the opportunity of that ignorant Greek is very slight. He ridiculously derives from Carus, the city of Carriæ, and the province of Caria, the latter of which is mentioned by Homer.

<sup>68</sup> Hist. August. p. 216. Carus congratulated the senate, that one of them might suffer was the emperor.

<sup>69</sup> Hist. August. p. 212. The dignity of Cæsar, that one of them might suffer was the emperor.

<sup>70</sup> See the eclogue in the Catalogue. The dignity of Cæsar, that one of them might suffer was the emperor.

<sup>71</sup> Hist. August. p. 216. Eusebius, in Hist. Eccl. lib. 10.

<sup>60</sup> Julian bestows a severe, and indeed excessive, censure on the nature of Probus, who, as he thinks, laboured under his fate.

<sup>61</sup> Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 212. He wishes on this idle hope a Latin name.

<sup>62</sup> Hist. August. p. 212. It has been a moveable tower, and called the tower of Probus.

<sup>63</sup> Vopiscus, et ceteris probus sitis et victor omnium gentium barbararum: victor etiam t. raurorum. He was born at Nole in Illyricum, confounded by Vopiscus with the noble town of Nole, of that name in Gaul. His mother might be an African, and thus offer a noble Roman.

<sup>64</sup> Carus himself is represented in the eclogue as a Scythian, a Macedonian, and a Gaul. Carus.

<sup>65</sup> Probus had requested of the senate, as Eusebius states, lib. 10.

on the confines of the Persian monarchy. There, encamping on the summit of a lofty mountain, he pointed out to his troops the opulence and luxury of the enemy whom they were about to invade.

A. D. 257.  
He gives audience to the Persian ambassador.

The successor of Artaxerxes, Varanes or Bahram, though he had subdued the Segestans, one of the most warlike nations of Upper Asia,<sup>72</sup> was alarmed at the approach of the Romans, and endeavoured to retard their progress by a negotiation of peace. His ambassadors entered the camp about sunset, at the time when the troops were satisfying their hunger with a frugal repast. The Persians expressed their desire of being introduced to the presence of the Roman emperor. They were at length conducted to a soldier, who was seated on the grass. A piece of stale bacon and a few hard pease composed his supper. A coarse woollen garment of purple was the only circumstance that announced his dignity. The conference was conducted with the same disregard of courtly elegance. Carus, taking off a cap which he wore to conceal his baldness, assured the ambassadors, that, unless their master acknowledged the superiority of Rome, he would speedily render Persia as naked of trees, as his own head was destitute of hair.<sup>73</sup> Notwithstanding some traces of art and preparation, we may discover in this scene the manners of Carus, and the severe simplicity which the martial princes, who succeeded Gallienus, had already restored in the Roman camps. The ministers of the Great King trembled and retired.

His victories and extraordinary death.

The threats of Carus were not without effect. He ravaged Mesopotamia, cut in pieces whatever opposed his passage, made himself master of the great cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon (which seemed to have surrendered without resistance), and carried his victorious arms beyond the Tigris.<sup>74</sup> He had seized the favourable moment for an invasion. The Persian councils were distracted by domestic factions, and the greater part of their forces were detained on the frontiers of India. Rome and the East received with transport the news of such important advantages. Flattery and hope painted, in the most lively colours, the fall of Persia, the conquest of Arabia, the submission of Egypt, and a lasting deliverance from the inroads of the Scythian nations.<sup>75</sup> But the reign of Carus was destined to expose the vanity of predictions.

A. D. 257.  
Dec. 25.

They were scarcely uttered before they were contradicted by his death; an event attended with such ambiguous circumstances, that it may be related in a letter from his own secretary to the prefect of the city. "Carus," says he, "our dearest emperor, was confined by sickness to his bed, when a furious tempest arose in the camp. The darkness

"which overspread the sky was so thick, that we could no longer distinguish each other; and the incessant flashes of lightning took from us the knowledge of all that passed in the general confusion. Immediately after the most violent clap of thunder, we heard a sudden cry, that the emperor was dead; and it soon appeared, that his chamberlains, in a rage of grief, had set fire to the royal pavilion, a circumstance which gave rise to the report that Carus was killed by lightning. But, as far as we have been able to investigate the truth, his death was the natural effect of his disorder."<sup>76</sup>

The vacancy of the throne was not productive of any disturbance. He is succeeded by his two sons, Carinus and Numerian.

The ambition of the aspiring generals was checked by their mutual fears, and young Numerian with his absent brother Carinus were unanimously acknowledged as Roman emperors. The public expected that the successor of Carus would pursue his father's footsteps, and, without allowing the Persians to recover from their consternation, would advance sword in hand to the palaces of Susa and Ecbatana.<sup>77</sup> But the legions, however strong in numbers and discipline, were dismayed by the most abject superstition. Notwithstanding all the arts that were practised to disguise the manner of the late emperor's death, it was found impossible to remove the opinion of the multitude, and the power of opinion is irresistible. Places or persons struck with lightning were considered by the ancients with pious horror, as singularly devoted to the wrath of Heaven.<sup>78</sup> An oracle was remembered, which marked the river Tigris as the fatal boundary of the Roman arms. The troops, terrified with the fate of Carus and with their own danger, called aloud on young Numerian to obey the will of the gods, and to lead them away from this inauspicious scene of war. The feeble emperor was unable to subdue their obstinate prejudice, and the Persians wondered at the unexpected retreat of a victorious enemy.<sup>79</sup>

The intelligence of the mysterious fate of the late emperor was soon carried from the frontiers of Persia to Rome; and the senate, as well as the provinces, congratulated the accession of the sons of Carus. These fortunate youths were strangers, however, to that conscious superiority, either of birth or of merit, which can alone render the possession of a throne easy, and as it were natural. Born and educated in a private station, the election of their father raised them at once to the rank of princes; and his death, which happened about sixteen months afterwards, left them the unexpected legacy of a vast empire. To sustain with temper this rapid elevation, an uncommon share of virtue and prudence was requisite; and Carinus, the elder of the brothers, was more than commonly deficient in those qualities. In

<sup>72</sup> Agathias, l. iv. p. 155. We find none of his sayings in the Bibliothèque Orientale of M. d'Herbelot. "The definition of humanity includes all other virtues."

<sup>73</sup> Xenophon tells this story of Carus, and it is much more natural to understand it of Carus, than (as Tacitus and Tutenot choose to do) of Probus.

<sup>74</sup> Tacitus in Hist. August. p. 290. Eutropius, ix. 18. The two

<sup>75</sup> To the Persian secretary of Carus, I refer the dialogue of the *Indipolites*, which has so long been an object of dispute among the

learned. But to explain and justify my opinion, would require a dissertation.

<sup>76</sup> Hist. August. p. 250. Yet Eutropius, Festus, Rufus, the two Vopiscus, Zonaras, and others, say, that Numerian, and Zonaras, did not survive the death of Carus in the night.

<sup>77</sup> See Numerian's conquest of Persia, l. 71, &c.

<sup>78</sup> See Festus, and the commentators, on the words *fulgur*, *fulmen*. Places struck by lightning were accounted sacred, and were looked upon as inviolable.

<sup>79</sup> See the story of the death of Carus in the Hist. August. p. 250. Eutropius, ix. 18. The two



splendid show, the naturalist might indeed observe the figure and properties of so many different species, transported from every part of the ancient world into the amphitheatre of Rome. But this accidental benefit, which science might derive from folly, is surely insufficient to justify such a wanton abuse of the public riches. There occurs, however, a single instance in the first Punic war, in which the senate wisely connected this amusement of the multitude with the interest of the state. A considerable number of elephants, taken in the defeat of the Carthaginian army, were driven through the circus by a few slaves, armed only with blunt javelins.<sup>90</sup> The useful spectacle served to impress the Roman soldier with a just contempt for those unwieldy animals; and he no longer dreaded to encounter them in the ranks of war.

The amphitheatre.

The hunting or exhibition of wild beasts was conducted with a magnificence suitable to a people who styled themselves the masters of the world; nor was the edifice appropriated to that entertainment less expressive of Roman greatness. Posterity admires, and will long admire, the awful remains of the amphitheatre of Titus, which so well deserved the epithet of Colossal.<sup>91</sup> It was a building of an elliptic figure, five hundred and sixty-four feet in length, and four hundred and sixty-seven in breadth, founded on fourscore arches, and rising, with four successive orders of architecture, to the height of one hundred and forty feet.<sup>92</sup> The outside of the edifice was encrusted with marble, and decorated with statues. The slopes of the vast concave, which formed the inside, were filled and surrounded with sixty or eighty rows of seats of marble likewise, covered with cushions, and capable of receiving with ease above fourscore thousand spectators.<sup>93</sup> Sixty-four *comitatus* (for by that name the doors were very aptly distinguished) poured forth the immense multitude; and the entrances, passages, and staircases, were contrived with such exquisite skill, that each person, whether of the senatorial, the equestrian, or the plebeian order, arrived at his destined place without trouble or confusion.<sup>94</sup> Nothing was omitted which, in any respect, could be subservient to the convenience and pleasure of the spectators. They were protected from the sun and rain by an ample canopy, occasionally drawn over their heads. The air was continually refreshed by the playing of fountains, and profusely impregnated by the grateful scent of aromatics. In the centre of the edifice, the arena, or stage, was strewed with the finest sand, and successively assumed the most different forms. At one moment it seemed to rise out of the earth, like the garden of the Hesperides, and was afterwards broken into the rocks and caverns of

Thrace. The subterraneous pipes conveyed an inexhaustible supply of water; and what had just before appeared a level plain, might be suddenly converted into a wide lake, covered with armed vessels, and replenished with the monsters of the deep.<sup>95</sup> In the decoration of these scenes, the Roman emperors displayed their wealth and liberality; and we read on various occasions, that the whole furniture of the amphitheatre consisted either of silver, or of gold, or of amber.<sup>96</sup> The poet who describes the games of Carinus, in the character of a shepherd, attracted to the capital by the fame of their magnificence, affirms, that the nets designed as a defence against the wild beasts, were of gold wire; that the porticoes were gilded, and that the *belt* or circle which divided the several ranks of spectators from each other, was studded with a precious Mosaic of beautiful stones.<sup>97</sup>

In the midst of this glittering pageantry, the emperor Carinus, secure of his fortune, enjoyed the acclamations of the people, the flattery of his courtiers, and the songs of the poets, who, for want of a more essential merit, were reduced to celebrate the divine graces of his person.<sup>98</sup> In the same hour, but at the distance of nine hundred miles from Rome, his brother expired; and a sudden revolution transferred into the hands of a stranger the sceptre of the house of Carus.<sup>99</sup>

The sons of Carus never saw each other after their father's death. The arrangements which their new situation required, were probably deferred till the return of the younger brother to Rome, where a triumph was decreed to the young emperors, for the glorious success of the Persian war.<sup>100</sup> It is uncertain whether they intended to divide between them the administration, or the provinces, of the empire; but it is very unlikely that their union would have proved of any long duration. The jealousy of power must have been inflamed by the opposition of characters. In the most corrupt of times, Carinus was unworthy to live: Numerian deserved to reign in a happier period. His affable manners and gentle virtues secured him, as soon as they became known, the regard and affections of the public. He possessed the elegant accomplishments of a poet and orator, which dignify as well as adorn the humblest and the most exalted station. His eloquence, however it was applauded by the senate, was formed not so much on the model of Cicero, as on that of the modern declaimers; but in an age very far from being destitute of poetical merit, he contended for the prize with the most celebrated of his contemporaries, and still remained the friend of his rivals; a circumstance which evinces either

Return of Numerian with the army from Persia.

<sup>90</sup> Plin. Hist. Natur. lib. 8. from the *Annals* of Paus.

<sup>91</sup> See Maffei, *Ver. illustrat.* p. 10.

<sup>92</sup> Maffei, *l. c.* c. 2. The height was very much exaggerated by the ancients. It reached almost to the heavens, an oval elliptical mass, (Eliog. vi. 25) and surpasses the best of human sight, according to Ammianus Marcellinus (xvi. 10). Yet how strange to the great pyramid of Egypt, which rises 300 feet perpendicular.

<sup>93</sup> According to different copies of Victor, we read 70000, or 87,000 spectators, but Maffei (*l. c.* c. 14) finds room on the outer seats for 100, more than 81,000. The remainder were contained in the upper covered galleries.

<sup>94</sup> See Maffei, *l. c.* c. 5-12. He treats the very difficult subject with all possible clearness, and like an architect, as well as an antiquarian.

<sup>95</sup> Calphurn. Eliog. vi. 61-73. These lines are curious, and the

whole eulogy has been of infinite use to Maffei. Calphurnius, as well as M. of all ages has been a poet, but when they described the amphitheatre, they both were in the first of their powers, and to those of the Romans.

<sup>96</sup> *l. c.* c. 10. Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxv. 17. xxxvi. 11.

<sup>97</sup> Eliog. vi. 25. *l. c.* c. 14. *l. c.* c. 14. *l. c.* c. 14.

<sup>98</sup> *l. c.* c. 10. *l. c.* c. 14. *l. c.* c. 14.

<sup>99</sup> *l. c.* c. 10. *l. c.* c. 14. *l. c.* c. 14.

<sup>100</sup> *l. c.* c. 10. *l. c.* c. 14. *l. c.* c. 14.



the goodness of his heart, or the superiority of his genius.<sup>101</sup> But the talents of Numerian were rather of the contemplative than of the active kind. When his father's elevation reluctantly forced him from the shade of retirement, neither his temper nor his pursuits had qualified him for the command of armies. His constitution was destroyed by the hardships of the Persian war; and he had contracted, from the heat of the climate,<sup>102</sup> such a weakness in his eyes, as obliged him, in the course of a long retreat, to confine himself to the solitude and darkness of a tent or litter. The administration of all affairs, civil as well as military, was devolved on Arrius Aper, the prætorian prefect, who, to the power of his important office, added the honour of being father-in-law to Numerian. The Imperial pavilion was strictly guarded by his most trusty adherents; and during many days, Aper delivered to the army the supposed mandates of their invisible sovereign.<sup>103</sup>

Death of  
Numerian.

It was not till eight months after the death of Carus, that the Roman army, returning by slow marches from the banks of the Tigris, arrived on those of the Thracian Bosphorus. The legions halted at Chalcedon in Asia, while the count passed over to Heraclea, on the European side of the Propontis.<sup>104</sup> But a report soon circulated through the camp, at first in secret whispers, and at length in loud clamours, of the emperor's death, and of the presumption of his ambitious minister, who still exercised the sovereign power in the name of a prince who was no more. The impatience of the soldiers could not long support a state of suspense. With rude curiosity they broke into the Imperial tent, and discovered only the corpse of Numerian.<sup>105</sup> The gradual decline of his health might have induced them to believe that his death was natural; but the concealment was interpreted as an evidence of guilt, and the measures which Aper had taken to secure his election, became the immediate occasion of his ruin. Yet, even in the transport of their rage and grief, the troops observed a regular proceeding, which proves how firmly discipline had been re-established by the martial successors of Gallienus. A general assembly of the army was appointed to be held at Chalcedon, whither Aper was transported in chains, as a prisoner and a criminal. A vacant tribunal was erected in the midst of the camp, and the general, and tribunes formed a great military council. They soon announced to the multitude, that their choice had fallen on Diocletian, commander of the domestics or body-guards, as the person the most capable of revenging and succeeding their beloved emperor. The future fortunes of the candidate depended on the chance or conduct of the present hour. Conscious that the station

A.D. 284.  
Sept. 17.  
Eleven of the emperor  
Diocletian.

which he had filled exposed him to some suspicions, Diocletian ascended the tribunal, and raising his eyes towards the Sun, made a solemn profession of his own innocence, in the presence of that all-seeing Deity.<sup>106</sup> Then, assuming the tone of a sovereign and a judge, he commanded that Aper should be brought in chains to the foot of the tribunal. "This man," said he, "is the murderer of Numerian;" and, without giving him time to enter on a dangerous justification, drew his sword, and buried it in the breast of the unfortunate prefect. A charge supported by such decisive proof was admitted without contradiction, and the legions, with repeated acclamations, acknowledged the justice and authority of the emperor Diocletian.<sup>107</sup>

Before we enter upon the memorable reign of that prince, it will

Defect and death  
of Carinus.

be proper to punish and dismiss the unworthy brother of Numerian. Carinus possessed arms and treasures sufficient to support his legal title to the empire. But his personal vices overbalanced every advantage of birth and situation. The most faithful servants of the father despised the incapacity, and dreaded the cruel arrogance, of the son. The hearts of the people were engaged in favour of his rival, and even the senate was inclined to prefer an usurper to a tyrant. The arts of Diocletian inflamed the general discontent; and the winter was employed in secret intrigues, and open preparations for a civil war. In the spring, the forces of the east and of the west en-<sup>A.D. 285.  
May.</sup> countered each other in the plains of Margus, a small city of Mæsia, in the neighbourhood of the Danube.<sup>108</sup> The troops, so lately returned from the Persian war, had acquired their glory at the expense of health and numbers, nor were they in a condition to contend with the unexhausted strength of the legions of Europe. Their ranks were broken, and, for a moment, Diocletian despaired of the purple and of life. But the advantage which Carinus had obtained by the valour of his soldiers, he quickly lost by the infidelity of his officers. A tribune, whose wife he had seduced, seized the opportunity of revenge, and by a single blow extinguished civil discord in the blood of the adulterer.<sup>109</sup>

## CHAP. XIII.

*The Reign of Diocletian and his three Associates, Maximian, Galerius, and Constantius. — General Re-establishment of Order and Tranquillity. — The Persian War, Victory, and Triumph. — The new Form of Administration. — Abdication and Retirement of Diocletian and Maximian.*

As the reign of Diocletian was more illustrious than that of any of his predecessors, so was

covered by the sun. Could no aromatics be found in the  
106 Hieronym. in Chron.  
107 The reason why Diocletian killed Aper (a wild boar), was founded on a prophecy and a pun.  
108 Eusebius marks its situation very accurately: it was between the Mons Aureus and Viminium. M. de La Croix (Geographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 204) places Margus at Kostonatz in Servia, a little below Belgrade and Semendria.  
109 H. E. August. p. 224. Eusebius, ix. 26. Aurelius Victor, Victor in Epitome.

<sup>101</sup> He won all the crowns from Nemesianus, with whom he vied in didactic poetry. The senate erected a statue to the son of Carus, with a very ambiguous inscription, "To the most powerful of orators." See Vopiscus in Hist. August. p. 751.

<sup>102</sup> A more natural cause, at least, than that assigned by Vopiscus, in Hist. August. p. 251, unnecessarily weeping for his father's death.

<sup>103</sup> In the Persian war, Aper was suspected of a design to betray Carus. Hist. August. p. 254.

<sup>104</sup> We are obliged to the Hist. August. p. 254.

<sup>105</sup> See the account of Numerian's death in the Hist. August. p. 254.

his birth more abject and obscure. The strong claims of merit and of violence had frequently superseded the ideal prerogatives of nobility; but a distinct line of separation was hitherto preserved between the free and the servile part of mankind. The parents of Diocletian had been slaves in the house of Anulinus, a Roman senator; nor was he himself distinguished by any other name than that which he derived from a small town in Dalmatia, from whence his mother deduced her origin.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, probable, that his father obtained the freedom of the family, and that he soon acquired an office of scribe, which was commonly exercised by persons of his condition.<sup>2</sup> Favourable oracles, or rather the consciousness of superior merit, prompted his aspiring son to pursue the profession of arms and the hopes of fortune; and it would be extremely curious to observe the gradation of arts and accidents which enabled him in the end to fulfil those oracles, and to display that merit to the world. Diocletian was successively promoted to the government of Masia, the honours of the consulship, and the important command of the guards of the palace. He distinguished his abilities in the Persian war; and, after the death of Numerian, the slave, by the confession and judgment of his rivals, was declared the most worthy of the Imperial throne. The malice of religious zeal, whilst it arraigns the savage fierceness of his colleague Maximian, has affected to cast suspicions on the personal courage of the emperor Diocletian.<sup>3</sup> It would not be easy to persuade us of the cowardice of a soldier of fortune, who acquired and preserved the esteem of the legions, as well as the favour of so many warlike princes. Yet even calumny is sagacious enough to discover and to attack the most vulnerable part. The valour of Diocletian was never found inadequate to his duty, or to the occasion; but he appears not to have possessed the daring and generous spirit of a hero, who courts danger and fame, disdains artifice, and boldly challenges the allegiance of his equals. His abilities were useful rather than splendid; a vigorous mind, improved by the experience and study of mankind; dexterity and application in business; a judicious mixture of liberality and economy, of mildness and rigour; profound dissimulation under the disguise of military frankness; steadiness to pursue his ends; flexibility to vary his means; and, above all, the great art of submitting his own passions, as well as those of others, to the interest of his ambition, and of colouring his ambition with the most specious pretences of justice and public utility. Like Augustus, Diocletian may be considered

as the founder of a new empire. Like the adopted son of Cæsar, he was distinguished as a statesman rather than as a warrior; nor did either of those princes employ force, whenever their purpose could be effected by policy.

The victory of Diocletian was remarkable for its singular mildness. A people accustomed to applaud the clemency of the conqueror, if the usual punishments of death, exile, and confiscation, were inflicted with any degree of temper and equity, beheld, with the most pleasing astonishment, a civil war, the flames of which were extinguished in the field of battle. Diocletian received into his confidence Aristobolus, the principal minister of the house of Carus, respected the lives, the fortunes, and the dignity of his adversaries, and even continued in their respective stations the greater number of the servants of Carinus.<sup>4</sup> It is not improbable that motives of prudence might assist the humanity of the artful Dalmatian; of these servants, many had purchased his favour by secret treachery; in others, he esteemed their grateful fidelity to an unfortunate master. The discerning judgment of Aurelian, of Probus, and of Carus, had filled the several departments of the state and army with officers of approved merit, whose removal would have injured the public service, without promoting the interest of the successor. Such a conduct, however, displayed to the Roman world the fairest prospect of the new reign, and the emperor affected to confirm this favourable prepossession, by declaring, that, among all the virtues of his predecessors, he was the most ambitious of imitating the humane philosophy of Marcus Antoninus.<sup>5</sup>

The first considerable action of his reign seemed to evince his sincerity as well as his moderation. After the example of Marcus, he gave himself a colleague in the person of Maximian, on whom he bestowed at first the title of Cæsar, and afterwards that of Augustus.<sup>6</sup> But the motives of his conduct, as well as the object of his choice, were of a very different nature from those of his admired predecessor. By investing a luxurious youth with the honours of the purple, Marcus had discharged a debt of private gratitude, at the expense, indeed, of the happiness of the state. By associating a friend and a fellow-soldier to the labours of government, Diocletian, in a time of public danger, provided for the defence both of the East and of the West. Maximian was born a peasant, and, like Aurelian, in the territory of Sirmium. Ignorant of letters,<sup>7</sup> careless of laws, the rusticity of his appearance and manners still betrayed in the most elevated fortune the meanness of his extraction.

1 Eutrop. lib. 10. Velleius Paterculus. The two names derive their property from Diocletian, from a small town in Dalmatia, and from the Greek physician, Diocletus, lib. 1. c. 1. Diocletianus. In consequence of the vulgar slaves, a probable hypothesis, Diocletianus was the name of the father of Diocletian, and not of the father of Maximian. He likewise assumed the patrician name of Valerius. This was the name of him by Aurelius Victor. See Tacitus on the state of the empire of the second book of Horace. Cæsar, Nepos, lib. 1. c. 1. Diocletianus. 2 Eutrop. lib. 10. c. 1. Diocletianus. 3 See the account of the death of Numerian. 4 Eutrop. lib. 10. c. 1. Diocletianus. 5 Eutrop. lib. 10. c. 1. Diocletianus. 6 Eutrop. lib. 10. c. 1. Diocletianus. 7 Eutrop. lib. 10. c. 1. Diocletianus.

endeavour to obtain the consulship which he had commenced with the title of Cæsar. See the account of Diocletian, in Eutrop. lib. 10. c. 1. Diocletianus. 7 Eutrop. lib. 10. c. 1. Diocletianus.

War was the only art which he professed. In a long course of service, he had distinguished himself on every frontier of the empire; and though his military talents were formed to obey rather than to command, though, perhaps, he never attained the skill of a consummate general, he was capable, by his valour, constancy, and experience, of executing the most arduous undertakings. Nor were the vices of Maximian less useful to his benefactor. Insensible to pity, and fearless of consequences, he was the ready instrument of every act of cruelty which the policy of that artful prince might at once suggest and disclaim. As soon as a bloody sacrifice had been offered to prudence or to revenge, Diocletian, by his seasonable intercession, saved the remaining few whom he had never designed to punish, gently censured the severity of his stern colleague, and enjoyed the comparison of a golden and an iron age, which was universally applied to their opposite maxims of government. Notwithstanding the difference of their characters, the two emperors maintained, on the throne, that friendship which they had contracted in a private station. The haughty turbulent spirit of Maximian, so fatal afterwards to himself and to the public peace, was accustomed to respect the genius of Diocletian, and confessed the ascendancy of reason over brutal violence.<sup>8</sup> From a motive either of pride or superstition, the two emperors assumed the titles, the one of Jovius, the other of Hercules. Whilst the motion of the world (such was the language of their venal orators) was maintained by the all-seeing wisdom of Jupiter, the invincible arm of Hercules purged the earth from monsters and tyrants.<sup>9</sup>

But even the omnipotence of Jovius and Hercules was insufficient to sustain the weight of the public administration. The prudence of Diocletian discovered, that the empire, assailed on every side by the barbarians, required on every side the presence of a great army, and of an emperor. With this view, he resolved once more to divide his unwieldy power, and with the inferior title of *Cæsars*, to confer on two generals of approved merit an equal share of the sovereign authority.<sup>10</sup> Galerius, surnamed Armentarius, from his original profession of a herdman, and Constantius, who from his pale complexion had acquired the denomination of Chlorus,<sup>11</sup> were the two persons invested with the second honours of the Imperial purple. In describing the country, extraction, and manners of Hercules, we have already delineated those of Galerius, who was often, and not improperly, styled the younger Maximian, though, in many instances both of virtue and ability, he appears to have possessed a manifest superiority over the elder.

The birth of Constantius was less obscure than that of his colleagues. Eutropius, his father, was one of the most considerable nobles of Dardania, and his mother was the niece of the emperor Claudius.<sup>12</sup> Although the youth of Constantius had been spent in arms, he was endowed with a mild and amiable disposition, and the popular voice had long since acknowledged him worthy of the rank which he at last attained. To strengthen the bonds of political, by those of domestic, union, each of the emperors assumed the character of a father to one of the *Cæsars*, Diocletian to Galerius, and Maximian to Constantius; and each, obliging them to repudiate their former wives, bestowed his daughter in marriage on his adopted son.<sup>13</sup> These four princes distributed among themselves the wide extent of the Roman empire. The defence of Gaul, Spain,<sup>14</sup> and Britain, was intrusted to Constantius; Galerius was stationed on the banks of the Danube, as the safeguard of the Illyrian provinces. Italy and Africa were considered as the department of Maximian; and for his peculiar portion, Diocletian reserved Thrace, Egypt, and the rich countries of Asia. Every one was sovereign within his own jurisdiction; but their united authority extended over the whole monarchy, and each of them was prepared to assist his colleagues with his counsels or presence. The *Cæsars*, in their exalted rank, revered the majesty of the emperors, and the three younger princes invariably acknowledged, by their gratitude and obedience, the common parent of their fortunes. The suspicious jealousy of power found not any place among them; and the singular happiness of their union has been compared to a chorus of music, whose harmony was regulated and maintained by the skilful hand of the first artist.<sup>15</sup>

This important measure was not carried into execution till about six years after the association of Maximian, and that interval of time had not been destitute of memorable incidents. But we have preferred, for the sake of perspicuity, first to describe the more perfect form of Diocletian's government, and afterwards to relate the actions of his reign, following rather the natural order of the events, than the dates of a very doubtful chronology.

The first exploit of Maximian, though it is mentioned in a few words by our imperfect writers, deserves from its singularity to be recorded in a history of human manners. He suppressed the peasants of Gaul, who, under the appellation of Bagaudæ,<sup>16</sup> had risen in a general insurrection; very similar to those which in the fourteenth century successively afflicted both France and

<sup>8</sup> Lactantius de M. P. c. 8. Angelus Victor. According to the Panegyrics, we find orators pronounced in praise of Maximian, and others which flatter his adversaries at his expense, we derive some knowledge from the contrast.

<sup>9</sup> See the second and third Panegyrics, particularly in §. 10, 11, but it would be tedious to copy the diffuse and altered expressions of their false doctrine. With regard to the titles, consult Aurel Victor, Lactantius de M. P. c. 12. Spanheim de Usu Numismatum, &c. Diuertat. xii. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Angelus Victor in Epitome. Eutrop. ix. 22. Lactant. de M. P. c. 8. Hieronym. in Chron.

<sup>11</sup> It is only among the modern Greeks that Tillmont can discover his appellation of Chlorus. Any term expressive of paleness seems inconsistent with the colour mentioned in Panegyrics. 12.

translation, p. 122.

<sup>13</sup> The general name of Bagaudæ (in the signification of Rebel) continued till the fifth century in Gaul. Some critics derive it from a Celtic word *Bogad*, a tumultuous assembly. See *ad Euseb. de Lange Glossar.*

Department  
and harmony  
of the four  
princes.

Series of  
events.

A.D. 287.  
State of the  
peasants of Gaul.

12 Julian, the grandson of Constantius, boasts that his family was Mesopotamian, p. 548. The Da-

ughter of Diocletian; if we

England.<sup>17</sup> It should seem, that very many of those institutions, referred by an easy solution to the feudal system, are derived from the Celtic barbarians. When Cæsar subdued the Gauls, that great nation was already divided into three orders of men; the clergy, the nobility, and the common people. The first governed by superstition, the second by arms, but the third and last was not of any weight or account in their public councils. It was very natural for the plebeians, oppressed by debt, or apprehensive of injuries, to implore the protection of some powerful chief, who acquired over their persons and property the same absolute right as, among the Greeks and Romans, a master exercised over his slaves.<sup>18</sup> The greatest part of the nation was gradually reduced into a state of servitude; compelled to perpetual labour on the estates of the Gallic nobles, and confined to the soil, either by the real weight of fetters, or by the no less cruel and forcible restraints of the laws. During the long series of troubles which agitated Gaul, from the reign of Gallienus to that of Diocletian, the condition of these servile peasants was peculiarly miserable; and they experienced at once the complicated tyranny of their masters, of the barbarians, of the soldiers, and of the officers of the revenue.<sup>19</sup>

Their rebellion, provoked into despair. On every side

they rose in multitudes, armed with rustic weapons, and with irresistible fury. The ploughman became a foot soldier, the shepherd mounted on horseback, the deserted villages and open towns were abandoned to the flames, and the ravages of the peasants equalled those of the fiercest barbarians.<sup>20</sup> They asserted the natural rights of men, but they asserted those rights with the most savage cruelty. The Gallic nobles, justly desiring their revenge, either took refuge in the fortified cities, or fled from the wild scene of anarchy. The peasants reigned without control; and two of their most daring leaders had the folly and rashness to assume the Imperial ornaments.<sup>21</sup> Their power soon expired at the approach of the legions. The strength of union and discipline obtained an easy victory over a licentious and divided multitude.<sup>22</sup> A severe

and chastisement, peasants who were found in arms:

the affrighted remnant returned to their respective habitations, and their unsuccessful effort for freedom served only to confirm their slavery. So strong and uniform is the current of popular passions, that we might almost venture, from very scanty materials, to relate the particulars of this war, but we are not disposed to believe that the principal leaders, Elchanus and Anandus, were Christians; or

to insinuate that the rebellion, as it happened in the time of Luther, was occasioned by the abuse of those benevolent principles of Christianity, which inculcate the natural freedom of mankind.

Maximian had no sooner recovered Gaul from the hands of the peasants, than he lost Britain by the usurpation of Carausius. Ever since the rash but successful enterprise of the Franks under the reign of Probus, their daring countrymen had constructed squadrons of light brigantines, in which they incessantly ravaged the provinces adjacent to the ocean.<sup>24</sup> To repel their desultory incursions it was found necessary to create a naval power; and the judicious measure was prosecuted with prudence and vigour. Gessoriacum, or Boulogne, in the straits of the British Channel, was chosen by the emperor for the station of the Roman fleet; and the command of it was intrusted to Carausius, a Menapian of the meanest origin,<sup>25</sup> but who had long signalled his skill as a pilot, and his valour as a soldier. The integrity of the new admiral corresponded not with his abilities. When the German pirates sailed from their own harbours, he connived at their passage, but he diligently intercepted their return, and appropriated to his own use an ample share of the spoil which they had acquired. The wealth of Carausius was, on this occasion, very justly considered as an evidence of his guilt; and Maximian had already given orders for his death. But the crafty Menapian foresaw and prevented the severity of the emperor. By his liberality he had attached to his fortunes the fleet which he commanded, and secured the barbarians in his interest. From the port of Boulogne he sailed over to Britain, persuaded the legion, and the auxiliaries which guarded that island, to embrace his party, and boldly assuming, with the Imperial purple, the title of Augustus, defied the justice and the arms of his injured sovereign.<sup>26</sup>

When Britain was thus dismembered from the empire its importance was sensibly felt, and its loss sincerely lamented. The Romans celebrated, and perhaps magnified, the extent of that noble island, provided on every side with convenient harbours; the temperature of the climate, and the fertility of the soil, alike adapted for the production of corn or of vines; the valuable minerals with which it abounded, its rich pastures covered with innumerable flocks, and its woods free from wild beasts, or venomous serpents. Above all, they regretted the large amount of the revenue of Britain, whilst they confessed, that such a province well deserved to become the seat of an independent monarchy.<sup>27</sup> During the space of seven years it was possessed by Carausius; and fortune continued

A.D. 287.  
Revolt of  
Carausius in  
Britain.

Importance of  
Britain.

Carausius.

17. *Historia de Episcopis*, p. 18. 18. *Thema*, p. 18. 19. *Car de B.* 20. *Thema*, p. 18. 21. *Thema*, p. 18. 22. *Thema*, p. 18. 23. *Thema*, p. 18. 24. *Thema*, p. 18. 25. *Thema*, p. 18. 26. *Thema*, p. 18. 27. *Thema*, p. 18.

28. *Thema*, p. 18. 29. *Thema*, p. 18. 30. *Thema*, p. 18. 31. *Thema*, p. 18. 32. *Thema*, p. 18. 33. *Thema*, p. 18. 34. *Thema*, p. 18. 35. *Thema*, p. 18. 36. *Thema*, p. 18. 37. *Thema*, p. 18. 38. *Thema*, p. 18. 39. *Thema*, p. 18. 40. *Thema*, p. 18. 41. *Thema*, p. 18. 42. *Thema*, p. 18. 43. *Thema*, p. 18. 44. *Thema*, p. 18. 45. *Thema*, p. 18. 46. *Thema*, p. 18. 47. *Thema*, p. 18. 48. *Thema*, p. 18. 49. *Thema*, p. 18. 50. *Thema*, p. 18. 51. *Thema*, p. 18. 52. *Thema*, p. 18. 53. *Thema*, p. 18. 54. *Thema*, p. 18. 55. *Thema*, p. 18. 56. *Thema*, p. 18. 57. *Thema*, p. 18. 58. *Thema*, p. 18. 59. *Thema*, p. 18. 60. *Thema*, p. 18. 61. *Thema*, p. 18. 62. *Thema*, p. 18. 63. *Thema*, p. 18. 64. *Thema*, p. 18. 65. *Thema*, p. 18. 66. *Thema*, p. 18. 67. *Thema*, p. 18. 68. *Thema*, p. 18. 69. *Thema*, p. 18. 70. *Thema*, p. 18. 71. *Thema*, p. 18. 72. *Thema*, p. 18. 73. *Thema*, p. 18. 74. *Thema*, p. 18. 75. *Thema*, p. 18. 76. *Thema*, p. 18. 77. *Thema*, p. 18. 78. *Thema*, p. 18. 79. *Thema*, p. 18. 80. *Thema*, p. 18. 81. *Thema*, p. 18. 82. *Thema*, p. 18. 83. *Thema*, p. 18. 84. *Thema*, p. 18. 85. *Thema*, p. 18. 86. *Thema*, p. 18. 87. *Thema*, p. 18. 88. *Thema*, p. 18. 89. *Thema*, p. 18. 90. *Thema*, p. 18. 91. *Thema*, p. 18. 92. *Thema*, p. 18. 93. *Thema*, p. 18. 94. *Thema*, p. 18. 95. *Thema*, p. 18. 96. *Thema*, p. 18. 97. *Thema*, p. 18. 98. *Thema*, p. 18. 99. *Thema*, p. 18. 100. *Thema*, p. 18.

propitious to a rebellion supported with courage and ability. The British emperor defended the frontiers of his dominions against the Caledonians of the North, invited, from the continent, a great number of skilful artists, and displayed, on a variety of coins that are still extant, his taste and opulence. Born on the confines of the Franks, he courted the friendship of that formidable people, by the flattering imitation of their dress and manners. The bravest of their youth he enlisted among his land or sea forces; and, in return for their useful alliance, he communicated to the barbarians the dangerous knowledge of military and naval arts. Carausius still preserved the possession of Boulogne and the adjacent country. His fleets rode triumphant in the Channel, commanded the mouths of the Seine and of the Rhine, ravaged the coasts of the ocean, and diffused beyond the columns of Hercules the terror of his name. Under his command, Britain, destined in a future age to obtain the empire of the sea, already assumed its natural and respectable station of a maritime power.<sup>28</sup>

A. D. 290,  
acknowledged  
by the other  
emperors.

By seizing the fleet of Boulogne, Carausius had deprived his master of the means of pursuit and revenge.

And when, after a vast expense of time and labour, a new armament was launched into the water,<sup>29</sup> the Imperial troops, unaccustomed to that element, were easily baffled and defeated by the veteran sailors of the usurper. This disappointed effort was soon productive of a treaty of peace. Diocletian and his colleague, who justly dreaded the enterprising spirit of Carausius, resigned to him the sovereignty of Britain, and reluctantly admitted their perfidious servant to a participation of the Imperial honours.<sup>30</sup> But the adoption of the two Cæsars restored new vigour to the Roman arms; and while the Rhine was guarded by the presence of Maximian, his brave associate Constantius assumed the conduct of the British war. His first enterprise was against the important place of Boulogne. A stupendous mole, raised across the entrance of the harbour, intercepted all

A. D. 292.

hopes of relief. The town surrendered after an obstinate defence; and a considerable part of the naval strength of Carausius fell into the hands of the besiegers. During the three years which Constantius employed in preparing a fleet adequate to the conquest of Britain, he secured the coast of Gaul, invaded the country of the Franks, and deprived the usurper of the assistance of those powerful allies.

Before the preparations were finished Constantius received the intelligence of the tyrant's death, and it was considered as a sure presage of the approaching victory. The servants of Carausius imitated the example of treason which he had given.

A. D. 294  
His death.

<sup>28</sup> As a great number of medals of Carausius are still preserved, he is become a very favourite object of antiquarian curiosity, and every circumstance of his life and actions has been investigated with scrupulous accuracy. Dr. Stakely in particular has devoted a large volume to the British emperor. I have used his materials, and rejected most of his fanciful conclusions.

<sup>29</sup> When Maximian pronounced his first panegyric, the naval preparations of Maximian were completed; and the emperor presided

He was murdered by his first minister Allectus, and the assassin succeeded to his power and to his danger. But he possessed not equal abilities, either to exercise the one, or to repel the other. He beheld, with anxious terror, the opposite shores of the continent, already filled with arms, with troops, and with vessels; for Constantius had very prudently divided his forces, that he might likewise divide the attention and resistance of the enemy. The attack was at length made by the principal <sup>A. D. 296.  
Recovery of  
Britain by Con-  
stantius.</sup> squadrou, which, under the command of the præfect Asclepiodatus, an officer of distinguished merit, had been assembled in the mouth of the Seine. So imperfect in those times was the art of navigation, that orators have celebrated the daring courage of the Romans, who ventured to set sail with a side-wind, and on a stormy day. The weather proved favourable to their enterprise. Under the cover of a thick fog, they escaped the fleet of Allectus, which had been stationed off the Isle of Wight to receive them, landed in safety on some part of the western coast, and convinced the Britons, that a superiority of naval strength will not always protect their country from a foreign invasion. Asclepiodatus had no sooner disembarked the Imperial troops, than he set fire to his ships; and, as the expedition proved fortunate, his heroic conduct was universally admired. The usurper had posted himself near London, to expect the formidable attack of Constantius, who commanded in person the fleet of Boulogne; but the descent of a new enemy required his immediate presence in the West. He performed this long march in so precipitate a manner, that he encountered the whole force of the præfect with a small body of harassed and disheartened troops. The engagement was soon terminated by the total defeat and death of Allectus; a single battle, as it has often happened, decided the fate of this great island; and when Constantius landed on the shores of Kent, he found them covered with obedient subjects. Their acclamations were loud and unanimous; and the virtues of the conqueror may induce us to believe, that they sincerely rejoiced in a revolution, which, after a separation of ten years, restored Britain to the body of the Roman empire.<sup>31</sup>

Britain had none but domestic <sup>Defence of the  
Frontiers.</sup> enemies to dread; and as long as the governors preserved their fidelity, and the troops their discipline, the incursions of the naked savages of Scotland or Ireland could never materially affect the safety of the province. The peace of the continent, and the defence of the principal rivers which bounded the empire, were objects of far greater difficulty and importance. The policy of Diocletian, which inspired the councils of his associates, provided for the public tranquillity, by encouraging a spirit of dissension

an assured victory. His silence in the second panegyric might alone inform us, that the expedition had not succeeded.

<sup>30</sup> Aurelius Victor enumerates the gold medal. (Tax. Aug.) inform I will not presume (as Dr. Stakely, p. 86, &c.) to insert

as the cause of his fall and destruction. In, we obtain a few hints

among the barbarians, and by strengthening the fortifications of the Roman limit.

Fortifications.

In the East he fixed a line of camps from Egypt to the Persian dominions, and, for every camp, he instituted an adequate number of stationary troops, commanded by their respective officers, and supplied with every kind of arms, from the new arsenals which he had formed at Antioch, Emesa, and Damascus.<sup>32</sup> Nor was the precaution of the emperor less watchful against the well-known valour of the barbarians of Europe. From the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Danube, the ancient camps, towns, and citadels, were diligently re-established, and, in the most exposed places, new ones were skillfully constructed; the strictest vigilance was introduced among the garrisons of the frontier, and every expedient was practised that could render the long chain of fortifications firm and impenetrable.<sup>33</sup> A barrier so respectable was seldom violated, and the barbarians often turned against each other their disappointed rage. The

Dissensions of the barbarians.

Goths, the Vandals, the Gepidæ, the Burgundians, the Alemanni, wasted each other's strength by destructive hostilities, and whosoever vanquished, they vanquished the enemies of Rome. The subjects of Diocletian enjoyed the bloody spectacle, and congratulated each other, that the mischiefs of civil war were now experienced only by the barbarians.<sup>34</sup>

Conduct of the emperors.

Notwithstanding the policy of Diocletian, it was impossible to maintain an equal and undisturbed tranquillity during a reign of twenty years, and along a frontier of many hundred miles. Sometimes the barbarians suspended their domestic animosities, and the relaxed vigilance of the garrisons sometimes gave a passage to their strength or dexterity. Whenever the provinces were invaded, Diocletian conducted himself with that calm dignity which he always affected or possessed; reserved his presence for such occasions as were worthy of his interposition, never exposed his person or reputation to any unnecessary danger, ensured his success by every means that prudence could suggest, and displayed, with ostentation, the consequences of his victory. In wars of a more difficult nature, and more doubtful event, he employed the rough valour of Maximian; and that faithful soldier was content to ascribe his own victories to the wise counsels and auspicious influence of his benefactor. But

Valour of the emperors.

after the adoption of the two Cæsars, the emperors themselves retiring to a less laborious scene of action, devolved on their adopted sons the defence of the Danube and of the Rhine. The vigilant Galerius was never reduced to the necessity of vanquishing an army of barbarians on the Roman territory.<sup>35</sup>

The brave and active Constantius delivered Gaul from a very furious inroad of the Alemanni; and his victories of Langres and Vindonissa appear to have been actions of considerable danger and merit. As he traversed the open country with a feeble guard, he was encompassed on a sudden by the superior multitude of the enemy. He retreated with difficulty towards Langres; but, in the general consternation, the citizens refused to open their gates, and the wounded prince was drawn up the wall by the means of a rope. But, on the news of his distress, the Roman troops hastened from all sides to his relief, and before the evening he had satisfied his honour and revenge by the slaughter of six thousand Alemanni.<sup>36</sup> From the monuments of those times, the obscure traces of several other victories over the barbarians of Sarmatia and Germany might possibly be collected; but the tedious search would not be rewarded either with amusement or with instruction.

The conduct which the emperor <sup>Treatment of the barbarians.</sup> Probus had adopted in the disposal of the vanquished, was imitated by Diocletian and his associates. The captive barbarians, exchanging death for slavery, were distributed among the provincials, and assigned to those districts (in Gaul, the territories of Amiens, Beauvais, Cambray, Treves, Langres, and Troyes, are particularly specified<sup>37</sup>; which had been depopulated by the calamities of war. They were usefully employed as shepherds and husbandmen, but were denied the exercise of arms, except when it was found expedient to enrol them in the military service. Nor did the emperors refuse the property of lands, with a less

stilted tenure, to such of the barbarians as solicited the protection of Rome. They granted a settlement to several colonies of the Carpi, the Bastarnæ, and the Sarmatians; and, by a dangerous indulgence, permitted them in some measure to retain their national manners and independence.<sup>38</sup> Among the provincials, it was a subject of flattering exultation, that the barbarian, so lately an object of terror, now cultivated their lands, drove their cattle to the neighbouring fair, and contributed by his labour to the public plenty. They congratulated their masters on the powerful accession of subjects and soldiers; but they forgot to observe, that multitudes of secret enemies, insolent from favour, or desperate from oppression, were introduced into the heart of the empire.<sup>39</sup>

While the Cæsars exercised their <sup>Wars of Africa and Egypt.</sup> valour on the banks of the Rhine and Danube, the presence of the emperors was required on the southern confines of the Roman world. From the Nile to Mount Atlas, Africa was in arms. A confederacy of five Moorish nations issued from their deserts to invade the

<sup>32</sup> John Malacta in Chron. Annotat. tom. i. p. 108, 109.

<sup>33</sup> Zosim. l. i. c. 2. The general business seems to comprehend the vanquishing of the enemy, with the settling of the provinces, and the re-establishment of the cities, towns, and castles.

<sup>34</sup> Zosim. l. i. c. 2. The general business seems to comprehend the vanquishing of the enemy, with the settling of the provinces, and the re-establishment of the cities, towns, and castles.

<sup>35</sup> Zosim. l. i. c. 2. The general business seems to comprehend the vanquishing of the enemy, with the settling of the provinces, and the re-establishment of the cities, towns, and castles.

<sup>36</sup> Zosim. l. i. c. 2. The general business seems to comprehend the vanquishing of the enemy, with the settling of the provinces, and the re-establishment of the cities, towns, and castles.

<sup>37</sup> In the Greek text of Probus, we read six thousand, a number which I have referred to the copy of the word of Jerome, Cœlius, but in the Latin text, it is six thousand.

<sup>38</sup> Zosim. l. i. c. 2. The general business seems to comprehend the vanquishing of the enemy, with the settling of the provinces, and the re-establishment of the cities, towns, and castles.

<sup>39</sup> Zosim. l. i. c. 2. The general business seems to comprehend the vanquishing of the enemy, with the settling of the provinces, and the re-establishment of the cities, towns, and castles.

<sup>40</sup> Zosim. l. i. c. 2. The general business seems to comprehend the vanquishing of the enemy, with the settling of the provinces, and the re-establishment of the cities, towns, and castles.

peaceful provinces,<sup>40</sup> Julian had assumed the purple at Carthage,<sup>41</sup> Achilles at Alexandria, and even the Blemmyes, renewed, or rather continued, their incursions into the Upper Egypt. Scarcely any circumstances have been preserved of the exploits of Maximian in the western parts of Africa; but it appears by the event, that the progress of his arms was rapid and decisive, that he vanquished the fiercest barbarians of Mauritania, and that he removed them from the mountains, whose inaccessible strength had inspired their inhabitants with a lawless confidence, and habituated them to a life of rapine and violence.<sup>42</sup>

Diocletian, on his side, opened the campaign in Egypt by the siege of Alexandria, cut off the aqueducts which conveyed the waters of the Nile into every quarter of that immense city,<sup>43</sup> and rendering his camp impregnable to the sallies of the besieged multitude, he pushed his reiterated attacks with caution and vigour. After a siege of eight months, Alexandria, wasted by the sword and by fire, implored the clemency of the conqueror; but it experienced the full extent of his severity. Many thousands of the citizens perished in a promiscuous slaughter, and there were few obnoxious persons in Egypt who escaped a sentence either of death, or at least of exile.<sup>44</sup> The fate of Busiris and of Coptos was still more melancholy than that of Alexandria; those proud cities, the former distinguished by its antiquity, the latter enriched by the passage of the Indian trade, were utterly destroyed by the arms and by the severe order of Diocletian.<sup>45</sup> The character of the Egyptian nation, insensible to kindness, but extremely susceptible of fear, could alone justify this excessive rigour. The seditions of Alexandria had often affected the tranquillity and subsistence of Rome itself. Since the usurpation of Firmus, the province of Upper Egypt, incessantly relapsing into rebellion, had embraced the alliance of the savages of Æthiopia. The number of the Blemmyes, scattered between the island of Meroe and the Red Sea, was very considerable, their disposition was unwarlike, their weapons rude and inoffensive.<sup>46</sup> Yet in the public disorders these barbarians, whom antiquity, shocked with the deformity of their figure, had almost excluded from the human species, presumed to rank themselves among the enemies of Rome.<sup>47</sup> Such had been the unworthy allies of the Egyptians; and while the attention of the state was engaged in more serious wars, their vexatious inroads might again harass the repose of the province. With a view of opposing to the Blemmyes a suitable adversary, Diocletian persuaded the Nobate, or people of Nubia, to remove from their ancient habitations in the deserts of Libya, and resigned

to them an extensive but unprofitable territory above Syene and the cataracts of the Nile, with the stipulation, that they should ever respect and guard the frontier of the empire. The treaty long subsisted; and till the establishment of Christianity introduced stricter notions of religious worship, it was annually ratified by a solemn sacrifice in the isle of Elephantine, in which the Romans, as well as the barbarians, adored the same visible or invisible powers of the universe.<sup>48</sup>

At the same time that Diocletian chastised the past crimes of the Egyptians, he provided for their future safety and happiness by many wise regulations, which were confirmed and enforced under the succeeding reigns.<sup>49</sup> One very remarkable edict, which he published, instead of being condemned as the effect of jealous tyranny, deserves to be applauded as an act of prudence and humanity. He caused a diligent enquiry to be made "for all the

He suppresses books of alchemy.

"ancient books which treated of the admirable art of making gold and silver, and without pity committed them to the flames; apprehensive, as we are assured, lest the opulence of the Egyptians should inspire them with confidence to rebel against the empire."<sup>50</sup> But if Diocletian had been convinced of the reality of that valuable art, far from extinguishing the memory, he would have converted the operation of it to the benefit of the public revenue. It is much more likely, that his good sense discovered to him the folly of such magnificent pretensions, and that he was desirous of preserving the reason and fortunes of his subjects from the mischievous pursuit. It may be remarked, that these ancient books, so liberally ascribed to Pythagoras, to Solomon, or to Hermes, were the pious frauds of more recent adepts. The Greeks were inattentive either to the use or to the abuse of chymistry. In that immense register, where Pliny has deposited the discoveries, the arts, and the errors of mankind, there is not the least mention of the transmutation of metals; and the persecution of Diocletian is the first authentic event in the history of alchemy. The conquest of Egypt by the Arabs diffused that vain science over the globe. Congenial to the avarice of the human heart, it was studied in China as in Europe, with equal eagerness, and with equal success. The darkness of the middle ages ensured a favourable reception to every tale of wonder, and the revival of learning gave new vigour to hope, and suggested more specious arts of deception. Philosophy, with the aid of experience, has at length banished the study of alchemy; and the present age, however desirous of riches, is content to seek them by the humbler means of commerce and industry.<sup>51</sup>

Novelty and progress of that art.

<sup>40</sup> See *Geogr. Annal.* ad Euseb. p. 217. I decide in his usual manner, that the quinquaginta, or five Alex in various, were the five great cities, the five quarters of the majestic province of Egypt.

<sup>41</sup> After his defeat, Julian strangled himself with a dagger, and immediately buried himself in the flames. Victor in Epitome.

<sup>42</sup> Tu feceris omnes Maurorum et populum inaccess montium jugum et naturalis munitione flentes, expugnasti, receptis, transulisti. Tac. *Histor.* lib. vi. c. 8.

<sup>43</sup> See the description of Alexandria, in Hieron de Bel Alexandria. c. 5.

<sup>44</sup> Euseb. ix. 24. Orosius, vi. 25. John Melet in Chron. Antioch. p. 404. The Alexandrian assures us, that Egypt was pacified by the severity of Diocletian.

<sup>45</sup> The cities (Chron.) places their destruction several years sooner,

and at a time when Egypt itself was in a state of rebellion against the Romans.

<sup>46</sup> Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1. 172. Pomponius Mela, l. i. c. 4. His words are curious, "Infra, et cetero liberis sex homines magnæ semitæ; Agapates, et Blemmye, et Naxi."

<sup>47</sup> Augustus se merere fortune et provocare arma Romana.

<sup>48</sup> See Procopius de Bell. Persicis, l. i. c. 10.

<sup>49</sup> He first drew, at two

ters, three

<sup>50</sup> John Antioch in Euseb. Valentin. p. 874. Said to be Diocletian.

<sup>51</sup> See a short history and continuation of alchemy, in the works of that philosophical compiler, La Motte le Vayer, tom. ii. p. 527-553.





solved to abandon his party. The Armenian prince, who was well acquainted with the merit as well as power of Mangos, treated him with distinguished respect; and, by admitting him into his confidence, acquired a brave and faithful servant, who contributed very effectually to his restoration.<sup>60</sup>

The Persians recover Armenia.

For a while, fortune appeared to favour the enterprising valour of Tiridates. He not only expelled the enemies of his family and country from the whole extent of Armenia, but in the prosecution of his revenge he carried his arms, or at least his incursions, into the heart of Assyria. The historian, who has preserved the name of Tiridates from oblivion, celebrates, with a degree of national enthusiasm, his personal prowess; and, in the true spirit of eastern romance, describes the giants and the elephants that fell beneath his invincible arm. It is from other information that we discover the distracted state of the Persian monarchy; to which the king of Armenia was indebted for some part of his advantages. The throne was disputed by the ambition of contending brothers, and Hormuz, after exerting without success the strength of his own party, had recourse to the dangerous assistance of the barbarians who inhabited the banks of the Caspian Sea.<sup>61</sup> The civil war was, however, soon terminated, either by a victory, or by a reconciliation; and Narses, who was universally acknowledged as king of Persia, directed his whole force against the foreign enemy. The contest then became too unequal; nor was the valour of the hero able to withstand the power of the monarch. Tiridates, a second time expelled from the throne of Armenia, once more took refuge in the court of the emperors. Narses soon re-established his authority over the revolted province; and loudly complaining of the protection afforded by the Romans to rebels and fugitives, aspired to the conquest of the East.<sup>62</sup>

War between the Persians and the Romans. A. D. 296

Neither prudence nor honour could permit the emperors to forsake the cause of the Armenian king, and it was resolved to exert the force of the empire in the Persian war. Diocletian, with the calm dignity which he constantly assumed, fixed his own station in the city of Antioch, from whence he prepared and directed the military operations.<sup>63</sup> The conduct of the legions was intrusted to the intrepid valour of Galerius, who, for that important purpose, was removed from the banks of the Danube to those of the Euphrates. The armies soon encountered each other in the plains of Mesopotamia, and two battles were fought with various and doubtful success, but the third engagement was of a more decisive nature; and the Roman army received a total overthrow, which is attributed to

the rashness of Galerius, who, with an inconsiderable body of troops, attacked the innumerable host of the Persians.<sup>64</sup> But the consideration of the country that was the scene of action, may suggest another reason for his defeat. The same ground on which Galerius was vanquished, had been rendered memorable by the death of Crassus, and the slaughter of ten legions. It was a plain of more than sixty miles, which extended from the hills of Carrhæ to the Euphrates; a smooth and barren surface of sandy desert, without a hillock, without a tree, and without a spring of fresh water.<sup>65</sup> The steady infantry of the Romans, fainting with heat and thirst, could neither hope for victory if they preserved their ranks, nor break their ranks without exposing themselves to the most imminent danger. In this situation they were gradually encompassed by the superior numbers, harassed by the rapid evolutions, and destroyed by the arrows of the barbarian cavalry. The king of Armenia had signalised his valour in the battle, and acquired personal glory by the public misfortune. He was pursued as far as the Euphrates; his horse was wounded, and it appeared impossible for him to escape the victorious enemy. In this extremity Tiridates embraced the only refuge which he saw before him: he dismounted and plunged into the stream. His armour was heavy, the river very deep, and at those parts at least half a mile in breadth;<sup>66</sup> yet such was his strength and dexterity, that he reached in safety the opposite bank.<sup>67</sup> With regard to the Roman general, we are ignorant of the circumstances of his escape; but when he returned to Antioch, Diocletian received him, not with the tenderness of a friend and colleague, but with the indignation of an offended sovereign. The haughtiest of men, clothed in his purple, but humbled by the sense of his fault and misfortune, was obliged to follow the emperor's chariot above a mile on foot, and to exhibit before the whole court the spectacle of his disgrace.<sup>68</sup>

As soon as Diocletian had indulged his private resentment, and asserted the majesty of supreme power, he yielded to the submissive entreaties of the Caesar, and permitted him to retrieve his own honour, as well as that of the Roman arms. In the room of the unwelcome troops of Asia, which had most probably served in the first expedition, a second army was drawn from the veterans and new levies of the Illyrian frontier, and a considerable body of Gothic auxiliaries were taken into the Imperial pay.<sup>69</sup> At the head of a chosen army of twenty-five thousand men, Galerius again passed the Euphrates; but, instead of exposing his legions in the open plains of Mesopotamia, he advanced through the mountains of

His reception by Diocletian.

Second campaign of Galerius. A. D. 297.

<sup>60</sup> See Hist. Armen. l. ii. c. 31.

<sup>61</sup> Ispas Perdes apertique regem asensu Sapore, et Rusis, et Gollis, peditibus Ormies. Panegyric. Vet. ant. l. i. The Sace was a nation of wandering Scythians, who camped downward, the sources of the river, and the Persians. The Gollis were the inhabitants of Gollan along the Caspian Sea, and who so long, under the name of Dalmatians, ruled the Persian monarchy. See d'Herbigny, Bibliothèque Orientale.

<sup>62</sup> Moses of Chorea takes no notice of this second revolt, which I have been obliged to collect from a passage of Anonymus Marcellinus, B. xliii. c. 53. Diocletianus specks off, in the year of Narses, "Concitus domitibus exercitibus suis Saporis ad nos per ducem gentium magnis comitibus." De Mor. l. ii. c. 11.

<sup>63</sup> We may very properly observe, that I have thus ascribed the victory to the conduct of Diocletian, Julian, or his father, not, that he

named with all the forces of the empire, a very hyperbolic expression.

<sup>64</sup> Our five abbreviators, Eutropius, Festus, the two Victors, and Orosius, all relate the fact and great battle, but Orosius is the only one who speaks of the two battles.

<sup>65</sup> The nature of the country is finely described by Plutarch, in the life of Crassus, and by Xenophon, in the first book of the Anabasis.

<sup>66</sup> See Foster's Dissertation in the second volume of the translation of the Anabasis, to Spelman, which I will venture to recommend as one of the best ever in extant.

<sup>67</sup> Hist. Armen. l. ii. c. 76. I have transferred this exploit of Tiridates from an insignificant detail in the recital of the life of Galerius.

<sup>68</sup> Anonym. Marcellin. l. i. c. 11. The mile, in the hands of Eutropius, l. ii. c. 11. of Festus, l. c. 25. and of Orosius, l. ii. c. 26, easily in

<sup>69</sup> See the two Victors, Jordanes, de Telus, l. i. c. 24.

Armenia, where he found the inhabitants devoted to his cause, and the country as favourable to the operations of infantry, as it was inconvenient

for the motions of cavalry.<sup>70</sup> Adversity had confirmed the Roman discipline, while the barbarians, elated by success, were become so negligent and remiss, that in the moment when they least expected it, they were surprised by the active conduct of Galerius, who, attended only by two horsemen, had with his own eyes secretly examined the state and position of their camp. A surprise, especially in the night-time, was for the most part fatal to a Persian army. "Their horses were tied, and generally shackled, to prevent their running away; and if an alarm happened, a Persian had his horse to fix, his horse to biddle, and his corslet to put on, before he could mount."<sup>71</sup> On this occasion, the impetuous attack of Galerius spread disorder and dismay over the camp of the barbarians. A slight resistance was followed by a dreadful carnage, and, in the general confusion, the wounded monarch (for Narses commanded his armies in person) fled towards the deserts of Media. His sumptuous tents, and those of his satraps, afforded an immense booty to the conqueror; and an incident is mentioned, which proves the rustic but martial ignorance of the legions in the elegant superfluities of life. A bag of shining leather, filled with pearls, fell into the hands of a private soldier; he carefully preserved the bag, but he threw away its contents, judging that whatever was of no use could not possibly be of any value.<sup>72</sup> The principal loss of Narses was of a much more affecting nature. Several of his wives, his sisters, and children, who had attended the army, were made captives in the defeat. But though the character of Galerius had in general very little affinity with that of Alexander, he imitated, after his victory, the amiable behaviour of the Macedonian towards the family of Darius. The wives and children of Narses were protected from violence and rapine, conveyed to a place of safety, and treated with every mark of respect and tenderness, that was due from a generous enemy to their age, their sex, and their royal dignity.<sup>73</sup>

While the East anxiously expected the decision of this great contest, the emperor Diocletian, having assembled in Syria a strong army of observation, displayed from a distance the resources of the Roman power, and reserved himself for any future emergency of the war. On the intelligence of the victory, he condescended to advance towards the frontier, with a view of moderating, by his presence and counsels, the pride of Galerius. The interview of the Roman princes at Nisibis was accompanied with every expression of respect on one side, and of esteem on the other. It was in that city that they soon afterwards gave audience to the am-

bassador of the Great King.<sup>74</sup> The power, or at least the spirit of Narses, had been broken by his last defeat; and he considered an immediate peace as the only means that could stop the progress of the Roman arms. He despatched Apharban, a servant who possessed his favour and confidence, with a commission to negotiate a treaty, or rather to receive whatever conditions the conqueror should impose.

Apharban opened the conference by expressing his master's gratitude for the generous treatment of his family, and by soliciting the liberty of those illustrious captives. He celebrated the valour of Galerius, without degrading the reputation of Narses, and thought it no dishonour to confess the superiority of the victorious Cæsar, over a monarch who had surpassed in glory all the princes of his race. Notwithstanding the justice of the Persian cause, he was empowered to submit the present differences to the decision of the emperors themselves; convinced as he was, that, in the midst of prosperity, they would not be unmindful of the vicissitudes of fortune. Apharban concluded his discourse in the style of eastern allegory, by observing that the Roman and Persian monarchies were the two eyes of the world, which would remain imperfect and mutilated if either of them should be put out.

"It well becomes the Persians," replied Galerius, with a transport of fury, which seemed to convulse his whole frame, "it well becomes the Persians to expatiate on the vicissitudes of fortune, and calmly to read us lectures on the virtues of moderation. Let them remember their own moderation towards the unhappy Valerian. They vanquished him by fraud, they treated him with indignity. They detained him till the last moment of his life in shameful captivity, and after his death they exposed his body to perpetual ignominy." Softening, however, his tone, Galerius insinuated to the ambassador, that it had never been the practice of the Romans to trample on a prostrate enemy; and that, on this occasion, they should consult their own dignity rather than the Persian merit. He dismissed Apharban with a hope, that Narses would soon be informed on what conditions he might obtain, from the clemency of the emperors, a lasting peace, and the restoration of his wives and children. In this conference we may discover the fierce passions of Galerius, as well as his deference to the superior wisdom and authority of Diocletian. The ambition of the former grasped at the conquest of the East, and had proposed to reduce Persia into the state of a province. The moderation of prudence of the latter, who adhered to the moderate policy of Augustus and the Antonines, embraced the favourable opportunity of terminating a successful war by an honourable and advantageous peace.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Aurelius Victor says, "Per Armeniam in hostes contendit, quæ ferre solæ, seu facilius viam sua est." He treated the conduct of Trajan, and the idea of Julius Cæsar.

<sup>71</sup> Xenophon's *Anabasis*, l. ix. For that reason the Persian cavalry encompassed sixty stadia from the enemy.

<sup>72</sup> The story is told by Ammianus, l. xxi. Instead of *utrumque* some read *utrum*.

<sup>73</sup> The Persians were dismissed the Roman superiority in morals as well as in arms. *Entreprix*, &c. But this respect and gratitude of enemies is very seldom to be found in their own accounts.

<sup>74</sup> The account of the negotiation is taken from the fragments of Feyer's *Parmian*, in the *Excerpta Legationum*, published by H. B. Zantius in 1761. Feyer had under Justinian, but it is a conjecture, the nature of his materials, that they are drawn from the most authentic and respectable writers.

<sup>75</sup> *Adulatio* is a word as much in vogue as *moderation*, and is a very proper term to describe the moderation of the Roman emperors.

In pursuance of their promise, the emperors soon afterwards appointed Sicorius Probus, one of their secretaries, to acquaint the Persian court with their final resolution. As the minister of peace, he was received with every mark of politeness and friendship; but, under the pretence of allowing him the necessary repose after so long a journey, the audience of Probus was deferred from day to day; and he attended the slow motions of the king, till at length he was admitted to his presence, near the river Asprudus in Media. The secret motive of Narses in this delay, had been to collect such a military force as might enable him, though sincerely desirous of peace, to negotiate with the greater weight and dignity. Three persons only assisted at this important conference, the minister Aphanbar, the præfect of the guards, and an officer who had commanded on the Armenian frontier.<sup>76</sup> The first condition proposed by the ambassador, is not at present of a very intelligible nature; that the city of Nisibis might be established for the place of mutual exchange, or, as we should formerly have termed it, for the staple of trade, between the two empires. There is no difficulty in conceiving the intention of the Roman princes to improve their revenue by some restraints upon commerce; but as Nisibis was situated within their own dominions, and as they were masters both of the imports and exports, it should seem, that such restraints were the objects of an internal law, rather than of a foreign treaty. To render them more effectual, some stipulations were probably required on the side of the king of Persia, which appeared so very repugnant either to his interest or to his dignity, that Narses could not be persuaded to subscribe them. As this was the only article to which he refused his consent, it was no longer insisted on; and the emperors either suffered the trade to flow in its natural channels, or contented themselves with such restrictions as it depended on their own authority to establish.

As soon as this difficulty was removed, a solemn peace was concluded and ratified between the two nations. The conditions of a treaty so glorious to the empire, and so necessary to Persia, may deserve a more peculiar attention, as the history of Rome presents very few transactions of a similar nature; most of her wars having either been terminated by absolute conquest, or waged against barbarians ignorant of the use of letters.

1. The Aboras, or as it is called by Xenophon, the Araxes, was fixed as the boundary between the two monarchies.<sup>77</sup> That river, which rose near the Tigris, was increased a few miles below Ni-

sibus, by the little stream of the Mygdonius, passed under the walls of Singara, and fell into the Euphrates at Circesium, a frontier town, which, by the care of Diocletian, was very strongly fortified.<sup>78</sup> Mesopotamia, the object of so many wars, was ceded to the empire; and the Persians, by this treaty, renounced all pretensions to that great province. II. They relinquished to the Romans five provinces beyond the Tigris.<sup>79</sup> Their situation formed a very useful barrier, and their natural strength was soon improved by art and military skill. Four of these, to the north of the river, were districts of obscure fame and inconsiderable extent; Intilene, Zabdicene, Arzaucene, and Moxoene: but on the east of the Tigris, the empire acquired the large and mountainous territory of Carduene, the ancient seat of the Carduchians, who preserved for many ages their manly freedom in the heart of the despotic monarchies of Asia. The ten thousand Greeks traversed their country, after a painful march, or rather engagement of seven days; and it is confessed by their leader, in his incomparable relation of the retreat, that they suffered more from the arrows of the Carduchians, than from the power of the Great King.<sup>80</sup> Their posterity, the Kurds, with very little alteration either of name or manners, acknowledged the nominal sovereignty of the Turkish sultan. III. It is almost

Armenia.

the faithful ally of Rome, was restored to the throne of his fathers, and that the rights of the Imperial supremacy were fully asserted and secured. The limits of Armenia were extended as far as the fortress of Sinthia in Media, and this increase of dominion was not so much an act of liberality as of justice. Of the provinces already mentioned beyond the Tigri-, the four first had been dis-membered by the Parthians from the crown of Armenia;<sup>81</sup> and when the Romans acquired the possession of them, they stipulated, at the expense of the usurpers, an ample compensation, which invested their ally with the extensive and fertile country of Atropatene. Its principal city, in the same situation perhaps as the modern Tauris, was frequently honoured with the residence of Tiridates; and as it sometimes bore the name of Ecbatana, he imitated, in the buildings and fortifications, the splendid capital of the Medes.<sup>82</sup> IV. The country of Iberia was barren, its inhabitants rude and savage. But they were accustomed to the use of arms, and they separated from the empire barbarians much fiercer and more formidable than themselves. The narrow defiles of Mount Caucasus were in their hands, and it was in their choice, either to

Iberia.

76 He had been governor of Syria as an Excerpt.  
Legat. p. 1. Most of the ho-  
rene (46). Ararat.  
77 B. tion of Singara  
kermis. have produced  
the mistake of Peter, in assigning the latter river for the boundary,  
instead of the former. The line of the Roman frontier traversed, but  
never followed, the course of the Taurus.

us in Excerpt.  
Moses of Chon-  
Ararat.

tian or after that of Ixion. The want of correct maps, like those of  
M. L. ...  
...  
... Xenophon's Anabasis, l.iv. Their bows were three cubits in  
length, their arrows two; they rolled down stones that were each a  
wasgon load. The Greeks found a great many villages in that rude  
country.

admit or to exclude the wandering tribes of Sarmatia, whenever a rapacious spirit urged them to penetrate into the richer climes of the South.<sup>83</sup> The nomination of the kings of Iheria, which was resigned by the Persian monarch to the emperors, contributed to the strength and security of the Roman power in Asia.<sup>84</sup> The East enjoyed a profound tranquillity during forty years; and the treaty between the rival monarchies was strictly observed till the death of Tiridates; when a new generation, animated with different views and different passions, succeeded to the government of the world; and the grandson of Narses undertook a long and memorable war against the princes of the house of Constantine.

The arduous work of rescuing the distressed empire from tyrants and barbarians had now been completely achieved by a succession of Illyrian peasants. As soon as Diocletian entered into the twentieth year of his reign, he celebrated that memorable era, as well as the success of his arms, by the pomp of a Roman triumph.<sup>85</sup> Maximian, the equal partner of his power, was his only companion in the glory of that day. The two Cæsars had fought and conquered, but the merit of their exploits was ascribed, according to the rigour of ancient maxims, to the auspicious influence of their fathers and emperors.<sup>86</sup> The triumph of Diocletian and Maximian was less magnificent, perhaps, than those of Aurelian and Probus, but it was dignified by several circumstances of superior fame and good fortune. Africa and Britain, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Nile, furnished their respective trophies; but the most distinguished ornament was of a more singular nature, a Persian victory followed by an important conquest. The representations of rivers, mountains, and provinces, were carried before the Imperial car. The images of the captive wives, the sisters, and the children of the Great King, afforded a new and grateful spectacle to the vanity of the people.<sup>87</sup> In the eyes of posterity this triumph is remarkable by a distinction of a less honourable kind. It was the last that Rome ever beheld. Soon after this period, the emperors ceased to vanquish, and Rome ceased to be the capital of the empire.

The spot on which Rome was founded, had been consecrated by ancient ceremonies and imaginary miracles. The presence of some god, or the memory of some hero, seemed to animate every part of the city, and the empire of the world had been promised to the Capitol.<sup>88</sup> The native

Romans felt and confessed the power of this agreeable illusion. It was derived from their ancestors, had grown up with their earliest habits of life, and was protected, in some measure, by the opinion of political utility. The form and the seat of government were intimately blended together, nor was it esteemed possible to transport the one without destroying the other.<sup>89</sup> But the sovereignty of the capital was gradually annihilated in the extent of conquest; the provinces rose to the same level, and the vanquished nations acquired the name and privileges, without imbibing the partial affections, of Romans. During a long period, however, the remains of the ancient constitution, and the influence of custom, preserved the dignity of Rome. The emperors, though perhaps of African or Illyrian extraction, respected their adopted country, as the seat of their power, and the centre of their extensive dominions. The emergencies of war very frequently required their presence on the frontiers; but Diocletian and Maximian were the first Roman princes who fixed, in time of peace, their ordinary residence in the provinces; and their conduct, however it might be suggested by private motives, was justified by very specious considerations of policy. The court

of the emperor of the West was, for the most part, established at Milan, whose situation, at the foot of the Alps, appeared far more convenient than that of Rome, for the important purpose of watching the motions of the barbarians of Germany. Milan soon assumed the splendour of an Imperial city. The houses are described as numerous and well built; the manners of the people as polished and liberal. A circus, a theatre, a mint, a palace, baths, which bore the name of their founder Maximian; porticoes adorned with statues, and a double circumference of walls, contributed to the beauty of the new capital; nor did it seem oppressed even by the proximity of Rome.<sup>90</sup> To rival the majesty of Rome was the ambition

and Nicomedia, likewise of Diocletian, who employed his leisure, and the wealth of the East, in the embellishment of Nicomedia, a city placed on the verge of Europe and Asia, almost at an equal distance between the Danube and the Euphrates. By the taste of the monarch, and at the expense of the people, Nicomedia acquired, in the space of a few years, a degree of magnificence which might appear to have required the labour of ages, and became inferior only to Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, in extent or populousness.<sup>91</sup>

The life of Diocletian and Maximian was a life of action, and a considerable portion of it was spent in camps, or in their long and frequent

<sup>83</sup> Triumph of Diocletian and Maximian. A.D. 303. Nov. 20.

<sup>84</sup> Long absence of the emperors from Rome.

<sup>83</sup> Helms, *loc. cit.* *Politeness* Chap. x. c. 1. *See* also an American paper published at *Lancet*, *April* 1831. *See* also *the* *London* *Chronicle*, *1831*, *Vol.* 7, p. 71.

<sup>84</sup> *Peter* *Plinius*, *in* *Excerptis*, *lib.* 20, is the only writer who mentions the Persian triumph of the Persians.

<sup>85</sup> *Plinius*, *in* *Excerptis*, *lib.* 20, p. 71. *Till* the discovery of the *triumph* *of* *Maximian*, *Plinius*, *in* *Excerptis*, *lib.* 20, p. 71, is the only writer who mentions the Persian triumph of the Persians.

<sup>86</sup> At the time of the *Veneranda*, *lib.* 20, p. 71, is the only writer who mentions the Persian triumph of the Persians.

<sup>87</sup> *Plinius*, *in* *Excerptis*, *lib.* 20, p. 71, is the only writer who mentions the Persian triumph of the Persians.

<sup>88</sup> *Plinius*, *in* *Excerptis*, *lib.* 20, p. 71, is the only writer who mentions the Persian triumph of the Persians.

<sup>89</sup> *See* the *origin* *and* *structure* *of* *Le* *Fort* *and* *Dacier*, the third edition of *the* *book* *of* *the* *city* *of* *Rome*, *intended* *to* *show* *Augustus* *from* *the* *view* *from* *the* *city* *of* *Rome*.

<sup>90</sup> *See* *Antonius* *Vandenberg*, who acknowledges the buildings erected by Maximian at *Constantinople*, *lib.* 20, p. 71, is the only writer who mentions the Persian triumph of the Persians.

<sup>91</sup> *See* *Antonius* *Vandenberg*, who acknowledges the buildings erected by Maximian at *Constantinople*, *lib.* 20, p. 71, is the only writer who mentions the Persian triumph of the Persians.

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<sup>94</sup> *See* *Antonius* *Vandenberg*, who acknowledges the buildings erected by Maximian at *Constantinople*, *lib.* 20, p. 71, is the only writer who mentions the Persian triumph of the Persians.

marches; but whenever the public business allowed them any relaxation, they seem to have retired with pleasure to their favourite residences of Nicomedia and Milan. Till Diocletian, in the twentieth year of his reign, celebrated his Roman triumph, it is extremely doubtful whether he ever visited the ancient capital of the empire. Even on that memorable occasion his stay did not exceed two months. Disgusted with the licentious familiarity of the people, he quitted Rome with precipitation thirteen days before it was expected that he should have appeared in the senate, invested with the ensigns of the consular dignity.<sup>92</sup>

Debasement of  
Rome and of  
the senate.

The dislike expressed by Diocletian towards Rome and Roman freedom, was not the effect of momentary caprice, but the result of the most artificial policy. That crafty prince had framed a new system of Imperial government, which was afterwards completed by the family of Constantine; and as the image of the old constitution was religiously preserved in the senate, he resolved to deprive that order of its small remains of power and consideration. We may recollect, about eight years before the elevation of Diocletian, the transient greatness, and the ambitious hopes, of the Roman senate. As long as that enthusiasm prevailed, many of the nobles imprudently displayed their zeal in the cause of freedom; and after the successors of Probus had withdrawn their countenance from the republican party, the senators were unable to disguise their impotent resentment. As the sovereign of Italy, Maximian was intrusted with the care of extinguishing this troublesome, rather than dangerous spirit, and the task was perfectly suited to his cruel temper. The most illustrious members of the senate, whom Diocletian always affected to esteem, were involved, by his colleague, in the accusation of imaginary plots; and the possession of an elegant villa, or a well-cultivated estate, was interpreted as a convincing evidence of guilt.<sup>93</sup> The camp of the prætorians, which had so long oppressed, began to protect, the majesty of Rome; and as those haughty troops were conscious of the decline of their power, they were naturally disposed to unite their strength with the authority of the senate. By the prudent measures of Diocletian, the numbers of the prætorians were insensibly reduced, their privileges abolished,<sup>94</sup> and their place supplied by two faithful legions of Illyricum, who, under the new titles of Jovians and Herculians, were appointed to perform the service of the Imperial guards.<sup>95</sup> But the most fatal though secret wound, which the senate received from the hands of Diocletian and Maximian, was inflicted by the inevitable operation of their absence. As long as the emperors resided

New bodies of  
guards, Jovians  
and Herculians.

at Rome, that assembly might be oppressed, but it could scarcely be neglected. The successors of Augustus exercised the power of dictating whatever laws their wisdom or caprice might suggest; but those laws were ratified by the sanction of the senate. The model of ancient freedom was preserved in its deliberations and decrees; and wise princes, who respected the prejudices of the Roman people, were in some measure obliged to assume the language and behaviour suitable to the general and first magistrate of the republic. In the armies and in the provinces, they displayed the dignity of monarchs; and when they fixed their residence at a distance from the capital, they for ever laid aside the dissimulation which Augustus had recommended to his successors. In the exercise of the legislative as well as the executive power, the sovereign advised with his ministers, instead of consulting the great council of the nation. The name of the senate was mentioned with honour till the last period of the empire; the vanity of its members was still flattered with honorary distinctions;<sup>96</sup> but the assembly which had so long been the source, and so long the instrument of power, was respectfully suffered to sink into oblivion. The senate of Rome, losing all connection with the Imperial court and the actual constitution, was left a venerable but useless monument of antiquity on the Capitoline hill.

When the Roman princes had lost sight of the senate and their ancient capital, they easily forgot the origin and nature of their legal power. The civil offices of consul, of proconsul, of censor, and of tribune, by the union of which it had been formed, betrayed to the people its republican extraction. Those modest titles were laid aside;<sup>97</sup> and if they still distinguished their high station, by the appellation of emperor, or IMPERATOR, that word was understood in a new and more dignified sense, and no longer denoted the general of the Roman armies, but the sovereign of the Roman world. The name of emperor, which was at first of a military nature, was associated with another of a more servile kind. The epithet of DOMINUS, or Lord, in its primitive signification, was expressive, not of the authority of a prince over his subjects, or of a commander over his soldiers, but of the despotic power of a master over his domestic slaves.<sup>98</sup> Viewing it in that odious light, it had been rejected with abhorrence by the first Cæsars. Their resistance insensibly became more feeble, and the name less odious; till at length the style of *our Lord and Emperor* was not only bestowed by flattery, but was regularly admitted into the laws and public monuments. Such lofty epithets were

Civil magistrates laid  
aside.

Imperial  
dignity and  
titles.

<sup>92</sup> Lactant. de M. P. c. 17. On a similar occasion, Ammianus mentions the *diacitus plebs*, as not very agreeable to an Imperial ear. (See l. i. c. 10.)

<sup>93</sup> Lactantius accuses Maximian of *hæc omnia* &c.

<sup>94</sup> See the Theodosian Code, l. vi. tit. ii. with Godefroy's commentary.

<sup>95</sup> See the 12th dissertation in Spanheim's excellent work de *Usu Numismatum*. From medals, inscriptions, and historians, he examines every title separately, and traces it from Augustus to the moment of its disappearing.

<sup>96</sup> Pliny (in Panegy. c. 55, &c.) speaks of *Dominus* with execration, as synonymous to Tyrant, and opposite to Prince. And the same Pliny regularly gives that title (in the tenth book of the epistles) to his friend rather than to the virtuous Trajan. This strange contradiction puzzles the commentators, who think, and the translator, who can write.

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sufficient to elate and satisfy the most excessive vanity; and if the successors of Diocletian still declined the title of king, it seems to have been the effect not so much of their moderation as of their delicacy. Wherever the Latin tongue was in use (and it was the language of government throughout the empire), the Imperial title, as it was peculiar to themselves, conveyed a more respectable idea than the name of King, which they must have shared with an hundred barbarian chieftains; or which, at the best, they could derive only from Romulus or from Tarquin. But the sentiments of the East were very different from those of the West. From the earliest period of history, the sovereigns of Asia had been celebrated in the Greek language by the title of *BASILEUS*, or King; and since it was considered as the first distinction among men, it was soon employed by the servile provincials of the East, in their humble addresses to the Roman throne.<sup>99</sup> Even the attributes, or at least the titles of the *DIVINITY*, were usurped by Diocletian and Maximian, who transmitted them to a succession of Christian emperors.<sup>100</sup> Such extravagant compliments, however, soon lose their impety by losing their meaning; and when the ear is once accustomed to the sound, they are heard with indifference as vague though excessive professions of respect.

From the time of Augustus to that of Diocletian, the Roman princes conversing in a familiar manner among their fellow-citizens, were saluted only with the same respect that was usually paid to senators and magistrates. Their principal distinction was the Imperial or military robe of purple; whilst the senatorial garment was marked by a broad, and the equestrian by a narrow, band or stripe of the same honourable colour. The pride, or rather the policy, of Diocletian, engaged that awful prince to introduce the stately magnificence of the court of Persia.<sup>101</sup> He ventured to assume the diadem, an ornament detested by the Romans as the odious ensign of royalty, and the use of which had been considered as the most desperate act of the madness of Caligula. It was no more than a broad white fillet set with pearls, which encircled the emperor's head. The sumptuous robes of Diocletian and his successors were of silk and gold; and it is remarked with indignation, that even their shoes were studded with the most precious gems. The access to their sacred person was every day rendered more difficult, by the institution of new forms and ceremonies. The avenues of the palace were strictly guarded by the various *schools*, as they began to be called, of domestic officers. The interior apartments were intrusted to the jealous vigilance of the eunuchs; the increase of whose numbers and influence was the most infallible symptom of the progress of despotism. When a subject was at length admitted to the Imperial presence, he was obliged, whatever might be his

rank, to fall prostrate on the ground, and to adore, according to the eastern fashion, the divinity of his lord and master.<sup>102</sup> Diocletian was a man of sense, who, in the course of private as well as public life, had formed a just estimate both of himself and of mankind: nor is it easy to conceive, that in substituting the manners of Persia to those of Rome, he was seriously actuated by so mean a principle as that of vanity. He flattered himself, that an ostentation of splendour and luxury would subdue the imagination of the multitude; that the monarch would be less exposed to the rude licence of the people and the soldiers, as his person was secluded from the public view; and that habits of submission would insensibly be productive of sentiments of veneration. Like the modesty affected by Augustus, the state maintained by Diocletian was a theatrical representation; but it must be confessed, that of the two comedies, the former was of a much more liberal and manly character than the latter. It was the aim of the one to disguise, and the object of the other to display, the unbounded power which the emperors possessed over the Roman world.

Ostentation was the first principle of the new system instituted by Diocletian. The second was division. He divided the empire, the provinces, and every branch of the civil as well as military administration. He multiplied the wheels of the machine of government, and rendered its operations less rapid but more secure. Whatever advantages and whatever defects might attend these innovations, they must be ascribed in a very great degree to the first inventor; but as the new frame of policy was gradually improved and completed by succeeding princes, it will be more satisfactory to delay the consideration of it till the season of its full maturity and perfection.<sup>103</sup> Reserving, therefore, for the reign of Constantine a more exact picture of the new empire, we shall content ourselves with describing the principal and decisive outline, as it was traced by the hand of Diocletian. He had associated three colleagues in the exercise of the supreme power; and as he was convinced that the abilities of a single man were inadequate to the public defence, he considered the joint administration of four princes not as a temporary expedient, but as a fundamental law of the constitution. It was his intention, that the two elder princes should be distinguished by the use of the diadem, and the title of *Augusti*: that, as affection or esteem might direct their choice, they should regularly call to their assistance two subordinate colleagues; and that the *Cæsars*, rising in their turn to the first rank, should supply an uninterrupted succession of emperors. The empire was divided into four parts. The East and Italy were the most honourable, the Danube and the Rhine the most laborious stations. The former claimed the presence of the *Augusti*, the latter were intrusted

New form of administration, two Augusti, and two Cæsars.

99 Synesius de Regno, Edit. Petav. p. 15. I am indebted for this quotation to the Abbé de la Bletterie.

100 See Verda e de Consuetudine, p. 351, &c. It was customary for the emperors to mention (in the preamble of laws) their names, *avertit majestati, divine celsitati, &c.* According to Tillemont, Gregorius Nazanzian complains most bitterly of the profligacy, especially when it was practised by an Arian emperor.

101 See Spanheim de Usu Nummatis Dissertat. III.

102 Amelius Victor. Eusebius, ix. 26. It appears by the Privileges, that the Romans were soon reconciled to the name and ceremony of adoration.

103 The innovations introduced by Diocletian, are chiefly deduced, 1st, from some very strong passages in Lactantius, and, 2dly, from the new and various offices, which, in the Theodosian code, appear already established in the beginning of the reign of Constantine.

to the administration of the *Cæsars*. The strength of the legions was in the hands of the four partners of sovereignty, and the despair of successively vanquishing four formidable rivals, might intimidate the ambition of an aspiring general. In their civil government, the emperors were supposed to exercise the undivided power of the monarch, and their edicts, inscribed with their joint names, were received in all the provinces, as promulgated by their mutual councils and authority. Notwithstanding these precautions, the political union of the Roman world was gradually dissolved, and a principle of division was introduced, which, in the course of a few years, occasioned the perpetual separation of the eastern and western empires.

The system of Diocletian was <sup>increase of taxes,</sup> accompanied with another very material disadvantage, which cannot even at present be totally overlooked; a more expensive establishment, and consequently an increase of taxes, and the oppression of the people. Instead of a modest family of slaves and freedmen, such as had contented the simple greatness of Augustus and Trajan, three or four magnificent courts were established in the various parts of the empire, and as many Roman *kings* contended with each other and with the Persian monarch for the vain superiority of pomp and luxury. The number of ministers, of magistrates, of officers, and of servants, who filled the different departments of the state, was multiplied beyond the example of former times; and (if we may borrow the warm expression of a contemporary), "when the proportion of those who received, exceeded the proportion of those who contributed, the provinces were oppressed by the weight of tributes."<sup>104</sup> From this period to the extinction of the empire, it would be easy to deduce an uninterrupted series of clamours and complaints. According to his religion and situation, each writer chooses either Diocletian, or Constantine, or Valens, or Theodosius, for the object of his invectives; but they unanimously agree in representing the burden of the public impositions, and particularly the land-tax and capitation, as the intolerable and increasing grievance of their own times. From such a concurrence, an impartial historian, who is obliged to extract truth from satire, as well as from panegyric, will be inclined to divide the blame among the princes whom they accuse, and to ascribe their exactions much less to their personal vices, than to the uniform system of their administration. The emperor Diocletian was indeed the author of that system; but during his reign the growing evil was confined within the bounds of modesty and discretion, and he deserves the reproach of establishing pernicious precedents, rather than of exercising actual oppression.<sup>105</sup> It may be added, that his revenues were managed with prudent economy; and that after all the current expenses were discharged, there still remained in the Imperial treasury an ample provision either for judicious liberality or for any emergency of the state.

It was in the twenty-first year of his reign that Diocletian executed his memorable resolution of abdicating the empire; an action more naturally to have been expected from the elder or the younger Antoninus, than from a prince who had never practised the lessons of philosophy either in the attainment or in the use of supreme power. Diocletian acquired the glory of giving to the world the first example of a resignation,<sup>106</sup> which has not been very frequently imitated by succeeding monarchs. The parallel of Charles the Fifth, however, will naturally offer itself to our mind, <sup>Resemblance to Charles the Fifth.</sup>

not only since the eloquence of a modern historian has rendered that name so familiar to an English reader, but from the very striking resemblance between the characters of the two emperors, whose political abilities were superior to their military genius, and whose specious virtues were much less the effect of nature than of art. The abdication of Charles appears to have been hastened by the vicissitude of fortune; and the disappointment of his favourite schemes urged him to relinquish a power which he found inadequate to his ambition. But the reign of Diocletian had flowed with the tide of uninterrupted success; nor was it till after he had vanquished all his enemies, and accomplished all his designs, that he seems to have entertained any serious thoughts of resigning the empire. Neither Charles nor Diocletian were arrived at a very advanced period of life; since the one was only fifty-five, and the other was no more than fifty-nine years of age; but the active life of those princes, their wars and journeys, the cares of royalty, and their application to business, had already impaired their constitution, and brought on the infirmities of a premature old age.<sup>107</sup>

Notwithstanding the severity of a very cold and rainy winter, Diocletian left Italy soon after the ceremony of his triumph, and began his progress towards the East round the circuit of the Illyrian provinces. From the inclemency of the weather, and the fatigue of the journey, he soon contracted a slow illness; and though he made easy marches, and was generally carried in a close litter, his disorder, before he arrived at Nicomedia, about the end of the summer, was become very serious and alarming. During the whole winter he was confined to his palace: his danger inspired a general and unaffected concern; but the people could only judge of the various alterations of his health, from the joy or consternation which they discovered in the countenances and behaviour of his attendants. The rumour of his death was for some time universally believed; and it was supposed to be concealed, with a view to prevent the troubles that might have happened during the absence of the *Cæsar* Galerius. At length, however, on the first of March, Diocletian once more appeared in public, but so pale and emaciated, that he could scarcely have been recognised by those to whom his person was the most

A D. 301.  
Long illness of Diocletian.

<sup>104</sup> Lactant. de M. P. c. 7.

<sup>105</sup> Indicta lex nova quæ sane illorum temporum modestâ tolerantia, in perniciosum processit. Aurel. Victor, who has treated the character of Diocletian with good sense, though in bad Latin.

<sup>106</sup> *Scilicet omnino, post conditum Romanum Imperium, qui ex*

tanto fastigio sponte ad private vite statum civilitatemque remearet. Eutrop. ix. 24.

<sup>107</sup> The particulars of the journey and illness are taken from Lactantius (c. 17), who may sometimes be admitted as an evidence of public facts, though very seldom of private anecdotes.

His prudence. familiar. It was time to put an end to the painful struggle, which he had sustained during more than a year, between the care of his health and that of his dignity. The former required indulgence and relaxation; the latter compelled him to direct, from the bed of sickness, the administration of a great empire. He resolved to pass the remainder of his days in honourable repose, to place his glory beyond the reach of fortune, and to relinquish the theatre of the world to his younger and more active associates.<sup>108</sup>

The ceremony of his abdication was performed in a spacious plain, about three miles from Nicomedia. The emperor ascended a lofty throne, and, in a speech full of reason and dignity, declared his intention, both to the people and to the soldiers who were assembled on this extraordinary occasion. As soon as he had divested himself of the purple, he withdrew from the gazing multitude; and traversing the city in a covered chariot, proceeded without delay to the favourite retirement which he had chosen in his native country of Dalmatia.

On the same day, which was the first of May,<sup>109</sup> Maximian, as it had been previously concerted, made his resignation of the Imperial dignity at Milan. Even in the splendour of the Roman triumph, Diocletian had meditated his design of abdicating the government. As he wished to secure the obedience of Maximian, he exacted from him either a general assurance that he would submit his actions to the authority of his benefactor, or a particular promise that he would descend from the throne, whenever he should receive the advice and the example. This engagement, though it was confirmed by the solemnity of an oath before the altar of the Capitoline Jupiter,<sup>110</sup> would have proved a feeble restraint on the fierce temper of Maximian, whose passion was the love of power, and who neither desired present tranquillity nor future reputation. But he yielded, however reluctantly, to the ascendant which his wiser colleague had acquired over him, and retired, immediately after his abdication, to a villa in Lucania, where it was almost impossible that such an impatient spirit could find any lasting tranquillity.

Retirement of Diocletian at Salona. Diocletian, who, from a servile origin, had raised himself to the throne, passed the nine last years of his life in a private condition. Reason had dictated, and content seems to have accompanied, his retreat, in which he enjoyed for a long time the respect of those princes to whom he had resigned the possession of the world.<sup>111</sup> It is seldom that minds, long exercised in business, have formed any habits of conversing with themselves; and, in the loss of power, they principally

regret the want of occupation. The amusements of letters and of devotion, which afford so many resources in solitude, were incapable of fixing the attention of Diocletian; but he had preserved, or at least he soon recovered, a taste for the most innocent as well as natural pleasures, and his leisure hours were sufficiently employed in building, planting, and gardening. His answer to Maximian is deservedly celebrated. He was solicited by that restless old man to reassume the reins of government and the Imperial purple. He rejected the temptation with a smile of pity, calmly observing, that if he could show Maximian the cabbages which he had planted with his own hands at Salona, he should no longer be urged to relinquish the enjoyment of happiness for the pursuit of power.<sup>112</sup> In his conversations with his friends he frequently acknowledged, that of all arts, the most difficult was the art of reigning; and he expressed himself on that favourite topic with a degree of warmth which could be the result only of experience. "How often," was he accustomed to say, "is it the interest of four or five "ministers to combine together to deceive their "sovereign! Secluded from mankind by his "exalted dignity, the truth is concealed from his "knowledge; he can see only with their eyes; "he hears nothing but their misrepresentations. "He confers the most important offices upon "vice and weakness, and disgraces the most "virtuous and deserving among his subjects. "By such infamous arts," added Diocletian, "the best and wisest princes are sold to the "venal corruption of their courtiers."<sup>113</sup> A just estimate of greatness, and the assurance of immortal fame, improve our relish for the pleasures of retirement; but the Roman emperor had filled too important a character in the world to enjoy without alloy the comforts and security of a private condition. It was impossible that he could remain ignorant of the troubles which afflicted the empire after his abdication. It was impossible that he could be indifferent to their consequences. Fear, sorrow, and discontent, sometimes pursued him into the solitude of Salona. His tenderness, or at least his pride, was deeply wounded by the misfortunes of his wife and daughter; and the last moments of Diocletian were embittered by some affronts, which Licinius and Constantine might have spared the father of so many emperors, and the first author of their own fortune. A report, though of a very doubtful nature, has reached our times, that he prudently withdrew himself from their power by a voluntary death.<sup>114</sup>

Before we dismiss the consideration of the life and character of Diocletian, we may, for a moment,

<sup>108</sup> Aurelius Victor ascribes the abdication, which had been so

perfectly

25. note

110 See Panegy. Veter. vi. 9. The oration was pronounced after Maximian had reassumed the purple

111 Eumenius pays him a very fine compliment: "At enim dicimus illum virum, qui primum imperium et participavit et posuit,

"consiliis et factis non penitet; nec ambuisse se putat quod sponte "transcribit. Felix beatusque vere quem vestra, tantorum princeps "puni, culum obsequia privatum" Panegy. Vet. vi. 15

112 We are obliged to the younger Victor for this celebrated but

113 Hist. August. p. 225, 224. Vopiscus had learned this conversation from his father.

114 The younger Victor slightly mentions the report. But as Diocletian had distinguished a powerful and successful party, his memory has been loaded with every crime and misfortune. It has been affirmed, that he died raving mad, that he was condemned as a criminal by the Roman senate, &c.



direct our view to the place of his retirement. Salona, a principal city of his native province of Dalmatia, was near two hundred Roman miles (according to the measurement of the public highways) from Aquileia and the confines of Italy, and about two hundred and seventy from Sirmium, the usual residence of the emperors whenever they visited the Illyrian frontier.<sup>115</sup> A miserable village still preserves the name of Salona; but so late as the sixteenth century the remains of a theatre, and a confused prospect of broken arches and marble columns, continued to attest its ancient splendour.<sup>116</sup> About six or seven miles from the city, Diocletian constructed a magnificent palace; and we may infer, from the greatness of the work, how long he had meditated his design of abdicating the empire. The choice of a spot which united all that could contribute either to health or to luxury, did not require the partiality of a native. "The soil was dry and fertile, the air is pure and wholesome, and though extremely hot during the summer months, this country seldom feels those sultry and noxious winds to which the coasts of Istria and some parts of Italy are exposed. The views from the palace are no less beautiful than the soil and climate were inviting. Towards the west lies the fertile shore that stretches along the Adriatic, in which a number of small islands are scattered in such a manner as to give this part of the sea the appearance of a great lake. On the north side lies the bay, which led to the ancient city of Salona; and the country beyond it, appearing in sight, forms a proper contrast to that more extensive prospect of water which the Adriatic presents both to the south and to the east. Towards the north, the view is terminated by high and irregular mountains, situated at a proper distance, and, in many places, covered with villages, woods, and vineyards."<sup>117</sup>

Of Diocletian's palace.

Though Constantine, from a very obvious prejudice, affects to mention the palace of Diocletian with contempt,<sup>118</sup> yet one of their successors, who could only see it in a neglected and mutilated state, celebrates its magnificence in terms of the highest admiration.<sup>119</sup> It covered an extent of ground consisting of between nine and ten English acres. The form was quadrangular, flanked with sixteen towers. Two of the sides were near six hundred, and the other two near seven hundred, feet in length. The whole was constructed of a beautiful free-stone, extracted from the neighbouring quarries of Trau, or Tragutium, and very little inferior to marble itself. Four streets, intersecting each other at right angles, divided the several parts of this great edifice, and the approach

to the principal apartment was from a very stately entrance, which is still denominated the Golden Gate. The approach was terminated by a *peristylum* of granite columns, on one side of which we discover the square temple of Æsculapius; on the other the octagon temple of Jupiter. The latter of those deities Diocletian revered as the patron of his fortunes; the former as the protector of his health. By comparing the present remains with the precepts of Vitruvius, the several parts of the building, the baths, bed-chamber, the *atrium*, the *basilica*, and the Cyzicene, Corinthian, and Egyptian halls have been described with some degree of precision, or at least of probability. Their forms were various, their proportions just; but they were all attended with two imperfections, very repugnant to our modern notions of taste and convenience. These stately rooms had neither windows nor chimneys. They were lighted from the top (for the building seems to have consisted of no more than one story), and they received their heat by the help of pipes that were conveyed along the walls. The range of principal apartments was protected towards the south-west by a portico five hundred and seventeen feet long, which must have formed a very noble and delightful walk, when the beauties of painting and sculpture were added to those of the prospect.

Had this magnificent edifice remained in a solitary country, it would have been exposed to the ravages of time; but it might, perhaps, have escaped the rapacious industry of man. The village of Aspalathus,<sup>120</sup> and, long afterwards, the provincial town of Spalatro, have grown out of its ruins. The Golden Gate now opens into the market-place. St. John the Baptist has usurped the honours of Æsculapius; and the temple of Jupiter, under the protection of the Virgin, is converted into the cathedral church. For this account of Diocletian's palace we are principally indebted to an ingenious artist of our own time and country, whom a very liberal curiosity carried into the heart of Dalmatia.<sup>121</sup> But there is room to suspect, that the elegance of his designs and engraving has somewhat flattered the objects which it was their purpose to represent. We are informed by a more recent and very judicious traveller, that the awful ruins of Spalatro are not less expressive of the decline of the arts than of the greatness of the Roman empire in the time of Diocletian.<sup>122</sup> If such was indeed the state of architecture, we must naturally believe that painting and sculpture had experienced a still more sensible decay. The practice of architecture is directed by a few general and even mechanical rules. But sculpture, and, above all, painting, propose to themselves the imitation

emperor, or the bishop who composed it for him, affects to relate the

162

two draughtsmen, magnificent work  
on seven years

122 I shall quote the words of the Abbe Fortis. "Ebastevol-  
mente nota agli amatori dell' architettura, e dell' antichità,  
"l'opera del signor Abate, che a donno troito a que' supella ves-  
"ta e coll' abozzo eleganza del suo disegno, e del bulino. In  
"generale la rozzezza del scarpello, e'l cattivo gusto del secolo vi-  
"garagnao colla magnificenza del fabricato." See Viaggio in Dal-  
mania, p. 10.

115 See the Itiner. p. 269, 273. E. H. Weale

116 The Abbe Fortis, in his Viaggio in Dalmazia, p. 45. (printed at Venice in the year 1774, in two small volumes in quarto) quotes a MS. account of the antiquities of Salona, compiled by Giambattista Guistiniani about the middle of the xvth century.

117 Adams's Antiquities of Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro, p. 6. We may add a circumstance or two from the Abbe Fortis "the little dream of the H. des," mentioned by Lucan, produces most excellent fruit, which a sage writer, perhaps a monk, supposes to have been one of the great pleasures that determined Diocletian in the choice of his retirement. Fortis, p. 45. The same author (p. 54) observes, that a picture of the emperor is preserved at Spalatro; and that an experimental tannery has lately been established near the city, by a society of gentlemen.

118 Constantine Orat. ad Cæsum Sanct. c. 25. In this sermon, the

not only of the forms of nature, but of the characters and passions of the human soul. In those sublime arts, the dexterity of the hand is of little avail, unless it is animated by fancy, and guided by the most correct taste and observation.

It is almost unnecessary to remark, that the civil distractions of the empire, the licence of the soldiers, the inroads of the barbarians, and the progress of despotism, had proved very unfavourable to genius, and even to learning. The succession of Illyrian princes restored the empire, without restoring the sciences. Their military education was not calculated to inspire them with the love of letters; and even the mind of Diocletian, however active and capacious in business, was totally uninformed by study or speculation. The professions of law and physic are of such common use and certain profit, that they will always secure a sufficient number of practitioners, endowed with a reasonable degree of abilities and knowledge; but it does not appear that the students in those two faculties appeal to any celebrated masters who have flourished within that period. The voice of poetry was silent. History was reduced to dry and confused abridgments, alike destitute of amusement and instruction. A languid and affected eloquence was still retained in the pay and service of the emperors, who encouraged not any arts except those which contributed to the gratification of their pride, or the defence of their power.<sup>123</sup>

The new  
Platonists.

The declining age of learning and of mankind is marked, however, by the rise and rapid progress of the new Platonists. The school of Alexandria silenced those of Athens; and the ancient sects enrolled themselves under the banners of the more fashionable teachers, who recommended their system by the novelty of their method, and the austerity of their manners. Several of these masters, Ammonius, Plotinus, Aemilius, and Porphyry,<sup>124</sup> were men of profound thought, and intense application; but by mistaking the true object of philosophy, their labours contributed much less to improve, than to corrupt the human understanding. The knowledge that is suited to our situation and powers, the whole compass of moral, natural, and mathematical science, was neglected by the new Platonists; whilst they exhausted their strength in the verbal disputes of metaphysics, attempted to explore the secrets of the invisible world, and studied to reconcile Aristotle with Plato, on subjects of which both these philosophers were as ignorant as the rest of mankind. Consuming their reason in these deep but unsubstantial meditations, their minds were exposed to illusions of fancy. They flattered themselves that they possessed the secret of disengaging the soul

from its corporeal prison; claimed a familiar intercourse with daemons and spirits; and, by a very singular revolution, converted the study of philosophy into that of magic. The ancient sages had derided the popular superstition; after disguising its extravagance by the thin pretence of allegory, the disciples of Plotinus and Porphyry became its most zealous defenders. As they agreed with the Christians in a few mysterious points of faith, they attacked the remainder of their theological system with all the fury of civil war. The new Platonists would scarcely deserve a place in the history of science, but in that of the church the mention of them will very frequently occur.

## CHAP. XIV.

*Troubles after the Abdication of Diocletian. — Death of Constantius. — Elevation of Constantine and Maxentius. — Six Emperors at the same Time. — Death of Maximian and Galerius. — Victories of Constantine over Maxentius and Licinius. — Re-union of the Empire under the Authority of Constantine.*

THE balance of power established by Diocletian subsisted no longer than while it was sustained by the firm and dexterous hand of the founder. It required such a fortunate mixture of different tempers and abilities, as could scarcely be found or even expected a second time; two emperors without jealousy, two Caesars without ambition, and the same general interest invariably pursued by four independent princes. The abdication of Diocletian and Maximian was succeeded by eighteen years of discord and confusion. The empire was afflicted by five civil wars; and the remainder of the time was not so much a state of tranquillity as a suspension of arms between several hostile monarchs, who, viewing each other with an eye of fear and hatred, strove to increase their respective forces at the expense of their subjects.

As soon as Diocletian and Maximian had resigned the purple, their station, according to the rules of the new constitution, was filled by the two Caesars, Constantius and Galerius, who immediately assumed the title of Augustus.<sup>1</sup> The honours of seniority and precedence were allowed to the former of those princes, and he continued, under a new appellation, to administer his ancient department of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. The government of those ample provinces was sufficient to exercise his talents, and to satisfy his ambition. Clemency, temperance, and moderation, distinguished the amiable character of Constantius, and his for-

Character and  
situation of  
Constantius.

<sup>123</sup> The orator Eusebius was a contemporary to the emperor Maximian, and a contemporary to the emperor Constantine. He was a native of Caesarea, and lived about the year 300. He was a man of great talents, and was distinguished by his piety and his learning. He was a contemporary to the emperor Constantine, and was a contemporary to the emperor Constantine.

<sup>124</sup> Porphyry died about the time of Diocletian's abdication. The

life of this emperor was a very remarkable one. He was a man of great talents, and was distinguished by his piety and his learning. He was a contemporary to the emperor Constantine, and was a contemporary to the emperor Constantine.

<sup>1</sup> The title of Augustus was a title of great honour, and was a title of great honour. It was a title of great honour, and was a title of great honour. It was a title of great honour, and was a title of great honour.

tunate subjects had frequently occasion to compare the virtues of their sovereign with the passions of Maximian, and even with the arts of Diocletian.<sup>2</sup> Instead of imitating their eastern pride and magnificence, Constantius preserved the modesty of a Roman prince. He declared, with unaffected sincerity, that his most valued treasure was in the hearts of his people, and that, whenever the dignity of the throne, or the danger of the state, required any extraordinary supply, he could depend with confidence on their gratitude and liberality.<sup>3</sup> The provincials of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, sensible of his worth, and of their own happiness, reflected with anxiety on the declining health of the emperor Constantius, and the tender age of his numerous family, the issue of his second marriage with the daughter of Maximian.

Of Galerius.

The stern temper of Galerius was cast in a very different mould; and while he commanded the esteem of his subjects, he seldom condescended to solicit their affections. His fame in arms, and above all, the success of the Persian war, had elated his haughty mind, which was naturally impatient of a superior, or even of an equal. If it were possible to rely on the partial testimony of an injudicious writer, we might ascribe the abdication of Diocletian to the menaces of Galerius, and relate the particulars of a *private* conversation between the two princes, in which the former discovered as much pusillanimity as the latter displayed ingratitude and arrogance.<sup>4</sup> But these obscure anecdotes are sufficiently refuted by an impartial view of the character and conduct of Diocletian. Whatever might otherwise have been his intentions, if he had apprehended any danger from the violence of Galerius, his good sense would have instructed him to prevent the ignominious contest; and as he had held the sceptre with glory, he would have resigned it without disgrace.

The two *Cæsars*, Severus and Maximian.

After the elevation of Constantius and Galerius to the rank of *Augusti*, two new *Cæsars* were required to supply their place, and to complete the system of the Imperial government. Diocletian was sincerely desirous of withdrawing himself from the world; he considered Galerius, who had married his daughter, as the firmest support of his family and of the empire; and he consented, without reluctance, that his successor should assume the merit as well as the envy of the important nomination. It was fixed without consulting the interest or inclination of the princes of the West. Each of them had a son who was arrived at the age of manhood, and who might have been deemed the most natural candidates for the vacant honour. But the im-

potent resentment of Maximian was no longer to be dreaded; and the moderate Constantius, though he might despise the dangers, was humanely apprehensive of the calamities of civil war. The two persons whom Galerius promoted to the rank of *Cæsars*, were much better suited to serve the views of his ambition; and their principal recommendation seems to have consisted in the want of merit or personal consequence. The first of these was Daza, or, as he was afterwards called, Maximin, whose mother was the sister of Galerius. The inexperienced youth still betrayed by his manners and language his rustic education, when, to his own astonishment, as well as that of the world, he was invested by Diocletian with the purple, exalted to the dignity of *Cæsar*, and intrusted with the sovereign command of Egypt and Syria.<sup>5</sup> At the same time Severus, a faithful servant, addicted to pleasure, but not incapable of business, was sent to Milan, to receive, from the reluctant hands of Maximian, the *Cæsarian* ornaments, and the possession of Italy and Africa.<sup>6</sup> According to the forms of the constitution, Severus acknowledged the supremacy of the western emperor; but he was absolutely devoted to the commands of his benefactor Galerius, who, reserving to himself the intermediate countries from the confines of Italy to those of Syria, firmly established his power over three fourths of the monarchy. In the full confidence, that the approaching death of Constantius would leave him sole master of the Roman world, we are assured that he had arranged in his mind a long succession of future princes, and that he meditated his own retreat from public life, after he should have accomplished a glorious reign of about twenty years.<sup>7</sup>

Amputation of Severus dispatched in two revolutions.

But within less than eighteen months, two unexpected revolutions overturned the ambitious schemes of Galerius. The hopes of uniting the western provinces to his empire were disappointed by the elevation of Constantine, whilst Italy and Africa were lost by the successful revolt of Maxentius.

1. The fame of Constantine has rendered posterity attentive to the most minute circumstances of his life and actions. The place of his birth, as well as the condition of his mother Helena, have been the subject not only of literary but of national disputes. Notwithstanding the recent tradition, which assigns for her father a British king, we are obliged to confess, that Helena was the daughter of an innkeeper;<sup>8</sup> but, at the same time, we may defend the legality of her marriage, against those who have represented her as

Birth, education, and pedigree of Constantine. A. 16 G.

c. 19) *statim scutarius, continuo protector, mox tribunus, postididit* Victor is too liber in giving him acknowledged even by Lactantius,

7 These schemes, however, rest only on the very doubtful authority of Lactantius, de M. I. c. 20.

8 This tradition, unknown to the contemporaries of Constantine, was invented in the darkness of monachism, was embellished by Jeffrey of Monmouth, and the writers of the sixth century, has been seriously related c. 11th vol. 2. the imaginary

<sup>2</sup> He non modo amabilis, sed etiam venerabilis Gallis fuit; praecipue quod hoc letum...

he called this in Latin so far, that whenever he gave an entertainment he was obliged to borrow a service of plate.

<sup>3</sup> Lactantius de Mort. Persecutor. c. 19. Were the particulars of this conference more consistent with truth and decency...

et aut comme ils auroient fait eux-mêmes notre place.

<sup>5</sup> Sublatus nuper a pecoribus et silvis (says Lactantius de M. P.

the concubine of Constantius.<sup>9</sup> The great Constantine was most probably born at Naïssus, in Dacia;<sup>10</sup> and it is not surprising, that in a family and province distinguished only by the profession of arms, the youth should discover very little inclination to improve his mind by the acquisition of knowledge.<sup>11</sup> He was about eighteen years of age when his father was promoted to the rank of Cæsar; but that fortunate event was attended with his mother's divorce; and the splendour of an Imperial alliance reduced the son of Helena to a state of disgrace and humiliation. Instead of following Constantius in the West, he remained in the service of Diocletian, signalised his valour in the wars of Egypt and Persia, and gradually rose to the honourable station of a tribune of the first order. The figure of Constantine was tall and majestic; he was dexterous in all his exercises, intrepid in war, affable in peace; in his whole conduct, the active spirit of youth was tempered by habitual prudence; and while his mind was engrossed by ambition, he appeared cold and insensible to the allurements of pleasure. The favour of the people and soldiers, who had named him as a worthy candidate for the rank of Cæsar, served only to exasperate the jealousy of Galerius; and though prudence might restrain him from exercising any open violence, an absolute monarch is seldom at a loss how to execute a sure and secret revenge.<sup>12</sup> Every hour increased the danger of Constantine, and the anxiety of his father, who, by repeated letters, expressed the warmest desire of embracing his son. For some time the policy of Galerius supplied him with delays and excuses, but it was impossible long to refuse so natural a request of his associate, without maintaining his refusal by arms. The permission of the journey was reluctantly granted, and whatever precautions the emperor might have taken to intercept a return, the consequences of which he, with so much reason, apprehended, they were effectually disappointed by the incredible diligence of Constantine.<sup>13</sup> Leaving the palace of Nicomedia in the night, he travelled post through Bithynia, Thrace, Dacia, Pannonia, Italy and Gaul, and amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, reached the port of Boulogne, in the very moment when his father was preparing to embark for Britain.<sup>14</sup>

Death of Con-  
stantius, and

The British expedition, and an  
easy victory over the barbarians of

9 Euthyphrus (x. 2.) expresses, in a few words, the real truth, and the occasion of the error. (l. m. p. 75.) eagerly seized by Ormus (x. 1. 2.) looked by the noble and dignified of Hecate. In the end, he knew and her marriage.

30 There are three opinions with regard to the place of Constantine's birth. 1. Our English antiquarians were wont to dwell with captiousness on the words of this panegyric: "Hic natus ille caesareus" "whence that emperor," the supposed passage may be inferred with as much propriety to the east as to the west, of Constantine's birth. 2. Some of the moderns have ascribed the honour of his birth to Drepanum, a town on the east of Nicomedes (Strabo, tom. v. p. 171), which Constantine purged with the name of Helenopolis.

p. 147), which I constantly dug into with the name of Helenopolis. . . . Principally, I believe, I have been able to do this because I have been able to hold fast to the idea that Helenopolis was the wandering life of a soldier, the place of his wanderings, the place where he found his life, his children after birth, his very little connection with each other. . . . The claim of Nussens is supported by the accounts of the wanderings of the end of Antiquity, p. 270, and who in general accepted wandering materials, and it is confirmed by the accounts of the *Astrolabe*, I, 1, c. 4) who lived under the sign of constancy himself. Some of them, however, have been based against the majority of the text, and the appearance of the word *Antiquity* is not, but the form is established by the text MSS. and the pattern.

Caledonia, were the last exploits of the reign of Constantius. He ended his life in the Imperial palace of York, fifteen months after he had received the title of Augustus, and almost fourteen years and a half after he had been promoted to the rank of Caesar. His death was immediately succeeded by the elevation of Constantine. The ideas of inheritance and succession are so very familiar, that the generality of mankind consider them as founded, not only in reason, but in nature itself. Our imagination readily transfers the same principles from private property to public dominion : and whenever a virtuous father leaves behind him a son whose merit seems to justify the esteem, or even the hopes, of the people, the joint influence of prejudice and of affection operates with irresistible weight. The flower of the western armies had followed Constantius into Britain, and the national troops were reinforced by a numerous body of Alemanni, who obeyed the orders of Crocus, one of their hereditary chieftains.<sup>15</sup> The opinion of their own importance, and the assurance that Britain, Gaul, and Spain, would acquiesce in their nomination, were diligently inculcated to the legions by the adherents of Constantine. The soldiers were asked, Whether they could hesitate a moment between the honour of placing at their head the worthy son of their beloved emperor, and the ignominy of tamely expecting the arrival of some obscure stranger, on whom it might please the sovereign of Asia to bestow the armies and provinces of the West? It was insinuated to them, that gratitude and liberality held a distinguished place among the virtues of Constantine ; nor did that artful prince show himself to the troops, till they were prepared to salute him with the names of Augustus and Emperor. The throne was the object of his desires ; and had he been less actuated by ambition, it was his only means of safety. He was well acquainted with the character and sentiments of Galerius, and sufficiently apprised, that if he wished to live he must determine to reign. The decent and even obstinate resistance which he chose to affect,<sup>16</sup> was contrived to justify his usurpation ; nor did he yield to the acclamations of the army, till he had provided the proper materials for a letter, which he immediately despatched to the emperor of the East. Constantine informed him of the melancholy event of his father's death, modestly

elevation of  
Constantine  
A. D. 306,  
July 25.

ably defended by Lipsius de Magnitudine Romana, l. iv. c. 11. et Supplement.

Supplement.  
II Literis minus instructis. Anonym. ad Animum p. 710.

12 Gaerius, or perhaps his own courage, exposed him to single combat with a Sarmatian (Anonym. p. 710) and with a monstrous lion. See Praxigoris apud Photium, p. 45. Praxigoris, an Athenian philosopher, had written a life of Constantine, in two books, which are now lost. He was a contemporary.

15 Zissim, L. N. p. 78, 79. L'etatien de M P. 14. The former is a very poor story, that a constable, armed at the post-horses which he had used to be hamstringing. Such a bold execution, without preventing a pursuit, would have sattered suspicion, and ought have stopped his journey.

11 Anonym. p. 710. *Palaeogr. Vetr.* vol. 1. Int. Zonans, l. 1.  
l. 79. Eusebius de Vit. Constant. l. 1. c. 21 and l. 1. continuation de M. P.  
c. 24 suppose, with less accuracy, that he had 15 father on his  
de th'oil

15. *Centis qui adstant amicis tuis, sed pro te quæ Cæsar. J. F. de l'Alençon* (Paris, 1622), viii, 10. *Centis* is a common word, frequent in the *Venerabilis* of the 11th c. It is perhaps the first instance of a barbarian king, who asked the help of his own with an independent 'advise' of his own subjects. The practice grew common.

16 H. paragon, at Eurymachus' suggestion, turns to the presence of a constant, and he put before us a host, and tried, but in vain, to escape from the hands of his creditors.

elevation of  
Constantine  
A D 510.  
July 23.

asserted his natural claim to the succession, and respectfully lamented, that the affectionate violence of his troops had not permitted him to solicit the Imperial purple in the regular and constitutional manner. The first emotions of Galerius were those of surprise, disappointment, and rage; and as he could seldom restrain his passions, he loudly threatened, that he would commit to the flames both the letter and the messenger. But his resentment insensibly subsided; and when he recollected the doubtful chance of war, when he had weighed the character and strength of his adversary, he consented to embrace the honourable accommodation which the prudence of Constantine had left open to him. Without either condemning or ratifying the choice of the British army, Galerius accepted the son of his deceased colleague, as the sovereign of the provinces beyond the Alps; but he gave him only the title of Caesar, and the fourth rank among the Roman princes, whilst he conferred the vacant place of Augustus on his favourite Severus. The apparent harmony of the empire was still preserved, and Constantine, who already possessed the substance, expected, without impatience, an opportunity of obtaining the honours, of supreme power.<sup>17</sup>

He is acknowledged by Galerius, who gives him only the title of Caesar, and that of Augustus to Severus.

The children of Constantine by his second marriage were six in number, three of either sex, and whose Imperial descent might have solicited a preference over the meaner extraction of the son of Helena. But Constantine was in the thirty-second year of his age, in the full vigour both of mind and body, at the time when the eldest of his brothers could not possibly be more than thirteen years old. His claim of superior merit had been allowed and ratified by the dying emperor.<sup>18</sup> In his last moments, Constantine bequeathed to his eldest son the care of the safety as well as greatness of the family; conjuring him to assume both the authority and the sentiments of a father with regard to the children of Theodora. Their liberal education, advantageous marriages, the secure dignity of their lives, and the first honours of the state with which they were invested, attest the fraternal affection of Constantine; and as those princes possessed a mild and grateful disposition, they submitted without reluctance to the superiority of his genius and fortune.<sup>19</sup>

Discontent of the Romans at the apprehension of taxes.

II. The ambitious spirit of Galerius was scarcely reconciled to the disappointment of his views upon the Gallic provinces, before the unexpected loss of Italy wounded his pride as well as power in a still more sensible part. The long absence of the emperors had filled Rome with discontent and indignation; and the people gradually dis-

covered, that the preference given to Nicomedia and Milan, was not to be ascribed to the particular inclination of Diocletian, but to the permanent form of government which he had instituted. It was in vain that a few months after his abdication, his successors dedicated, under his name, those magnificent baths, whose ruins still supply the ground as well as the materials for so many churches and convents.<sup>20</sup> The tranquillity of those elegant recesses of ease and luxury was disturbed by the impatient murmurs of the Romans, and a report was insensibly circulated, that the sums expended in erecting those buildings would soon be required at their hands. About that time the avarice of Galerius, or perhaps the exigencies of the state, had induced him to make a very strict and rigorous inquisition into the property of his subjects, for the purpose of a general taxation, both on their lands and on their persons. A very minute survey appears to have been taken of their real estates; and wherever there was the slightest suspicion of concealment, torture was very freely employed to obtain a sincere declaration of their personal wealth.<sup>21</sup> The privileges which had exalted Italy above the rank of the provinces were no longer regarded; and the officers of the revenue already began to number the Roman people, and to settle the proportion of the new taxes. Even when the spirit of freedom had been utterly extinguished, the tamest subjects have sometimes ventured to resist an unprecedented invasion of their property; but on this occasion the injury was aggravated by the insult, and the sense of private interest was quickened by that of national honour. The conquest of Macedonia, as we have already observed, had delivered the Roman people from the weight of personal taxes. Though they had experienced every form of despotism, they had now enjoyed that exemption near five hundred years; nor could they patiently brook the insolence of an Illyrian peasant, who, from his distant residence in Asia, presumed to number Rome among the tributary cities of his empire. The rising fury of the people was encouraged by the authority, or at least the connivance, of the senate; and the feeble remains of the prætorian guards, who had reason to apprehend their own dissolution, embraced so honourable a pretence, and declared their readiness to draw their swords in the service of their oppressed country. It was the wish, and it soon became the hope, of every citizen, that after expelling from Italy their foreign tyrants, they should elect a prince, who, by the place of his residence, and by his maxims of government, might once more deserve the title of Roman emperor. The name, as well as the situation of Maxentius, determined in his favour the popular enthusiasm.

Maxentius was the son of the emperor Max-

<sup>17</sup> Lactantius de M. P. c. 25. Eumenius (vi. 8.) gives a rhetorical turn to the whole transaction.

<sup>18</sup> The choice of Constantine, by his dying father, which is warranted by reason, and insinuated by the most unexceptionable Lactantius (de M. P. c. 23.) or (in Vit. Constantini l. i. c. 15.)

<sup>19</sup> Of the three sons of emperor Licinius, Anastasius the eldest, Diocletian, and Eutropius the second. The three brothers were, Palmatus, Julius, and Annesianus, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

<sup>20</sup> See Gruter Inscript. p. 178. The six princes are all mentioned, Diocletian and Maximian as the senior Augusti, and fathers of the emperors. They jointly did care, for the use of their own Romans, this magnificent edifice. The architects have delineated the ruins of these *Thermae*; and the antiquarians, particularly Donatus and Nardoni, have ascertained the ground which they covered. One of the great rooms is now the Carthusian church; and even one of the porter's lodges is sufficient to form another church, which belongs to the Feuillans.

<sup>21</sup> See Lactantius de M. P. c. 20. 31.

Maxentius declared emperor at Rome.  
A. D. 306.  
Oct. 28.

imian, and he had married the daughter of Galerius. His birth and alliance seemed to offer him the fairest promise of succeeding to the empire; but his vices and incapacity procured him the same exclusion from the dignity of Caesar, which Constantine had deserved by a dangerous superiority of merit. The policy of Galerius preferred such associates, as would never disgrace the choice, nor dispute the commands, of their benefactor. An obscure stranger was therefore raised to the throne of Italy, and the son of the late emperor of the West was left to enjoy the luxury of a private fortune in a villa a few miles distant from the capital. The gloomy passions of his soul, shame, vexation, and rage, were inflamed by envy on the news of Constantine's success; but the hopes of Maxentius revived with the public discontent, and he was easily persuaded to unite his personal injury and pretensions with the cause of the Roman people. Two prætorian tribunes and a commissary of provisions undertook the management of the conspiracy; and as every order of men was actuated by the same spirit, the immediate event was neither doubtful nor difficult. The præfect of the city, and a few magistrates, who maintained their fidelity to Severus, were massacred by the guards; and Maxentius, invested with the imperial ornaments, was acknowledged by the applauding senate and people as the protector of the Roman freedom and dignity. It is uncertain whether Maximian was previously acquainted with the conspiracy; but as soon as the standard of rebellion was erected at Rome, the old emperor broke from the retirement where the authority of Diocletian had condemned him to pass a life of melancholy solitude, and concealed his retuning ambition under the disguise of paternal tenderness. At the request of his son and of the senate, he condescended to re-assume the purple. His ancient dignity, his experience, and his fame in arms, added strength as well as reputation to the party of Maxentius.<sup>22</sup>

Debet et death of Severus.

According to the advice, or rather the orders, of his colleague, the emperor Severus immediately hastened to Rome, in the full confidence, that by his unexpected celerity, he should easily suppress the tumult of an unwarlike populace, commanded by a licentious youth. But he found on his arrival the gates of the city shut against him, the walls filled with men and arms, an experienced general at the head of the rebels, and his own troops without spirit or affection. A large body of Moors deserted to the enemy, allured by the promise of a large donative; and, if it be true that they had been levied by Maximian in his African war, preferring the natural feelings of gratitude to the artificial ties of allegiance. Anulimus, the prætorian præfect, declared himself in favour of Maxentius, and drew after him the most considerable part of the troops, accustomed to obey his commands. Rome, according to the ex-

pression of an orator, recalled her armies; and the unfortunate Severus, destitute of force and of counsel, retired, or rather fled, with precipitation, to Ravenna. Here he might for some time have been safe. The fortifications of Ravenna were able to resist the attempts, and the morasses that surrounded the town were sufficient to prevent the approach, of the Italian army. The sea, which Severus commanded with a powerful fleet, secured him an inexhaustible supply of provisions, and gave a free entrance to the legions, which, on the return of spring, would advance to his assistance from Illyricum and the East. Maximian, who conducted the siege in person, was soon convinced that he might waste his time and his army in the fruitless enterprise, and that he had nothing to hope either from force or famine. With an art more suitable to the character of Diocletian than to his own, he directed his attack, not so much against the walls of Ravenna, as against the mind of Severus. The treachery which he had experienced, disposed that unhappy prince to distrust the most sincere of his friends and adherents. The emissaries of Maximian easily persuaded his credulity, that a conspiracy was formed to betray the town, and prevailed upon his fears not to expose himself to the discretion of an irritated conqueror, but to accept the faith of an honourable capitulation. He was at first received with humanity, and treated with respect. Maximian conducted the captive emperor to Rome, and gave him the most solemn assurances that he had secured his life by the resignation of the purple. But Severus could obtain only an easy death and an Imperial funeral. When the sentence was signified to him, the manner of executing it was left to his own choice; he preferred the favourite mode of the ancients, that of opening his veins, and as soon as he expired, his body was carried to the sepulchre which had been constructed for the family of Gallienus.<sup>23</sup>

A. D. 307.  
February

Though the characters of Constantine and Maxentius had very little affinity with each other, their situation and interest were the same; and prudence seemed to require that they should unite their forces against the common enemy. Notwithstanding the superiority of his age and dignity, the indefatigable Maximian passed the Alps, and courting a personal interview with the sovereign of Gaul, carried with him his daughter Fausta, as the pledge of the new alliance. The marriage was celebrated at Arles, with every circumstance of magnificence; and the ancient colleague of Diocletian, who again asserted his claim to the western empire, conferred on his son-in-law and ally the title of Augustus. By consenting to receive that honour from Maximian, Constantine seemed to embrace the cause of Rome and of the senate; but his professions were ambiguous, and his assistance slow and ineffectual. He considered with attention the approaching contest between

Maximian gives his daughter Fausta, and the title of Augustus, to Constantine.  
A. D. 307.  
March 31.

<sup>22</sup> The sixth Panegyric represents the conduct of Maximian in the most favourable light, and the ambiguous expression of Augustus, "retractantem diu," may signify, either that he withdrew, or that he expressed the conspiracy. See Zosimus, l. ii. p. 72. and Lacinius de M. P. c. 26.

<sup>23</sup> The circumstances of this event are described by several ancient historians, and are very different from those given by the moderns. But the most probable account is that given by the ancient historians, and is not avoided to extract the most probable account from the various accounts.

the masters of Italy and the emperor of the East, and was prepared to consult his own safety or ambition in the event of the war.<sup>24</sup>

Galerius invades Italy.

The importance of the occasion called for the presence and abilities of Galerius. At the head of a powerful army, collected from Illyricum and the East, he entered Italy, resolved to revenge the death of Severus, and to chastise the rebellious Romans; or, as he expressed his intentions in the furious language of a barbarian, to extirpate the senate, and to destroy the people by the sword. But the skill of Maximian had concerted a prudent system of defence. The invader found every place hostile, fortified, and inaccessible; and though he forced his way as far as Narni, within sixty miles of Rome, his dominion in Italy was confined to the narrow limits of his camp. Sensible of the increasing difficulties of his enterprise, the haughty Galerius made the first advances towards a reconciliation, and despatched two of his most considerable officers to tempt the Roman princes by the offer of a conference, and the declaration of his paternal regard for Maxentius, who might obtain much more from his liberality than he could hope from the doubtful chance of war.<sup>25</sup> The offers of Galerius were rejected with firmness, his perfidious friendship refused with contempt, and it was not long before he discovered, that, unless he provided for his safety by a timely retreat, he had some reason to apprehend the fate of Severus. The wealth which the Romans defended against his rapacious tyranny, they freely contributed for his destruction. The name of Maximian, the popular arts of his son, the secret distribution of large sums, and the promise of still more liberal rewards, checked the ardour, and corrupted the fidelity, of the Illyrian legions; and when Galerius at length gave the signal of the retreat, it was with some difficulty that he could prevail on his veterans not to desert a banner which had so often conducted them to victory and honour. A contemporary writer assigns two other causes for the failure of the expedition; but they are both of such a nature, that a cautious historian will scarcely venture to adopt them. We are told that Galerius, who had formed a very imperfect notion of the greatness of Rome, by the cities of the East with which he was acquainted, found his forces inadequate to the siege of that immense capital. But the extent of a city serves only to render it more accessible to the enemy; Rome had long since been accustomed to submit on the approach of a conqueror; nor could the temporary enthusiasm of the people have long contended against the discipline and valour of the legions. We are likewise informed, that the legions themselves were struck with horror and remorse, and that those pious sons of the republic refused to violate the sanctity of their venerable parent.<sup>26</sup> But when we recollect with how

much ease, in the more ancient civil wars, the zeal of party, and the habits of military obedience, had converted the native citizens of Rome into her most implacable enemies, we shall be inclined to distrust this extreme delicacy of strangers and barbarians, who had never beheld Italy till they entered it in a hostile manner. Had they not been restrained by motives of a more interested nature, they would probably have answered Galerius in the words of Cæsar's veterans: "If our general wishes to lead us to the banks of the Tyber, we are prepared to trace out his camp. Whatsoever walls he has determined to level with the ground, our hands are ready to work the engines: nor shall we hesitate, should the name of the devoted city be Rome itself." These are indeed the expressions of a poet; but of a poet who has been distinguished, and even censured, for his strict adherence to the truth of history.<sup>27</sup>

The legions of Galerius exhibit a very melancholy proof of their disposition, by the ravages which they committed in their retreat. They murdered, they ravished, they plundered, they drove away the flocks and herds of the Italians; they burnt the villages through which they passed, and they endeavoured to destroy the country which it had not been in their power to subdue. During the whole march, Maxentius hung on their rear, but he very prudently declined a general engagement with those brave and desperate veterans. His father had undertaken a second journey into Gaul, with the hope of persuading Constantine, who had assembled an army on the frontier, to join the pursuit and to complete the victory. But the actions of Constantine were guided by reason, and not by resentment. He persisted in the wise resolution of maintaining a balance of power in the divided empire, and he no longer hated Galerius, when that aspiring prince had ceased to be an object of terror.<sup>28</sup>

The mind of Galerius was the most susceptible of the sterner passions; but it was not, however, incapable of a sincere and lasting friendship. Licinius, whose manners as well as character were not unlike his own, seems to have engaged both his affection and esteem. Their intimacy had commenced in the happier period perhaps of their youth and obscurity. It had been cemented by the freedom and dangers of a military life; they had advanced almost by equal steps through the successive honours of the service; and as soon as Galerius was invested with the Imperial dignity, he seems to have conceived the design of raising his companion to the same rank with himself. During the short period of his prosperity, he considered the rank of Cæsar as unworthy of the age and merit of Licinius, and rather chose to reserve for him the place of Constantius, and the empire of the West. While

similem Melibee putavi, &c." Lactantius de Lights in those poetical allusions.

27 "Castra super Tusis ponere Tybridis undas; (Jubare) Hæc muros, undæ, cæni am prætor in agros.

Tu quo-cunque vides in planitie effundere muros, His vides actus daj erget saxa lacernis;

Ita licet penitus tolli quam jussuæ urbem Romanæ.

28 Lactantius de M. P. c. 27. Zosim. l. ii. p. 82. The latter intimates, that Constantine, in his interview with Maximian, had promised to declare war against Galerius.

24 The sixth Panegyric was pronounced to celebrate the elevation of Constantine; but the prudent orator avoids the mention of the actual troubles, and to the majesty of Rome.

25 With regard to this negotiation, see the 6th. c. 2. of the 1st. book of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, published by Mr. Hume.

26 "Lactantius de M. P. c. 27. Zosim. l. ii. p. 82. The latter intimates, that Constantine, in his interview with Maximian, had promised to declare war against Galerius."

the emperor was employed in the Italian war, he intrusted his friend with the defence of the Danube; and immediately after his return from that unfortunate expedition, he invested Licinius with the vacant purple of Severus, resigning to his immediate command the provinces of Illyricum.<sup>29</sup> The news of his promotion and of Maximian was no sooner carried into the East than Maximian, who governed, or rather oppressed, the countries of Egypt and Syria, betrayed his envy and discontent, disdained the inferior name of Cæsar, and notwithstanding the prayers as well as arguments of Galerius, exacted almost by violence the equal title of Augustus.<sup>30</sup> For the first, and indeed for the last time, the Roman world was administered by

S. x emperors.  
A. D. 306.

six emperors. In the West, Constantine and Maxentius affected to reverence their father Maximian. In the East, Licinius and Maximian honoured with more real consideration their benefactor Galerius. The opposition of interest, and the memory of a recent war, divided the empire into two great hostile powers; but their mutual fears produced an apparent tranquillity, and even a feigned reconciliation, till the death of the elder princes, of Maximian, and more particularly of Galerius, gave a new direction to the views and passions of their surviving associates.

When Maximian had reluctantly abdicated the empire, the vernal orators of the times applauded his philosophic moderation. When his ambition excited, or at least encouraged, a civil war, they returned thanks to his generous patriotism, and gently censured that love of ease and retirement which had withdrawn him from the public service.<sup>31</sup> But it was impossible that minds like those of Maximian and his son could long possess in harmony an undivided power. Maxentius considered himself as the legal sovereign of Italy, elected by the Roman senate and people; nor would he endure the control of his father, who arrogantly declared, that by his name and abilities the rash youth had been established on the throne. The cause was solemnly pleaded before the prætorian guards, and those troops, who dreaded the severity of the old emperor, espoused the party of Maxentius.<sup>32</sup> The life and freedom of Maximian were however respected, and he retired from Italy into Illyricum, affecting to lament his past conduct, and secretly contriving new mischiefs. But Galerius, who was well acquainted with his character, soon obliged him to leave his dominions, and the last refuge of the disappointed Maximian was the court of his son-in-law Constantine.<sup>33</sup> He was received with respect by that artful prince, and with the appearance of filial tenderness by the empress Fausta. That he might remove every suspicion, he resigned the Imperial purple a

second time,<sup>34</sup> professing himself at length convinced of the vanity of greatness and ambition. Had he persevered in this resolution, he might have ended his life with less dignity, indeed, than in his first retirement, yet, however, with comfort and reputation. But the near prospect of a throne brought back to his remembrance the state from whence he was fallen, and he resolved, by a desperate effort, either to reign or to perish. An incursion of the Franks had summoned Constantine, with a part of his army, to the banks of the Rhine; the remainder of the troops were stationed in the southern provinces of Gaul, which lay exposed to the enterprises of the Italian emperor, and a considerable treasure was deposited in the city of Arles. Maximian either craftily invented, or hastily credited, a vain report of the death of Constantine. Without hesitation he ascended the throne, seized the treasure, and scattering it with his accustomed profusion among the soldiers, endeavoured to awake in their minds the memory of his ancient dignity and exploits. Before he could establish his authority, or finish the negotiation which he appears to have entered into with his son Maxentius, the celerity of Constantine defeated all his hopes. On the first news of his perfidy and ingratitude, that prince returned by rapid marches from the Rhine to the Saone, embarked on the last-mentioned river at Chalons, and at Lyons trusting himself to the rapidity of the Rhone, arrived at the gates of Arles, with a military force which it was impossible for Maximian to resist, and which scarcely permitted him to take refuge in the neighbouring city of Marseilles. The narrow neck of land which joined that place to the continent was fortified against the besiegers, whilst the sea was open, either for the escape of Maximian, or for the succours of Maxentius, if the latter should chuse to disguise his invasion of Gaul, under the honourable pretence of defending a distressed, or, as he might allege, an injured father. Apprehensive of the fatal consequences of delay, Constantine gave orders for an immediate assault; but the scaling-ladders were found too short for the height of the walls, and Marseilles might have sustained as long a siege as it formerly did against the arms of Cæsar, if the garrison, conscious either of their fault or of their danger, had not purchased their pardon by delivering up the city and the person of Maximian. A secret but irrevocable sentence of death was pronounced against the usurper, he obtained only the same favour which he had indulged to Severus, and it was published to the world, that, oppressed by the remorse of his repeated crimes, he strangled himself with his own hands. After he had lost the assistance, and disdained the moderate counsels, of Diocletian, the second period of his ac-

His death.  
A. D. 310.  
February.

<sup>29</sup> *Max. et Tiberius* (H. de Euseb. Hist. tom. iv. part. 1. p. 150.) through the intercession of 11th of November, A. D.

Galerius declared Licinius his younger associate, by

inviting for Constantine and Maximian (see *Maxentius*, see *Maxentius*, p. 81.), the new title of sons of the Augusti. But when Maximian acquainted him that he had been slayed Augustus by the arm of Galerius, this was obliged to acknowledge him, as well as Constantine, as equal associates in the Imperial dignity.

<sup>31</sup> See *Panegy. Vet. vi. 9.* Audi doloris nostri liberam vocem, &c.

The whole passage is imagined with artful flattery, and expressed with an eye to the eloquence.

<sup>32</sup> Licinius de M. P. c. 98. Zoom. l. vi. p. 92. A report was spread, that M. Ventus was the son of some obscure Syrian, and had been subverted by the violence of Maximian as her own child. See *Andronicus*, *Vet. vi. 9.* and *Panegy. Vet. ix. 34.*

<sup>33</sup> Ab. urbe pulsum, ab Italia negatum, ab Illyria receptum, thus proving his two camps, two palatio receptis. Euseb. de *Panegy. Vet. vi. 14.*

<sup>34</sup> Licinius de M. P. c. 99. Yet after the designation of the purple, Maxentius, without credit, Maxentius, who had been the friend of the Imperial dignity, and on a sudden turned his back, gave the right-hand place to his father-in-law. *Panegy. Vet. vi. 14.*



time life was a series of public calamities and personal mortifications, which were terminated, in about three years, by an ignominious death. He deserved his fate; but we should find more reason to applaud the humanity of Constantine, if he had spared an old man, the benefactor of his father, and the father of his wife. During the whole of this melancholy transaction, it appears that Fausta sacrificed the sentiments of nature to her conjugal duties.<sup>35</sup>

The last years of Galerius were less shameful and unfortunate; and though he had filled with more glory the subordinate station of Cæsar than the superior rank of Augustus, he preserved, till the moment of his death, the first place among the princes of the Roman world. He survived his retreat from Italy about four years, and wisely relinquishing his views of universal empire, he devoted the remainder of his life to the enjoyment of pleasure, and to the execution of some works of public utility; among which we may distinguish the discharging into the Danube the superfluous waters of the lake Pelso, and the cutting down the immense forests that encompassed it; an operation worthy of a monarch, since it gave an extensive country to the agriculture of his Pannonian subjects.<sup>36</sup> His death was occasioned by a very painful and lingering disorder. His body, swelled by an imtemperate course of life to an unwieldy corpulence, was covered with ulcers, and devoured by innumerable swarms of those insects who have given their name to a most loathsome disease;<sup>37</sup> but as Galerius had offended a very zealous and powerful party among his subjects, his sufferings, instead of exciting their compassion, have been celebrated as the visible effects of divine justice.<sup>38</sup> He had no sooner expired in his palace of

His dominion  
shared between  
Maximin and  
Licinius.

Nicomedia, than the two emperors, who were indebted for their purple to his favour began to collect their forces, with the intention either of disputing, or of dividing, the dominions, which he had left without a master. They were persuaded, however, to desist from the former design, and to agree in the latter. The provinces of Asia fell to the share of Maximin, and those of Europe augmented the portion of Licinius. The Hellespont and the Thracian Bosphorus formed their mutual boundary, and the banks of those narrow seas, which flowed in the midst of the Roman world, were covered with soldiers, with arms, and with fortifications. The deaths of Maximian and of Galerius reduced the number of emperors to four. The sense of their true interest soon connected Licinius and Constantine; a secret alliance was

concluded between Maximin and Maxentius, and their unhappy subjects expected, with terror, the bloody consequences of their inevitable dissensions, which were no longer restrained by the fear or the respect which they had entertained for Galerius.<sup>39</sup>

Among so many crimes and misfortunes, occasioned by the passions of the Roman princes, there is some pleasure in discovering a single action which may be ascribed to their virtue. In the sixth year of his reign, Constantine visited the city of Autun, and generously remitted the arrears of tribute, reducing at the same time the proportion of their assessment, from twenty-five to eighteen thousand heads, subject to the real and personal capitation.<sup>40</sup> Yet even this indulgence affords the most unquestionable proof of the public misery. This tax was so extremely oppressive, either in itself or in the mode of collecting it, that whilst the revenue was increased by extortion, it was diminished by despair; a considerable part of the territory of Autun was left uncultivated; and great numbers of the provincials rather chose to live as exiles and outlaws, than to support the weight of civil society. It is but too probable, that the bountiful emperor relieved, by a partial act of liberality, one among the many evils which he had caused by his general maxims of administration. But even those maxims were less the effect of choice than of necessity. And if we except the death of Maximian, the reign of Constantine in Gaul seems to have been the most innocent and even virtuous period of his life. The provinces were protected by his presence from the inroads of the barbarians, who either dreaded or experienced his active valour. After a signal victory over the Franks and Alemanni, several of their princes were exposed by his order to the wild beasts, in the amphitheatre of Treves, and the people seem to have enjoyed the spectacle, without discovering, in such a treatment of royal captives, any thing that was repugnant to the laws of nations or of humanity.<sup>41</sup>

The virtues of Constantine were rendered more illustrious by the vices of Maxentius. Whilst the Gallic provinces enjoyed as much happiness as the condition of the times was capable of receiving, Italy and Africa groaned under the dominion of a tyrant as contemptible as he was odious. The zeal of flattery and faction has indeed too frequently sacrificed the reputation of the vanquished to the glory of their successful rivals; but even those writers who have revealed, with the most freedom and pleasure, the faults of Constantine, unanimously confess that Max-

Administration  
of Constantine  
in Gaul  
A.D. 306—312.

Tyranny of Max-  
entius in Italy  
and Africa.  
A.D. 309—312.

<sup>35</sup> Zosim. l. ii. p. 52. Eutropius in Panegy. Vet. vii. 16—21. The latter of these has undoubtedly represented this whole affair in the partial and partial manner, as is evident from the context.

<sup>36</sup> Augustus Victor, c. 10. But this lake was situated on the upper Pannonia, near the borders of Noricum (a name which the upper Pannonia has since retained).

<sup>37</sup> Zosim. l. ii. p. 52. Eutropius in Panegy. Vet. vii. 16—21. The latter of these has undoubtedly represented this whole affair in the partial and partial manner, as is evident from the context.

<sup>38</sup> Zosim. l. ii. p. 52. Eutropius in Panegy. Vet. vii. 16—21. The latter of these has undoubtedly represented this whole affair in the partial and partial manner, as is evident from the context.

<sup>39</sup> See Eutropius, l. vii. c. 10. Tacitus in Hist. l. v. c. 36. Zosimus, l. ii. c. 10. Eutropius, l. vii. c. 10. Tacitus in Hist. l. v. c. 36. Zosimus, l. ii. c. 10. Eutropius, l. vii. c. 10.

<sup>40</sup> See the sixth Panegy. in which Eutropius displays, in the presence of Constantine, the power and the gratitude of the city of Autun.

<sup>41</sup> Eutropius, c. 5. Panegy. Vet. vii. 10, 11, 12. A great number of the French youth were likewise exposed to the same cruel and gratuitous death.

entius was cruel, rapacious, and profligate.<sup>42</sup> He had the good fortune to suppress a slight rebellion in Africa. The governor and a few adherents had been guilty; the province suffered for their crime. The flourishing cities of Cirta and Carthage, and the whole extent of that fertile country, were wasted by fire and sword. The abuse of victory was followed by the abuse of law and justice. A formidable army of sycophants and delators invaded Africa; the rich and the noble were easily convicted of a connection with the rebels; and those among them who experienced the emperor's clemency, were only punished by the confiscation of their estates.<sup>43</sup> So signal a victory was celebrated by a magnificent triumph, and Maxentius exposed to the eyes of the people the spoils and captives of a Roman province. The state of the capital was no less deserving of compassion than that of Africa. The wealth of Rome supplied an inexhaustible fund for his vain and prodigal expenses, and the ministers of his revenue were skilled in the arts of rapine. It was under his reign that the method of exacting a *free gift* from the senators was first invented; and as the sum was insensibly increased, the pretences of levying it, a victory, a birth, a marriage, or an Imperial consulship, were proportionably multiplied.<sup>44</sup> Maxentius had imbibed the same implacable aversion to the senate which had characterised most of the former tyrants of Rome; nor was it possible for his ungrateful temper to forgive the generous fidelity which had raised him to the throne, and supported him against all his enemies. The lives of the senators were exposed to his jealous suspicions; the dishonour of their wives and daughters heightened the gratification of his sensual passions.<sup>45</sup> It may be presumed that an Imperial lover was seldom reduced to sigh in vain; but whenever persecution proved ineffectual, he had recourse to violence; and there remains *one* memorable example of a noble matron, who preserved her chastity by a voluntary death. The soldiers were the only order of men whom he appeared to respect, or studied to please. He filled Rome and Italy with armed troops, connived at their tumults, suffered them with impunity to plunder, and even to massacre, the defenceless people;<sup>46</sup> and indulging them in the same licentiousness which their emperor enjoyed, Maxentius often bestowed on his military favourites the splendid villa, or the beautiful wife, of a senator. A prince of such a character, alike incapable of governing either in peace or in war, might purchase the support, but he could never obtain the esteem, of the army. Yet his pride was equal to his other vices. Whilst he passed his indolent life, either within the walls

of his palace or in the neighbouring gardens of Sallust, he was repeatedly heard to declare, that *he alone* was emperor, and that the other princes were no more than his lieutenants, on whom he had devolved the defence of the frontier provinces, that he might enjoy without interruption the elegant luxury of the capital. Rome, which had so long regretted the absence, lamented, during the six years of his reign, the presence of her sovereign.<sup>47</sup>

Though Constantine might view the conduct of Maxentius with abhorrence, and the situation of the Romans with compassion, we have

Civil war between Constantine and Maxentius. A.D. 312.

no reason to presume that he would have taken up arms to punish the one, or to relieve the other. But the tyrant of Italy rashly ventured to provoke a formidable enemy, whose ambition had been hitherto restrained by considerations of prudence, rather than by principles of justice.<sup>48</sup> After the death of Maximian, his titles, according to the established custom, had been erased, and his statues thrown down with ignominy. His son, who had persecuted and deserted him when alive, affected to display the most pious regard for his memory, and gave orders that a similar treatment should be immediately inflicted on all the statues that had been erected in Italy and Africa to the honour of Constantine. That wise prince, who sincerely wished to decline a war, with the difficulty and importance of which he was sufficiently acquainted, at first dissembled the insult, and sought for redress by the milder expedients of negotiation, till he was convinced, that the hostile and ambitious designs of the Italian emperor made it necessary for him to arm in his own defence. Maxentius, who openly avowed his pretensions to the whole monarchy of the West, had already prepared a very considerable force to invade the Gallic provinces on the side of Rhetia; and though he could not expect any assistance from Licinius, he was flattered with the hope that the legions of Illyricum, allured by his presents and promises, would desert the standard of that prince, and unanimously declare themselves his soldiers and subjects.<sup>49</sup> Constantine no longer hesitated. He had deliberated with caution, he acted with vigour. He gave a private audience to the ambassadors, who, in the name of the senate and people, conjured him to deliver Rome from a detested tyrant; and, without regarding the timid remonstrances of his council, he resolved to prevent the enemy and to carry the war into the heart of Italy.<sup>50</sup>

The enterprise was as full of danger as of glory; and the unsuccessful event of two former invasions was sufficient to inspire the most serious apprehensions. The veteran

Preparations.

ence and vain pride of Maxentius. In another place, the orator observes, that the riches which Rome had accumulated in a period of 1000 years, were lavished by the tyrant on his mercenary bands, re-

need, that would, at last, in Vit.

42 Zosimus, l. ii. p. 84. 43 Nardini Panegyric, p. 7. 13. 44 See Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2. 45 See Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2. 46 See Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2. 47 See Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2. 48 See Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2. 49 See Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2. 50 See Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2.

42 The passage of Aurelius Victor should be read in the following manner: *Primum indutito pectore suo, manu rem spectans, patres oratoreque*

43 Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2. 44 See Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2. 45 See Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2.

46 Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2. 47 See Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2. 48 See Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2.

49 Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2. 50 See Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2.

See in the Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

See in the Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

See in the Panegyric, l. ii. c. 2. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

troops who revered the name of Maximian, had embraced in both those wars the party of his son, and were now restrained by a sense of honour, as well as of interest, from entertaining an idea of a second desertion. Maxentius, who considered the prætorian guards as the firmest defence of his throne, had increased them to their ancient establishment; and they composed, including the rest of the Italians who were enlisted into his service, a formidable body of four-score thousand men. Forty thousand Moors and Carthaginians had been raised since the reduction of Africa. Even Sicily furnished its proportion of troops; and the armies of Maxentius amounted to one hundred and seventy thousand foot, and eighteen thousand horse. The wealth of Italy supplied the expenses of the war; and the adjacent provinces were exhausted, to form immense magazines of corn and every other kind of provisions.

The whole force of Constantine consisted of ninety thousand foot and eight thousand horse;<sup>51</sup> and as the defence of the Rhine required an extraordinary attention during the absence of the emperor, it was not in his power to employ above half his troops in the Italian expedition, unless he sacrificed the public safety to his private quarrel.<sup>52</sup> At the head of about forty thousand soldiers, he marched to encounter an enemy whose numbers were at least four times superior to his own. But the armies of Rome, placed at a secure distance from danger, were enervated by indulgence and luxury. Habituated to the baths and theatres of Rome, they took the field with reluctance, and were chiefly composed of veterans who had almost forgotten, or of new levies who had never acquired, the use of arms, and the practice of war. The hardy legions of Gaul had long defended the frontiers of the empire against the barbarians of the North; and in the performance of that laborious service, their valour was exercised, and their discipline confirmed. There appeared the same difference between the leaders as between the armies. Caprice or flattery had tempted Maxentius with the hopes of conquest; but these aspiring hopes soon gave way to the habits of pleasure and the consciousness of his inexperience. The intrepid mind of Constantine had been trained from his earliest youth to war, to action, and to military command.

When Hannibal marched from Gaul into Italy, he was obliged, first, to discover, and then to open, a way over mountains and through savage nations, that had never yielded a passage to a regular army.<sup>53</sup> The Alps were then guarded by nature, they are now fortified by art. Citadels, constructed with no less skill than labour and expense, command every avenue into the plain, and on that side render Italy almost inaccessible to the

enemies of the king of Sardinia.<sup>54</sup> But in the course of the intermediate period, the generals, who have attempted the passage, have seldom experienced any difficulty or resistance. In the age of Constantine, the peasants of the mountains were civilised and obedient subjects; the country was plentifully stocked with provisions, and the stupendous highways, which the Romans had carried over the Alps, opened several communications between Gaul and Italy.<sup>55</sup> Constantine preferred the road of the Cottian Alps, or it is now called, of Mount Cenis, and led his troops with such active diligence, that he descended into the plain of Piedmont before the court of Maxentius had received any certain intelligence of his departure from the banks of the Rhine. The city of Susa, however, which is situated at the foot of Mount Cenis, was surrounded with walls, and provided with a garrison sufficiently numerous to check the progress of an invader; but the impatience of Constantine's troops disdained the tedious forms of a siege. The same day that they appeared before Susa, they applied fire to the gates, and ladders to the walls; and mounting to the assault amidst a shower of stones and arrows, they entered the place sword in hand, and cut in pieces the greatest part of the garrison. The flames were extinguished by the care of Constantine, and the remains of Susa preserved from total destruction. About forty miles from thence, a more severe contest awaited him. A numerous Battle of Turin. army of Italians was assembled under the lieutenants of Maxentius, in the plains of Turin. Its principal strength consisted in a species of heavy cavalry, which the Romans, since the decline of their discipline, had borrowed from the nations of the East. The horses, as well as the men, were clothed in complete armour, the joints of which were artfully adapted to the motions of their bodies. The aspect of this cavalry was formidable, their weight almost irresistible; and as, on this occasion, their generals had drawn them up in a compact column or wedge, with a sharp point, and with spreading flanks, they flattered themselves that they should easily break and trample down the army of Constantine. They might, perhaps, have succeeded in their design, had not their experienced adversary embraced the same method of defence which in similar circumstances had been practised by Aurelianus. The skilful evolutions of Constantine divided and baffled this massy column of cavalry. The troops of Maxentius fled in confusion towards Turin; and as the gates of the city were shut against them, very few escaped the sword of the victorious pursuers. By this important service, Turin deserved to experience the clemency and even favour of the conqueror. He made his entry into the Imperial palace of Milan, and almost

[illegible]

So the three principal passages of the Alps between Gaul and Italy, are those of Mount St. Bernard, Mount Cenis, and Mount Genevre.

~~The following information was obtained from a review of the records of the FBI concerning the above named individual:~~

experienced officer and a learned geographer, the pretensions of Mount Lewis are supported in a specious, not to say a convincing manner by M. Grosley. *Observations sur l'Italie*, tom. i. p. 40, &c.

55) *De Ammannio Marcellino*. xv. 16. His description of the roads over the Alps is clear, lively, and accurate.

all the cities of Italy between the Alps and the Po not only acknowledged the power, but embraced with zeal the party, of Constantine.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>Siege and battle of Verona.</sup> From Milan to Rome, the Æmilian and Flaminian highways offered an easy march of about four hundred miles; but though Constantine was impatient to encounter the tyrant, he prudently directed his operations against another army of Italians, who, by their strength and position, might either oppose his progress, or, in case of a misfortune, might intercept his retreat. Ruricius Pompeianus, a general distinguished by his valour and ability, had under his command the city of Verona, and all the troops that were stationed in the province of Venetia. As soon as he was informed that Constantine was advancing towards him, he detached a large body of cavalry, which was defeated in an engagement near Brescia, and pursued by the Gallic legions as far as the gates of Verona. The necessity, the importance, and the difficulties of the siege of Verona, immediately presented themselves to the sagacious mind of Constantine.<sup>57</sup> The city was accessible only by a narrow peninsula towards the west, as the other three sides were surrounded by the Adige, a rapid river which covered the province of Venetia, from whence the besieged derived an inexhaustible supply of men and provisions. It was not without great difficulty, and after several fruitless attempts, that Constantine found means to pass the river at some distance above the city, and in a place where the torrent was less violent. He then encompassed Verona with strong lines, pushed his attacks with prudent vigour, and repelled a desperate sally of Pompeianus. That intrepid general, when he had used every means of defence that the strength of the place or that of the garrison could afford, secretly escaped from Verona, anxious not for his own but for the public safety. With indefatigable diligence he soon collected an army sufficient either to meet Constantine in the field, or to attack him if he obstinately remained within his lines. The emperor, attentive to the motions, and informed of the approach, of so formidable an enemy, left a part of his legions to continue the operations of the siege, whilst, at the head of those troops on whose valour and fidelity he more particularly depended, he advanced in person to engage the general of Maxentius. The army of Gaul was drawn up in two lines, according to the usual practice of war; but their experienced leader, perceiving that the numbers of the Italians far exceeded his own, suddenly changed his disposition, and, reducing the second, extended the front of his first, line to a just proportion with that of the enemy. Such evolutions, which only veteran troops can execute without confusion in a moment of danger, commonly prove decisive: but as this engagement began towards the close

of the day, and was contested with great obstinacy during the whole night, there was less room for the conduct of the generals than for the courage of the soldiers. The return of light displayed the victory of Constantine, and a field of carnage covered with many thousands of the vanquished Italians. Their general, Pompeianus, was found among the slain: Verona immediately surrendered at discretion, and the garrison was made prisoners of war.<sup>58</sup> When the officers of the victorious army congratulated their master on this important success, they ventured to add some respectful complaints, of such a nature, however, as the most jealous monarchs will listen to without displeasure. They represented to Constantine, that, not contented with performing all the duties of a commander, he had exposed his own person with an excess of valour which almost degenerated into rashness; and they conjured him for the future to pay more regard to the preservation of a life in which the safety of Rome and of the empire was involved.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>Indolence and fear of Maxentius.</sup> While Constantine signalled his conduct and valour in the field, the sovereign of Italy appeared insensible of the calamities and danger of a civil war which raged in the heart of his dominions. Pleasure was still the only business of Maxentius. Concealing, or at least attempting to conceal, from the public knowledge the misfortunes of his arms,<sup>60</sup> he indulged himself in a vain confidence, which deferred the remedies of the approaching evil, without deferring the evil itself.<sup>61</sup> The rapid progress of Constantine<sup>62</sup> was scarcely sufficient to awaken him from this fatal security; he flattered himself that his well-known liberality, and the majesty of the Roman name, which had already delivered him from two invasions, would dissipate with the same facility the rebellious army of Gaul. The officers of experience and ability, who had served under the banners of Maximian, were at length compelled to inform his effeminate son of the imminent danger to which he was reduced; and, with a freedom that at once surprised and convinced him, to urge the necessity of preventing his ruin, by a vigorous exertion of his remaining power. The resources of Maxentius, both of men and money, were still considerable. The prætorian guards felt how strongly their own interest and safety were connected with his cause; and a third army was soon collected, more numerous than those which had been lost in the battles of Turin and Verona. It was far from the intention of the emperor to lead his troops in person. A stranger to the exercises of war, he trembled at the apprehension of so dangerous a contest; and as fear is commonly superstitious, he listened with melancholy attention to the rumours of omens and presages which seemed to menace his

the happy expedient of converting into fetters the words of the vanquished. Panegy. Vet. ix. li.

<sup>56</sup> Panegy. Vet. ix. li.

<sup>57</sup> Panegy. Vet. ix. li.

<sup>58</sup> Interit calamitatum suarum indices supprimebat. Panegy. Vet. ix. li.

<sup>59</sup> Remedia malorum potius quam mala differrebat, is the free censure which Tacitus passes on the aque indolence of Vespasian.

<sup>60</sup> The Maxentius of the last of September, A. D. 307, and that of the memorable acts of the invasions was dated from his conquest of the Cisalpine Gaul.

modern walls, and the amphitheatre was not included within their circumference. See Verona illustrata, part i. p. 142, 143.

<sup>58</sup> They wanted chains for so great a multitude of captives, and the whole council was at a loss; but the sagacious conqueror imagined

life and empire. Shame at length supplied the place of courage, and forced him to take the field. He was unable to sustain the contempt of the Roman people. The Circus resounded with their indignant clamours, and they tumultuously besieged the gates of the palace, reproaching the pusillanimity of their indolent sovereign, and celebrating the heroic spirit of Constantine.<sup>63</sup> Before Maxentius left Rome, he consulted the Sibylline books. The guardians of these ancient oracles were as well versed in the arts of this world as they were ignorant of the secrets of fate; and they returned him a very prudent answer, which might adapt itself to the event, and secure their reputation whatever should be the chance of arms.<sup>64</sup>

The celerity of Constantine's march has been compared to the rapid conquest of Italy by the first of the Cæsars; nor is the flattering parallel repugnant to the truth of history, since no more than fifty-eight days elapsed between the surrender of Verona and the final decision of the war. Constantine had always apprehended that the tyrant would consult the dictates of fear, and perhaps of prudence; and that, instead of risking his last hopes in a general engagement, he would shut himself up within the walls of Rome. His ample magazines secured him against the danger of famine; and as the situation of Constantine admitted not of delay, he might have been reduced to the sad necessity of destroying with fire and sword the Imperial city, the noblest reward of his victory, and the deliverance of which had been the motive, or rather indeed the pretence, of the civil war.<sup>65</sup> It was with equal surprise and pleasure, that on his arrival at a place called Saxa Rubra, about nine miles from Rome,<sup>66</sup> he discovered the army of Maxentius prepared to give him battle.<sup>67</sup> Their long front filled a very spacious plain, and their deep array reached to the banks of the Tyber, which covered their rear, and forbade their retreat. We are informed, and we may believe, that Constantine disposed his troops with consummate skill, and that he chose for himself the post of honour and danger. Distinguished by the splendour of his arms, he charged in person the cavalry of his rival; and his irresistible attack determined the fortune of the day. The cavalry of Maxentius was principally composed either of unwieldy cuirassiers, or of light Moors and Numidians. They yielded to the vigour of the Gallic horse, which possessed more activity than the one, more firmness than the other. The

defeat of the two wings left the infantry without any protection on its flanks, and the undisciplined Italians fled without reluctance from the standard of a tyrant whom they had always hated, and whom they no longer feared. The prætorians, conscious that their offences were beyond the reach of mercy, were animated by revenge and despair. Notwithstanding their repeated efforts, those brave veterans were unable to recover the victory: they obtained, however, an honourable death; and it was observed that their bodies covered the same ground which had been occupied by their ranks.<sup>68</sup> The confusion then became general, and the dismayed troops of Maxentius, pursued by an implacable enemy, rushed by thousands into the deep and rapid stream of the Tyber. The emperor himself attempted to escape back into the city over the Milvian bridge, but the crowds which pressed together through that narrow passage, forced him into the river, where he was immediately drowned by the weight of his armour.<sup>69</sup> His body, which had sunk very deep into the mud, was found with some difficulty the next day. The sight of his head, when it was exposed to the eyes of the people, convinced them of their deliverance, and admonished them to receive with acclamations of loyalty and gratitude the fortunate Constantine, who thus achieved by his valour and ability the most splendid enterprise of his life.<sup>70</sup>

In the use of victory, Constantine neither deserved the praise of clemency, nor incurred the censure of immoderate rigour.<sup>71</sup> He inflicted the same treatment to which a defeat would have exposed his own person and family, put to death the two sons of the tyrant, and carefully extirpated his whole race. The most distinguished adherents of Maxentius must have expected to share his fate, as they had shared his prosperity and his crimes; but when the Roman people loudly demanded a greater number of victims, the conqueror resisted, with firmness and humanity, those servile clamours, which were dictated by flattery as well as by resentment. Informers were punished and discouraged; the innocent, who had suffered under the late tyranny, were recalled from exile, and restored to their estates. A general act of oblivion quieted the minds and settled the property of the people, both in Italy and in Africa.<sup>72</sup> The first time that Constantine honoured the senate with his presence, he recapitulated his own services and exploits in a modest oration, assured that illustrious order of his sincere regard, and promised to re-establish its ancient

<sup>63</sup> See Panegyric. Vet. xi. 16. Lactantius de M. P. c. 11.

<sup>64</sup> Illo die hoc totum Romanorum esset perituum. The vanquished prince became of course the enemy of Rome.

<sup>65</sup> See Panegyric. Vet. xi. 16 v. 27. The former of these orators

which was to have been loosened on the approach of Constantine, unlucky! broke down under the weight of the flying Italian. M. de Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. part. i. p. 576.) very sensibly examines whether, in contradiction to common sense, the testimony of Eusebius and Zosimus, ought to prevent over the silence of Lactantius, Nazarius, and the anonymous, but contemporary orator, who composed the ninth Panegyric.

<sup>70</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. p. 86-88; and the two Panegyrics, the former of which was pronounced a few months afterwards, afford the strongest notion of this great battle. Lactantius, Eusebius, and even the Epitomes, supply several useful hints.

<sup>71</sup> in his 24. venia, Vet.

<sup>72</sup> in the Theodosian Code.

<sup>69</sup> A very idle rumour soon prevailed, that Maxentius, who had not taken any precaution for his own retreat, had contrived a very artful snare to destroy the army of the pursuers; but that the wooden bridge

dignity and privileges. The grateful senate repaid these unmeaning professions by the empty titles of honour, which it was yet in their power to bestow; and without presuming to ratify the authority of Constantine, they passed a decree to assign him the first rank among the three *Augusti*, who governed the Roman world.<sup>73</sup> Games and festivals were instituted to preserve the fame of his victory, and several edifices, raised at the expense of Maxentius, were dedicated to the honour of his successful rival. The triumphal arch of Constantine still remains a melancholy proof of the decline of the arts, and a singular testimony of the meanest vanity. As it was not possible to find in the capital of the empire a sculptor who was capable of adorning that public monument, the arch of Trajan, without any respect either for his memory or for the rules of propriety, was stripped of its most elegant figures. The difference of times and persons, of actions and characters, was totally disregarded. The Parthian captives appear prostrate at the feet of a prince who never carried his arms beyond the Euphrates; and curious antiquarians can still discover the head of Trajan on the trophies of Constantine. The new ornaments which it was necessary to introduce between the vacancies of ancient sculpture, are executed in the rudest and most unskilful manner.<sup>74</sup>

The final abolition of the prætorian guards was a measure of prudence as well as of revenge. Those haughty troops, whose numbers and privileges had been restored, and even augmented, by Maxentius, were for ever suppressed by Constantine. Their fortified camp was destroyed, and the few prætorians who had escaped the fury of the sword, were dispersed among the legions, and banished to the frontiers of the empire, where they might be serviceable without again becoming dangerous.<sup>75</sup> By suppressing the troops which were usually stationed in Rome, Constantine gave the fatal blow to the dignity of the senate and people, and the disarmed capital was exposed without protection to the insults or neglect of its distant master. We may observe, that in this last effort to preserve their expiring freedom, the Romans, from the apprehension of a tribute, had raised Maxentius to the throne. He exacted that tribute from the senate under the name of a free gift. They implored the assistance of Constantine. He vanquished the tyrant, and converted the free gift into a perpetual tax. The senators, according to the declaration which was required of their property, were divided into several classes. The most opulent paid annually eight pounds of gold, the next class paid four, the last two, and those whose poverty might have claimed an exemption, were assessed however at seven

pieces of gold. Besides the regular members of the senate, their sons, their descendants, and even their relations, enjoyed the vain privileges, and supported the heavy burdens, of the senatorial order; nor will it any longer excite our surprise, that Constantine should be attentive to increase the number of persons who were included under so useful a description.<sup>76</sup> After the defeat of Maxentius, the victorious emperor passed no more than two or three months in Rome, which he visited twice during the remainder of his life, to celebrate the solemn festivals of the tenth and of the twentieth years of his reign. Constantine was almost perpetually in motion to exercise the legions, or to inspect the state of the provinces. Treves, Milan, Aquileia, Sirmium, Naissus, and Thessalonica, were the occasional places of his residence, till he founded a new Rome on the confines of Europe and Asia.<sup>77</sup>

Before Constantine marched into Italy, he had secured the friendship, <sup>His alliance with Licinius. A. D. 313.</sup> or at least the neutrality, of Licinius, the Illyrian emperor. He had promised his sister Constantia in marriage to that prince; but the celebration of the nuptials was deferred till after the conclusion of the war, and the interview of the two emperors at Milan, which was appointed for that purpose, appeared to cement the union of their families and interests.<sup>78</sup> In the midst of the public festivity they were suddenly obliged to take leave of each other. An inroad of the Franks summoned Constantine to the Rhine, and the hostile approach of the sovereign of Asia demanded the immediate presence of Licinius. Maximin had been the <sup>Way between Maximin and Licinius. A. D. 313.</sup> secretly of Maxentius, and without being discouraged by his fate, he resolved to try the fortune of a civil war. He moved out of Syria, towards the frontiers of Bithynia, in the depth of winter. The season was severe and tempestuous; great numbers of men as well as horses perished in the snow; and as the roads were broken up by incessant rains, he was obliged to leave behind him a considerable part of the heavy baggage, which was unable to follow the rapidity of his forced marches. By this extraordinary effort of diligence, he arrived, with a harassed but formidable army, on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus, before the lieutenants of Licinius were apprised of his hostile intentions. Byzantium surrendered to the power of Maximin, after a siege of eleven days. He was detained some days under the walls of Heraclea; and he had no sooner taken possession of that city, than he was alarmed by the intelligence, that Licinius had pitched his camp at the distance of only eighteen miles. After a fruitless negotiation, in which <sup>The defeat, April 30.</sup> the two princes attempted to seduce the fidelity

<sup>73</sup> Panegyric, Vet. ix. 20. Taciturnitudo M. P. 31. Maximin, who was confessedly the worst Caesar, claimed, with some show of reason, the rank of Augustus.

<sup>74</sup> *aque*  
*ubi*  
*erat*

<sup>75</sup> Epiphanius in the latter form, p. 1.

<sup>76</sup> *Prætorianæ legiones in quibusdam legionibus aptiores quam reliæ Romæ, scholæ prætorie; et ut ait alius, nonnulli enim militum.* Aurelian. Victor. *Prætorianæ legiones in quibusdam legionibus aptiores quam reliæ Romæ, scholæ prætorie; et ut ait alius, nonnulli enim militum.*

<sup>77</sup> *Constantine in the year 313, after the death of Maxentius, founded a new Rome on the confines of Europe and Asia.*

<sup>78</sup> *Constantine in the year 313, after the death of Maxentius, founded a new Rome on the confines of Europe and Asia.*

<sup>77</sup> From the Theodosian Code, we may now learn the mutations of the emperors, and the dates both of the and place have frequently been altered by the confusion of the names.

of each other's adherents, they had recourse to arms. The emperor of the East commanded a disciplined and veteran army of above seventy thousand men, and Licinius, who had collected about thirty thousand Illyrians, was at first oppressed by the superiority of numbers. His military skill, and the firmness of his troops, restored the day, and obtained a decisive victory. The incredible speed which Maximin exerted in his flight, is much more celebrated than his prowess in the battle. Twenty-four hours afterwards he was seen pale, trembling, and without his Imperial ornaments, at Nicomedia, one hundred and sixty miles from the place of his defeat. The wealth of Asia was yet unexhausted; and though the flower of his veterans had fallen in the late action, he had still power, if he could obtain time, to draw very numerous levies from Syria and Egypt. But he survived his misfortune only three or four months. His death, which happened at Tarsus, was variously ascribed to despair, to poison, and to the divine justice. As Maximin was alike destitute of abilities and of virtue, he was lamented neither by the people nor by the soldiers. The provinces of the East, delivered from the terrors of civil war, cheerfully acknowledged the authority of Licinius.<sup>79</sup>

The vanquished emperor left behind him two children, a boy of about eight, and a girl of about seven, years old. Their inoffensive age might have excited compassion; but the compassion of Licinius was a very feeble resource, nor did it restrain him from *extinguishing* the name and memory of his adversary. The death of Severianus will admit of less excuse, as it was dictated neither by revenge nor by policy. The conqueror had never received any injury from the father of that unhappy youth, and the short and obscure reign of Severus, in a distant part of the empire, was already forgotten. But the execution of Candidianus was an act of the blackest cruelty and ingratitude. He was the natural son of Galerius, the friend and benefactor of Licinius. The prudent father had judged him too young to sustain the weight of a diadem; but he hoped that, under the protection of princes who were indebted to his favour for the Imperial purple, Candidianus might pass a secure and honourable life. He was now advancing towards the twentieth year of his age, and the royalty of his birth, though unsupported either by merit or ambition, was sufficient to exasperate the jealous mind of Licinius.<sup>80</sup> To these innocent and illustrious victims of his tyranny, we must add the wife and daughter of the emperor Diocletian. When that prince conferred on Galerius the title of Caesar, he had given him in marriage his daughter Valeria, whose melancholy adventures might furnish a very singular subject for tragedy.

She had fulfilled and even surpassed the duties of a wife. As she had not any children herself, she condescended to adopt the illegitimate son of her husband, and invariably displayed towards the unhappy Candidianus the tenderness and anxiety of a real mother. After the death of Galerius, her ample possessions provoked the avarice, and her personal attractions excited the desires, of his successor Maximin.<sup>81</sup> He had a wife still alive, but divorce was permitted by the Roman law, and the fierce passions of the tyrant demanded an immediate gratification. The answer of Valeria was such as became the daughter and widow of emperors; but it was tempered by the prudence which her defenceless condition compelled her to observe. She represented to the persons whom Maximin had employed on this occasion, "that even if honour could permit a woman of her character and dignity to entertain a thought of second nuptials, decency at least must forbid her to listen to his addresses at a time when the ashes of her husband and his benefactor were still warm; and while the sorrows of her mind were still expressed by her mourning garments. She ventured to declare, that she could place very little confidence in the professions of a man, whose cruel inconstancy was capable of repudiating a faithful and affectionate wife."<sup>82</sup> On this repulse, the love of Maximin was converted into fury, and as witnesses and judges were always at his disposal, it was easy for him to cover his fury with an appearance of legal proceedings, and to assault the reputation as well as the happiness of Valeria. Her estates were confiscated, her eunuchs and domestics devoted to the most inhuman tortures, and several innocent and respectable matrons, who were honoured with her friendship, suffered death, on a false accusation of adultery. The empress herself, together with her mother Prisca, was condemned to exile; and as they were ignominiously hurried from place to place before they were confined to a sequestered village in the deserts of Syria, they exposed their shame and distress to the provinces of the East, which, during thirty years, had respected their august dignity. Diocletian made several ineffectual efforts to alleviate the misfortunes of his daughter; and, as the last return that he expected for the Imperial purple, which he had conferred upon Maximin, he entreated that Valeria might be permitted to share his retirement of Salona, and to close the eyes of her afflicted father.<sup>83</sup> He entreated, but as he could no longer threaten, his prayers were received with coldness and disdain; and the pride of Maximin was gratified, in treating Diocletian as a suppliant, and his daughter as a criminal. The death of Maximin seemed to assure the empresses of a favourable

Unfortunate fate of the empress Valeria and her mother

and death of the former August.

Cruelty of Licinius.

<sup>79</sup> Zosimus mentions the defeat and death of Maximin as ordinary events, but Licinius expiates on them (de M. P. c. 43-50), with a prayer to Heaven. Licinius was emperor.

<sup>80</sup> The sensual appetites of Maximin were gratified at the expense of his subjects. His eunuchs, who forced away wives and virgins, examined their naked charms with unrelenting curiosity, but any part of their body should be found unworthy of the royal embraces. Coyness

and disdain were considered as treason, and the obstinate fair one was condemned to be drowned. A custom was gradually introduced, that no person should marry a wife without the permission of the emperor, "ut ipse in omnibus nuptiis prætorator esset." Licinius de M. P. c. 35.

<sup>81</sup> Licinius de M. P. c. 50.

<sup>82</sup> Diocletian at last sent Cogitatus, sumptu, quendam militem ac potentem virum, to intercede in favour of his daughter. (Licinius de M. P. c. 51.) We are not sufficiently acquainted with the history of these times, to print out the person who was employed.

alteration in their fortune. The public disorders relaxed the vigilance of their guard, and they easily found means to escape from the place of their exile, and to repair, though with some precaution, and in disguise, to the court of Licinius. His behaviour, in the first days of his reign, and the honourable reception which he gave to young Candidianus, inspired Valeria with a secret satisfaction, both on her own account, and on that of her adopted son. But these grateful prospects were soon succeeded by horror and astonishment; and the bloody executions which stained the palace of Nicomedia, sufficiently convinced her, that the throne of Maximin was filled by a tyrant more inhuman than himself. Valeria consulted her safety by a hasty flight, and, still accompanied by her mother Prisca, they wandered above fifteen months<sup>61</sup> through the provinces, concealed in the disguise of plebeian habits. They were at length discovered at Thessalonica; and as the sentence of their death was already pronounced, they were immediately beheaded, and their bodies thrown into the sea. The people gazed on the melancholy spectacle; but their grief and indignation were suppressed by the terrors of a military guard. Such was the unworthy fate of the wife and daughter of Diocletian. We lament their misfortunes, we cannot discover their crimes, and whatever idea we may justly entertain of the cruelty of Licinius, it remains a matter of surprise, that he was not contented with some more secret and decent method of revenge.<sup>62</sup>

The Roman world was now divided between Constantine and Licinius, the former of whom was master of the West, and the latter of the East. It might perhaps have been expected that the conquerors, fatigued with civil war, and connected by a private as well as public alliance, would have renounced, or at least would have suspended, any further designs of ambition. And yet a year had scarcely elapsed after the death of Maximin, before the victorious emperors turned their arms against each other. The genius, the success, and the aspiring temper of Constantine, may seem to mark him out as the aggressor; but the perfidious character of Licinius justifies the most unfavourable suspicions, and by the faint light which history reflects on this transaction,<sup>86</sup> we may discover a conspiracy fomented by his arts against the authority of his colleague. Constantine had lately given his sister Anastasia in marriage to Basianus, a man of a considerable family and fortune, and had elevated his new kinsman to the rank of Cæsar. According to the system of government instituted by Diocletian, Italy, and perhaps Africa, were designed for his department in the empire. But the performance of the promised favour was

either attended with so much delay, or accompanied with so many unequal conditions, that the fidelity of Bassianus was alienated rather than secured by the honourable distinction which he had obtained. His nomination had been ratified by the consent of Licinius, and that artful prince, by the means of his emissaries, soon contrived to enter into a secret and dangerous correspondence with the new Caesar, to irritate his discontents, and to urge him to the rash enterprise of extorting by violence what he might in vain solicit from the justice of Constantine. But the vigilant emperor discovered the conspiracy before it was ripe for execution; and, after solemnly renouncing the alliance of Bassianus, despoiled him of the purple, and inflicted the deserved punishment on his treason and ingratitude. The haughty refusal of Licinius, when he was required to deliver up the criminals, who had taken refuge in his dominions, confirmed the suspicions already entertained of his perversity; and the indignities offered at Emona, on the frontiers of Italy, to the statues of Constantine, became the signal of discord between the two princes.<sup>37</sup>

The first battle was fought near Cibalis, a city of Pannonia, situated on the river Save, about fifty miles above Sirmium.<sup>88</sup> From the inconsiderable forces which in this important contest two such powerful monarchs brought into the field, it may be inferred, that the one was suddenly provoked, and that the other was unexpectedly surprised. The emperor of the West had only twenty thousand, and the sovereign of the East no more than five and thirty thousand men. The inferiority of number was, however, compensated by the advantage of the ground. Constantine had taken post in a defile about half a mile in breadth, between a steep hill and a deep morass, and in that situation he steadily expected and repulsed the first attack of the enemy. He pursued his success, and advanced into the plain. But the veteran legions of Illyricum rallied under the standard of a leader who had been trained to arms in the school of Probus and Diocletian. The missile weapons on both sides were soon exhausted; the two armies, with equal valour, rushed to a closer engagement of swords and spears, and the doubtful contest had already lasted from the dawn of the day to a late hour of the evening, when the right wing, which Constantine led in person, made a vigorous and decisive charge. The judicious retreat of Licinius saved the remainder of his troops from a total defeat; but when he computed his loss, which amounted to more than twenty thousand men, he thought it unsafe to pass the night in the presence of an active and victorious enemy.

First civil war between them.

Battle of  
Cibola.  
A. D. 515.  
8th Oct.

Quarrel between Constantine and Julian.  
A. D. 314.

The Roman world was now divided between Constantine and Licinius, the former of whom was master of the West, and the latter of the

East. It might perhaps have been expected that the conqueror, fatigued with civil war, and connected by a private as well as public alliance, would have renounced, or at least would have suspended, any further designs of ambition. And yet a year had scarcely elapsed after the death of Maximin, before the victorious emperors turned their arms against each other. The genius, the success, and the aspiring temper of Constantine, may seem to mark him out as the aggressor; but the perfidious character of Licinius justifies the most unfavourable suspicions, and by the faint light which history reflects on this transaction,<sup>86</sup> we may discover a conspiracy fomented by his arts against the authority of his colleague. Constantine had lately given his sister Anastasia in marriage to Bassianus, a man of a considerable family and fortune, and had elevated his new kinsman to the rank of Cæsar. According to the system of government instituted by Diocletian, Italy, and perhaps Africa, were designed for his department in the empire. But the performance of the promised favour was

54 Yet a vigorous periphrasis, *per ipse* (1.1.13), has been used, possibly because the poet is not sure of the exact meaning of *ipse* (1.1.12). It is not clear whether we should interpret the phrase as referring to the poet himself, or to that of his own tribe. The expression is not used elsewhere to denote the poet, but it is used twice in the first two lines of the poem, and it is therefore not surprising that it should be used here.

but if he considers it with attention, he will acknowledge that my  
 subject is very probable and consistent.

87 The situation of *A. mona*, or, as it is more called, *L. mona*, in the *Atlas de la Sibirie Occidentale* (Paris, 1874), is very interesting. As it lies to the north-east of the *L. t. t.*, *A. t.*, the most fertile territory, it is a natural object of dispute between the advocates of *Indica* and of *Siberica*.

Several of the following are of interest:





magistrates the children whom their own poverty would not allow them to educate. But the promise was too liberal, and the provision too vague, to effect any general or permanent benefit.<sup>3</sup> The law, though it may merit some praise, served rather to display than to alleviate the public distress. It still remains an authentic monument to contradict and confound those venal orators, who were too well satisfied with their own situation to discover either vice or misery under the government of a generous sovereign.<sup>4</sup> 2. The laws of Constantine against rapes were dictated with very little indulgence for the most amiable weaknesses of human nature; since the description of that crime was applied not only to the brutal violence which compelled, but even to the gentle seduction which might persuade, an unmarried woman, under the age of twenty-five, to leave the house of her parents. "The successful ravisher was "punished with death; and as if simple death "was inadequate to the enormity of his guilt, "he was either burnt alive, or torn in pieces by "wild beasts in the amphitheatre. The virgin's "declaration, that she had been carried away "with her own consent, instead of saving her "lover, exposed her to share his fate. The "duty of a public prosecution was intrusted to "the parents of the guilty or unfortunate maid; "and if the sentiments of nature prevailed on "them to dissemble the injury, and to repair "by a subsequent marriage the honour of their "family, they were themselves punished by "exile and confiscation. The slaves, whether "male or female, who were convicted of having "been accessory to the rape or seduction, were "burnt alive, or put to death by the ingenious "torture of pouring down their throats a quantity of melted lead. As the crime was of a "public kind, the accusation was permitted "even to strangers. The commencement of the "action was not limited to any term of years, "and the consequences of the sentence were "extended to the innocent offspring of such "an irregular union."<sup>5</sup> But whenever the offence inspires less horror than the punishment, the rigour of penal law is obliged to give way to the common feelings of mankind. The most odious parts of this edict were softened or repealed in the subsequent reigns;<sup>6</sup> and even Constantine himself very frequently alleviated, by partial acts of mercy, the stern temper of his general institutions. Such, indeed, was the singular humour of that emperor, who showed himself as indulgent, and even remiss, in the execution of his laws, as he was severe, and even cruel, in the enacting of them. It is scarcely possible to observe a more decisive symptom of

weakness, either in the character of the prince,  
or in the constitution of the government. 97

The civil administration was sometimes interrupted by the military defence of the empire. Crispus, a youth of the most amiable character, who had received with the title of Cæsar the command of the Rhine, distinguished his conduct, as well as valour, in several victories over the Franks and Alemanni; and taught the barbarians of that frontier to dread the eldest son of Constantine, and the grand-son of Constantius. <sup>8</sup> The emperor himself had assumed the more difficult and important province of the Danube. The Goths, who in the time of Claudius and Aurelian had felt the weight of the Roman arms, respected the power of the empire, even in the midst of its intestine divisions. But the strength of that warlike nation was now restored by a peace of near fifty years; a new generation had arisen, who no longer remembered the misfortunes of ancient days: the Sarmatians of the lake Maotus followed the Gothic standard either as subjects or as allies, and their united force was poured upon the countries of Illyricum. Campona, Margus, and Bononia, appear to have been the scenes of several memorable sieges and battles; <sup>9</sup> and though Constantine encountered a very obstinate resistance, he prevailed at length in the contest, and the Goths were compelled to purchase an ignominious retreat, by restoring the booty and prisoners which they had taken. Nor was this advantage sufficient to satisfy the indignation of the emperor. He resolved to chastise as well as to repulse the insolent barbarians who had dared to invade the territories of Rome. At the head of his legions he passed the Danube, after repairing the bridge which had been constructed by Trajan, penetrated into the strongest recesses of Dacia, <sup>10</sup> and when he had inflicted a severe revenge, condescended to give peace to the suppliant Goths, on condition that, as often as they were required, they should supply his armies with a body of forty thousand soldiers. <sup>11</sup> Exploits like these were no doubt honourable to Constantine, and beneficial to the state; but it may surely be questioned, whether they can justify the exaggerated assertion of Eusebius, that ALL SCYTHIA, as far as the extremity of the North, divided as it was into so many names and nations of the most various and savage manners, had been added by his victorious arms to the Roman empire. <sup>12</sup>

In this exalted state of glory it was impossible that Constantine should any longer endure a partner in the empire. Confiding in the superiority of his genius and military power, he

Second civil war between Constantine and Licinius. A.D. 324.

<sup>93</sup> Codex Theodosianus I vi. tit. 27. torn. iv. p. 185, with Codd from observations. See also *supra*, tit. 28.

[illegible]

<sup>42</sup> See the edict of Constantine, addressed to the Roman people in the Theodosian Code, *l. xv. tit. 1. c. i.* p. 183.

"sub specie atrocitatis pendens et a se infuscando crimine delicto nascente" (id. *Food for thought*, p. 147).

47. Buchan in Vol. 1, para. 10, p. 31 chooses to affirm, that in the reign of his hero, the sword of justice hung only in the hands of the magistrates. Buchan is somewhat inconsistent.

of the magistrates. Fusch is himself a Catholic, and the Theodorickeide will inform us, that this excessive levity was not owing to the want either of strength or candour of mind.

see Zosimus, I. ii. p. 87, 1), though the narrative of that historian is rather clear and consistent. The language of p. 114 n. 6 (p. 25) mentions the alliance of the Sarmatians with the Goths and Getae, and points out the several times of death. It is supposed that the Sarmatians engaged in the month of November, deny it the origin from the success of this war.

100) In the *Cronica* of Jean de Dinteville de Syahum, p. 112, Const. writes that he had observed the presence of Deia, which he had seduced. But it is impossible for this to be the names of a creature were like the gardens of Adonis, the fields and meadows.

For Fernandes do Reges, better said I know not whether we may entirely depend on his authority, such as he is, a very recent one, and scarcely is suited to the maxims of the language of the French.

In 2. Inachus in Vit. Constantini 1. 1. 5. This passage, however, is taken from a general description of the triumph of Constantine, and not from any particular account of the day.





media, have been related with some minuteness and precision, not only as the events are in themselves both interesting and important, but still more, as they contributed to the decline of the empire by the expense of blood and treasure, and by the perpetual increase, as well of the taxes, as of the military establishment. The foundation of Constantinople, and the establishment of the Christian religion, were the immediate and memorable consequences of this revolution.

## CHAP. XV.

*The Progress of the Christian Religion, and the Sentiments, Manners, Numbers, and Condition, of the primitive Christians.*

**Importance of the enquiry.** A CANDID but rational enquiry into the progress and establishment of Christianity, may be considered as a very essential part of the history of the Roman empire. While that great body was invaded by open violence, or undermined by slow decay, a pure and humble religion gently insinuated itself into the minds of men, grew up in silence and obscurity, derived new vigour from opposition, and finally erected the triumphant banner of the cross on the ruins of the Capitol. Nor was the influence of Christianity confined to the period or to the limits of the Roman empire. After a revolution of thirteen or fourteen centuries, that religion is still professed by the nations of Europe, the most distinguished portion of mankind in arts and learning as well as in arms. By the industry and zeal of the Europeans, it has been widely diffused to the most distant shores of Asia and Africa; and by the means of their colonies has been firmly established from Canada to Chili, in a world unknown to the ancients.

**Its difficulties.** But this enquiry, however useful or entertaining, is attended with two peculiar difficulties. The scanty and suspicious materials of ecclesiastical history seldom enable us to dispel the dark cloud that hangs over the first age of the church. The great law of impartiality too often obliges us to reveal the imperfections of the uninspired teachers and believers of the Gospel; and, to a careless observer, *their* faults may seem to cast a shade on the faith which they professed. But the scandal of the pious Christian, and the fallacious triumph of the Infidel, should cease as soon as they recollect, not only *for whom*, but likewise *to whom*, the Divine Revelation was given. The theologian may indulge the pleasing task of describing Religion as she descended from Heaven, arrayed in her native purity. A more melancholy duty is imposed on the historian. He must discover the inevitable mixture of error and corruption,

which she contracted in a long residence upon earth, among a weak and degenerate race of beings.

Our curiosity is naturally prompted to enquire by what means the Christian faith obtained so remarkable a victory over the established religions of the earth. To this enquiry, an obvious but satisfactory answer may be returned, that it was owing to the convincing evidence of the doctrine itself, and to the ruling providence of its great Author. But as truth and reason seldom find so favourable a reception in the world, and as the wisdom of Providence frequently condescends to use the passions of the human heart, and the general circumstances of mankind, as instruments to execute its purpose; we may still be permitted, though with becoming submission, to ask, not indeed what were the first, but what were the secondary causes of the rapid growth of the Christian church. It will, perhaps, appear, that it was most effectually favoured and assisted by the five following causes: I. The inflexible, and, if we may use the expression, the intolerant zeal of the Christians, derived, it is true, from the Jewish religion, but purified from the narrow and unsocial spirit, which, instead of inviting, had deterred the Gentiles from embracing the law of Moses. II. The doctrine of a future life, improved by every additional circumstance which could give weight and efficacy to that important truth. III. The miraculous powers ascribed to the primitive church. IV. The pure and austere morals of the Christians. V. The union and discipline of the Christian republic, which gradually formed an independent and increasing state in the heart of the Roman empire.

I. We have already described the religious harmony of the ancient world, and the facility with which the most different and even hostile nations embraced, or at least respected, each other's superstitions. A single people refused to join in the common intercourse of mankind. The Jews, who, under the Assyrian and Persian monarchies, had languished for many ages the most despised portion of their slaves,<sup>1</sup> emerged from obscurity under the successors of Alexander; and as they multiplied to a surprising degree in the East, and afterwards in the West, they soon excited the curiosity and wonder of other nations.<sup>2</sup> The sullen obstinacy with which they maintained their peculiar rites and unsocial manners, seemed to mark them out a distinct species of men, who boldly professed, or who faintly disguised, their implacable hatred to the rest of mankind.<sup>3</sup> Neither the violence of Antiochus, nor the arts of Herod, nor the example of the circumjacent nations, could ever persuade the Jews to associate with the institutions of Moses the elegant mythology of the Greeks.<sup>4</sup> According

Five causes of the growth of Christianity.

THE FIRST CAUSE, Zeal of the Jews.

<sup>1</sup> Dum Assyrios populos, Medosque, et Persas Orientis fuit, despectu sumus pars servitutis. Tacit. Hist. v. 5. Herodotus, who visited Asia, whilst it obeyed the last of those empires, says it mentions the Syrians of Palestine, who, according to their own confession, had received from Egypt the rite of circumcision. See Hist. c. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus Siculus, l. x. Don Cassius, lxxviii. p. 121. Tacit. Hist. v. l. 2. Justin, xxxi. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Traditum est: no quævisque volumine Mosæ, Non monstra vix, et cetera, nisi stera colitis, Quæ ad fontes solas deducere vergas.

The letter of this law is not to be found in the present volume of Moses. But the wise, the humane Mosaicists openly teach, that it is an adrover fall into the vulgar, few ought not to save him from instant death. See Boner, Hist. in descript. l. vi. c. 28.

<sup>4</sup> A Jewish sect, which excluded themselves in a sort of occasional confinement, derived from Herod, in whose example and authority they had been set off, the name of Herodians. But their numbers were so considerable, and their duration so short, that Josephus has not thought their worth or his notice. See Fridericus's Conjectura, vol. ii. p. 255.

to the maxims of universal toleration, the Romans protected a superstition which they despised.<sup>5</sup> The polite Augustus condescended to give orders, that sacrifices should be offered for his prosperity in the temple of Jerusalem;<sup>6</sup> whilst the meanness of the posterity of Abraham, who should have paid the same homage to the Jupiter of the Capitol, would have been an object of abhorrence to himself and to his brethren. But the moderation of the conquerors was insufficient to appease the jealous prejudices of their subjects, who were alarmed and scandalised at the ensigns of paganism, which necessarily introduced themselves into a Roman province.<sup>7</sup> The mad attempt of Caligula to place his own statue in the temple of Jerusalem, was defeated by the unanimous resolution of a people who dreaded death much less than such an idolatrous profanation.<sup>8</sup> Their attachment to the law of Moses was equal to their detestation of foreign religions. The current of zeal and devotion, as it was contracted into a narrow channel, ran with the strength, and sometimes with the fury, of a torrent.

Its gradual increase. This inflexible perseverance, which appeared so odious or so ridiculous to the ancient world, assumes a more awful character, since Providence has deigned to reveal to us the mysterious history of the chosen people. But the devout and even scrupulous attachment to the Mosaic religion, so conspicuous among the Jews who lived under the second temple, becomes still more surprising, if it is compared with the stubborn incredulity of their forefathers. When the law was given in thunder from Mount Sinai; when the tides of the ocean, and the course of the planets were suspended for the convenience of the Israelites; and when temporal rewards and punishments were the immediate consequences of their piety or disobedience, they perpetually relapsed into rebellion against the visible majesty of their Divine King, placed the idols of the nations in the sanctuary of Jehovah, and imitated every fantastic ceremony that was practised in the tents of the Arabs, or in the cities of Phœnicia.<sup>9</sup> As the protection of Heaven was deservedly withdrawn from the ungrateful race, their faith acquired a proportionable degree of vigour and purity. The contemporaries of Moses and Joshua had beheld with careless indifference the most amazing miracles. Under the pressure of every calamity, the belief of those miracles has preserved the Jews of a later period from the universal contagion of idolatry; and in contradiction to every known principle of the human mind, that singular people seems to have yielded a stronger and more ready assent to the traditions of their remote ancestors, than to the evidence of their own senses.<sup>10</sup>

The Jewish religion was admirably fitted for defence, but it was never designed for conquest; and it seems probable that the number of proselytes was never much superior to that of apostates. The divine promises were originally made, and the distinguishing rite of circumcision was enjoined, to a single family. When the posterity of Abraham had multiplied like the sands of the sea, the Deity, from whose mouth they received a system of laws and ceremonies, declared himself the proper and as it were the national God of Israel; and with the most jealous care separated his favourite people from the rest of mankind. The conquest of the land of Canaan was accompanied with so many wonderful and with so many bloody circumstances, that the victorious Jews were left in a state of irreconcilable hostility with all their neighbours. They had been commanded to extirpate some of the most idolatrous tribes, and the execution of the Divine will had seldom been retarded by the weakness of humanity. With the other nations they were forbidden to contract any marriages or alliances, and the prohibition of receiving them into the congregation, which in some cases was perpetual, almost always extended to the third, to the seventh, or even to the tenth generation. The obligation of preaching to the Gentiles the faith of Moses, had never been inculcated as a precept of the law, nor were the Jews inclined to impose it on themselves as a voluntary duty.

In the admission of new citizens, that unsocial people was actuated by the self-love of the Greeks, rather than by the generous policy of Rome. The descendants of Abraham were flattered by the opinion, that they alone were the heirs of the covenant, and they were apprehensive of diminishing the value of their inheritance, by sharing it too easily with the strangers of the earth. A larger acquaintance with mankind, extended their knowledge without correcting their prejudices; and whenever the God of Israel acquired any new votaries, he was much more indebted to the inconstant humour of polytheism than to the active zeal of his own missionaries.<sup>11</sup> The religion of Moses seems to be instituted for a particular country as well as for a single nation; and if a strict obedience had been paid to the order, that every male, three times in the year, should present himself before the Lord Jehovah, it would have been impossible that the Jews could ever have spread themselves beyond the narrow limits of the promised land.<sup>12</sup> That obstacle was indeed removed by the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem; but the most considerable part of the Jewish religion was involved in its destruction; and the Pagans, who had long wondered at the strange report of an

Their religion better suited to defence than to conquest.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero pro Flacco, c. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Philo de Legatione, c. 18. Augustus left a foundation for a perpetual sacrifice. Yet he approved of the neglect which his grandson Tiberius expressed towards the temple of Jerusalem. See Suetonius August. c. 56, and Tacitus Annals, lib. 2, c. 16.

<sup>7</sup> See in particular Josephus Antiquities, lib. 6, c. 2, and De Bell. Judaicis, lib. 2, c. 19. Ed. Huet. c. 19.

<sup>8</sup> Josephus Antiquities, lib. 18, c. 23. He relates, that a very great number of Jews, who were present at the execution of Caligula, were so affected by the sight of his corpse, that they fell into a deep sleep, and did not recover their senses till the third day.

<sup>9</sup> For the enumeration of the Syrian and Arabian deities, they best consulted an Arab. The names of the deities, and the character of their worship, has the same origin as the names of the gods who first inhabited the East. See the account of the deities, and the worship of the gods, in the first volume of the History of the Jews, by the same author.

<sup>10</sup> See the account of the Jews, who were present at the execution of Caligula, in the same work, lib. 18, c. 23.

<sup>11</sup> All the sects of Judaism, which have been mentioned by Josephus, had their origin in the same source.

<sup>12</sup> See Josephus Antiquities, lib. 13, c. 17. and 18, c. 1.

empty sanctuary,<sup>13</sup> were at a loss to discover what could be the object, or what could be the instruments, of a worship which was destitute of temples and of altars, of priests and of sacrifices. Yet even in their fallen state, the Jews, still asserting their lofty and exclusive privileges, shunned, instead of courting, the society of strangers. They still insisted with inflexible rigour on those parts of the law which it was in their power to practise. Their peculiar distinctions of days, of meats, and a variety of trivial though burdensome observances, were so many objects of disgust and aversion for the other nations, to whose habits and prejudices they were diametrically opposite. The painful and even dangerous rite of circumcision was alone capable of repelling a willing proselyte from the door of the synagogue.<sup>14</sup>

Under these circumstances, Christianity offered itself to the world, armed with the strength of the Mosaic law, and delivered from the weight of its fetters. An exclusive zeal for the truth of religion, and the unity of God, was as carefully inculcated in the new as in the ancient system: and whatever was now revealed to mankind concerning the nature and designs of the Supreme Being, was fitted to increase their reverence for that mysterious doctrine. The divine authority of Moses and the prophets was admitted, and even established, as the firmest basis of Christianity. From the beginning of the world, an uninterrupted series of predictions had announced and prepared the long expected coming of the Messiah, who, in compliance with the gross apprehensions of the Jews, had been more frequently represented under the character of a King and Conqueror, than under that of a Prophet, a Martyr, and the Son of God. By his expiatory sacrifice, the imperfect sacrifices of the temple were at once consummated and abolished. The ceremonial law, which consisted only of types and figures, was succeeded by a pure and spiritual worship, equally adapted to all climates, as well as to every condition of mankind; and to the initiation of blood, was substituted a more harmless initiation of water. The promise of divine favour, instead of being partially confined to the posterity of Abraham, was universally proposed to the freeman and the slave, to the Greek and to the barbarian, to the Jew and to the Gentile. Every privilege that could raise the proselyte from earth to Heaven, that could exalt his devotion, scene his happiness, or even gratify that secret pride, which, under the semblance of devotion, insinuates itself into the human heart, was still reserved for the members of the Christian church; but at the same time all mankind was permitted, and even solicited, to accept the glorious distinction, which was not only proffered as a favour, but imposed as an

obligation. It became the most sacred duty of a new convert to diffuse among his friends and relations the inestimable blessing which he had received, and to warn them against a refusal that would be severely punished as a criminal disobedience to the will of a benevolent but all-powerful Deity.

The enfranchisement of the church from the bonds of the synagogue, was a work however of some time and of some difficulty. The Jewish converts, who acknowledged Jesus in the character of the Messiah foretold by their ancient oracles, respected him as a prophetic teacher of virtue and religion; but they obstinately adhered to the ceremonies of their ancestors, and were desirous of imposing them on the Gentiles, who continually augmented the number of believers. These Judaising Christians seem to have argued with some degree of plausibility from the divine origin of the Mosaic law, and from the immutable perfections of its great Author. They affirmed, *that*, if the Being, who is the same through all eternity, had designed to abolish those sacred rites which had served to distinguish his chosen people, the repeal of them would have been no less clear and solemn than their first promulgation: *that*, instead of those frequent declarations, which either suppose or assert the perpetuity of the Mosaic religion, it would have been represented as a provisional scheme intended to last only till the coming of the Messiah, who should instruct mankind in a more perfect mode of faith and of worship:<sup>15</sup> *that* the Messiah himself, and his disciples who conversed with him on earth, instead of authorising by their example the most minute observances of the Mosaic law,<sup>16</sup> would have published to the world the abolition of those useless and obsolete ceremonies, without suffering Christianity to remain during so many years obscurely confounded among the sects of the Jewish church. Arguments like these appear to have been used in the defence of the expiring cause of the Mosaic law; but the industry of our learned divines has abundantly explained the ambiguous language of the Old Testament, and the ambiguous conduct of the apostolic teachers. It was proper gradually to unfold the system of the Gospel, and to pronounce, with the utmost caution and tenderness, a sentence of condemnation so repugnant to the inclination and prejudices of the believing Jews.

The history of the church of Jerusalem affords a lively proof of the necessity of those precautions, and of the deep impression which the Jewish religion had made on the minds of its sectaries. The first fifteen bishops of Jerusalem were all circumcised Jews; and the congregation over which they presided, united the law of Moses with the doctrine of Christ.<sup>17</sup> It was natural that the pri-

Ordinary and recants of the believing Jews.

The Nazarene church of Jerusalem.

<sup>13</sup> When Pompey, using or abusing the right of conquest, entered into the Holy City, as it was declared with a tremor, "Nathan's Dean of Eilat, was in the midst of a tremor." Eilat. Hist. v. 2. It was a popular story, with regard to the Jews.

<sup>14</sup> A second and a third century, as indicated on a Samaritanian or Egyptian papyrus. The other, only, of the Talmudists, which is not to the conversion of strangers, may be seen in Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, v. 2.

<sup>15</sup> The arguments were urged with great ingenuity and candour by the late

tion Lombard. See the Amica Collatio (it well deserves that name) or account of the dispute between them.

<sup>16</sup> Jesus, as the Christians, in the Acts, utitur, Judaeis; vestit

similes, in the Acts, utitur, Judaeis; vestit

similes, in the Acts, utitur, Judaeis; vestit

similes, in the Acts, utitur, Judaeis; vestit

native tradition of a church which was founded only forty days after the death of Christ, and was governed almost as many years under the immediate inspection of his apostle, should be received as the standard of orthodoxy.<sup>15</sup> The distant churches very frequently appealed to the authority of their venerable parent, and relieved her distresses by a liberal contribution of alms. But when numerous and opulent societies were established in the great cities of the empire, in Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome, the reverence which Jerusalem had inspired to all the Christian colonies insensibly diminished. The Jewish converts, or, as they were afterwards called, the Nazarenes, who had laid the foundations of the church, soon found themselves overwhelmed by the increasing multitudes, that from all the various religions of polytheism enlisted under the banner of Christ; and the Gentiles, who, with the approbation of their peculiar apostle, had rejected the intolerable weight of the Mosaic ceremonies, at length refused to their more scrupulous brethren the same toleration which at first they had humbly solicited for their own practice. The ruin of the temple, of the city, and of the public religion of the Jews, was severely felt by the Nazarenes; as in their manners, though not in their faith, they maintained so intimate a connection with their impious countrymen, whose misfortunes were attributed by the Pagans to the contempt, and more justly ascribed by the Christians to the wrath, of the Supreme Deity. The Nazarenes retired from the ruins of Jerusalem to the little town of Pella beyond the Jordan, where that ancient church languished above sixty years in solitude and obscurity.<sup>16</sup> They still enjoyed the comfort of making frequent and devout visits to the *Holy City*, and the hope of being one day restored to those seats which both nature and religion taught them to love as well as to revere. But at length, under the reign of Hadrian, the desperate fanaticism of the Jews filled up the measure of their calamities; and the Romans, exasperated by their repeated rebellions, exercised the rights of victory with unusual rigour. The emperor founded, under the name of Ælia Capitolina, a new city on Mount Zion, to which he gave the privileges of a colony; and denouncing the severest penalties against any of the Jewish people who should dare to approach its precincts, he fixed a vigilant garrison of a Roman cohort to enforce the execution of his orders. The Nazarenes had only one way left to escape the common proscription, and the force of truth was on this occasion assisted by the influence of temporal advantages. They elected

Marcus for their bishop, a prelate of the race of the Gentiles, and most probably a native either of Italy or of some of the Latin provinces. At his persuasion, the most considerable part of the congregation renounced the Mosaic law, in the practice of which they had persevered above a century. By this sacrifice of their habits and prejudices, they purchased a free admission into the colony of Hadrian, and more firmly cemented their union with the Catholic church.<sup>21</sup>

When the name and honours of the church of Jerusalem had been restored to Mount Sion, the crimes of heresy and schism were imputed to the obscure remnant of the Nazarenes, which refused to accompany their Latin bi-hop. They still preserved their former habitation of Pella, spread themselves into the villages adjacent to Damascus, and formed an inconsiderable church in the city of Beraea, or, as it is now called, of Aleppo, in Syria.<sup>22</sup> The name of Nazarenes was deemed too honourable for those Christian Jews, and they soon received from the supposed poverty of their understanding, as well as of their condition, the contemptuous epithet of Ebionites.<sup>23</sup> In a few years after the return of the church of Jerusalem, it became a matter of doubt and controversy, whether a man who sincerely acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah, but who still continued to observe the law of Moses, could possibly hope for salvation. The humane temper of Justin Martyr inclined him to answer this question in the affirmative; and though he expressed himself with the most guarded diffidence, he ventured to determine in favour of such an imperfect Christian, if he were content to practise the Mosiac ceremonies, without pretending to assert their general use or necessity. But when Justin was pressed to declare the sentiment of the church, he confessed that there were very many among the orthodox Christians, who not only excluded their Judaizing brethren from the hope of salvation, but who declined any intercourse with them in the common offices of friendship, hospitality, and social life.<sup>24</sup> The more rigorous opinion prevailed, as it was natural to expect, over the milder; and an eternal bar of separation was fixed between the disciples of Moses and those of Christ. The unfortunate Ebionites, rejected from one religion as apostates, and from the other as heretics, found themselves compelled to assume a more decided character; and although some traces of that obsolete sect may be discovered as late as the fourth century, they insensibly melted away either into the church or the synagogue.<sup>25</sup>

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The Gnostics.

While the orthodox church preserved a just medium between excessive veneration and improper contempt for the law of Moses, the various heretics deviated into equal but opposite extremes of error and extravagance. From the acknowledged truth of the Jewish religion, the Ebionites had concluded that it could never be abolished. From its supposed imperfections the Gnostics as hastily inferred that it never was instituted by the wisdom of the Deity. There are some objections against the authority of Moses and the prophets, which too readily present themselves to the sceptical mind; though they can only be derived from our ignorance of remote antiquity, and from our incapacity to form an adequate judgment of the divine economy. These objections were eagerly embraced and as petulantly urged by the vain science of the Gnostics.<sup>26</sup> As those heretics were, for the most part, averse to the pleasures of sense, they morosely arraigned the polygamy of the patriarchs, the gallantries of David, and the seraglio of Solomon. The conquest of the land of Canaan, and the extirpation of the unsuspecting natives, they were at a loss how to reconcile with the common notions of humanity and justice. But when they recollected the sanguinary list of murders, of executions, and of massacres, which stain almost every page of the Jewish annals, they acknowledged that the barbarians of Palestine had exercised as much compassion towards their idolatrous enemies, as they had ever shown to their friends or countrymen.<sup>27</sup> Passing from the sectaries of the law to the law itself, they asserted that it was impossible that a religion which consisted only of bloody sacrifices and trifling ceremonies, and whose rewards as well as punishments were all of a carnal and temporal nature, could inspire the love of virtue, or restrain the impetuosity of passion. The Mosaic account of the creation and fall of man was treated with profane derision by the Gnostics, who would not listen with patience to the repose of the Deity after six days' labour, to the rib of Adam, the garden of Eden, the trees of life and of knowledge, the speaking serpent, the forbidden fruit, and the condemnation pronounced against human kind for the venial offence of their first progenitors.<sup>28</sup> The God of Israel was impiously represented by the Gnostics, as a being liable to passion and to error, capricious in his favour, implacable in his resentment, meanly jealous of his superstitious worship, and confining his partial providence to a single people, and to this transitory life. In such a character they could discover none of the features of the wise and omnipotent father of the

universe.<sup>29</sup> They allowed that the religion of the Jews was somewhat less criminal than the idolatry of the Gentiles; but it was their fundamental doctrine, that the Christ whom they adored as the first and brightest emanation of the Deity, appeared upon earth to rescue mankind from their various errors, and to reveal a new system of truth and perfection. The most learned of the fathers, by a very singular condescension, have imprudently admitted the sophistry of the Gnostics. Acknowledging that the literal sense is repugnant to every principle of faith as well as reason, they deem themselves secure and invulnerable behind the ample veil of allegory, which they carefully spread over every tender part of the Mosaic dispensation.<sup>30</sup>

It has been remarked with more ingenuity than truth, that the virgin purity of the church was never violated by schism or heresy before the reign of Trajan or Hadrian, about one hundred years after the death of Christ.<sup>31</sup> We may observe with much more propriety, that, during that period, the disciples of the Messiah were indulged in a freer latitude, both of faith and practice, than has ever been allowed in succeeding ages. As the terms of communion were insensibly narrowed, and the spiritual authority of the prevailing party was exercised with increasing severity, many of its most respectable adherents, who were called upon to renounce, were provoked to assert their private opinions, to pursue the consequences of their mistaken principles, and openly to erect the standard of rebellion against the unity of the church. The Gnostics were distinguished as the most polite, the most learned, and the most wealthy of the Christian name, and that general appellation, which expressed a superiority of knowledge, was either assumed by their own pride, or ironically bestowed by the envy of their adversaries. They were almost without exception of the race of the Gentiles, and their principal founders seem to have been natives of Syria or Egypt, where the warmth of the climate disposes both the mind and the body to indolent and contemplative devotion. The Gnostics blended with the faith of Christ many sublime but obscure tenets, which they derived from oriental philosophy, and even from the religion of Zoroaster, concerning the eternity of matter, the existence of two principles, and the mysterious hierarchy of the invisible world.<sup>32</sup> As soon as they launched out into that vast abyss, they delivered themselves to the guidance of a disordered imagination; and as the paths of error are various and infinite, the Gnostics were imperceptibly divided into more

Their sects, progress, and influence.

one which still adheres to the Mosaic rites. (Heldes's Church Hist. of Eternity, and Discrimination.) Le Grand sur la Relation du P. Lohu. The church of the Queen Candace might suggest some similitudes, but it is here ascertained (Scriver, i. 19. Saanen, at 24. Endolph, p. 281.) that the Ebionites were not converted till the fourth century, and distinguished the forbidden meats, in imitation of the Sabbath, and distinguished the forbidden meats, in imitation of the Jews, who, in a very early period, were served on both sides of the Red Sea. Circumcision had been practised by the most ancient of the Jews, from motives of health and cleanliness, which seem to be explained in the Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains, tom. ii. p. 117.

object with 27. omnia. c. 33. has stated their adversary of Augustin, in prominently adversus c. 1. Surely Tacitus had

seen the Jews with too favourable an eye. The perusal of Josephus must have destroyed the antithesis.

29 Dr. Burnet (Archæologia, l. ii. c. 7.) has discussed the first chapters of Genesis with too much wit and freedom.

30 The vulgar Gnostics considered Christ as the Creator, as a Being of a mixed nature between God and the human. Others confounded him with the evil principle. Consult the second century of the general history of Alohism, which gives a very distinct, though confused account of their strange opinions on this subject.

31 See Beausobre, Hist. du Manichisme, l. i. c. 4. Origen and St. Augustine were among the Allegorists.

32 Hecstippus, ap. Euseb. l. iii. 22. Clemens Alexandrin. Stromat. vii. 17.

33 In the account of the Gnostics of the second and third centuries, Mosheim is very much to be excused. Le Clerc, Bull. de l'Acad. de Besancon almost always an apologist, and it is much to be feared that the primitive fathers are very frequently calumniators.

than fifty particular sects,<sup>33</sup> of whom the most celebrated appear to have been the Basilidians, the Valentinians, the Marcionites, and, in a still later period, the Manichæans. Each of these sects could boast of its bishops and congregations, of its doctors and martyrs,<sup>34</sup> and instead of the four gospels adopted by the church, the heretics produced a multitude of histories, in which the actions and discourses of Christ and of his apostles were adapted to their respective tenets.<sup>35</sup> The success of the Gnostics was rapid and extensive.<sup>36</sup> They covered Asia and Egypt, established themselves in Rome, and sometimes penetrated into the provinces of the West. For the most part they arose in the second century, flourished during the third, and were suppressed in the fourth or fifth, by the prevalence of more fashionable controversies, and by the superior ascendancy of the reigning power. Though they constantly disturbed the peace, and frequently disgraced the name of religion, they contributed to assist rather than to retard the progress of Christianity. The Gentile converts, whose strongest objections and prejudices were directed against the law of Moses, could find admission into many Christian societies, which required not from their untutored mind any belief of an antecedent revelation. Their faith was insensibly fortified and enlarged, and the church was ultimately benefited by the conquests of its most inveterate enemies.<sup>37</sup>

The dragons considered as the gods of antiquity.'

But whatever difference of opinion might subsist between the

Orthodox, the Ebionites, and the Gnostics, concerning the divinity or the obligation of the Mosaic law, they were all equally animated by the same exclusive zeal, and by the same abhorrence for idolatry which had distinguished the Jews from the other nations of the ancient world. The philosopher, who considered the system of polytheism as a composition of human fraud and error, could disguise a smile of contempt under the mask of devotion, without apprehending that either the mockery, or the compliance, would expose him to the resentment of any invisible, or, as he conceived them, imaginary powers. But the established religions of Paganism were seen by the primitive Christians in a much more odious and formidable light. It was the universal sentiment both of the church and of heretics, that the dæmons were the authors, the patrons, and the objects of idolatry.<sup>38</sup> Those rebellious spirits who had been degraded from the rank of angels, and cast down into the infernal pit, were still permitted to roam upon earth, to torment the bodies, and to seduce the

minds, of sinful men. The dæmons soon discovered and abused the natural propensity of the human heart towards devotion, and artfully withdrawing the adoration of mankind from their Creator, they usurped the place and honours of the Supreme Deity. By the success of their malicious contrivances, they at once gratified their own vanity and revenge, and obtained the only comfort of which they were yet susceptible, the hope of involving the human species in the participation of their guilt and misery. It was confessed, or at least it was imagined, that they had distributed among themselves the most important characters of polytheism, one dæmon assuming the name and attributes of Jupiter, another of Esculapius, a third of Venus, and a fourth perhaps of Apollo ;<sup>31</sup> and that, by the advantage of their long experience and aerial nature, they were enabled to execute, with sufficient skill and dignity, the parts which they had undertaken. They lurked in the temples, instituted festivals and sacrifices, invented fables, pronounced oracles, and were frequently allowed to perform miracles. The Christians, who, by the interposition of evil spirits, could so readily explain every preternatural appearance, were disposed and even desirous to admit the most extravagant fictions of the Pagan mythology. But the belief of the Christian was accompanied with horror. The most trifling mark of respect to the national worship he considered as a direct homage yielded to the dæmon, and as an act of rebellion against the majesty of God.

In consequence of this opinion, it was the first but arduous duty of a Christian, to renounce his

Abhorrence of the Christians for idolatry.

Abhorrence of  
the Christians  
for idolatry.

a Christian to preserve himself pure and undefiled by the practice of idolatry. The religion of the nations was not merely a speculative doctrine professed in the schools or preached in the temples. The innumerable deities and rites of polytheism were closely interwoven with every circumstance of business or pleasure, of public or of private life; and it seemed impossible to escape the observance of them, without, at the same time, renouncing the commerce of mankind, and all the offices and amusements of society.<sup>40</sup> The im-

## Ceremonies

portant transactions of peace and war were prepared or concluded by solemn sacrifices, in which the magistrate, the senator, and the soldier, were obliged to preside or to participate.<sup>41</sup> The public spectacles were an essential part of the cheerful devotion of the Pagans, and the gods were supposed to accept, as the most grateful offering, the games that the prince and people celebrated in honour of their peculiar festivals.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See the catalogues of Irenæus and Epiphanius. It must indeed be allowed, that those writers were inclined to multiply the number of sects which opposed the *unity* of the church.

of sects who disapproved the unity of the church.  
34 Kusebins, l. iv. c. 15. *Suzozum*, l. ii. c. 72. See in Bayle, in  
the article of *Murcon*, a curious detail of a dispute on that subject.  
It should seem that some of the Gnostics (the Basilidians) declined,  
and even refused, the honour of martyrdom. Their reasons were  
singular and abstruse. See Mosheim, p. 354.

ingular and adstrate." See Mosheim, p. 359.

§ 2. Is a very remarkable passage. Origen (Against Lucan) 1. That in the resurrection, the consistency of his life in the study of the scriptures, relies, for their authenticity on the inspired authority of the church. It was impossible that the Gnostics could receive our present gospels, many parts of which particularly in the resurrection, are manifestly at variance with the Gnostic system, and are altogether against their favourite tenets. It is therefore somewhat singular that Ignatius (Enost ad Smyrns. Part Apostol. tom. i. p. 54) should choose to employ vague and doubtful tradition, instead of quoting

memory. In the time of Epiphanius (advers. Haereses, p. 302) the Marcionites were very numerous in Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and Persia.

58 The unanimous sentiment of the primitive church is very clearly explained by Justin Martyr, Apolog. Major, by Athenagoras Legat c 22, &c and by Lactantius, Institut. Divin b 11-19.

39 Tertullian (*Apolog.* c. 27) alleges the confession of the Demons themselves as *offic.* as they were tormented by the Christian exorcists.

For the purpose of this study, the following hypotheses were formulated:

12 See 1st and 2d Sections. This severe reference shows no more indulgence to a Congress of Legislatures than to a Congress of gladiators.

The Christian, who with pious horror avoided the abomination of the circus or the theatre, found himself encompassed with infernal snares in every convivial entertainment, as often as his friends, invoking the hospitable deities, poured out libations to each other's happiness.<sup>43</sup> When the bride, struggling with well-affected reluctance, was forced in hymeneal pomp over the threshold of her new habitation,<sup>44</sup> or when the sad procession of the dead slowly moved towards the funeral pile;<sup>45</sup> the Christian, on these interesting occasions, was compelled to desert the persons who were the dearest to him, rather than contract the guilt inherent to those impious ceremonies. Every art and every

Art.

trade that was in the least concerned in the framing or adorning of idols was polluted by the stain of idolatry;<sup>46</sup> a severe sentence, since it devoted to eternal misery the far greater part of the community, which is employed in the exercise of liberal or mechanic professions. If we cast our eyes over the numerous remains of antiquity, we shall perceive, that besides the immediate representations of the gods, and the holy instruments of their worship, the elegant forms and agreeable fictions consecrated by the imagination of the Greeks, were introduced as the richest ornaments of the houses, the dress, and the furniture, of the Pagans.<sup>47</sup> Even the arts of music and painting, of eloquence and poetry, flowed from the same impure origin. In the style of the fathers, Apollo and the Muses were the organs of the infernal spirit; Homer and Virgil were the most eminent of his servants, and the beautiful mythology which pervades and animates the compositions of their genius, is destined to celebrate the glory of the dæmons. Even the common language of Greece and Rome abounded with familiar but impious expressions, which the imprudent Christian might too carelessly utter, or too patiently hear.<sup>48</sup>

Festivals

The dangerous temptations which on every side lurked in ambush to surprise the unguarded believer, assailed him with redoubled violence on the days of solemn festivals. So artfully were they framed and disposed throughout the year, that superstition always wore the appearance of pleasure, and often of virtue.<sup>49</sup> Some of the most sacred festivals in the Roman ritual were destined to salute the new calends of January with vows of public and private felicity, to indulge the pious remembrance of the dead and living, to ascertain the inviolable bounds of property, to hail, on the return of spring, the genial powers of

fecundity, to perpetuate the two memorable aeras of Rome, the foundation of the city, and that of the republic, and to restore, during the humane licence of the Saturnalia, the primitive equality of mankind. Some idea may be conceived of the abhorrence of the Christians for such impious ceremonies, by the scrupulous delicacy which they displayed on a much less alarming occasion. On days of general festivity, it was the custom of the ancients to adorn their doors with lamps and with branches of laurel, and to crown their heads with a garland of flowers. This innocent and elegant practice might perhaps have been tolerated as a mere civil institution. But it most unluckily happened that the doors were under the protection of the household gods, that the laurel was sacred to the lover of Daphne, and that garlands of flowers, though frequently worn as a symbol either of joy or mourning, had been dedicated in their first origin to the service of superstition. The trembling Christians, who were persuaded in this instance to comply with the fashion of their country, and the commands of the magistrate, laboured under the most gloomy apprehensions, from the reproaches of their own conscience, the censures of the church, and the denunciations of divine vengeance.<sup>50</sup>

Such was the anxious diligence which was required to guard the chastity of the gospel from the infectious breath of idolatry. The superstitious observances of public or private rites were carelessly practised, from education and habit, by the followers of the established religion. But as often as they occurred, they afforded the Christians an opportunity of declaring and confirming their zealous opposition. By these frequent protestations their attachment to the faith was continually fortified, and in proportion to the increase of zeal, they combated with the more ardour and success in the holy war, which they had undertaken against the empire of the dæmons.

II. The writings of Cicero<sup>51</sup> represent in the most lively colours the ignorance, the errors, and the uncertainty of the ancient philosophers with regard to the immortality of the soul. When they are desirous of arming their disciples against the fear of death, they inculcate, as an obvious, though melancholy position, that the fatal stroke of our dissolution releases us from the calamities of life; and that those can no longer suffer, who no longer exist.

THE SACRED  
GAIUS. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul among the philosophers.

diators. The dress of the actors, particularly offends him. By the use of the lofty busts, they improperly strive to add a cubit to their stature, c. 25.

43 The ancient practice of concluding the entertainment with libations, may be found in every classical writer. See the notes on the names of the gods, and the names of the poets, and the names of the philosophers.

44 See the elegant description of the nuptials, on the nuptials of Manlius and Julia. O Hymen, Hymenæe lo! Quis hunc Des comparare possit?

45 Tertullian de Idolatria, c. 30, 21, 22. If a Pagan friend (on the occasion perhaps of swearing) used the familiar expression of Jupiter bless you, the Christian was obliged to protest against the divinity of Jupiter.

46 On consult the most laboured work of Ovid, his imperfect Faith. He finished no more than the first six months of the year. The completion of Macrinus is called the Saturnalia, but it is only a small

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Yet there were a few sages of Greece and Rome who had conceived a more exalted, and, in some respects, a juster idea of human nature; though it must be confessed, that, in the sublime enquiry, their reason had been often guided by their imagination, and that their imagination had been prompted by their vanity. When they viewed with complacency the extent of their own mental powers, when they exercised the various faculties of memory, of fancy, and of judgment, in the most profound speculations, or the most important labours, and when they reflected on the desire of fame, which transported them into future ages, far beyond the bounds of death and of the grave; they were unwilling to confound themselves with the beasts of the field, or to suppose, that a being, for whose dignity they entertained the most sincere admiration, could be limited to a spot of earth, and to a few years of duration. With this favourable prepossession they summoned to their aid the science, or rather the language, of metaphysics. They soon discovered, that as none of the properties of matter will apply to the operations of the mind, the human soul must consequently be a substance distinct from the body, pure, simple, and spiritual, incapable of dissolution, and susceptible of a much higher degree of virtue and happiness after the release from its corporeal prison. From these specious and noble principles, the philosophers who trod in the footsteps of Plato deduced a very unjustifiable conclusion, since they asserted, not only the future immortality, but the past eternity of the human soul, which they were too apt to consider as a portion of the infinite and self-existing spirit, which pervades and sustains the universe.<sup>52</sup> A doctrine thus removed beyond the senses and the experience of mankind, might serve to amuse the leisure of a philosophic mind; or, in the silence of solitude, it might sometimes impart a ray of comfort to desponding virtue; but the faint impression which had been received in the schools, was soon obliterated by the commerce and business of active life. We are sufficiently acquainted with the eminent persons who flourished in the age of Cicero, and of the first Cæsars, with their actions, their characters, and their motives, to be assured that their conduct in this life was never regulated by any serious conviction of the rewards or punishments of a future state. At the bar and in the senate of Rome the ablest orators were not apprehensive of giving offence to their hearers, by exposing that doctrine as an idle and extravagant opinion, which was rejected with contempt by every man of a liberal education and understanding.<sup>53</sup>

Since therefore the most sublime efforts of philosophy can extend no farther than feebly to point out the

desire, the hope, or, at most, the probability, of a future state, there is nothing, except a divine revelation, that can ascertain the existence, and describe the condition, of the invisible country which is destined to receive the souls of men after their separation from the body. But we may perceive several defects inherent to the popular religions of Greece and Rome, which rendered them very unequal to so arduous a task. 1. The general system of their mythology was unsupported by any solid proofs; and the wisest among the Pagans had already disclaimed its usurped authority. 2. The description of the infernal regions had been abandoned to the fancy of painters and of poets, who peopled them with so many phantoms and monsters, who dispensed their rewards and punishments with so little equity, that a solemn truth, the most congenial to the human heart, was oppressed and disgraced by the absurd mixture of the wildest fictions.<sup>54</sup> 3. The doctrine of a future state was scarcely considered among the devout polytheists of Greece and Rome as a fundamental article of faith. The providence of the gods, as it related to public communities rather than to private individuals, was principally displayed on the visible theatre of the present world. The petitions which were offered on the altars of Jupiter or Apollo, expressed the anxiety of their worshippers for temporal happiness, and their ignorance or indifference concerning a future life.<sup>55</sup> The important truth of the immortality of the soul was inculcated with more diligence as well as success in India, in Assyria, in Egypt, and in Gaul; and since <sup>among the</sup> <sup>barbarians,</sup> we cannot attribute such a difference to the superior knowledge of the barbarians, we must ascribe it to the influence of an established priesthood, which employed the motives of virtue as the instrument of ambition.<sup>56</sup>

We might naturally expect, that among the Jews; a principle so essential to religion, would have been revealed in the clearest terms to the chosen people of Palestine, and that it might safely have been intrusted to the hereditary priesthood of Aaron. It is incumbent on us to adore the mysterious dispensations of Providence,<sup>57</sup> when we discover, that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is omitted in the law of Moses; it is darkly insinuated by the prophets, and during the long period which elapsed between the Egyptian and the Babylonian servitudes, the hopes as well as fears of the Jews appear to have been confined within the narrow compass of the present life.<sup>58</sup> After Cyrus had permitted the exiled nation to return into the promised land, and after Ezra had restored the ancient records of their religion, two celebrated

52 The pre-existence of human souls, so far at least as that time is compatible with reason, would be one of the first and oldest Latin fathers, viz. Bernardus, Basil, and Augustine, etc.

Esses poucos grãos, e a abstenção regna.

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sects, the Sadducees and the Pharisees, insensibly arose at Jerusalem.<sup>51</sup> The former, selected from the more opulent and distinguished ranks of society, were strictly attached to the literal sense of the Mosaic law, and they piously rejected the immortality of the soul, as an opinion that received no countenance from the divine book, which they revered as the only rule of their faith. To the authority of scripture the Pharisees added that of tradition, and they accepted, under the name of traditions, several speculative tenets from the philosophy or religion of the eastern nations. The doctrines of fate or predestination, of angels and spirits, and of a future state of rewards and punishments, were in the number of these new articles of belief; and as the Pharisees, by the austerity of their manners, had drawn into their party the body of the Jewish people, the immortality of the soul became the prevailing sentiment of the synagogue, under the reign of the Asmonean princes and pontiffs. The temper of the Jews was incapable of contenting itself with such a cold and languid assent as might satisfy the mind of a Polytheist; and as soon as they admitted the idea of a future state, they embraced it with the zeal which has always formed the characteristic of the nation. Their zeal, however, added nothing to its evidence, or even probability: and it was still necessary, that the doctrine of life and immortality, which had been dictated by nature, approved by reason, and received by superstition, should obtain the sanction of divine truth from the authority and example of Christ.

When the promise of eternal happiness was proposed to mankind on condition of adopting the faith, and of observing the precepts of the gospel, it is no wonder that so advantageous an offer should have been accepted by great numbers of every religion, of every rank, and of every province in the Roman empire. The ancient Christians were animated by a contempt for their present existence, and by a just confidence of immortality, of which the doubtful and imperfect faith of modern ages cannot give us any adequate notion. In the primitive church, the influence of truth was very powerfully strengthened by an opinion, which, however it may deserve respect for its usefulness and antiquity, has not been found agreeable to experience. It was universally believed, that the end of the world, and the kingdom of Heaven, were at hand. The near approach of this wonderful event had been predicted by the apostles; the tradition of it was preserved by their earliest disciples, and those who understood in their

literal sense the discourses of Christ himself, were obliged to expect the second and glorious coming of the Son of Man in the clouds, before that generation was totally extinguished, which had beheld his humble conduction upon earth, and which might still be witness of the calamities of the Jews under Vespasian or Hadrian. The revolution of seventeen centuries has instructed us not to press too closely the mysterious language of prophecy and revelation; but as long as, for wise purposes, this error was permitted to subsist in the church, it was productive of the most salutary effects on the faith and practice of Christians, who lived in the awful expectation of that moment when the globe itself, and all the various race of mankind, should tremble at the appearance of their divine judge.<sup>60</sup>

The ancient and popular doctrine of the Millennium was intimately connected with the second coming of Christ. As the works of the creation had been finished in six days, their duration in their present state, according to a tradition which was attributed to the prophet Elijah, was fixed to six thousand years.<sup>61</sup> By the same analogy it was inferred, that this long period of labour and contention, which was now almost elapsed,<sup>62</sup> would be succeeded by a joyful sabbath of a thousand years; and that Christ, with the triumphant band of the saints and the elect who had escaped death, or who had been miraculously revived, would reign upon earth till the time appointed for the last and general resurrection. So pleasing was this hope to the mind of believers, that the *New Jerusalem*, the seat of this blissful kingdom, was quickly adorned with all the gayest colours of the imagination. A felicity consisting only of pure and spiritual pleasure would have appeared too refined for its inhabitants, who were still supposed to possess their human nature and senses. A garden of Eden, with the amusements of the pastoral life, was no longer suited to the advanced state of society which prevailed under the Roman empire. A city was therefore erected of gold and precious stones, and a supernatural plenty of corn and wine was bestowed on the adjacent territory; in the free enjoyment of whose spontaneous productions, the happy and benevolent people was never to be restrained by any jealous laws of exclusive property.<sup>63</sup> The assurance of such a Millennium was carefully inculcated by a succession of fathers from Justin Martyr<sup>64</sup> and Irenæus, who conversed with the immediate disciples of the apostles, down to Lactantius, who was preceptor to the son of Constantine.<sup>65</sup> Though it might not be universally received, it

Approaching  
end of the  
world.

<sup>50</sup> *Tragical* *history* *of* *the* *last* *days* *of* *the* *world*.

<sup>60</sup> This expectation was countenanced by the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, and by the first epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians. Erasmus removes it, with difficulty, by the help of allegory and metaphor, and the learned *German* *commentary* *on* *the* *scriptures* *of* *the* *last* *days* *of* *the* *world*.

<sup>62</sup> The primitive church of Antioch computed almost 6000 years from the creation of the world to the birth of Christ. Africanus, Lactantius, and the Greek church, have reduced that number to 5500, and Eusebius has contented himself with 5000 years. These calculations were formed on the septuagint, which was universally

received during the first ages of the church. It was also the doctrine of the H. bre. as well as Catholics, the study of profane history, and the study of profane literature, by those narrow limits.

<sup>63</sup> Most of the pictures were borrowed from a misinterpretation of Isaiah, Daniel, and the Apocalypse. One of the grossest images may be found in Irenæus (l. v. p. 455.), the disciple of Papias, who had seen the apostles.

<sup>65</sup> The testimony of Justin, of his own faith and that of his orthodox brethren, in the doctrine of a Millennium, is delivered in the clearest and most solemn manner (*Dialog. cum Tryphone* 80. p. 177, 178. Edit. Benedictini). If in the beginning of the important passage there is any thing like an inconsistency, we may impute it, as we think proper, either to the author or to his transcribers.

appears to have been the reigning sentiment of the orthodox believers; and it seems so well adapted to the desires and apprehensions of mankind, that it must have contributed in a very considerable degree to the progress of the Christian faith. But when the edifice of the church was almost completed, the temporary support was laid aside. The doctrine of Christ's reign upon earth was at first treated as a profound allegory, was considered by degrees as a doubtful and useless opinion, and was at length rejected as the absurd invention of heresy and fanaticism.<sup>65</sup> A mysterious prophecy, which still forms a part of the sacred canon, but which was thought to favour the exploded sentiment, has very narrowly escaped the proscription of the church.<sup>67</sup>

Conflagration  
of Rome and  
of the world.

Whilst the happiness and glory of a temporal reign were promised to the disciples of Christ, the most dreadful calamities were denounced against an unbelieving world. The edification of the new Jerusalem was to advance by equal steps with the destruction of the mystic Babylon; and as long as the emperors who reigned before Constantine persisted in the profession of idolatry, the epithet of Babylon was applied to the city and to the empire of Rome. A regular series was prepared of all the moral and physical evils which can afflict a flourishing nation; intestine discord, and the invasion of the fiercest barbarians from the unknown regions of the North; pestilence and famine, comets and eclipses, earthquakes and inundations.<sup>63</sup> All these were only so many preparatory and alarming signs of the great catastrophe of Rome, when the country of the Scipios and Cæsars should be consumed by a flame from Heaven, and the city of the seven hills, with her palaces, her temples, and her triumphal arches, should be buried in a vast lake of fire and brimstone. It might, however, afford some consolation to Roman vanity, that the period of their empire would be that of the world itself; which, as it had once perished by the element of water, was destined to experience a second and a speedy destruction from the element of fire. In the opinion of a general conflagration, the faith of the Christian very happily coincided with the tradition of the East, the philosophy of the Stoics, and the analogy of Nature; and even the country, which, from religious motives, had been chosen for the origin and principal scene of the conflagration, was the best adapted for that purpose by natural and physical causes; by its deep caverns, beds of

sulphur, and numerous volcanoes, of which those of *Ætna*, of *Vesuvius*, and of *Lipari*, exhibit a very imperfect representation. The calmest and most intrepid sceptic could not refuse to acknowledge, that the destruction of the present system of the world by fire, was in itself extremely probable. The Christian, who founded his belief much less on the fallacious arguments of reason than on the authority of tradition and the interpretation of Scripture, expected it with terror and confidence as a certain and approaching event; and as his mind was perpetually filled with the solemn idea, he considered every disaster that happened to the empire as an infallible symptom of an expiring world.<sup>67</sup>

The condemnation of the wisest and most virtuous of the Pagans, on account of their ignorance or disbelief of the divine truth, seems to offend the reason and the humanity of the present age.<sup>70</sup> But the primitive church, whose faith was of a much firmer consistence, delivered over, without hesitation, to eternal torture, the far greater part of the human species. A charitable hope might perhaps be indulged in favour of Socrates, or some other sages of antiquity, who had consulted the light of reason before that of the gospel had arisen.<sup>71</sup> But it was unanimously affirmed that those who, since the birth or the death of Christ, had obstinately persisted in the worship of the demons, neither deserved, nor could expect, a pardon from the irritated justice of the Deity. These rigid sentiments, which had been unknown to the ancient world, appear to have infused a spirit of bitterness into a system of love and harmony. The ties of blood and friendship were frequently torn asunder by the difference of religious faith; and the Christians, who in this world found themselves oppressed by the power of the Pagans, were sometimes seduced, by resentment and spiritual pride, to delight in the prospect of their future triumph. "You are fond of spectacles," exclaims the stern Tertullian, "expect the greatest of all spectacles, the last and eternal judgment of the universe. How shall I admire, how laugh, how rejoice, how exult, when I behold so many proud monarchs, and fancied gods, groaning in the lowest abyss of darkness; so many magistrates, who persecuted the name of the Lord, liquefying in fiercer fires than they ever kindled against the Christians; so many sage philosophers blooming in red hot flames with their deluded scholars; so many celebrated poets trembling before the tribunal, not of Minos, but of

**The Pagans devoted to eternal punishment**

761 Dugén, *Bibliographie Ecclésiastique*, tome 1, p. 233, com-  
p. 761 and Mosheim, p. 729, though the latter of the «I earned  
divines is not altogether valid in this case».  
762 In the context of La Seta, about the year 700, the Apocrypha  
was tacitly excluded from the sacred canon, by the same «char-  
As to which it is addressed, and at what is born from the compunct  
of Salupius Semus, that their sentence had been raised by the  
the Apocrypha at present, or generally received by the Greek, the Ro-  
man, and the Protestant churches? The following may be  
assigned: 1. The Greeks were subdued by the authority of an in

the Apocryphe was fortunately included (Fr. Paoli, 1807, a del. on-  
cilio Tridentino, l. n. 3). The advantage of turning those mis-  
terious prophecies against the See of Rome, inspired the Fr's start,  
with uncommon veneration for so useful an ally. See the vigorous  
and elegant discourses of the present bishop of Litchfield on that  
unpromising subject.

68 Lactantius *Institutio* Div. vii. 15, &c.) relates the dismal tale of futur. iv. with great spirit and eloquence.

third part of B  
t) e, and time  
which he spent  
himself.

70 And yet whoever may be the language of individuals, it is still the public doctrine of all the Christian churches, nor can even our reluctance to admit the conclusions which must be drawn from their faith and the exhort of their Articles. The Januists, who have so diligently studied the works of the fathers, maintain this sentiment with distinguished zeal, and the learned M. de Fleury, more distinguished by his erudition and piety than by his domination at Jamnais, has put forth with his lead of a paper, in which he has rendered account, and he gives his assent to the fathers, as to the Catholics. See Fleury, Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes, l. ii. c. 19. &c.

71 Justin and Clement of Alexandria show that some of the philosophers were instructed by the Logos, and that the Logos was the source of the human reason, and the Word.



a theory as may reconcile the interest of religion with that of reason, of making a proper application of that theory, and of defining with precision the limits of that happy period exempt from error and from deceit, to which we might be disposed to extend the gift of supernatural powers. From the first of the fathers to the last of the popes, a succession of bishops, of saints, of martyrs, and of miracles, is continued without interruption; and the progress of superstition was so gradual and almost imperceptible, that we know not in what particular link we should break the chain of tradition. Every age bears testimony to the wonderful events by which it was distinguished, and its testimony appears no less weighty and respectable than that of the preceding generation, till we are insensibly led on to accuse our own inconsistency, if in the eighth or in the twelfth century we deny to the venerable Bede, or to the holy Bernard, the same degree of confidence which in the second century we had so liberally granted to Justin or to Irenæus.<sup>81</sup> If the truth of any of those miracles is appreciated by their apparent use and propriety, every age had unbelievers to convince, heretics to confute, and idolatrous nations to convert; and sufficient motives might always be produced to justify the interposition of heaven. And yet, since every friend to revelation is persuaded of the reality, and every reasonable man is convinced of the cessation, of miraculous powers, it is evident that there must have been *some period* in which they were either suddenly or gradually withdrawn from the Christian church. Whatever era is chosen for that purpose, the death of the apostles, the conversion of the Roman empire, or the extinction of the Arian heresy,<sup>82</sup> the insensibility of the Christians who lived at that time will equally afford a just matter of surprise. They still supported their pretensions after they had lost their power. Credulity performed the office of faith; fanaticism was permitted to assume the language of inspiration, and the effects of accident or contrivance were ascribed to supernatural causes. The recent experience of genuine miracles should have instructed the Christian world in the ways of Providence, and habituated their eye (if we may use a very inadequate expression) to the style of the Divine artist. Should the most skilful painter of modern Italy presume to decorate his feeble imitations with the name of Raphael or of Correggio, the insolent fraud would be soon discovered and indignantly rejected.

<sup>81</sup> Use of the primitive miracles. Whatever opinion may be entertained of the miracles of the primitive church since the time of the apostles, this unresisting softness of temper, so conspicuous among the believers of the second and third centuries, proved of some accidental benefit to the cause of truth and religion. In modern times, a latent and even involuntary scepticism adheres to the most pious dispositions. Their admission of supernatural truths is much less an active consent than a cold and passive acquiescence. Accus-

tomed long since to observe and to respect the invariable order of nature, our reason, or at least our imagination, is not sufficiently prepared to sustain the visible action of the Deity. But, in the first ages of Christianity, the situation of mankind was extremely different. The most curious, or the most credulous, among the Pagans were often persuaded to enter into a society which asserted an actual claim of miraculous powers. The primitive Christians perpetually trod on mystic ground, and their minds were exercised by the habits of believing the most extraordinary events. They felt, or they fancied, that on every side they were incessantly assaulted by demons, comforted by visions, instructed by prophecy, and surprisingly delivered from danger, sickness, and from death itself, by the supplications of the church. The real or imaginary prodigies, of which they so frequently conceived themselves to be the objects, the instruments, or the spectators, very happily disposed them to adopt with the same ease, but with far greater justice, the authentic wonders of the evangelic history; and thus miracles that exceeded not the measure of their own experience, inspired them with the most lively assurance of mysteries which were acknowledged to surpass the limits of their understanding. It is this deep impression of supernatural truths which has been so much celebrated under the name of faith; a state of mind described as the surest pledge of the Divine favour and of future felicity, and recommended as the first or perhaps the only merit of a Christian. According to the more rigid doctors, the moral virtues, which may be equally practised by infidels, are destitute of any value or efficacy in the work of our justification.

IV. But the primitive Christian demonstrated his faith by his <sup>THE FOURTH</sup> virtues; and it was very justly supposed that the Divine persuasion, which enlightened or subdued the understanding, must, at the same time, purify the heart, and direct the actions, of the believer. The first apologists of Christianity who justify the innocence of their brethren, and the writers of a later period who celebrate the sanctity of their ancestors, display, in the most lively colours, the reformation of manners which was introduced into the world by the preaching of the gospel. As it is my intention to remark only such human causes as were permitted to second the influence of revelation, I shall slightly mention two motives which might naturally render the lives of the primitive Christians much purer and more austere than those of their Pagan contemporaries, or their degenerate successors; repentance for their past sins, and the laudable desire of supporting the reputation of the society in which they were engaged.

It is a very ancient reproach, <sup>REPROACH OF</sup> suggested by the ignorance or the <sup>IGNORANCE</sup> malice of infidelity, that the Christians allured into their party the most atrocious criminals, who, as soon as they were touched by a sense of remorse, were easily persuaded to wash away,

<sup>81</sup> It may seem somewhat remarkable, that Bernard of Clairvaux, who records so many miracles of his lord St. Marcellin, hearkens away from his own, which, in his turn, however, are scarce mentioned, his companions and disciples. In the long series of persecuted bishops, does there rise a single instance of a saint so worthy as he himself possessed the gift of miracles?

<sup>82</sup> The conversion of Constantine, or the death of his persecutor, are the only fixed points in the history of the church, to which we may refer, and which admit the truth of the supposition. But the credulous and credulous are to reject those of the other ages.



in the water of baptism, the guilt of their past conduct, for which the temples of the gods refused to grant them any expiation. But this reproach, when it is cleared from misrepresentation, contributes as much to the honour as it did to the increase of the church.<sup>83</sup> The friends of Christianity may acknowledge, without a blush, that many of the most eminent saints had been before their baptism the most abandoned sinners. Those persons who in the world had followed, though in an imperfect manner, the dictates of benevolence and propriety, derived such a calm satisfaction from the opinion of their own rectitude, as rendered them much less susceptible of the sudden emotions of shame, of grief, and of terror, which have given birth to so many wonderful conversions. After the example of their Divine Master, the missionaries of the gospel disdained not the society of men, and especially of women, oppressed by the consciousness, and very often by the effects, of their vices. As they emerged from sin and superstition to the glorious hope of immortality, they resolved to devote themselves to a life, not only of virtue, but of penitence. The desire of perfection became the ruling passion of their soul; and it is well known, that while reason embraces a cold mediocrity, our passions hurry us, with rapid violence, over the space which lies between the most opposite extremes.

Care of their  
reputation.

When the new converts had been enrolled in the number of the faithful, and were admitted to the sacraments of the church, they found themselves restrained from relapsing into their past disorders by another consideration of a less spiritual, but of a very innocent and respectable nature. Any particular society that has departed from the great body of the nation, or the religion to which it belonged, immediately becomes the object of universal as well as invidious observation. In proportion to the smallness of its numbers, the character of the society may be affected by the virtue and vices of the persons who compose it; and every member is engaged to watch with the most vigilant attention over his own behaviour, and over that of his brethren, since, as he must expect to incur a part of the common disgrace, he may hope to enjoy a share of the common reputation. When the Christians of Bithynia were brought before the tribunal of the younger Pliny, they assured the proconsul, that, far from being engaged in any unlawful conspiracy, they were bound by a solemn obligation to abstain from the commission of those crimes which disturb the private or public peace of society, from theft, robbery, adultery, perjury, and fraud.<sup>84</sup> Near a century afterwards, Tertullian, with an honest pride, could boast, that very few Christians had suffered by the hand of the executioner, except on account of their religion.<sup>85</sup> Their serious and sequestered life, averse to the gay luxury of the age, inured them to chastity, temperance, economy, and all the sober and domestic virtues. As the greater number were of some trade or

profession, it was incumbent on them, by the strictest integrity and the fairest dealing, to remove the suspicions which the profane are too apt to conceive against the appearances of sanctity. The contempt of the world exercised them in the habits of humility, meekness, and patience. The more they were persecuted, the more closely they adhered to each other. Their mutual charity and unsuspecting confidence has been remarked by infidels, and was too often abused by perfidious friends.<sup>86</sup>

It is a very honourable circumstance for the morals of the primitive Christians, that even their faults, or rather errors, were derived from an excess of virtue. The bishops and doctors of the church, whose evidence attests, and whose authority might influence, the professions, the principles, and even the practice, of their contemporaries, had studied the Scriptures with less skill than devotion, and they often received, in the most literal sense, those rigid precepts of Christ and the apostles, to which the prudence of succeeding commentators has applied a looser and more figurative mode of interpretation. Ambitious to exalt the perfection of the gospel above the wisdom of philosophy, the zealous fathers have carried the duties of self-mortification, of purity, and of patience, to a height which it is scarcely possible to attain, and much less to preserve in our present state of weakness and corruption. A doctrine so extraordinary and so sublime must inevitably command the veneration of the people; but it was ill calculated to obtain the suffrage of those worldly philosophers, who, in the conduct of this transitory life, consult only the feelings of nature and the interest of society.<sup>87</sup>

There are two very natural propensities which we may distinguish in the most virtuous and liberal dispositions, the love of pleasure and the love of action. If the former is refined by art and learning, improved by the charms of social intercourse, and corrected by a just regard to economy, to health, and to reputation, it is productive of the greatest part of the happiness of private life. The love of action is a principle of a much stronger and more doubtful nature. It often leads to anger, to ambition, and to revenge; but when it is guided by the sense of propriety and benevolence, it becomes the parent of every virtue; and if those virtues are accompanied with equal abilities, a family, a state, or an empire, may be indebted for their safety and prosperity to the undaunted courage of a single man. To the love of pleasure we may therefore ascribe most of the agreeable, to the love of action we may attribute most of the useful and respectable, qualifications. The character in which both the one and the other should be united and harmonised, would seem to constitute the most perfect idea of human nature. The insensible and inactive disposition, which should be supposed alike destitute of both, would be rejected, by the common consent of mankind, as utterly incapable

Morality of  
the fathers.

Principles of  
human nature.

<sup>83</sup> The imputations of Celsus and Julian, with the defence of the fathers, are very fairly stated by Spanheim, *Commentarius de Celsi de Juliano*, p. 468. <sup>84</sup> *Epist. x. 97*. <sup>85</sup> Tertullian, *Apol. c. 11*. He adds, however, with some degree of hesitation, "Aut si aliud, jam non Christianus."

<sup>86</sup> The philosopher Peregrinus (of whose life and death Lucian has left us so entertaining an account) is reported, for a long time, on the credit of an imputation of the Christians of Asia.

<sup>87</sup> See a very judicious treatise of Barbeyrac sur la Morale des Pères.

of procuring any happiness to the individual, or any public benefit to the world. But it was not in *this world* that the primitive Christians were desirous of making themselves either agreeable or useful.

The acquisition of knowledge, the exercise of our reason or fancy, and the cheerful flow of unguarded conversation, may employ the leisure of a liberal mind. Such amusements, however, were rejected with abhorrence, or admitted with the utmost caution, by the severity of the fathers, who despised all knowledge that was not useful to salvation, and who considered all levity of discourse as a criminal abuse of the gift of speech. In our present state of existence, the body is so inseparably connected with the soul, that it seems to be our interest to taste, with innocence and moderation, the enjoyments of which that faithful companion is susceptible. Very different was the reasoning of our devout predecessors; vainly aspiring to imitate the perfection of angels, they disdained, or they affected to disdain, every earthly and corporeal delight.<sup>85</sup> Some of our senses indeed are necessary for our preservation, others for our subsistence, and others again for our information, and thus far it was impossible to reject the use of them. The first sensation of pleasure was marked as the first moment of their abuse. The unfeeling candidate for heaven was instructed, not only to resist the grosser allurements of the taste or smell, but even to shut his ears against the profane harmony of sounds, and to view with indifference the most finished productions of human art. Gay apparel, magnificent houses, and elegant furniture, were supposed to unite the double guilt of pride and of sensuality: a simple and mortified appearance was more suitable to the Christian who was certain of his sins and doubtful of his salvation. In their censures of luxury, the fathers are extremely minute and circumstantial;<sup>86</sup> and among the various articles which excite their pious indignation, we may enumerate false hair, giments of any colour except white, instruments of music, vases of gold or silver, downy pillows (as Jacob reposed his head on a stone), white bread, foreign wines, public salutations, the use of warm baths, and the practice of shaving the beard, which, according to the expression of Tertullian, is a lie against our own faces, and an impious attempt to improve the works of the Creator.<sup>87</sup> When Christianity was introduced among the rich and the polite, the observation of these singular laws was left, as it would be at present, to the few who were ambitious of superior sanctity. But it is always easy, as well as agreeable, for the inferior ranks of mankind to claim a merit from the contempt of that pomp and pleasure, which fortune has placed be-

yond their reach. The virtue of the primitive Christians, like that of the first Romans, was very frequently guarded by poverty and ignorance.

The chaste severity of the fathers, <sup>Their sentiments concerning marriage and chastity.</sup> in whatever related to the commerce of the two sexes, flowed from the same principle; their abhorrence of every enjoyment which might gratify the sensual, and degrade the spiritual, nature of man. It was their favourite opinion, that if Adam had preserved his obedience to the Creator, he would have lived for ever in a state of virgin purity, and that some harmless mode of vegetation might have peopled paradise with a race of innocent and immortal beings.<sup>91</sup> The use of marriage was permitted only to his fallen posterity, as a necessary expedient to continue the human species, and as a restraint, however imperfect, on the natural licentiousness of desire. The hesitation of the orthodox casuists on this interesting subject, betrays the perplexity of men, unwilling to approve an institution, which they were compelled to tolerate.<sup>92</sup> The enumeration of the very whimsical laws, which they most circumstantially imposed on the marriage-bed, would force a smile from the young, and a blush from the fair. It was their unanimous sentiment, that a first marriage was adequate to all the purposes of nature and society. The sensual connection was refined into a resemblance of the mystic union of Christ with his church, and was pronounced to be indissoluble either by divorce or by death. The practice of second nuptials was branded with the name of a legal adultery; and the persons who were guilty of so scandalous an offence against Christian purity, were soon excluded from the honours, and even from the altars, of the church.<sup>93</sup> Since desire was imputed as a crime, and marriage was tolerated as a defect, it was consistent with the same principles to consider a state of celibacy as the nearest approach to the Divine perfection. It was with the utmost difficulty that ancient Rome could support the institution of six vestals;<sup>94</sup> but the primitive church was filled with a great number of persons of either sex, who had devoted themselves to the profession of perpetual chastity.<sup>95</sup> A few of these, among whom we may reckon the learned Origen, judged it the most prudent to disarm the tempter.<sup>96</sup> Some were insensible and some were invincible against the assaults of the flesh.

Disdaining an ignominious flight, the virgins of the warm climate of Africa encountered the enemy in the closest engagement; they permitted priests and deacons to share their bed, and gloried amidst the flames of their unsullied purity. But insulted Nature sometimes vindicated her rights, and this new species of martyrdom served only to introduce a new scandal

<sup>85</sup> Taciteus Institut. p. 10. c. 29, 31, 32.

<sup>86</sup> See also a work of Tertullian, who, to illustrate The Pudicity, contains the most minute details of those laws which were in vogue at the time of his writing.

<sup>87</sup> Tertullian, de Spectaculis, c. 17. Tertullianus, de Spectaculis, c. 17.

<sup>88</sup> Tertullian, de Spectaculis, c. 17. Tertullianus, de Spectaculis, c. 17.

<sup>89</sup> Tertullian, de Spectaculis, c. 17. Tertullianus, de Spectaculis, c. 17.

<sup>91</sup> See the original Dissertation on the Vestals, in the Memoirs de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. 2. p. 271. See also the Dissertation on the Vestals, in the same work, tom. 2. p. 271. See also the Dissertation on the Vestals, in the same work, tom. 2. p. 271.

into the church.<sup>97</sup> Among the Christian ascetics, however (a name which they soon acquired from their painful exercise), many, as they were less presumptuous, were probably more successful. The loss of sensual pleasure was supplied and compensated by spiritual pride. Even the multitude of Pagans were inclined to estimate the merit of the sacrifice by its apparent difficulty: and it was in the praise of these chaste spouses of Christ that the fathers have poured forth the troubled stream of their eloquence.<sup>98</sup> Such are the early traces of monastic principles and institutions, which, in a subsequent age, have counterbalanced all the temporal advantages of Christianity.<sup>99</sup>

The Christians were not less averse to the business than to the pleasures of this world. The defence of our

persons and property they knew not how to reconcile with the patient doctrine which enjoined an unlimited forgiveness of past injuries, and commanded them to invite the repetition of fresh insults. Their simplicity was offended by the use of oaths, by the pomp of magistracy, and by the active contention of public life, nor could their humane ignorance be convinced, that it was lawful on any occasion to shed the blood of our fellow-creatures, either by the sword of justice, or by that of war; even though their criminal or hostile attempts should threaten the peace and safety of the whole community.<sup>100</sup> It was acknowledged, that, under a less perfect law, the powers of the Jewish constitution had been exercised, with the approbation of Heaven, by inspired prophets and by anointed kings. The Christians felt and confessed, that such institutions might be necessary for the present system of the world, and they cheerfully submitted to the authority of their Pagan governors. But while they inculcated the maxims of passive obedience, they refused to take any active part in the civil administration or the military defence of the empire. Some indulgence might perhaps be allowed to those persons, who, before their conversion, were already engaged in such violent and sanguinary occupations; <sup>101</sup> but it was impossible that the Christians, without renouncing a more sacred duty, could assume the character of soldiers, of magistrates, or of princes.<sup>102</sup> This indolent, or even criminal disregard to the public welfare, exposed them to the contempt and reproaches of the Pagans, who very frequently asked, what must be the fate of the empire, attacked on every side by the barbarians, if all mankind should adopt the pusillanimous sentiments of the new sect? <sup>103</sup> To this insulting question the Christian apologists returned obscure and ambiguous answers, as they were unwilling to reveal the secret cause of their security; the expectation that, before the conversion of mankind was accomplished, war, gov-

vernment, the Roman empire, and the world itself, would be no more. It may be observed, that, in this instance likewise, the situation of the first Christians coincided very happily with their religious scruples, and that their aversion to an active life contributed rather to excuse them from the service, than to exclude them from the honours, of the state and army.

V. But the human character, however it may be exalted or depressed by a temporary enthusiasm, will return by degrees to its proper and natural level, and will resume those passions that seem the most adapted to its present condition. The primitive Christians were dead to the business and pleasures of the world; but their love of action, which could never be entirely extinguished, soon revived, and found a new occupation in the government of the church. A separate society, which attacked the established religion of the empire, was obliged to adopt some form of internal policy, and to appoint a sufficient number of ministers, intrusted not only with the spiritual functions, but even with the temporal direction of the Christian commonwealth. The safety of that society, its honour, its aggrandisement, were productive, even in the most pious minds, of a spirit of patriotism, such as the first of the Romans had felt for the republic, and sometimes, of a similar indifference, in the use of whatever means might probably conduce to so desirable an end. The ambition of raising themselves or their friends to the honours and offices of the church, was disguised by the laudable intention of devoting to the public benefit, the power and consideration, which, for that purpose only, it became their duty to solicit. In the exercise of their functions, they were frequently called upon to detect the errors of heresy, or the arts of faction, to oppose the designs of perfidious brethren, to stigmatise their characters with deserved infamy, and to expel them from the bosom of a society, whose peace and happiness they had attempted to disturb. The ecclesiastical governors of the Christians were taught to unite the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove; but as the former was refined, so the latter was insensibly corrupted, by the habits of government. In the church as well as in the world, the persons who were placed in any public station rendered themselves considerable by their eloquence and firmness, by their knowledge of mankind, and by their dexterity in business; and while they concealed from others, and perhaps from themselves, the secret motives of their conduct they too frequently relapsed into all the turbulent passions of active life, which were tinged with an additional degree of bitterness and obstinacy from the infusion of spiritual zeal.

THE FIFTH CAUSE. The Christians active in the government of the church.

<sup>97</sup> Cyprian, Epist. l. and Dodwell. This great Cyprianus in Somewhere, input-d to the town, and himself and his

tom in, p. 195) gives a

<sup>98</sup> The Ascetics, as early as the second century, made a public profession of abstaining from the use of

The same patient principles, have

Anabaptists, and the Quakers Barclay, the apologist of the Quakers, has protected his brethren by the authority of the primitive Christians, p. 312-319.

<sup>101</sup> I. Iulianus, Apolog. c. 21. De Idololatria, c. 17, 18. Origen contra Celsum, l. v. p. 253. l. vi. p. 518. l. vii. p. 432-425.

<sup>102</sup> Tertullian (de Corona Militis, c. 11) suggested to them the expedient of deserting; a counsel, which, if it had been general

<sup>103</sup> As well as we can judge from the mutilated representation of Origen (l. vii. p. 425), his adversary, Celsum, had urged his objections with great force and candour.

Its primitive freedom and equality.

The government of the church has often been the subject, as well as the prize, of religious contention. The hostile disputants of Rome, of Paris, of Oxford, and of Geneva, have alike struggled to reduce the primitive and apostolic model<sup>104</sup> to the respective standards of their own policy. The few who have pursued this enquiry with more candour and impartiality are of opinion,<sup>105</sup> that the apostles declined the office of legislation, and rather chose to endure some partial scandals and divisions, than to exclude the Christians of a future age from the liberty of varying their forms of ecclesiastical government according to the changes of times and circumstances. The scheme of policy, which, under their approbation, was adopted for the use of the first century, may be discovered from the practice of Jerusalem, of Ephesus, or of Corinth. The societies which were instituted in the cities of the Roman empire were united only by the ties of faith and charity. Independence and equality formed the basis of their internal constitution. The want of discipline and human learning was supplied by the occasional assistance of the *prophets*,<sup>106</sup> who were called to that function without distinction of age, of sex, or of natural abilities; and who, as often as they felt the divine impulse, poured forth the effusions of the spirit in the assembly of the faithful. But these extraordinary gifts were frequently abused or misapplied by the prophetic teachers. They displayed them at an improper season, presumptuously disturbed the service of the assembly, and by their pride or mistaken zeal they introduced, particularly into the apostolic church of Corinth, a long and melancholy train of disorders.<sup>107</sup> As the institution of prophets became useless, and even pernicious, their powers were withdrawn and their office abolished. The public functions of religion were solely intrusted to the established ministers of the church, the *bishops* and the *presbyters*, two appellations which, in their first origin, appear to have distinguished the same office and the same order of persons. The name of presbyter was expressive of their age, or rather of their gravity and wisdom. The title of bishop denoted their inspection over the faith and manners of the Christians who were committed to their pastoral care. In proportion to the respective numbers of the faithful, a larger or smaller number of these *episcopal presbyters* guided each infant congregation with equal authority, and with united counsels.<sup>108</sup>

Institution of bishops as presbyters of the whole congregation.

But the most perfect equality of freedom requires the directing hand of a superior magistrate, and the

order of public deliberations soon introduces the office of a president, invested at least with the authority of collecting the sentiments, and of executing the resolutions, of the assembly. A regard for the public tranquillity, which would so frequently have been interrupted by annual or by occasional elections, induced the primitive Christians to constitute an honourable and perpetual magistracy, and to choose one of the wisest and most holy among their presbyters to execute during his life the duties of their ecclesiastical governor. It was under these circumstances that the lofty title of bishop began to raise itself above the humble appellation of presbyter; and while the latter remained the most natural distinction for the members of every Christian senate, the former was appropriated to the dignity of its new president.<sup>109</sup> The advantages of this episcopal form of government, which appears to have been introduced before the end of the first century,<sup>110</sup> were so obvious, and so important for the future greatness as well as the present peace of Christianity, that it was adopted without delay by all the societies which were already scattered over the empire, had acquired in a very early period the sanction of antiquity,<sup>111</sup> and is still revered by the most powerful churches, both of the East and of the West, as a primitive, and even as a divine establishment.<sup>112</sup> It is needless to observe, that the pious and humble presbyters, who were first dignified with the episcopal title, could not possess, and would probably have rejected, the power and pomp which now encircles the tian of the Roman pontiff, or the mitre of a German prelate. But we may define in a few words the narrow limits of their original jurisdiction, which was chiefly of a spiritual, though in some instances of a temporal, nature.<sup>113</sup> It consisted in the administration of the sacraments and discipline of the church; the superintendency of religious ceremonies, which imperceptibly increased in number and variety; the consecration of ecclesiastical ministers, to whom the bishop assigned their respective functions; the management of the public fund; and the determination of all such differences as the faithful were unwilling to expose before the tribunal of an idolatrous judge. These powers, during a short period, were exercised according to the advice of the presbyteral college, and with the consent and approbation of the assembly of Christians. The primitive bishops were considered only as the first of their equals, and the honourable servants of a free people. Whenever the episcopal chair became vacant by death, a new president was chosen among the presbyters

104 The authorized version of the New Testament, in the English version, strenuously maintains the primacy of Peter. But the original text, and the sense of the apostle, are altogether different. The apostle is not speaking of the church, but of the world, and of the whole of mankind.

105 See the Introduction to the Christian Church, by J. H. Mosheim, in the first part, followed the learned and able Mr. Mosheim.

106 For the prophets, see the Introduction to the Christian Church, by J. H. Mosheim, in the first part, followed the learned and able Mr. Mosheim.

107 See the Epistles of St. Paul, and of Timothy, to the Corinthians.

108 Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, lib. vi. c. 12.

109 See the Introduction to the Christian Church, by J. H. Mosheim, in the first part, followed the learned and able Mr. Mosheim.

the objections of the learned Pearson in his *Vindication of the Christian Church*, lib. i. c. 12.

110 See the Introduction to the Christian Church, by J. H. Mosheim, in the first part, followed the learned and able Mr. Mosheim.

111 See the Introduction to the Christian Church, by J. H. Mosheim, in the first part, followed the learned and able Mr. Mosheim.

112 See the Introduction to the Christian Church, by J. H. Mosheim, in the first part, followed the learned and able Mr. Mosheim.

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116 See the Introduction to the Christian Church, by J. H. Mosheim, in the first part, followed the learned and able Mr. Mosheim.

117 See the Introduction to the Christian Church, by J. H. Mosheim, in the first part, followed the learned and able Mr. Mosheim.

by the suffrage of the whole congregation, every member of which supposed himself invested with a sacred and sacerdotal character.<sup>114</sup>

Such was the mild and equal constitution by which the Christians were governed more than an hundred years after the death of the apostles. Every society formed within itself a separate and independent republic; and although the most distant of these little states maintained a mutual as well as friendly intercourse of letters and deputations, the Christian world was not yet connected by any supreme authority or legislative assembly. As the numbers of the faithful were gradually multiplied, they discovered the advantages that might result from a closer union of their interest and designs. Towards the end of the second century the churches of Greece and Asia adopted the useful institutions of provincial synods, and they may justly be supposed to have borrowed the model of a representative council from the celebrated examples of their own country, the Amphictyons, the Achæan league, or the assemblies of the Ionian cities. It was soon established as a custom and as a law, that the bishops of the independent churches should meet in the capital of the province at the stated periods of spring and autumn. Their deliberations were assisted by the advice of a few distinguished presbyters, and moderated by the presence of a listening multitude.<sup>115</sup> Their decrees, which were styled canons, regulated every important controversy of faith and discipline; and it was natural to believe that a liberal effusion of the holy spirit would be poured on the united assembly of the delegates of the Christian people. The institution of synods was so well suited to private ambition and to public interest, that in the space of a few years it was received throughout the

whole empire. A regular correspondence was established between the provincial councils, which mutually communicated and approved their respective proceedings; and the catholic church soon assumed the form, and acquired the strength, of a great federative republic.<sup>116</sup>

As the legislative authority of the particular churches was insensibly superseded by the use of councils, the bishops obtained by their alliance a much larger share of executive and arbitrary power; and as soon as they were connected by a sense of their common interest, they were enabled to attack, with united vigour, the original rights of their clergy and people. The prelates of the third century imperceptibly changed the language of exhortation into that of command, scattered the seeds of future usurpations, and supplied, by scripture allegories and declamatory rhetoric, their deficiency of force and of reason. They exalted the unity and power of the church, as it

was represented in the EPISCOPAL OFFICE, of which every bishop enjoyed an equal and undivided portion.<sup>117</sup> Princes and magistrates, it was often repeated, might boast an earthly claim to a transitory dominion; it was the episcopal authority alone which was derived from the Deity, and extended itself over this and over another world. The bishops were the vicegerents of Christ, the successors of the apostles, and the mystic substitutes of the high priest of the Mosaic law. Their exclusive privilege of conferring the sacerdotal character invaded the freedom both of clerical and of popular elections; and if, in the administration of the church, they still consulted the judgment of the presbyters or the inclination of the people, they most carefully inculcated the merit of such a voluntary condescension. The bishops acknowledged the supreme authority which resided in the assembly of their brethren; but in the government of his peculiar diocese, each of them exacted from his flock the same implicit obedience as if that favourite metaphor had been literally just, and as if the shepherd had been of a more exalted nature than that of his sheep.<sup>118</sup> This obedience, however, was not imposed without some efforts on one side, and some resistance on the other. The democratical part of the constitution was, in many places, very warmly supported by the zealous or interested opposition of the inferior clergy. But their patriotism received the ignominious epithets of faction and schism, and the episcopal cause was indebted for its rapid progress to the labours of many active prelates, who, like Cyprian of Carthage, could reconcile the arts of the most ambitious statesman with the Christian virtues which seem adapted to the character of a saint and martyr.<sup>119</sup>

The same causes which at first had destroyed the equality of the presbyters, introduced among the bishops a pre-eminence of rank, and from thence a superiority of jurisdiction. As often as in the spring and autumn they met in provincial synod, the difference of personal merit and reputation was very sensibly felt among the members of the assembly, and the multitude was governed by the wisdom and eloquence of the few. But the order of public proceedings required a more regular and less invidious distinction; the office of perpetual presidents in the councils of each province, was conferred on the bishops of the principal city, and these aspiring prelates, who soon acquired the lofty titles of Metropolitans and Primate, secretly prepared themselves to usurp over their episcopal brethren the same authority which the bishops had so lately assumed above the college of presbyters.<sup>120</sup> Nor was it long before an emulation of pre-eminence and power prevailed among the metropolitans themselves, each of them affecting to display, in

114. *Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus?* Tertullian, Exhort. ad Castit. c. 7. As the human heart is still the same, several of the observations which Mr. Hume has made on enthusiasm (Essays, vol. i. p. 75 quarto edit.) are here applicable.

115. *Acta Concil. Carth.* This council was composed of Mauritania, Numidia, &c. of assisted at the assembly, *presente plebs maxima* p. 10.

116. *Aguntur presbyteri per universas ecclesias, ut in locis suis se habeant, & in synodis conveniant.* See the original in the *Constitutiones* of the Council of Nicaea.

117. Cyprian, in his admirable treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, p. 75-86.

118. We may appeal to the whole tenour of Cyprian's conduct, of his doctrine, and of his Epistles. Let us, in a short life of Cyprian, (*Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. xxi. p. 207-278.) has laid him open with great freedom and accuracy.

119. *Idem* Novatus, Felissimus, &c. whom the Bishop of Carthage expelled from his church, and from Africa, were not the most detestable monsters of a false piety, the zeal of Cyprian must occasionally have prevailed over his veracity. For a very just account of these obscure persons, see Mr. Jurin, 1757-1762.

120. Meadeau, p. 263-274. Jurin, *Antique Eccles. Disciplinæ* p. 127-20.

the most pompous terms, the temporal honours and advantages of the city over which he presided; the numbers and opulence of the Christians, who were subject to their pastoral care; the saints and martyrs who had arisen among them, and the purity with which they preserved the tradition of the faith, as it had been transmitted through a series of orthodox bishops from the apostle or the apostolic disciple, to whom the foundation of their church was ascribed.<sup>121</sup> From every cause either of a civil or of an ecclesiastical nature, it was easy to foresee that Rome must enjoy the respect, and would soon claim the obedience, of the provinces. The

*Ambition of the Roman pontiff.*

society of the faithful bore a just proportion to the capital of the empire; and the Roman church was the greatest, the most numerous, and, in regard to the West, the most ancient of all the Christian establishments, many of which had received their religion from the pious labours of her missionaries. Instead of one apostolic founder, the utmost boast of Antioch, of Ephesus, or of Corinth, the banks of the Tyber were supposed to have been honoured with the preaching and martyrdom of the two most eminent among the apostles;<sup>122</sup> and the bishops of Rome very prudently claimed the inheritance of whatsoever prerogatives were attributed either to the person or to the office of St. Peter.<sup>123</sup> The bishops of Italy and of the provinces were disposed to allow them a primacy of order and association (such was their very accurate expression) in the Christian aristocracy.<sup>124</sup> But the power of a monarch was rejected with abhorrence, and the aspiring genius of Rome experienced from the nations of Asia and Africa, a more vigorous resistance to her spiritual, than she had formerly done to her temporal, dominion. The patriotic Cyprian, who ruled with the most absolute sway the church of Carthage and the provincial synods, opposed with resolution and success the ambition of the Roman pontiff, artfully connected his own cause with that of the eastern bishops, and, like Hannibal, sought out new allies in the heart of Asia.<sup>125</sup> If this Punic war was carried on without any effusion of blood, it was owing much less to the moderation than to the weakness of the contending prelates. Insectives and excommunications were their only weapons; and these, during the progress of the whole controversy, they hurled against each other with equal fury and devotion. The hard necessity of censuring either a pope, or a saint and martyr, distresses the modern Catholics, wherever they are obliged to relate the particulars of a dispute, in which the champions of religion indulged such

passions as seem much more adapted to the senate or to the camp.<sup>126</sup>

The progress of the ecclesiastical authority gave birth to the memorable distinction of the laity and of the clergy, which had been unknown to the Greeks and Romans.<sup>127</sup> The former of these appellations comprehended the body of the Christian people; the latter, according to the signification of the word, was appropriated to the chosen portion that had been set apart for the service of religion; a celebrated order of men which has furnished the most important, though not always the most edifying, subjects for modern history. Their mutual hostilities sometimes disturbed the peace of the infant church, but their zeal and activity were united in the common cause, and the love of power, which (under the most artful disguises) could insinuate itself into the breasts of bishops and martyrs, animated them to increase the number of their subjects, and to enlarge the limits of the Christian empire. They were destitute of any temporal force, and they were for a long time discouraged and oppressed, rather than assisted, by the civil magistrate; but they had acquired, and they employed within their own society, the two most efficacious instruments of government, rewards and punishments; the former derived from the pious liberality, the latter from the devout apprehensions, of the faithful.

I. The community of goods, which had so agreeably amused the imagination of Plato,<sup>128</sup> and which subsisted in some degree among the austere sect of the Essenians,<sup>129</sup> was adopted for a short time in the primitive church. The fervour of the first proselytes prompted them to sell those worldly possessions, which they despised, to lay the price of them at the feet of the apostles, and to content themselves with receiving an equal share out of the general distribution.<sup>130</sup> The progress of the Christian religion relaxed, and gradually abolished this generous institution, which, in hands less pure than those of the apostles, would too soon have been corrupted and abused by the returning selfishness of human nature; and the converts who embraced the new religion were permitted to retain the possession of their patrimony, to receive legacies and inheritances, and to increase their separate property by all the lawful means of trade and industry. Instead of an absolute sacrifice, a moderate proportion was accepted by the ministers of the gospel; and in their weekly or monthly assemblies, every believer, according to the exigency of the occasion, and the measure of

*Obiations and revenue of the church.*

<sup>121</sup> Tertullian, in a distinct treatise, has pleaded against the necessity, the right of property, and the right of inheritance.

<sup>122</sup> The journey of St. Peter to Rome is mentioned by several ancient writers as a fact, and is supported by the discovery of his tomb in the Vatican. It is also mentioned by the Protestants, as a proof of the antiquity of the Roman church, but has been very lately attacked by Spelman in his *Annotations* (vol. 1. p. 107). According to Father Harduin, the tomb of the apostle was discovered in the year 1456.

<sup>123</sup> The famous Eusebius first distinguished the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, as the most important, and the most ancient, in the Christian church.

<sup>124</sup> In the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, it is said that the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, were the most important, and the most ancient, in the Christian church.

<sup>125</sup> See the *History of the Christian Church*, by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, to which is added the *History of the Christian Church*, by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea.

<sup>126</sup> See the *History of the Christian Church*, by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, to which is added the *History of the Christian Church*, by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea.

<sup>127</sup> See the *History of the Christian Church*, by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, to which is added the *History of the Christian Church*, by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea.

<sup>128</sup> See the *History of the Christian Church*, by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, to which is added the *History of the Christian Church*, by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea.

<sup>129</sup> See the *History of the Christian Church*, by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, to which is added the *History of the Christian Church*, by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea.

his wealth and piety, presented his voluntary offering for the use of the common fund.<sup>131</sup> Nothing, however inconsiderable, was refused; but it was diligently inculcated, that, in the article of tithes, the Mosaic law was still of divine obligation; and that since the Jews, under a less perfect discipline, had been commanded to pay a tenth part of all that they possessed, it would become the disciples of Christ to distinguish themselves by a superior degree of liberality,<sup>132</sup> and to acquire some merit by resigning a superfluous treasure, which must so soon be annihilated with the world itself.<sup>133</sup> It is almost unnecessary to observe, that the revenue of each particular church, which was of so uncertain and fluctuating a nature, must have varied with the poverty or the opulence of the faithful, as they were dispersed in obscure villages, or collected in the great cities of the empire. In the time of the emperor Decius, it was the opinion of the magistrates, that the Christians of Rome were possessed of very considerable wealth; that vessels of gold and silver were used in their religious worship, and that many among their proselytes had sold their lands and houses to increase the public riches of the sect, at the expence, indeed, of their unfortunate children, who found themselves beggars, because their parents had been saints.<sup>134</sup> We should listen with distrust to the suspicions of strangers and enemies: on this occasion, however, they receive a very specious and probable colour from the two following circumstances, the only ones that have reached our knowledge, which define any precise sums, or convey any distinct idea. Almost at the same period, the bishop of Carthage, from a society less opulent than that of Rome, collected an hundred thousand sesterces (above eight hundred and fifty pounds sterling), on a sudden call of charity to redeem the brethren of Numidia, who had been carried away captives by the barbarians of the desert.<sup>135</sup> About an hundred years before the reign of Decius, the Roman church had received, in a single donation, the sum of two hundred thousand sesterces from a stranger of Pontus, who proposed to fix his residence in the capital.<sup>136</sup> These oblations, for the most part, were made in money; nor was the society of Christians either desirous or capable of acquiring, to any considerable degree, the incumbrance of landed property. It had been provided by several laws, which were enacted with the same design as our statutes of mortmain, that no real estates should be given or bequeathed to any corporate body, without

either a special privilege or a particular dispensation from the emperor or from the senate;<sup>137</sup> who were seldom disposed to grant them in favour of a sect, at first the object of their contempt, and at last of their fears and jealousy. A transaction however is related under the reign of Alexander Severus, which discovers that the restraint was sometimes eluded or suspended, and that the Christians were permitted to claim and to possess lands within the limits of Rome itself.<sup>138</sup> The progress of Christianity, and the civil confusion of the empire, contributed to relax the severity of the laws, and before the close of the third century many considerable estates were bestowed on the opulent churches of Rome, Milan, Carthage, Antioch, Alexandria, and the other great cities of Italy and the provinces.

The bishop was the natural steward of the church; the public stock was intrusted to his care without account or control; the presbyters were confined to their spiritual functions, and the more dependent order of deacons was solely employed in the management and distribution of the ecclesiastical revenue.<sup>139</sup> If we may give credit to the vehement declamations of Cyprian, there were too many among his African brethren, who, in the execution of their charge, violated every precept, not only of evangelic perfection, but even of moral virtue. By some of these unfaithful stewards the riches of the church were lavished in sensual pleasures, by others they were perverted to the purposes of private gain, of fraudulent purchases, and of rapacious usury.<sup>140</sup> But as long as the contributions of the Christian people were free and unconstrained, the abuse of their confidence could not be very frequent, and the general uses to which their liberality was applied, reflected honour on the religious society. A decent portion was reserved for the maintenance of the bishop and his clergy; a sufficient sum was allotted for the expenses of the public worship, of which the feasts of love, the *agapes*, as they were called, constituted a very pleasing part. The whole remainder was the sacred patrimony of the poor. According to the discretion of the bishop, it was distributed to support widows and orphans, the lame, the sick, and the aged of the community; to comfort strangers and pilgrims, and to alleviate the misfortunes of prisoners and captives, more especially when their sufferings had been occasioned by their firm attachment to the cause of religion.<sup>141</sup> A generous intercourse of charity united the most

Distribution of the revenue.

131 Justin Martyr, *Apolog. Major.* c. 59. Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 59. Irenæus, *lib. 1.* c. 27. 31. Origen in *Num. Hom.* 1. Cyprian de *Univ. Eccl.* c. 10. *De orat.* c. 1. c. 59, 55 with the notes of Gualterius. The constitution which defines the mode of precept, by declaring that priests are to march alone, is the only one above all, and wool. On this interesting subject, consult Prud'au's *History of Priests*, and Fra Paolo del *Matine Benedicane*, two writers of a very different character.

132 The same opinion which prevailed about the seventh and eighth centuries, is productive of the same effect. Most of the *de* *re* *vest.* *pos.* the *re* *mon.* *et* *appropriatione* *bonorum* *line.* See Mosheim's *General History of the Church*, vol. 1. p. 147.

134 Tum summi a curia est fratribus  
(It' sermo non est q'q' x)  
Officio, fundis, vultis  
Sectatorum in his  
Addicta aorum pravia  
Facili sub tunc tueri  
Sic esset ex his res cunctis  
Sane i regens parentibus  
Hic occulatur aliam  
Ecclesiam in angulis

Et summa pietas creditur  
Nudare dignis libens.

Prædict. *regis* *apostol.* *Hom.* *mn.* 2.

The subsequent conduct of the deacon Laurence who proves how proper a use was made of the wealth of the Roman church; it was undoubtedly very considerable; but Fra Paolo (c. 5) appears to exaggerate, when he supposes, that the officers of Commodus were urged to persecute the Christians by their own avarice, or that of their pretors in priors.

135 Cyprian, *Epistol.* 62.

136 Tertullian de *Præscriptione*, c. 50.

137 Theodosian gave a rescript, which is only a declaration of the old law, *ut obsequium a multis specialibus privilegiis substatum sit, hinc ad item capere non possit, dubium non est.* Fra Paolo (c. 4.) thinks that these regulations had been much neglected since the reign of Valerian.

138 Hist. August. p. 151. The ground had been public, and was now the property of the church, and was given to the church.

139 The ground had been public, and was now the property of the church, and was given to the church. confirmed

distant provinces, and the smaller congregations were cheerfully assisted by the alms of their more opulent brethren.<sup>142</sup> Such an institution, which paid less regard to the merit than to the distress of the object, very materially conduced to the progress of Christianity. The Pagans, who were atuated by a sense of humanity, while they derided the doctrines, acknowledged the benevolence, of the new sect.<sup>143</sup> The prospect of immediate relief and of future protection allured into its hospitable bosom many of those unhappy persons whom the neglect of the world would have abandoned to the miseries of want, of sickness, and of old age. There is some reason likewise to believe, that great numbers of infants, who, according to the inhuman practice of the times, had been exposed by their parents, were frequently rescued from death, baptised, educated, and maintained by the piety of the Christians, and at the expense of the public treasure.<sup>144</sup>

**Excommunication.** II. It is the undoubted right of every society to exclude from its communion and benefits such among its members as reject or violate those regulations which have been established by general consent. In the exercise of this power, the censures of the Christian church were chiefly directed against scandalous sinners, and particularly those who were guilty of murder, of fraud, or of incontinence; against the authors, or the followers of any heretical opinions which had been condemned by the judgment of the episcopal order; and against those unhappy persons, who, whether from choice or from compulsion, had polluted themselves after their baptism by any act of idolatrous worship. The consequences of excommunication were of a temporal as well as a spiritual nature. The Christian against whom it was pronounced, was deprived of any part in the oblations of the Eucharist. The ties both of religious and of private friendship were dissolved: he found himself a profane object of abhorrence to the persons whom he the most esteemed, or by whom he had been the most tenderly beloved; and as far as an expulsion from a respectable society could imprint on his character a mark of disgrace, he was shunned or suspected by the generality of mankind. The situation of these unfortunate exiles was in itself very painful and melancholy; but, as it usually happens, their apprehensions far exceeded their sufferings. The benefits of the Christian communion were those of eternal life, nor could they erase from their minds the awful opinion, that to those ecclesiastical governors by whom they were condemned, the Deity had committed the keys of Hell and of Paradise. The heretics, indeed, who might be supported by the consciousness of their intentions, and by the flattering hope that they alone had discovered the true path of salvation, endeavoured to regain, in their

separate assemblies, those comforts, temporal as well as spiritual, which they no longer derived from the great society of Christians. But almost all those who had reluctantly yielded to the power of vice or idolatry, were sensible of their fallen condition, and anxiously desirous of being restored to the benefits of the Christian communion.

With regard to the treatment of these penitents, two opposite opinions, the one of justice, the other of mercy, divided the primitive church. The more rigid and inflexible casuists refused them for ever, and without exception, the meanest place in the holy community, which they had disgraced or deserted, and leaving them to the remorse of a guilty conscience, indulged them only with a faint ray of hope, that the contrition of their life and death might possibly be accepted by the Supreme Being.<sup>145</sup> A milder sentiment was embraced in practice as well as in theory, by the purest and most respectable of the Christian churches.<sup>146</sup> The gates of reconciliation and of Heaven were seldom shut against the returning penitent; but a severe and solemn form of discipline was instituted, which, while it served to expiate his crime, might powerfully deter the spectators from the imitation of his example. Humbled by a public confession, emaciated by fasting, and clothed in sackcloth, the penitent lay prostrate at the door of the assembly, imploring with tears the pardon of his offences, and soliciting the prayers of the faithful.<sup>147</sup> If the fault was of a very heinous nature, whole years of penance were esteemed an inadequate satisfaction to the Divine justice; and it was always by slow and painful gradations that the sinner, the heretic, or the apostate, was readmitted into the bosom of the church. A sentence of perpetual excommunication, was, however, reserved for some crimes of an extraordinary magnitude, and particularly for the inexcusable relapses of those penitents who had already experienced and abused the clemency of their ecclesiastical superiors. According to the circumstances or the number of the guilty, the exercise of the Christian discipline was varied by the discretion of the bishops. The councils of Ancyra and Illiberis were held about the same time, the one in Galatia, the other in Spain; but their respective canons, which are still extant, seem to breathe a very different spirit. The Galatian, who after his baptism had repeatedly sacrificed to idols, might obtain his pardon by a penance of seven years, and if he had seduced others to imitate his example, only three years more were added to the term of his exile. But the unhappy Spaniard, who had committed the same offence, was deprived of the hope of reconciliation, even in the article of death; and his idolatry was placed at the head of a list of seventeen other crimes, against which a sentence no less terrible was pronounced. Among those

<sup>142</sup> The wealth and liberality of the Romans, in the most distant provinces, is gratefully celebrated by Dionysius of Corinth, ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. 23.

<sup>143</sup> See Lucian in *Proserpine*. *Lucian* is a little severe upon it, that the Christian church sustains not only their own, but also the miseries of the heathen poor.

<sup>144</sup> Such, at least, has been the laudable conduct of more tender missionaries, under the same circumstances. At present thousands of new-born infants are annually exposed in the streets of Spain. See

*Le Comte*, Mémoires sur le Clere, and the *Bisberches* sur les Chrétiens de l'Espagne, tom. i. p. 101.

<sup>145</sup> The more moderate and the Nicæans, who adhered to the more lenient discipline, admitted the penitents to communion, as soon as they had been purified by their fasts and other penitential exercises. See the *canons* and a *canon* of the Nicæan Synod, lib. vi. c. 10.

<sup>146</sup> The *canons* of the Council of Nice, lib. vi. c. 10.

<sup>147</sup> *Canons* of the Council of Nice, lib. vi. c. 10. The duration of compulsory regret the *canons* of the Council of Nice, lib. vi. c. 10.



we may distinguish the inexpiable guilt of calumniating a bishop, a presbyter, or even a deacon.<sup>148</sup>

The dignity of  
episcopal  
government.

The well-tempered mixture of liberality and rigour, the judicious dispensation of rewards and punishments, according to the maxims of policy as well as justice, constituted the *human* strength of the church. The bishops, whose paternal care extended itself to the government of both worlds, were sensible of the importance of these prerogatives, and covering their ambition with the fair pretence of the love of order, they were jealous of any rival in the exercise of a discipline so necessary to prevent the desertion of those troops which had enlisted themselves under the banner of the cross, and whose numbers every day became more considerable. From the imperious declamations of Cyprian, we should naturally conclude, that the doctrines of excommunication and penance formed the most essential part of religion; and that it was much less dangerous for the disciples of Christ to neglect the observance of the moral duties, than to despise the censures and authority of their bishops. Sometimes we might imagine that we were listening to the voice of Moses, when he commanded the earth to open, and to swallow up, in consuming flames, the rebellious race which refused obedience to the priesthood of Aaron; and we should sometimes suppose that we heard a Roman consul asserting the majesty of the republic, and declaring his inflexible resolution to enforce the rigour of the laws. "If such irregularities are suffered with impunity (it is thus that the bishop of Carthage chides the lenity of his colleague), if such irregularities are suffered, there is an end of EPISCOPAL VIGOUR; <sup>149</sup> an end of the sublime and divine power of governing the church, an end of Christianity itself." Cyprian had renounced those temporal honours, which it is probable he would never have obtained; but the acquisition of such absolute command over the consciences and understanding of a congregation, however obscure or despised by the world, is more truly grateful to the pride of the human heart, than the possession of the most despotic power, imposed by arms and conquest on a reluctant people.

Recapitulation of  
the five causes.

In the course of this important, though perhaps tedious, enquiry, I have attempted to display the secondary causes which so efficaciously assisted the truth of the Christian religion. If among these causes we have discovered any artificial ornaments, any accidental circumstances, or any mixture of error and passion, it cannot appear surprising that mankind should be the most sensibly affected by such motives as were suited to their imperfect nature. It was by the aid of these causes, exclusive zeal, the immediate expectation of another world, the claim of miracles, the practice of rigid virtue, and the constitution of the primitive

church, that Christianity spread itself with so much success in the Roman empire. To the first of these the Christians were indebted for their invincible valour, which disdained to capitulate with the enemy whom they were resolved to vanquish. The three succeeding causes supplied their valour with the most formidable arms. The last of these causes united their courage, directed their arms, and gave their efforts that irresistible weight, which even a small band of well-trained and intrepid volunteers has so often possessed over an undisciplined multitude, ignorant of the subject, and careless of the event of the war. In the various religions Weakness of polytheism. of polytheism, some wandering fanatics of Egypt and Syria, who addressed themselves to the credulous superstition of the populace, were perhaps the only order of priests <sup>150</sup> that derived their whole support and credit from their sacerdotal profession, and were very deeply affected by a personal concern for the safety or prosperity of their tutelar deities. The ministers of polytheism, both in Rome and in the provinces, were for the most part men of a noble birth and of an affluent fortune, who received, as an honourable distinction, the care of a celebrated temple, or of a public sacrifice, exhibited, very frequently at their own expense, the sacred games;<sup>151</sup> and with cold indifference performed the ancient rites, according to the laws and fashion of their country. As they were engaged in the ordinary occupations of life, their zeal and devotion were seldom animated by a sense of interest, or by the habits of an ecclesiastical character. Confined to their respective temples and cities, they remained without any connection of discipline or government; and whilst they acknowledged the supreme jurisdiction of the senate, of the college of pontiffs, and of the emperor, those civil magistrates contented themselves with the easy task of maintaining in peace and dignity, the general worship of mankind. We have already seen how various, how loose, and how uncertain, were the religious sentiments of Polytheists. They were abandoned, almost without control, to the natural workings of a superstitious fancy. The accidental circumstances of their life and situation determined the object as well as the degree of their devotion; and as long as their adoration was successively prostituted to a thousand deities, it was scarcely possible that their hearts could be susceptible of a very sincere or lively passion for any of them.

When Christianity appeared in the world, even these faint and imperfect impressions had lost much of their original power.

Human reason, which by its unassisted strength is incapable of perceiving the mysteries of faith, had already obtained an easy triumph over the folly of Paganism; and when Tertullian or Lactantius employ their labours in

The scepticism  
of the Pagan  
world proved fa-  
vourable to the  
new religion.

<sup>148</sup> See in Dupin, *Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, tom. ii. p. 501. 515, a short but rational exposition of the canons of those councils, which, after the apostolic age, were the only ones which had any authority, and which, in some measure, regulated the discipline of the church.

<sup>149</sup> See in Dupin, *ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> The acts, the manners, and the vice of the priests of the system

of the gods, are very humorously described by Apuleius, in the eighth book of his *Metamorphoses*.

<sup>151</sup> The office of Asagath was of this nature, and is frequently mentioned in *Avianus*, the *Inscriptions*, &c. It was a man and a woman. Some but the emperor, or some could desire the honor of one, but the emperor could not desire the honor of one. See in the *Paras* of Apuleius, p. 100, with how much indifference Philip the Achaean emperor bore in the institution of Paganism. There was likewise a *Bithynian* emperor, &c.

exposing its falsehood and extravagance, they are obliged to transcribe the eloquence of Cicero or the wit of Lucian. The contagion of these sceptical writings had been diffused far beyond the number of their readers. The fashion of incredulity was communicated from the philosopher to the man of pleasure or business, from the noble to the plebeian, and from the master to the menial slave who waited at his table, and who eagerly listened to the freedom of his conversation. On public occasions the philosophic part of mankind affected to treat with respect and decency the religious institutions of their country; but their secret contempt penetrated through the thin and awkward disguise; and even the people, when they discovered that their deities were rejected and derided by those whose rank or understanding they were accustomed to reverence, were filled with doubts and apprehensions concerning the truth of those doctrines to which they had yielded the most implicit belief. The decline of ancient prejudice exposed a very numerous portion of human kind to the danger of a painful and comfortless situation. A state of scepticism and suspense may amuse a few inquisitive minds; but the practice of superstition is so congenial to the multitude, that if they are forcibly awakened, they still regret the loss of their pleasing vision. Their love of the marvellous and supernatural, their curiosity with regard to future events, and their strong propensity to extend their hopes and fears beyond the limits of the visible world, were the principal causes which favoured the establishment of polytheism. So urgent on the vulgar is the necessity of believing, that the fall of any system of mythology will most probably be succeeded by the introduction of some other mode of superstition. Some deities of a more recent and fashionable cast might soon have occupied the deserted temples of Jupiter and Apollo, if, in the decisive moment, the wisdom of Providence had not interposed a genuine revelation, fitted to inspire the most rational esteem and conviction, whilst at the same time it was adorned with all that could attract the curiosity, the wonder, and the veneration of the people. In their actual disposition, as many were almost disengaged from their artificial prejudices, but equally susceptible and desirous of a devout attachment, an object much less deserving would have been sufficient to fill the vacant place in their hearts, and to gratify the uncertain eagerness of their passions. Those who are inclined to pursue this reflection, instead of viewing with astonishment the rapid progress of Christianity, will perhaps be surprised that its success was not still more rapid and still more universal.

as well as the  
peace and union  
of the Roman  
empire.

It has been observed, with truth as well as propriety, that the conquests of Rome prepared and facilitated those of Christianity. In the second chapter of this work we have attempted to explain in what manner the most civilised provinces of Europe,

Asia, and Africa, were united under the dominion of one sovereign, and gradually connected by the most intimate ties of laws, of manners, and of language. The Jews of Palestine, who had fondly expected a temporal deliverer, gave so cold a reception to the miracles of the divine prophet, that it was found unnecessary to publish, or at least to preserve, any Hebrew gospel.<sup>152</sup> The authentic histories of the actions of Christ were composed in the Greek language, at a considerable distance from Jerusalem, and after the Gentile converts were grown extremely numerous.<sup>153</sup> As soon as those histories were translated into the Latin tongue, they were perfectly intelligible to all the subjects of Rome, excepting only to the peasants of Syria and Egypt, for whose benefit particular versions were afterwards made. The public highways, which had been constructed for the use of the legions, opened an easy passage for the Christian missionaries from Damascus to Corinth, and from Italy to the extremity of Spain or Britain; nor did those spiritual conquerors encounter any of the obstacles which usually retard or prevent the introduction of a foreign religion into a distant country. There is the strongest reason to believe, that before the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, the faith of Christ had been preached in every province, and in all the great cities of the empire; but the foundation of the several congregations, the numbers of the faithful who composed them, and their proportion to the unbelieving multitude, are now buried in obscurity, or disguised by fiction and declamation. Such imperfect circumstances, however, as have reached our knowledge concerning the increase of the Christian name in Asia and Greece, in Egypt, in Italy, and in the West, we shall now proceed to relate, without neglecting the real or imaginary acquisitions which lay beyond the frontiers of the Roman empire.

Historical view  
of the progress  
of Christianity.

The rich provinces that extend from the Euphrates to the Ionian Sea were the principal theatre on which the apostle of the Gentiles displayed his zeal and piety. The seeds of the gospel, which he had scattered in a fertile soil, were diligently cultivated by his disciples; and it should seem that, during the two first centuries, the most considerable body of Christians was contained within those limits. Among the societies which were instituted in Syria, none were more ancient or more illustrious than those of Damascus, of Berea or Aleppo, and of Antioch. The prophetic introduction of the Apocalypse has described and immortalised the seven churches of Asia; Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardes, Laodicea, and Philadelphia; and their colonies were soon diffused over that populous country. In a very early period, the islands of Cyprus and Crete, the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia, gave a favourable reception to the new religion; and Christian republics were soon

In the East.

ad Nov. Testament. and Dr. Lardner's fair and extensive collection, vol. vi.

152 The Alogus (Ephraïm de Haris) who disputed the genuineness of the Apocalypse, said that the church of Ephesus was not yet founded. Epiphanius, who flourished first, extracts his account from the author's testimony, and says, that St. John wrote in the spirit of prophecy. See Abailard, Discours sur l'Apocalypse.

153 The modern critics are not disposed to be true what the Fathers say almost unanimously assert, that St. Matthew composed a Hebrew gospel, of which only the Greek translation is extant. It seems, however, not dangerous to reject their testimony.

154 Under the reigns of Nero and Domitian, and in the cities of Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, and Ephesus. See Mull. Prolegomena

founded in the cities of Corinth, of Sparta, and of Athens.<sup>155</sup> The antiquity of the Greek and Asiatic churches allowed a sufficient space of time for their increase and multiplication, and even the swarms of Gnostics and other heretics serve to display the flourishing condition of the orthodox church, since the appellation of heretics has always been applied to the less numerous party. To these domestic testimonies we may add the confession, the complaints, and the apprehensions of the Gentiles themselves. From the writings of Lucian, a philosopher who had studied mankind, and who describes their manners in the most lively colours, we may learn, that, under the reign of Commodus, his native country of Pontus was filled with Epicureans and Christians.<sup>156</sup> Within four-score years after the death of Christ,<sup>157</sup> the humane Pliny laments the magnitude of the evil which he vainly attempted to eradicate. In his very curious epistle to the emperor Trajan, he affirms, that the temples were almost deserted; that the sacred victims scarcely found any purchasers; and that the superstition had not only infected the cities, but had even spread itself into the villages and the open country of Pontus and Bithynia.<sup>158</sup>

The church of Antioch. Without descending into a minute scrutiny of the expressions, or of the motives of those writers who either celebrate or lament the progress of Christianity in the East, it may in general be observed, that none of them have left us any grounds from whence a just estimate might be formed of the real numbers of the faithful in those provinces. One circumstance, however, has been fortunately preserved, which seems to cast a more distinct light on this obscure but interesting subject. Under the reign of Theodosius, after Christianity had enjoyed, during more than sixty years, the sunshine of Imperial favour, the ancient and illustrious church of Antioch consisted of one hundred thousand persons, three thousand of whom were supported out of the public oblations.<sup>159</sup> The splendour and dignity of the queen of the East, the acknowledged populousness of Casarea, Seleucia, and Alexandria, and the destruction of two hundred and fifty thousand souls in the earthquake which afflicted Antioch under the elder Justin,<sup>160</sup> are so many convincing proofs that the whole number of its inhabitants was not less than half a million, and that the Christians, however multiplied by zeal and power, did not exceed a fifth part of that great city. How different a proportion must we adopt when we compare the persecuted with the triumphant church, the West with the East, remote villages with populous towns, and countries recently converted to the faith, with the place where the

believers first received the appellation of Christians! It must not, however, be dissembled, that in another passage, Chrysostom, to whom we are indebted for this useful information, computes the multitude of the faithful as even superior to that of the Jews and Pagans.<sup>161</sup> But the solution of this apparent difficulty is easy and obvious. The eloquent preacher draws a parallel between the civil and the ecclesiastical constitution of Antioch; between the list of Christians who had acquired heaven by baptism, and the list of citizens who had a right to share the public liberality. Slaves, strangers, and infants were comprised in the former; they were excluded from the latter.

The extensive commerce of Alexandria, and its proximity to Palestine, In Egypt. gave an easy entrance to the new religion. It was at first embraced by great numbers of the Therapeutæ, or Essenians, of the lake Mareotis, a Jewish sect which had abated much of its reverence for the Mosæic ceremonies. The austere life of the Essenians, their fasts and excommunications, the community of goods, the love of celibacy, their zeal for martyrdom, and the warmth, though not the purity, of their faith, already offered a very lively image of the primitive discipline.<sup>162</sup> It was in the school of Alexandria that the Christian theology appears to have assumed a regular and scientific form; and when Hadrian visited Egypt, he found a church composed of Jews and of Greeks, sufficiently important to attract the notice of that inquisitive prince.<sup>163</sup> But the progress of Christianity was for a long time confined within the limits of a single city, which was itself a foreign colony; and till the close of the second century the predecessors of Demetrius were the only prelates of the Egyptian church. Three bishops were consecrated by the hands of Demetrius, and the number was increased to twenty by his successor Heraclas.<sup>164</sup> The body of the natives, a people distinguished by a sullen inflexibility of temper,<sup>165</sup> entertained the new doctrine with coldness and reluctance; and even in the time of Origen, it was rare to meet with an Egyptian who had surmounted his early prejudices in favour of the sacred animals of his country.<sup>166</sup> As soon, indeed, as Christianity ascended the throne, the zeal of those barbarians obeyed the prevailing impulsion; the cities of Egypt were filled with bishops, and the deserts of Thebais swarmed with hermits.

A perpetual stream of strangers and provincials flowed into the capacious bosom of Rome. Whatever was strange or odious, whoever was guilty or suspected, might hope, in the obscurity of that immense

<sup>155</sup> The epistles of Irenæus and Dionysius (ap. Euseb. iv. 25.) point out many churches.

<sup>157</sup> The church of Antioch. Without descending into a minute scrutiny of the expressions, or of the motives of those writers who either celebrate or lament the progress of Christianity in the East, it may in general be observed, that none of them have left us any grounds from whence a just estimate might be formed of the real numbers of the faithful in those provinces.

<sup>159</sup> Plin. Epist. x. 97. The church of Antioch. Without descending into a minute scrutiny of the expressions, or of the motives of those writers who either celebrate or lament the progress of Christianity in the East, it may in general be observed, that none of them have left us any grounds from whence a just estimate might be formed of the real numbers of the faithful in those provinces.

<sup>160</sup> Justin Martyr, 1. 1. He draws the same conclusion from the earthquake which afflicted Antioch under the elder Justin.

<sup>161</sup> Chrysostom, Opera, tom. vii. p. 678, 810. The church of Antioch. Without descending into a minute scrutiny of the expressions, or of the motives of those writers who either celebrate or lament the progress of Christianity in the East, it may in general be observed, that none of them have left us any grounds from whence a just estimate might be formed of the real numbers of the faithful in those provinces.

<sup>162</sup> Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, l. 2. c. 20, 21, 22, 23, has examined, with the most critical accuracy, the curious treatise of Philo, which describes the Therapeutæ. By proving that it was composed as early as the time of Augustus, Basnage has demonstrated, in spite of Eusebius (l. ii. c. 17), and a crowd of modern catholics, that the Therapeutæ were neither Christians nor monks. It still remains probable that they changed their name, preserved their manners, adopted some new articles of faith, and gradually became the fathers of the Egyptian Ascetics.

<sup>163</sup> See a letter of Hadrian, in the Augustan History, p. 215. The church of Antioch. Without descending into a minute scrutiny of the expressions, or of the motives of those writers who either celebrate or lament the progress of Christianity in the East, it may in general be observed, that none of them have left us any grounds from whence a just estimate might be formed of the real numbers of the faithful in those provinces.

<sup>164</sup> For the success of Christianity in Egypt, consult Renouard's History, p. 24, &c. Th. Lactantius (Annal. tom. i. p. 114.) has drawn the same conclusion from the evidence which would alone be sufficient to establish it.

<sup>165</sup> Amman. Marcell. l. 1. c. 10. The church of Antioch. Without descending into a minute scrutiny of the expressions, or of the motives of those writers who either celebrate or lament the progress of Christianity in the East, it may in general be observed, that none of them have left us any grounds from whence a just estimate might be formed of the real numbers of the faithful in those provinces.

<sup>166</sup> Origen contra Celsum, l. 1. p. 10.

capital, to elude the vigilance of the law. In such a various conflux of nations, every teacher, either of truth or of falsehood, every founder, whether of a virtuous or a criminal association, might easily multiply his disciples or accomplices. The Christians of Rome, at the time of the accidental persecution of Nero, are represented by Tacitus as already amounting to a very great multitude,<sup>167</sup> and the language of that great historian is almost similar to the style employed by Livy, when he relates the introduction and the suppression of the rites of Bacchus. After the Bacchanals had awakened the severity of the senate, it was likewise apprehended that a very great multitude, as it were *another people*, had been initiated into those abhorred mysteries. A more careful enquiry soon demonstrated, that the offenders did not exceed seven thousand; a number indeed sufficiently alarming, when considered as the object of public justice.<sup>168</sup> It is with the same candid allowance that we should interpret the vague expressions of Tacitus, and in a former instance of Pliny, when they exaggerate the crowds of deluded fanatics who had forsaken the established worship of the gods. The church of Rome was undoubtedly the first and most populous of the empire; and we are possessed of an authentic record which attests the state of religion in that city about the middle of the third century, and after a peace of thirty-eight years. The clergy, at that time, consisted of a bishop, forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, as many sub-deacons, forty-two acolythes, and fifty readers, exorcists, and porters. The number of widows, of the infirm, and of the poor, who were maintained by the oblations of the faithful, amounted to fifteen hundred.<sup>169</sup> From reason, as well as from the analogy of Antioch, we may venture to estimate the Christians of Rome at about fifty thousand. The populousness of that great capital cannot perhaps be exactly ascertained; but the most modest calculation will not surely reduce it lower than a million of inhabitants, of whom the Christians might constitute at the most a twentieth part.<sup>170</sup>

The western provincials appeared to have derived the knowledge of Christianity from the same source which had diffused among them the language, the sentiments, and the manners of Rome. In this more important circumstance, Africa, as well as Gaul, was gradually fashioned to the imitation of the capital. Yet notwithstanding the many favourable occasions which might invite the Roman missionaries to visit the Latin provinces, it was late before they passed either the sea or the Alps;<sup>171</sup> nor can we discover in

those great countries any assured traces either of faith or of persecution that ascend higher than the reign of the Antonines.<sup>172</sup> The slow progress of the gospel in the cold climate of Gaul, was extremely different from the eagerness with which it seems to have been received on the burning sands of Africa. The African Christians soon formed one of the principal members of the primitive church. The practice introduced into that province, of appointing bishops to the most inconsiderable towns, and very frequently to the most obscure villages, contributed to multiply the splendour and importance of their religious societies, which during the course of the third century were animated by the zeal of Tertullian, directed by the abilities of Cyprian, and adorned by the eloquence of Lactantius. But if, on the contrary, we turn our eyes towards Gaul, we must content ourselves with discovering, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, the feeble and united congregations of Lyons and Vienna; and even as late as the reign of Decius, we are assured, that in a few cities only, Arles, Narbonne, Thoulouse, Limoges, Clermont, Tours, and Paris, some scattered churches were supported by the devotion of a small number of Christians.<sup>173</sup> Silence is indeed very consistent with devotion, but as it is seldom compatible with zeal, we may perceive and lament the languid state of Christianity in those provinces which had exchanged the Celtic for the Latin tongue; since they did not, during the three first centuries, give birth to a single ecclesiastical writer. From Gaul, which claimed a just pre-eminence of learning and authority over all the countries on this side of the Alps, the light of the gospel was more faintly reflected on the remote provinces of Spain and Britain; and if we may credit the vehement assertions of Tertullian, they had already received the first rays of the faith, when he addressed his apology to the magistrates of the emperor Severus.<sup>174</sup> But the obscure and imperfect origin of the western churches of Europe has been so negligently recorded, that if we would relate the time and manner of their foundation, we must supply the silence of antiquity by those legends which avarice or superstition long afterwards dictated to the monks in the lazy gloom of their convents.<sup>175</sup> Of these holy romances, that of the apostle St. James can alone, by its single extravagance, deserve to be mentioned. From a peaceful fisherman of the lake of Genesareth he was transformed into a valorous knight, who charged at the head of the Spanish chivalry in their battles against the Moors. The gravest historians have celebrated his exploits; the miracu-

<sup>167</sup> Ingens multitudo is the expression of Tacitus, *l. c.* 11.

<sup>168</sup> Tac. *l. c.* *l. c.* 17. *l. c.* 17. Nothing can exceed the fear and consternation of the senate in the description of the Bacchanals, whose depravity is described, and perhaps exaggerated, by Tacitus.

<sup>169</sup> Eusebius, *l. c.* 17. The Latin translation of the *l. c.* 17. has brought proper to reduce it to number of presbyters, forty-six.

<sup>170</sup> This proportion of the presbyters and of the poor, in the list of the church, is not to be taken as a precise number, but as a general idea.

<sup>171</sup> They were both in the time of the apostles.

<sup>172</sup> See Eusebius, *l. c.* 17.

<sup>173</sup> According to the

Donatus, whose assertion is confirmed by the fact, a considerable number of Augustin, Africa was the last of the provinces which received the gospel. *Taken out, Mem. Ecclesiast. tom. 1. p. 754.*

<sup>172</sup> Turn premon intra Gallia martyris visa. Sulp. Severus, *l. c.* With regard to Africa, see Tertullian, *de Spectatoribus*, *l. c.* 7. It is imagined that the Syrian martyrs were the first. *Acta Sinerae Ruinart.* *p. 341.* One of the advocates of Aquinas seems to have been a Christian. *Apologie*, *p. 104.* *l. c.* 17. *l. c.* 17.

<sup>173</sup> *Rare in antiquis civitatibus ecclesie, paucorum Christianorum domus, et singulae.* *Acta Sinerae*, *p. 150.* Gregory of Tours, *l. c.* 17.

<sup>174</sup> *Mosheim*, *p. 207.* *l. c.* 17. There is some reason to believe that in the beginning of the fourth century, the eastern provinces of Lyons, Clermont, and Cologne, possessed a single bishop, which had been very recently founded. See *Memories de Lilemont*, *tom. 1.* *p. 17.* *l. c.* 17.

<sup>175</sup> The date of Tertullian's Apology is fixed, in a dissertation of M. de la Motte, *l. c.* 17.

<sup>176</sup> In the twelfth century, there were five or six hundred churches in France, which were afterwards destroyed. *l. c.* 17. *l. c.* 17. The number of churches in France, which were afterwards destroyed, is referred to the number of churches in France, which were afterwards destroyed.

lous shrine of Compostella displayed his power; and the sword of a military order, assisted by the terrors of the Inquisition, was sufficient to remove every objection of profane criticism.<sup>176</sup>

The progress of Christianity was not confined to the Roman empire; and according to the primitive fathers, who interpret facts by prophecy, the new religion, within a century after the death of its Divine author, had already visited every part of the globe. "There exists not," says Justin Martyr, "a people, whether Greek or barbarian, or any other race of men, by whatsoever appellation or manners they may be distinguished, however ignorant of arts or agriculture, whether they dwell under tents, or wander about in covered waggons, among whom prayers are not offered up in the name of a crucified Jesus to the Father and Creator of all things."<sup>177</sup> But this splendid exaggeration, which even at present it would be extremely difficult to reconcile with the real state of mankind, can be considered only as the rash sally of a devout but careless writer, the measure of whose belief was regulated by that of his wishes. But neither the belief, nor the wishes of the fathers, can alter the truth of history. It will still remain an undoubted fact, that the barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who afterwards subverted the Roman monarchy, were involved in the darkness of paganism; and that even the conversion of Iberia, of Armenia, or of Æthiopia, was not attempted with any degree of success till the sceptre was in the hands of an orthodox emperor.<sup>178</sup> Before that time, the various accidents of war and commerce might indeed diffuse an imperfect knowledge of the gospel among the tribes of Caledonia,<sup>179</sup> and among the borderers of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates.<sup>180</sup> Beyond the last-mentioned river, Edessa was distinguished by a firm and early adherence to the faith.<sup>181</sup> From Edessa the principles of Christianity were easily introduced into the Greek and Syrian cities which obeyed the successors of Artaxerxes; but they do not appear to have made any deep impression on the minds of the Persians, whose religious system, by the labours of a well-disciplined order of priests, had been constructed with much more art and solidity than the uncertain mythology of Greece and Rome.<sup>182</sup>

From this impartial though imperfect survey of the progress of Christianity, it may perhaps seem probable, that the number of its proselytes has been excessively magnified by fear on the one side, and by devotion on the other. According

to the irreproachable testimony of Origen,<sup>183</sup> the proportion of the faithful was very inconsiderable, when compared with the multitude of an unbelieving world; but, as we are left without any distinct information, it is impossible to determine, and it is difficult even to conjecture, the real numbers of the primitive Christians. The most favourable calculation, however, that can be deduced from the examples of Antioch and of Rome, will not permit us to imagine that more than a twentieth part of the subjects of the empire had enlisted themselves under the banner of the cross before the important conversion of Constantine. But their habits of faith, of zeal, and of union, seemed to multiply their numbers; and the same causes which contributed to their future increase, served to render their actual strength more apparent and more formidable.

Such is the constitution of civil society, that whilst a few persons are distinguished by riches, by honours, and by knowledge, the body of the people is condemned to obscurity, ignorance, and poverty. The Christian religion, which addressed itself to the whole human race, must consequently collect a far greater number of proselytes from the lower than from the superior ranks of life. This innocent and natural circumstance has been improved into a very odious imputation, which seems to be less strenuously denied by the apologists, than it is urged by the adversaries, of the faith; that the new sect of Christians was almost entirely composed of the dregs of the populace, of peasants and mechanics, of boys and women, of beggars and slaves, the last of whom might sometimes introduce the missionaries into the rich and noble families to which they belonged. These obscure teachers (such was the charge of malice and infidelity) are as mute in public as they are loquacious and dogmatical in private. Whilst they cautiously avoid the dangerous encounter of philosophers, they mingle with the rude and illiterate crowd, and insinuate themselves into those minds, whom their age, their sex, or their education, has the best disposed to receive the impression of superstitious terrors.<sup>184</sup>

This unfavourable picture, though not devoid of a faint resemblance, betrays, by its dark colouring and distorted features, the pencil of an enemy. As the humble faith of Christ diffused itself through the world, it was embraced by several persons who derived some consequence from the advantages of nature or fortune. Aristides, who presented an eloquent apology to the emperor

Whether the first Christians were mean and ignorant.

General proportion of Christians and Pagans.

176 The stupendous metamorphosis was performed in the ninth century. See *Miriana* (Hist. Hispan. l. vii. c. 15. tom. i. p. 295. edit. Hug. Com. 1753), who, in every sense, imitates, lyes, and the honest detection of the legend of St. James by Dr. Geddes, *Miscellanies*, vol. ii. p. 221.

177 Justin Martyr, *Dialog. cum Tryphon.* p. 311. Innocent III. *Harres.* l. i. c. 10. Tertullian, *de Jud.* c. 7. See Moheim, p. 205. 178 See the fourth century of Mosheim's History of the Church. Many, though very, confused circumstances, do relate to the conversion of Iberia and Armenia, may be found in Mosheim of Choren, l. i. c. 78. 29.

away great numbers of captives, some of whom were Christians, and became missionaries. See Filicost, *Memoirs. Ecclesiast.* tom. i. p. 14.

181 The legend of Abgarus, fabulous as it is, affords a decisive proof, that many years before Eusebius wrote his history, the greatest part of the inhabitants of Edessa had embraced Christianity. Their trials, the events of 447, 451, 452, and, on the contrary, to the cause of Paganism, as late as the sixth century.

182 According to Bardenheue (ap. Euseb. *Prepar. Evangel.*) there were some Christians in Persia as early as the second century, c. 134. to Sapor, *Vit. l. iv. c. 134.* ut Beausobre, *Hist. Critique Bibliotheca Orientalis* &c.

Asseman.

183 Origen contra Celsum, l. viii. p. 421.

184 Minucius Felix, c. 5. with Wowerus's notes. *Celsus ap. Origen* l. iii. p. 138. 142. Julian ap. Cyril. l. vi. p. 206. Edit. Spanheim.

H Adrian, was an Athenian philosopher.<sup>155</sup> Justin Martyr had sought divine knowledge in the schools of Zeno, of Aristotle, of Pythagoras, and of Plato, before he fortunately was accosted by the old man, or rather the angel, who turned his attention to the study of the Jewish prophets.<sup>156</sup> Clement of Alexandria had acquired much various reading in the Greek, and Tertullian in the Latin, language. Julius Africanus and Origen possessed a very considerable share of the learning of their times; and although the style of Cyprian is very different from that of Lactantius, we might almost discover that both those writers had been public teachers of rhetoric. Even the study of philosophy was at length introduced among the Christians, but it was not always productive of the most salutary effects; knowledge was as often the parent of heresy as of devotion, and the description which was designed for the followers of Artemon, may, with equal propriety, be applied to the various sects that resisted the successors of the apostles. "They presume to alter the holy scriptures, to abandon the ancient rule of faith, and to form their opinions according to the subtle precepts of logic. The science of the Church is neglected for the study of geometry, and they lose sight of Heaven while they are employed in measuring the earth. Euclid is perpetually in their hands. Aristotle and Theophrastus are the objects of their admiration; and they express an uncommon reverence for the works of Galen. Their errors are derived from the abuse of the arts and sciences of the infidels, and they corrupt the simplicity of the gospel by the refinements of human reason."<sup>157</sup>

Not that it be affirmed with truth, that the advantages of birth and fortune were always separated from the profession of Christianity. Several Roman citizens were brought before the tribunal of Pliny, and he soon discovered, that a great number of persons of every order of men in Bithynia had deserted the religion of their ancestors.<sup>158</sup> His unsuspected testimony may, in this instance, obtain more credit than the bold challenge of Tertullian, when he addresses himself to the fears as well as to the humanity of the proconsul of Africa, by assuring him, that if he persists in his cruel intentions, he must decimate Carthage, and that he will find among the guilty many persons of his own rank, senators and matrons of noblest extraction, and the friends or relations of his most intimate friends.<sup>159</sup> It appears, however, that about forty years afterwards the emperor Valerian was persuaded of the truth of this assertion, since in one of his rescripts he evidently supposes, that senators, Roman knights, and ladies of quality, were engaged in the Christian sect.<sup>160</sup> The church still continued to increase its outward splendour

as it lost its internal purity; and, in the reign of Diocletian, the palace, the courts of justice, and even the army, concealed a multitude of Christians, who endeavoured to reconcile the interests of the present, with those of a future life.

And yet these exceptions are either too few in number, or too recent in time, entirely to remove the imputation of ignorance and obscurity which has been so arrogantly cast on the first proselytes of Christianity. Instead of employing in our defence the fictions of later ages, it will be more prudent to convert the occasion of scandal into a subject of edification. Our serious thoughts will suggest to us, that the apostles themselves were chosen by Providence among the fishermen of Galilee, and that the lower we depress the temporal condition of the first Christians, the more reason we shall find to admire their merit and success. It is incumbent on us diligently to remember, that the kingdom of Heaven was promised to the poor in spirit, and that minds afflicted by calamity and the contempt of mankind, cheerfully listen to the divine promise of future happiness; while, on the contrary, the fortunate are satisfied with the possession of this world; and the wise abuse in doubt and dispute their vain superiority of reason and knowledge.

We stand in need of such reflections to comfort us for the loss of some illustrious characters, which in our eyes might have seemed the most worthy of the heavenly present. The names of Seneca, of the elder and the younger Pany, of Tacitus, of Plutarch, of Galen, of the slave Ipietetus, and of the emperor Meneus Antoninus, whom the age in which they flourished, and exalt the dignity of human nature. They filled with glory their respective stations, either in active or contemplative life; their excellent understandings were improved by study; philosophy had purified their minds from the prejudices of the popular superstition; and their days were spent in the pursuit of truth and the practice of virtue. Yet all these sages (it is no less an object of surprise than of concern) overlooked or rejected the perfection of the Christian system. Their language or their silence equally discover their contempt for the growing sect, which in their time had diffused itself over the Roman empire. Those among them who condescend to mention the Christians, consider them only as obstinate and perverse enthusiasts, who exacted an implicit submission to their mysterious doctrines, without being able to produce a single argument that could engage the attention of men of sense and learning.<sup>161</sup>

It is at least doubtful whether any of these philosophers perused the apologies which the primitive Christians re-

Christians were not to be able to avoid by the force and simplicity.

Reflected by some eminent men of the first and second centuries.

They reflect on the apostles.

<sup>155</sup> Euseb Hist. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 11. Hæmmon. Ep. 1. c. 1. The story is probably a fiction. Justin Martyr (Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. 1. p. 174.) writes, in Latin, that the old man was a Jew, and that he was a philosopher.

<sup>156</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 11. Justin Martyr (Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. 1. p. 174.) writes, in Latin, that the old man was a Jew, and that he was a philosopher. Justin Martyr (Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. 1. p. 174.) writes, in Latin, that the old man was a Jew, and that he was a philosopher.

<sup>157</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 11. Justin Martyr (Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. 1. p. 174.) writes, in Latin, that the old man was a Jew, and that he was a philosopher.

<sup>158</sup> Plin. Epist. lib. 10. c. 96. Justin Martyr (Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. 1. p. 174.) writes, in Latin, that the old man was a Jew, and that he was a philosopher.

<sup>159</sup> Tertullian. Apolog. 1. c. 30. Justin Martyr (Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. 1. p. 174.) writes, in Latin, that the old man was a Jew, and that he was a philosopher.

<sup>160</sup> Tertullian. Apolog. 1. c. 30. Justin Martyr (Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. 1. p. 174.) writes, in Latin, that the old man was a Jew, and that he was a philosopher.

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<sup>162</sup> Justin Martyr (Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. 1. p. 174.) writes, in Latin, that the old man was a Jew, and that he was a philosopher.

<sup>163</sup> Justin Martyr (Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. 1. p. 174.) writes, in Latin, that the old man was a Jew, and that he was a philosopher.

<sup>164</sup> Justin Martyr (Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. 1. p. 174.) writes, in Latin, that the old man was a Jew, and that he was a philosopher.

peatedly published in behalf of themselves and of their religion; but it is much to be lamented that such a cause was not defended by abler advocates. They expose with superfluous wit and eloquence the extravagance of polytheism. They interest our compassion by displaying the innocence and sufferings of their injured brethren. But when they would demonstrate the divine origin of Christianity, they insist much more strongly on the predictions which announced, than on the miracles which accompanied, the appearance of the Messiah. Their favourite argument might serve to edify a Christian or to convert a Jew, since both the one and the other acknowledge the authority of those prophecies, and both are obliged, with devout reverence, to search for their sense and their accomplishment. But this mode of persuasion loses much of its weight and influence, when it is addressed to those who neither understand nor respect the Mosiac dispensation and the prophetic style.<sup>112</sup> In the unskilful hands of Justin and of the succeeding apologists, the sublime meaning of the Hebrew oracles evaporates in distant types, affected conceits, and cold allegories; and even their authenticity was rendered suspicious to an unenlightened Gentile, by the mixture of pious forgeries, which, under the names of Orpheus, Hermes, and the Sibyls,<sup>113</sup> were obtruded on him as of equal value with the genuine inspirations of Heaven. The adoption of fraud and sophistry in the defence of revelation too often reminds us of the injudicious conduct of those poets who load their invulnerable heroes with a useless weight of cumbersome and brittle armour.

But how shall we excuse the supine inattention of the Pagan and philosophic world, to those evidences which were presented by the hand of Omnipotence, not to their reason, but to their senses? During the age of Christ, of his apostles, and of their first disciples, the doctrine which they preached was confirmed by innumerable prodigies. The lame walked, the blind saw, the sick were healed, the dead were raised, demons were expelled, and the laws of nature were frequently suspended for the benefit of the church. But the sages of Greece and Rome turned aside from the awful spectacle, and pursuing the ordinary occupations of life and study, appeared unconscious of any alterations in the moral or physical government of the world. Under the reign of *Tiberius*, the whole earth,<sup>114</sup> or at least a celebrated province of the Roman empire,<sup>115</sup> was involved in a preternatural darkness of three hours. Even this miraculous event, which

ought to have excited the wonder, the curiosity and the devotion of mankind, passed without notice in an age of science and history.<sup>116</sup> It happened during the lifetime of Seneca and the elder Pliny, who must have experienced the immediate effects, or received the earliest intelligence of the prodigy. Each of these philosophers, in a laborious work, has recorded all the great phenomena of Nature, earthquakes, meteors, comets, and eclipses, which his indefatigable curiosity could collect.<sup>117</sup> Both the one and the other have omitted to mention the greatest phenomenon to which the mortal eye has been witness since the creation of the globe. A distinct chapter of Pliny<sup>118</sup> is designed for eclipses of an extraordinary nature and unusual duration; but he contents himself with describing the singular defect of light which followed the murder of *Cæsar*, when, during the greatest part of a year, the orb of the sun appeared pale and without splendour. This season of obscurity, which cannot surely be compared with the preternatural darkness of the Passion, had been already celebrated by most of the poets<sup>119</sup> and historians of that memorable age.<sup>120</sup>

## CHAP. XVI.

*The Conduct of the Roman Government towards the Christians, from the Reign of Nero to that of Constantine.*

If we seriously consider the purity of the Christian religion, the sanctity of its moral precepts, and the innocent as well as austere lives of the greater number of those who during the first ages embraced the faith of the gospel, we should naturally suppose, that so benevolent a doctrine would have been received with due reverence, even by the unbelieving world; that the learned and the polite, however they might decide the miracles, would have esteemed the virtues of the new sect; and that the magistrates, instead of persecuting, would have protected an order of men who yielded the most passive obedience to the laws, though they declined the active cares of war and government. If, on the other hand, we recollect the universal toleration of polytheism, as it was invariably maintained by the faith of the people, the incredulity of philosophers, and the policy of the Roman senate and emperors, we are at a loss to discover what new offence the Christians had committed, what new provocation could exasperate the mild indifference of antiquity, and what new motives could urge the Roman princes,

Christianity persecuted by the Roman emperors.

General silence concerning the darkness of the Passion

<sup>112</sup> If the famous prophecy of the Seventy Weeks had been alleged to a Roman philosopher, could he not have rejoined in the words of *Cicero*, "Hinc tandem ista augurata est, maiorum potius quam aut 'mensum aut horum?' De Dominatione, l. viii. Observe with what reverence *Lucian* (in *Alexander*, c. 17.) and his friend *Celsus* ap. *Origen* (l. iii. p. 727.) express themselves concerning the Hebrew Prophecy.

<sup>113</sup> The philosophers, who derided the more ancient predictions of the Sibyls, would easily have detected the Jewish and Christian forgeries, which have been so frequently quoted by the fathers, from *Justin Martyr* to *Lactantius*. When the writers of the fourth century performed their apostolical task, they have the names of the impostors, were quick and agile. The Christian saint had unluckily avoided the ruin of Rome for the cure of a violent fever.

<sup>114</sup> The fathers, in the centuries of darkness, have been so much misled by the story of the darkness of the sun, that they have been led to cover the whole earth with darkness, in which they are followed by most of the moderns.

<sup>115</sup> *Origen* ad. *Matth.* c. 27. and a few modern critics, *Beza*, *Le Clerc*, *Lardner*, &c. are desirous of confining it to the land of Judea.

<sup>116</sup> The celebrated passage of *Philostratus* is now wisely abandoned. When *Tertullian* (in *Apology*, c. 16.) mentions the prodigy, he says, *Apocrypha*, c. 21.) he which relate it, exactly in the

1 vol. 17. *Plin. Hist. Natur.*

118 *Plin. Hist. Natur.* p. 70.

<sup>119</sup> *Virgil*, *Georgic* l. i. l. 104. *Tibullus*, l. i. *Eleg.* v. ver. 77. *Ovid*, *Metamorph.* xiv. 782. *Lucan*, *Pharsal.* l. 100. The last of these poets places the prodigy before the civil war.

<sup>120</sup> See a public epistle of *St. Ambrose* in *Josephus*, *Antiquit.* xiv. 12. *Plutarch* in *Cæsar* p. 171. *Appian*, *Bell. Civ.* l. i. c. 15. *Donatus*, *Com. Terent.* p. 151. *Junius*, *de Sequens*, c. 125. His little treatise is an abridgement of Livy's prodigies.

who beheld without concern a thousand forms of religion subsisting in peace under their gentle sway, to inflict a severe punishment on any part of their subjects, who had chosen for themselves a singular but an inoffensive mode of faith and worship.

The religious policy of the ancient world seems to have assumed a more stern and intolerant character, to oppose the progress of Christianity. About fourscore years after the death of Christ, his innocent disciples were punished with death by the sentence of a proconsul of the most amiable and philosophic character, and according to the laws of an emperor distinguished by the wisdom and justice of his general administration. The apologies which were repeatedly addressed to the successors of Trajan are filled with the most pathetic complaints, that the Christians who obeyed the dictates, and solicited the liberty, of conscience, were alone, among all the subjects of the Roman empire, excluded from the common benefits of their auspicious government. The deaths of a few eminent martyrs have been recorded with care; and from the time that Christianity was invested with the supreme power, the governors of the church have been no less diligently employed in displaying the cruelty, than in imitating the conduct, of their Pagan adversaries. To separate (if it be possible) a few authentic as well as interesting facts from an undigested mass of fiction and error, and to relate, in a clear and rational manner, the causes, the extent, the duration, and the most important circumstances of the persecutions to which the first Christians were exposed, is the design of the present chapter.

The sectaries of a persecuted religion, depressed by fear, animated with resentment, and perhaps heated by enthusiasm, are seldom in a proper temper of mind calmly to investigate, or candidly to appreciate, the motives of their enemies, which often escape the impartial and discerning view even of those who are placed at a secure distance from the flames of persecution. A reason has been assigned for the conduct of the emperors towards the primitive Christians, which may appear the more specious and probable, as it is drawn from the acknowledged genius of polytheism. It has already been observed, that the religious conceit of the world was principally supported by the implicit assent and reverence which the nations of antiquity expressed for their respective traditions and ceremonies. It might therefore be expected that they would unite with indignation against any sect or people which should separate itself from the communion of mankind, and claiming the exclusive possession of divine knowledge, should disdain every form of worship, except its own, as impious and idolatrous. The rights of toleration were held by mutual indulgence: they were justly forfeited by a refusal of the accustomed tribute. As the payment

of this tribute was inflexibly refused by the Jews, and by them alone, the consideration of the treatment which they experienced from the Roman magistrates will serve to explain how far these speculations are justified by facts, and will lead us to discover the true causes of the persecution of Christianity.

Without repeating what has been already mentioned of the reverence of the Roman princes and governors for the temple of Jerusalem, we shall only observe, that the destruction of the temple and city was accompanied and followed by every circumstance that could exasperate the minds of the conquerors, and authorise religious persecution by the most specious arguments of political justice and the public safety. From the reign of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius, the Jews discovered a fierce impatience of the dominion of Rome, which repeatedly broke out in the most furious massacres and insurrections. Humanity is shocked at the recital of the horrid cruelties which they committed in the cities of Egypt, of Cyprus, and of Cyrene, where they dwelt in treacherous friendship with the unsuspecting natives;<sup>1</sup> and we are tempted to applaud the severe retaliation which was exercised by the arms of the legions against a race of fanatics, whose dire and credulous superstition seemed to render them the implacable enemies not only of the Roman government, but of human kind.<sup>2</sup> The enthusiasm of the Jews was supported by the opinion, that it was unlawful for them to pay taxes to an idolatrous master; and by the flattering promise which they derived from their ancient oracles, that a conquering Messiah would soon arise, destined to break their fetters, and to invest the favorites of heaven with the empire of the earth. It was by announcing himself as their long expected deliverer, and by calling on all the descendants of Abraham to assert the hope of Israel, that the famous Barchochebas collected a formidable army, with which he resisted during two years the power of the emperor Hadrian.<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding these repeated provocations, the resentment of the Roman princes expired after the victory; nor were their apprehensions continued beyond the period of war and danger. By the general indulgence of polytheism, and by the mild temper of Antoninus Pius, the Jews were restored to their ancient privileges, and once more obtained the permission of circumcising their children, with the easy restraint, that they should never confer on any foreign proselyte that distinguishing mark of the Hebrew race.<sup>4</sup> The numerous remains of that people, though they were still excluded from the precincts of Jerusalem, were permitted to form and to maintain considerable establishments both in Italy and in the provinces, to acquire the freedom of Rome, to enjoy municipal honours, and to

Rebellious spirit of the Jews.

Toleration of the Jewish religion.

1 In Cyrene they massacred 200,000 Greeks, in Cyprus 200,000 Jews, in Egypt a vast number of Christians. See the account of the Jews in the Jewish War, and the account of the Christians in the History of the Christian Church. The Jews were also persecuted in the cities of Cyprus, and in the island of Rhodes. See the account of the Jews in the Jewish War, and the account of the Christians in the History of the Christian Church. The Jews were also persecuted in the cities of Cyprus, and in the island of Rhodes. See the account of the Jews in the Jewish War, and the account of the Christians in the History of the Christian Church.

2 The Jews were also persecuted in the cities of Cyprus, and in the island of Rhodes. See the account of the Jews in the Jewish War, and the account of the Christians in the History of the Christian Church. The Jews were also persecuted in the cities of Cyprus, and in the island of Rhodes. See the account of the Jews in the Jewish War, and the account of the Christians in the History of the Christian Church.



obtain at the same time an exemption from the burdensome and expensive offices of society. The moderation or the contempt of the Romans gave a legal sanction to the form of ecclesiastical police which was instituted by the vanquished sect. The patriarch, who had fixed his residence at Tiberias, was empowered to appoint his subordinate ministers and apostles, to exercise a domestic jurisdiction, and to receive from his dispersed brethren an annual contribution.<sup>5</sup> New synagogues were frequently erected in the principal cities of the empire; and the sabbaths, the fasts, and the festivals, which were either commanded by the Mosaic law, or enjoined by the traditions of the Rabbis, were celebrated in the most solemn and public manner.<sup>6</sup> Such gentle treatment insensibly assuaged the stern temper of the Jews. Awakened from their dream of prophecy and conquest, they assumed the behaviour of peaceable and industrious subjects. Their irreconcilable hatred of mankind, instead of flaming out in acts of blood and violence, evaporated in less dangerous gratifications. They embraced every opportunity of over-reaching the idolaters in trade; and they pronounced secret and ambiguous imprecations against the haughty kingdom of Edom.<sup>7</sup>

Since the Jews, who rejected with abhorrence the deities adored by their sovereign and by their fellow-subjects, enjoyed however the free exercise of their unsocial religion; there must have existed some other cause, which exposed the disciples of Christ to those severities from which the posterity of Abraham was exempt. The difference between them is simple and obvious; but, according to the sentiments of antiquity, it was of the highest importance. The Jews were a *nation*; the Christians were a *sect*: and if it was natural for every community to respect the sacred institutions of their neighbours, it was incumbent on them to persevere in those of their ancestors. The voice of oracles, the precepts of philosophers, and the authority of the laws, unanimously enforced this national obligation. By their lofty claim of superior sanctity, the Jews might provoke the polytheists to consider them as an odious and impure race. By disdaining the intercourse of other nations, they might deserve their contempt. The laws of Moses might be for the most part frivolous or absurd; yet, since they had been received during many ages by a large society, his followers were justified by the example of mankind; and it was universally acknowledged, that they had a right to practise what it would have been criminal in them to neglect. But this principle, which protected the Jewish synagogue, afforded not any favour or security to the primitive church. By embracing the faith of the Gospel,

the Christians incurred the supposed guilt of an unnatural and unpardonable offence. They dissolved the sacred ties of custom and education, violated the religious institutions of their country, and presumptuously despised whatever their fathers had believed as true, or had revered as sacred. Nor was this apostasy (if we may use the expression) merely of a partial or local kind; since the pious deserter who withdrew himself from the temples of Egypt or Syria, would equally disdain to seek an asylum in those of Athens or Carthage. Every Christian rejected with contempt the superstitions of his family, his city, and his province. The whole body of Christians unanimously refused to hold any communion with the gods of Rome, of the empire, and of mankind. It was in vain that the oppressed believer asserted the inalienable rights of conscience and private judgment. Though his situation might excite the pity, his arguments could never reach the understanding, either of the philosophic or of the believing part of the Pagan world. To their apprehensions, it was no less a matter of surprise, that any individuals should entertain scruples against complying with the established mode of worship, than if they had conceived a sudden abhorrence to the manners, the dress, or the language of their native country.<sup>8</sup>

The surprise of the Pagans was soon succeeded by resentment; and the most pious of men were exposed to the unjust but dangerous imputation of impiety. Malice and prejudice concurred in representing the Christians as a society of atheists, who, by the most daring attack on the religious constitution of the empire, had merited the severest animadversion of the civil magistrate. They had separated themselves (they gloried in the confession) from every mode of superstition which was received in any part of the globe by the various temper of polytheism: but it was not altogether so evident what deity, or what form of worship, they had substituted to the gods and temples of antiquity. The pure and sublime idea which they entertained of the Supreme Being escaped the gross conception of the Pagan multitude, who were at a loss to discover a spiritual and solitary God, that was neither represented under any corporeal figure or visible symbol, nor was adored with the accustomed pomp of libations and festivals, of altars and sacrifices.<sup>9</sup> The sages of Greece and Rome, who had elevated their minds to the contemplation of the existence and attributes of the First Cause, were induced by reason or by vanity to reserve for themselves and their chosen disciples the privilege of this philosophical devotion.<sup>10</sup> They were far from admitting the prejudices of mankind as the

that was made between the Jewish people and the Christian sect. See in the Dialogue of Marcellus, *lib. 1. c. 10*, a fair and not inelegant description of the popular sentiments, with regard to the desertion of the established worship.

<sup>9</sup> *Cur nulli ars, habitus? templi nulla? nulla nota simplicia?* — *Unde autem, vel quis illi, aut ubi, Deum vultu, statum, deitatem? Minus Felix, c. 10*. The Pagan worshiper was on to make a distinction in favour of the Jews, who had once a temple, altars, victims, &c.

<sup>10</sup> It is difficult to say [what] to attain, and dangerous to publish, the knowledge of the true God. See the *lib. 1. c. 10*, *Philosophes*, in the Abbé d'Albani's French translation of Tully's *de Natura Deorum*, *lib. 1. c. 10*.

<sup>5</sup> See BARNARD, *Hi. tome des Juifs*, *lib. 1. c. 2*, *3*. The office of patriarch was suppressed by Theodosius the emperor.

<sup>6</sup> We need only mention the Pagan, or polytheistic, of the Jews from the rage of Haman, which, till the reign of Theodosius, was celebrated with insolent triumph and notorious intemperance. See *Hi. tome des Juifs*, *lib. 1. c. 17*, *18*, *19*, *20*.

<sup>7</sup> According to the false Josephus, Tiberias, the grandson of Herod, the son of Carthage, and son of David, took refuge in other reasons of equal force to the Jews to the Roman

<sup>8</sup> From the arguments of Celsus, as they are represented and refuted by Origen *lib. 1. c. 247*—*250*, we may clearly discover the distinction

standard of truth, but they considered them as flowing from the original disposition of human nature; and they supposed that any popular mode of faith and worship which presumed to disclaim the assistance of the senses, would, in proportion as it receded from superstition, find itself incapable of restraining the wanderings of the fancy, and the visions of fanaticism. The careless glance which men of wit and learning condescended to cast on the Christian revelation, served only to confirm their hasty opinion, and to persuade them, that the principle, which they might have revered, of the divine unity, was defaced by the wild enthusiasm, and annihilated by the airy speculations, of the new sectaries. The author of a celebrated dialogue, which has been attributed to Lucian, whilst he affects to treat the mysterious subject of the Trinity in a style of ridicule and contempt, betrays his own ignorance of the weakness of human reason, and of the inscrutable nature of the Divine perceptions.<sup>11</sup>

It might appear less surprising, that the founder of Christianity should not only be revered by his disciples as a sage and a prophet, but that he should be adored as a God. The polytheists were disposed to adopt every article of faith, which seemed to offer any resemblance, however distant or imperfect, with the popular mythology; and the legends of Bæchus, of Hercules, and of Æsculapius, had, in some measure, prepared their imagination for the appearance of the Son of God under a human form.<sup>12</sup> But they were astonished that the Christians should abandon the temples of those ancient heroes, who, in the infancy of the world, had invented arts, instituted laws, and vanquished the tyrants or monsters who infested the earth; in order to choose for the exclusive object of their religious worship, an obscure teacher, who, in a recent age, and among a barbarous people, had fallen a sacrifice either to the malice of his own countrymen, or to the jealousy of the Roman government. The Pagan multitude, reserving their gratitude for temporal benefits alone, rejected the inestimable present of life and immortality, which was offered to mankind by Jesus of Nazareth. His mild constancy in the midst of cruel and voluntary sufferings, his universal benevolence, and the sublime simplicity of his actions and character, were insufficient, in the opinion of those carnal men, to compensate for the want of fame, of empire, and of success; and whilst they refused to acknowledge his stupendous triumph over the powers of darkness and of the grave, they misrepresented, or they insulted, the

equivocal birth, wandering life, and ignominious death, of the divine Author of Christianity.<sup>13</sup>

The personal guilt which every Christian had contracted, in thus preferring his private sentiment to the national religion, was aggravated in a very high degree by the number and union of the criminals. It is well known, and has been already observed, that Roman policy viewed with the utmost jealousy and distrust any association among its subjects; and that the privileges of private corporations, though formed for the most harmless or beneficial purposes, were bestowed with a very sparing hand.<sup>14</sup> The religious assemblies of the Christians, who had separated themselves from the public worship, appeared of a much less innocent nature: they were illegal in their principle, and in their consequences might become dangerous; nor were the emperors conscious that they violated the laws of justice, when, for the peace of society, they prohibited those secret and sometimes nocturnal meetings.<sup>15</sup> The pious disobedience of the Christians made their conduct, or perhaps their designs, appear in a much more serious and criminal light; and the Roman princes, who might perhaps have suffered themselves to be disarmed by a ready submission, deeming their honour concerned in the execution of their commands, sometimes attempted, by rigorous punishments, to subdue this independent spirit, which boldly acknowledged an authority superior to that of the magistrate. The extent and duration of this spiritual conspiracy seemed to render it every day more deserving of his animadversion. We have already seen that the active and successful zeal of the Christians had insensibly diffused them through every province and almost every city of the empire. The new converts seemed to renounce their family and country, that they might connect themselves in an indissoluble band of union with a peculiar society, which every where assumed a different character from the rest of mankind. Their gloomy and austere aspect, their abhorrence of the common business and pleasures of life, and their frequent predictions of impending calamities,<sup>16</sup> inspired the Pagans with the apprehension of some danger, which would arise from the new sect, the more alarming as it was the more obscure. "Whatever," says Pliny, "may be the principle of their conduct, their inflexible obstinacy appeared deserving of punishment."<sup>17</sup>

The precautions with which the disciples of Christ performed the offices of religion were at first dictated by fear and necessity; but they were continued from

Their manners calumniated.

11 The author of the *Dialogues* perpetually treats the Christians as a company of dreamers, and ascribes to them the most extravagant notions of the nature of the soul, and of the immortality of the body. He is particularly severe on the vision, in which St. Paul was transported to the third heaven. In a note, he observes, "Theophrastus, who preceded Plutarch, after denied the fables of Pythagoras, proposed a similar hypothesis."

12 See the *Dialogues*, and the *Letter to the Romans*, where the author of the *Dialogues* is particularly severe on the vision, in which St. Paul was transported to the third heaven. In a note, he observes, "Theophrastus, who preceded Plutarch, after denied the fables of Pythagoras, proposed a similar hypothesis."

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14 In the first and second books of *Pliny's* *Letters*, we find the history and character of our author with the most conspicuous contempt. The

author of *Diogenes Laertius*, *Pliny*, and *Julian* for confuting the fables of a sect, which styles itself the religion of Jesus, and the son of God. See *Diogenes*, lib. 2. c. 12. and *Pliny*, lib. 10. c. 25.

15 The emperor Trajan refused to incorporate a company of 150 soldiers, for the purpose of the city of Comedia. He disliked all associations. See *Pliny*, lib. 10. c. 25.

16 The president Plinius had published a general edict against the Christians, but it was impossible to execute it, on account of the public peace.

17 As the prophesies of the Christians respecting the configuration of the world, and the fate of the empire, which they did not mention, they were regarded with suspicion, and as a source of sedition. The Christians, however, could not be accused of any such design, as they were not secret, but open, and their doctrine was not a mystery.

18 See the *Dialogues*, and the *Letter to the Romans*, where the author of the *Dialogues* is particularly severe on the vision, in which St. Paul was transported to the third heaven. In a note, he observes, "Theophrastus, who preceded Plutarch, after denied the fables of Pythagoras, proposed a similar hypothesis."



Lewis XIV. might have acquired a just knowledge of the rights of conscience, of the obligation of faith, and of the innocence of error. But the princes and magistrates of ancient Rome were strangers to those principles which inspired and authorised the inflexible obstinacy of the Christians in the cause of truth, nor could they themselves discover in their own breasts any motive which would have prompted them to refuse a legal, and as it were a natural, submission to the sacred institutions of their country. The same reason which contributes to alleviate the guilt, must have tended to abate the rigour, of their persecutions. As they were actuated, not by the furious zeal of bigots, but by the temperate policy of legislators, contempt must often have relaxed, and humanity must frequently have suspended, the execution of those laws which they enacted against the humble and obscure followers of Christ. From the general view of their character and motives we might naturally conclude: I. That a considerable time elapsed before they considered the new sectaries as an object deserving of the attention of government. II. That in the conviction of any of their subjects who were accused of so very singular a crime, they proceeded with caution and reluctance. III. That they were moderate in the use of punishments; and, IV. That the afflicted church enjoyed many intervals of peace and tranquillity. Notwithstanding the careless indifference which the most copious and the most minute of the Pagan writers have shown to the affairs of the Christians,<sup>24</sup> it may still be in our power to confirm each of these probable suppositions, by the evidence of authentic facts.

I. By the wise dispensation of Providence, a mysterious veil was cast over the infancy of the church, which, till the faith of the Christians was matured, and their numbers were multiplied, served to protect them not only from the malice but even from the knowledge of the Pagan world. The slow and gradual abolition of the Mosaic ceremonies afforded a safe and innocent disguise to the more early proselytes of the Gospel. As they were far the greater part of the race of Abraham, they were distinguished by the peculiar mark of circumcision, offered up their devotions in the Temple of Jerusalem till its final destruction, and received both the Law and the Prophets as the genuine inspirations of the Deity. The Gentile converts, who by a spiritual adoption had been associated to the hope of Israel, were likewise confounded under the garb and appearance of Jews;<sup>25</sup> and as the polytheists paid less regard to articles of faith than to the external worship, the new sect, which carefully concealed, or faintly announced, its future greatness and ambition, was permitted to shelter itself under the general toleration which was granted to an ancient and celebrated people in the Ro-

man empire. It was not long, perhaps, before the Jews themselves, animated with a fiercer zeal and a more jealous faith, perceived the gradual separation of their Nazarene brethren from the doctrine of the synagogue; and they would gladly have extinguished the dangerous heresy in the blood of its adherents. But the decrees of heaven had already disarmed their malice; and though they might sometimes exert the licentious privilege of sedition, they no longer possessed the administration of criminal justice; nor did they find it easy to infuse into the calm breast of a Roman magistrate the rancour of their own zeal and prejudice. The provincial governors declared themselves ready to listen to any accusation that might affect the public safety; but as soon as they were informed, that it was a question not of facts but of words, a dispute relating only to the interpretation of the Jewish laws and prophecies, they deemed it unworthy of the majesty of Rome seriously to discuss the obscure differences which might arise among a barbarous and superstitious people. The innocence of the first Christians was protected by ignorance and contempt; and the tribunal of the Pagan magistrate often proved their most assured refuge against the fury of the synagogue.<sup>26</sup> If indeed we were disposed to adopt the traditions of a too credulous antiquity, we might relate the distant peregrinations, the wonderful achievements, and the various deaths of the twelve apostles: but a more accurate enquiry will induce us to doubt, whether any of those persons who had been witnesses to the miracles of Christ were permitted, beyond the limits of Palestine, to seal with their blood the truth of their testimony.<sup>27</sup> From the ordinary term of human life, it may very naturally be presumed that most of them were deceased before the discontent of the Jews broke out into that furious war, which was terminated only by the ruin of Jerusalem. During a long period, from the death of Christ to that memorable rebellion, we cannot discover any traces of Roman intolerance, unless they are to be found in the sudden, the transient, but the cruel persecution, which was exercised by Nero against the Christians of the capital, thirty-five years after the former, and only two years before the latter of those great events. The character of the philosophic historian, to whom we are principally indebted for the knowledge of this singular transaction, would alone be sufficient to recommend it to our most attentive consideration.

In the tenth year of the reign of Nero, the capital of the empire was afflicted by a fire which raged beyond the memory or example of former ages.<sup>28</sup> The monuments of Grecian art and of Roman virtue, the trophies of the Punic and Gallic wars, the most holy temples, and the most splendid palaces, were involved in one common destruc-

<sup>24</sup> In the various composition of the Augustan History, and of the works of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Cassiodorus, no mention is made of the persecutions of the Christians. Not a single word is to be found in the works of Pliny, or of any other ancient writer, which might lead us to suppose that the Christians were ever persecuted by the Romans.

<sup>25</sup> See the sixth and sixth book of the Acts of the Apostles, and the first chapter of the Acts of the Council of Jerusalem.

<sup>26</sup> In the history of Tertullian, and in the works of Apollonius, and of other ancient writers, no mention is made of the persecutions of the Christians. Not a single word is to be found in the works of Pliny, or of any other ancient writer, which might lead us to suppose that the Christians were ever persecuted by the Romans.

<sup>27</sup> See the sixth and sixth book of the Acts of the Apostles, and the first chapter of the Acts of the Council of Jerusalem.

tion. Of the fourteen regions or quarters into which Rome was divided, four only subsisted entire, three were levelled with the ground, and the remaining seven, which had experienced the fury of the flames, displayed a melancholy prospect of ruin and desolation. The vigilance of government appears not to have neglected any of the precautions which might alleviate the sense of so dreadful a calamity. The Imperial gardens were thrown open to the distressed multitude, temporary buildings were erected for their accommodation, and a plentiful supply of corn and provisions was distributed at a very moderate price.<sup>21</sup> The most generous policy seemed to have dictated the edicts which regulated the disposition of the streets and the construction of private houses; and as it usually happens, in an age of prosperity, the conflagration of Rome, in the course of a few years, produced a new city, more regular and more beautiful than the former. But all the prudence and humanity affected by Nero on this occasion were insufficient to preserve him from the popular suspicion. Every crime might be imputed to the assassin of his wife and mother; nor could the prince, who prostituted his person and dignity on the theatre, be deemed incapable of the most extravagant folly. The voice of rumour accused the emperor as the incendiary of his own capital; and as the most incredible stories are the best adapted to the genius of an enraged people, it was gravely reported, and firmly believed, that Nero, enjoying the calamity which he had occasioned, amused himself with singing to his lyre the destruction of ancient Troy.<sup>22</sup> To divert a suspicion, which the power of despotism was unable to suppress, the emperor resolved to substitute in his own place some fictitious criminals. "With this

Crucial point  
ment of the  
Christians, as  
the industries  
of the city.

"view (continues Tacitus) he inflicted the most exquisite tortures  
"on those men, who, under the  
"vulgar appellation of Christians, were already  
"branded with deserved infamy. They derived  
"their name and origin from Christ, who in the  
"reign of Tiberius had suffered death, by the  
"sentence of the procurator Pontius Pilate.<sup>23</sup>  
"For a while this dire superstition was checked;  
"but it again burst forth; and not only spread  
"itself over Judæa, the first seat of this mis-  
"chievous sect, but was even introduced into  
"Rome, the common asylum which receives  
"and protects whatever is impure, whatever is  
"atrocious. The confessions of those who were  
"seized discovered a great multitude of their  
"accomplices, and they were all convicted, not  
"so much for the crime of setting fire to the

"city, as for their hatred of human kind."<sup>24</sup>  
"They died in torments, and their torments  
"were imbibed by insult and derision. Some  
"were nailed on crosses; others sewn up in the  
"skins of wild beasts, and exposed to the fury  
"of dogs; others again, smeared over with  
"combustible materials, were used as torches to  
"illuminate the darkness of the night. The  
"gardens of Nero were destined for the melan-  
"choly spectacle, which was accompanied with  
"a horse-race, and honoured with the presence  
"of the emperor, who mingled with the populace  
"in the dress and attitude of a charioteer. The  
"guilt of the Christians deserved indeed the  
"most exemplary punishment, but the public  
"abhorrence was changed into commiseration,  
"from the opinion that those unhappy wretches  
"were sacrificed, not so much to the public  
"welfare, as to the cruelty of a jealous tyrant."<sup>25</sup>  
Those who survey with a curious eye the revolutions of mankind, may observe, that the gardens and circus of Nero on the Vatican, which were polluted with the blood of the first Christians, have been rendered still more famous, by the triumph and by the abuse of the persecuted religion. On the same spot,<sup>26</sup> a temple, which far surpasses the ancient glories of the Capitol, has been since erected by the Christian Pontiffs, who, deriving their chain of universal dominion from an humble fisherman of Galilee, have succeeded to the throne of the Cæsars, given laws to the barbarian conquerors of Rome, and extended their spiritual jurisdiction from the coast of the Baltic to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

But it would be improper to dismiss this account of Nero's persecution, till we have made some observations, that may serve to remove the difficulties with which it is perplexed, and to throw some light on the subsequent history of the church.

1. The most sceptical criticism is obliged to respect the truth of this extraordinary fact, and the integrity of this celebrated passage of Tacitus. The former is confirmed by the diligent and accurate Suetonius, who mentions the punishment which Nero inflicted on the Christians, a sect of men who had embraced a new and criminal superstition.<sup>27</sup> The latter may be proved by the consent of the most ancient manuscripts; by the inimitable character of the style of Tacitus; by his reputation, which guarded his text from the interpolations of pious fraud; and by the purport of his narration, which accused the first Christians of the most atrocious crimes, without insinuating that they possessed any miraculous or even magical powers above the rest

Remarks on the passage of Tacitus relative to the persecution of the Christians by Nero.

<sup>21</sup> The price of wheat (probably of the modern) was reduced as low as ten Nummi, which would be equivalent to about a pence, or half a penny.

<sup>22</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, lib. xvi. c. 25. That the procuratorship of Pilate corresponded with the last ten years of Tiberius, A. D. 27-37. As to the particular time of the death of Christ, a very early tradition fixed it to the 25th of March, A. D. 33, under the consulship of the two Germani, Tertullian says, *Judiciorum*, c. 8. This date, which is adopted by Pagan, Cardinal Noris, and Le Clerc, seems at least as probable as the vulgar story, which is placed (I know not from what conjectures) four years later.

<sup>23</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, lib. xvi. c. 25. The story of the death of Christ, which some ancient commentators have tried to interpret as a Jewish story, is confirmed by the most rational Moderns as fully consistent with the *ecclesiastical* of the Jews.

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of mankind.<sup>36</sup> 2. Notwithstanding it is probable that Tacitus was born some years before the fire of Rome,<sup>37</sup> he could derive only from reading and conversation the knowledge of an event which happened during his infancy. Before he gave himself to the public, he calmly waited till his genius had attained its full maturity, and he was more than forty years of age, when a grateful regard for the memory of the virtuous Agricola, extorted from him the most early of those historical compositions which will delight and instruct the most distant posterity. After making a trial of his strength in the life of Agricola and the description of Germany, he conceived, and at length executed, a more arduous work; the history of Rome, in thirty books, from the fall of Nero to the accession of Nerva. The administration of Nerva introduced an age of justice and prosperity, which Tacitus had destined for the occupation of his old age; but when he took a nearer view of his subject, judging, perhaps, that it was a more honourable or a less invidious office, to record the vices of past tyrants than to celebrate the virtues of a reigning monarch, he chose rather to relate, under the form of annals, the actions of the four immediate successors of Augustus. To collect, to dispose, and to adorn a series of four-score years, in an immortal work, every sentence of which is pregnant with the deepest observations and the most lively images, was an undertaking sufficient to exercise the genius of Tacitus himself during the greatest part of his life. In the last years of the reign of Trajan, whilst the victorious monarch extended the power of Rome beyond its ancient limits, the historian was describing, in the second and fourth books, of his annals, the tyranny of Tiberius; and the empire of Hadrian must have succeeded to the throne before Tacitus, in the regular prosecution of his work, could relate the fire of the capital and the cruelty of Nero towards the unfortunate Christians. At the distance of sixty years, it was the duty of the annalist to adopt the narratives of contemporaries; but it was natural for the philosopher to indulge himself in the description of the origin, the progress, and the character of the new sect, not so much according to the knowledge or prejudices of the age of Nero, as according to those of the time of Hadrian. 3. Tacitus very frequently trusts to the curiosity or reflection of his readers to supply those intermediate circumstances and ideas, which, in his extreme conciseness, he has thought proper to suppress. We may therefore presume to imagine some probable cause which could direct the cruelty of Nero against the

Christians of Rome, whose obscurity, as well as innocence, should have shielded them from his indignation, and even from his notice. The Jews, who were numerous in the capital, and oppressed in their own country, were a much fitter object for the suspicions of the emperor and of the people: nor did it seem unlikely that a vanquished nation, who already discovered their abhorrence of the Roman yoke, might have recourse to the most atrocious means of gratifying their implacable revenge. But the Jews possessed very powerful advocates in the palace, and even in the heart of the tyrant; his wife and mistress, the beautiful Poppæa, and a favourite player of the race of Abraham, who had already employed their intercession in behalf of the obnoxious people.<sup>40</sup> In their room it was necessary to offer some other victims, and it might easily be suggested that, although the genuine followers of Moses were innocent of the fire of Rome, there had arisen among them a new and pernicious sect of GALLILEANS, which was capable of the most horrid crimes. Under the appellation of GALLILEANS, two distinctions of men were confounded, the most opposite to each other in their manners and principles; the disciples who had embraced the faith of Jesus of Nazareth,<sup>41</sup> and the zealots who had followed the standard of Judas the Gaulonite.<sup>42</sup> The former were the friends, the latter were the enemies, of human kind; and the only resemblance between them consisted in the same inflexible constancy, which, in the defence of their cause, rendered them insensible of death and tortures. The followers of Judas, who impelled their countrymen into rebellion, were soon hurried under the ruins of Jerusalem; whilst those of Jesus, known by the more celebrated name of Christians, diffused themselves over the Roman empire. How natural was it for Tacitus, in the reign of Hadrian, to appropriate to the Christians, the guilt and the sufferings, which he might, with far greater truth and justice, have attributed to a sect whose odious memory was almost extinguished! 4. Whatever opinion may be entertained of this conjecture, for it is no more than a conjecture, it is evident that the effect, as well as the cause, of Nero's persecution, were confined to the walls of Rome;<sup>43</sup> that the religious tenets of the Gallileans, or Christians, were never made a subject of punishment, or even of enquiry; and that, as the idea of their sufferings was, for a long time, connected with the idea of cruelty and injustice, the moderation of succeeding princes inclined them to spare a sect, oppressed by a tyrant, whose rage had been usually directed against virtue and innocence.

[illegible]

<sup>7</sup> See the lives of Tacitus by Lipsius and the *Athenaeum*, p. 109; the *Dictionnaire de Bayle à l'article TACITE*; and Faldutius, *Lectiones Tacitanae*, p. 62.

58 Principium Dei Nervi, et imperium Tracheæ, ut ex ore se-  
cantur, quæ præter prædicta scripsi. Tab. III.

40) The player's name was Alturus. Through the same channel,

Josephine de Vint's mother, about two years before, had obtained the pardon and release of some Jewish priests who were prisoners at Rumania.

It is also worth noting that the name of the man was a very common one at the time, and that the name of the man was a very common one at the time, and that the name of the man was a very common one at the time.

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17. See DeLoach, *Passport*, Memoranda, The Senate Select Committee on Government Operations, November 1975, at 103-04, 106-07, 109-10, 111-12, 113-14, 115-16, 117-18, 119-20, 121-22, 123-24, 125-26, 127-28, 129-30, 131-32, 133-34, 135-36, 137-38, 139-40, 141-42, 143-44, 145-46, 147-48, 149-50, 151-52, 153-54, 155-56, 157-58, 159-60, 161-62, 163-64, 165-66, 167-68, 169-70, 171-72, 173-74, 175-76, 177-78, 179-80, 181-82, 183-84, 185-86, 187-88, 189-90, 191-92, 193-94, 195-96, 197-98, 199-200, 201-202, 203-204, 205-206, 207-208, 209-210, 211-212, 213-214, 215-216, 217-218, 219-220, 221-222, 223-224, 225-226, 227-228, 229-230, 231-232, 233-234, 235-236, 237-238, 239-240, 241-242, 243-244, 245-246, 247-248, 249-250, 251-252, 253-254, 255-256, 257-258, 259-260, 261-262, 263-264, 265-266, 267-268, 269-270, 271-272, 273-274, 275-276, 277-278, 279-280, 281-282, 283-284, 285-286, 287-288, 289-290, 291-292, 293-294, 295-296, 297-298, 299-300, 301-302, 303-304, 305-306, 307-308, 309-310, 311-312, 313-314, 315-316, 317-318, 319-320, 321-322, 323-324, 325-326, 327-328, 329-330, 331-332, 333-334, 335-336, 337-338, 339-340, 341-342, 343-344, 345-346, 347-348, 349-350, 351-352, 353-354, 355-356, 357-358, 359-360, 361-362, 363-364, 365-366, 367-368, 369-370, 371-372, 373-374, 375-376, 377-378, 379-380, 381-382, 383-384, 385-386, 387-388, 389-390, 391-392, 393-394, 395-396, 397-398, 399-400, 401-402, 403-404, 405-406, 407-408, 409-410, 411-412, 413-414, 415-416, 417-418, 419-420, 421-422, 423-424, 425-426, 427-428, 429-430, 431-432, 433-434, 435-436, 437-438, 439-440, 441-442, 443-444, 445-446, 447-448, 449-450, 451-452, 453-454, 455-456, 457-458, 459-460, 461-462, 463-464, 465-466, 467-468, 469-470, 471-472, 473-474, 475-476, 477-478, 479-480, 481-482, 483-484, 485-486, 487-488, 489-490, 491-492, 493-494, 495-496, 497-498, 499-500, 501-502, 503-504, 505-506, 507-508, 509-510, 511-512, 513-514, 515-516, 517-518, 519-520, 521-522, 523-524, 525-526, 527-528, 529-530, 531-532, 533-534, 535-536, 537-538, 539-540, 541-542, 543-544, 545-546, 547-548, 549-550, 551-552, 553-554, 555-556, 557-558, 559-560, 561-562, 563-564, 565-566, 567-568, 569-570, 571-572, 573-574, 575-576, 577-578, 579-580, 581-582, 583-584, 585-586, 587-588, 589-590, 591-592, 593-594, 595-596, 597-598, 599-600, 601-602, 603-604, 605-606, 607-608, 609-610, 611-612, 613-614, 615-616, 617-618, 619-620, 621-622, 623-624, 625-626, 627-628, 629-630, 631-632, 633-634, 635-636, 637-638, 639-640, 641-642, 643-644, 645-646, 647-648, 649-650, 651-652, 653-654, 655-656, 657-658, 659-660, 661-662, 663-664, 665-666, 667-668, 669-670, 671-672, 673-674, 675-676, 677-678, 679-680, 681-682, 683-684, 685-686, 687-688, 689-690, 691-692, 693-694, 695-696, 697-698, 699-700, 701-702, 703-704, 705-706, 707-708, 709-710, 711-712, 713-714, 715-716, 717-718, 719-720, 721-722, 723-724, 725-726, 727-728, 729-730, 731-732, 733-734, 735-736, 737-738, 739-740, 741-742, 743-744, 745-746, 747-748, 749-750, 751-752, 753-754, 755-756, 757-758, 759-760, 761-762, 763-764, 765-766, 767-768, 769-770, 771-772, 773-774, 775-776, 777-778, 779-780, 781-782, 783-784, 785-786, 787-788, 789-790, 791-792, 793-794, 795-796, 797-798, 799-800, 801-802, 803-804, 805-806, 807-808, 809-810, 811-812, 813-814, 815-816, 817-818, 819-820, 821-822, 823-824, 825-826, 827-828, 829-830, 831-832, 833-834, 835-836, 837-838, 839-840, 841-842, 843-844, 845-846, 847-848, 849-850, 851-852, 853-854, 855-856, 857-858, 859-860, 861-862, 863-864, 865-866, 867-868, 869-870, 871-872, 873-874, 875-876, 877-878, 879-880, 881-882, 883-884, 885-886, 887-888, 889-890, 891-892, 893-894, 895-896, 897-898, 899-900, 901-902, 903-904, 905-906, 907-908, 909-910, 911-912, 913-914, 915-916, 917-918, 919-920, 921-922, 923-924, 925-926, 927-928, 929-930, 931-932, 933-934, 935-936, 937-938, 939-940, 941-942, 943-944, 945-946, 947-948, 949-950, 951-952, 953-954, 955-956, 957-958, 959-960, 961-962, 963-964, 965-966, 967-968, 969-970, 971-972, 973-974, 975-976, 977-978, 979-980, 981-982, 983-984, 985-986, 987-988, 989-990, 991-992, 993-994, 995-996, 997-998, 999-1000, 1001-1002, 1003-1004, 1005-1006, 1007-1008, 1009-1010, 1011-1012, 1013-1



mitian was condemned by the senate; his acts were rescinded; his exiles recalled; and under the gentle administration of Nerva, while the innocent were restored to their rank and fortunes, even the most guilty either obtained pardon or escaped punishment.<sup>56</sup>

11. About ten years afterwards, under the reign of Trajan, the younger Pliny was intrusted by his friend and master with the government of Bithynia and Pontus. He soon found himself at a loss to determine by what rule of justice or of law he should direct his conduct in the execution of an office the most repugnant to his humanity. Pliny had never assisted at any judicial proceedings against the Christians, with whose name alone he seems to be acquainted; and he was totally uninformed with regard to the nature of their guilt, the method of their conviction, and the degree of their punishment. In this perplexity he had recourse to his usual expedient, of submitting to the wisdom of Trajan an impartial, and, in some respects, a favourable account of the new superstition, requesting the emperor, that he would condescend to resolve his doubts, and to instruct his ignorance.<sup>57</sup> The life of Pliny had been employed in the acquisition of learning, and in the business of the world. Since the age of nineteen he had pladed with distinction in the tribunals of Rome,<sup>58</sup> filled a place in the senate, had been invested with the honours of the consulship, and had formed very numerous connections with every order of men, both in Italy and in the provinces. From his ignorance therefore we may derive some useful information. We may assure ourselves, that when he accepted the government of Bithynia, there were no general laws or decrees of the senate in force against the Christians; that neither Trajan nor any of his virtuous predecessors, whose edicts were received into the civil and criminal jurisprudence, had publicly declared their intentions concerning the new sect; and that whatever proceedings had been carried on against the Christians, there were none of sufficient weight and authority to establish a precedent for the conduct of a Roman magistrate.

The answer of Trajan, to which the Christians of the succeeding age have frequently appealed, discovers as much regard for justice and humanity as could be reconciled with his mistaken notions of religious policy.<sup>59</sup> Instead of displaying the implacable zeal of an inquisitor, anxious to discover the most minute particles of heresy, and exulting in the number of his victims, the emperor expresses much more solicitude to protect the security of the innocent, than to prevent the escape of the guilty. He acknowledges the difficulty of fixing any general plan; but he lays down two salutary rules, which often afforded relief and support to the distressed

Christians. Though he directs the magistrates to punish such persons as are legally convicted, he prohibits them, with a very humane inconsistency, from making any enquiries concerning the supposed criminals. Nor was the magistrate allowed to proceed on every kind of information. Anonymous charges the emperor rejects, as too repugnant to the equity of his government; and he strictly requires, for the conviction of those to whom the guilt of Christianity is imputed, the positive evidence of a fair and open accuser. It is likewise probable, that the persons who assumed so invidious an office, were obliged to declare the grounds of their suspicions, to specify (both in respect to time and place) the secret assemblies, which their Christian adversary had frequented, and to disclose a great number of circumstances which were concealed with the most vigilant jealousy from the eye of the profane. If they succeeded in their prosecution, they were exposed to the resentment of a considerable and active party, to the censure of the more liberal portion of mankind, and to the ignominy which, in every age and country, has attended the character of an informer. If, on the contrary, they failed in their proofs, they incurred the severe and perhaps capital penalty, which according to a law published by the emperor Hadrian, was inflicted on those who falsely attributed to their fellow-citizens the crime of Christianity. The violence of personal or superstitious animosity might sometimes prevail over the most natural apprehensions of disgrace and danger; but it cannot surely be imagined, that accusations of so unpromising an appearance were either lightly or frequently undertaken by the Pagan subjects of the Roman empire.<sup>60</sup>

The expedient which was employed to elude the prudence of the laws, affords a sufficient proof how effectually they disappointed the mischievous designs of private malice or superstitious zeal. In a large and tumultuous assembly the restraints of fear and shame, so forcible on the minds of individuals, are deprived of the greatest part of their influence. The pious Christian, as he was desirous to obtain, or to escape, the glory of martyrdom, expected, either with impatience or with terror, the stated returns of the public games and festivals. On those occasions, the inhabitants of the great cities of the empire were collected in the circus of the theatre, where every circumstance of the place, as well as of the ceremony, contributed to kindle their devotion, and to extinguish their humanity. Whilst the numerous spectators, crowned with garlands perfumed with incense, purified with the blood of victims, and surrounded with the altars and statues of their tutelar deities, resigned themselves to the enjoyment of pleasures, which they considered as an essential part of their religious worship; they recollected, that the Christians

<sup>56</sup> Dion. l. lxxvii. p. 1118. Plin. Epist. l. i. c. 23.

<sup>57</sup> Plin. Epistol. c. 97. The letter of Pliny expresses himself in 147, 252, with the highest regard to Trajan's order to avoid candid rejection. Notwithstanding Dr. Lardner's opinion, concerning the authenticity of this letter, it is not possible to discover any bigotry in his language or proceeding.

<sup>58</sup> Plin. Epist. c. 8. He is said to have been a D. D. the year after the famous eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in which he lost his life.

<sup>59</sup> Plin. Epist. x. 95. Tertullian (Apolog. c. 5) considers this re-

<sup>60</sup> See the  
note on p. 100.





and to whose hands alone the jurisdiction of life and death was intrusted, believed like men of polished manners and liberal education, who respected the rules of justice, and who were conversant with the precepts of philosophy. They frequently declined the odious task of persecution, dismissed the charge with contempt, or suggested to the accused Christian some legal evasion, by which he might elude the severity of the laws.<sup>67</sup> Whenever they were invested with a discretionary power,<sup>68</sup> they used it much less for the oppression, than for the relief and benefit, of the afflicted church. They were far from condemning all the Christians who were accused before their tribunal, and very far from punishing with death all those who were convicted of an obstinate adherence to the new superstition. Contenting themselves, for the most part, with the milder chastisements of imprisonment, exile, or slavery in the mines,<sup>69</sup> they left the unhappy victims of their justice some reason to hope, that a prosperous event, the accession, the marriage, or the triumph of an emperor, might speedily restore them by a general pardon to their former state. The martyrs, devoted to immediate execution by the Roman magistrates, appear to have been selected from the most opposite extremes. They were either bishops and presbyters, the persons the most distinguished among the Christians by their rank and influence, and whose example might strike terror into the whole sect;<sup>70</sup> or else they were the meanest and most abject among them, particularly those of the servile condition, whose lives were esteemed of little value, and whose sufferings were viewed by the ancients with too careless an indifference.<sup>71</sup> The learned Origen, who, from his experience as well as learning, was intimately acquainted with the history of the Christians, declares, in the most express terms, that the number of martyrs was very innumerable.<sup>72</sup> His authority would alone be sufficient to annihilate that formidable array of martyrs, whose relics, drawn for the most part from the catacombs of Rome, have replenished so many churches,<sup>73</sup> and whose marvellous achievements have been the subject of so many volumes of Holy Romance.<sup>74</sup> But the general assertion of Origen may be explained and confirmed by

the particular testimony of his friend Dionysius, who, in the immense city of Alexandria, and under the rigorous persecution of Decius, reckons only ten men and seven women who suffered for the profession of the Christian name.<sup>75</sup>

During the same period of persecution, the zealous, the eloquent, the ambitious Cyprian governed the church, not only of Carthage, but even of Africa. He possessed every quality which could engage the reverence of the faithful, or provoke the suspicions and resentment of the Pagan magistrates. His character as well as his station seemed to mark out that holy prelate as the most distinguished object of envy and of danger.<sup>76</sup> The experience, however, of the life of Cyprian, is sufficient to prove, that our fancy has exaggerated the perilous situation of a Christian bishop; and that the dangers to which he was exposed were less imminent than those which temporal ambition is always prepared to encounter in the pursuit of honours. Four Roman emperors, with their families, their favourites, and their adherents, perished by the sword in the space of ten years, during which the bishop of Carthage guided by his authority and eloquence the counsels of the African church. It was only in the third year of his administration, that he had reason, during a few months, to apprehend the severe edicts of Decius, the vigilance of the magistrates, and the clamours of the multitude, who loudly demanded, that Cyprian, the leader of the Christians, should be thrown to the lions. Prudence suggested the necessity of a temporary retreat, and the voice of prudence was obeyed. He withdrew himself into an obscure solitude, from whence he could maintain a constant correspondence with the clergy and people of Carthage; and concealing himself till the tempest was past, he preserved his life, without relinquishing either his power or his reputation. His extreme caution did not however escape the censure of the more rigid Christians, who lamented, or the reproaches of his personal enemies who imputed, a conduct which they considered as pusillanimous and criminal desertion of the most sacred duty.<sup>77</sup> The propensity of reserving himself for the future exigen-

Example of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage

His danger and flight.

67 Tertullian, in his epistle to the governor of Africa, mentions several remarkable instances of lenity and forbearance, which had intervened within his knowledge, and which he ascribes to the moderation of the magistrates, who were unwilling to expose themselves to the hatred, contempt, and expense, of punishing a sect of men, who were so generally esteemed of little value.

68 In several instances, we find that the magistrates were invested with a discretionary power, to punish or pardon, as they thought proper, the Christians who were accused before them.

69 Though we cannot trace with certainty the names of the martyrs, or the names of the places, where they suffered, we find, however, that the names of the martyrs, and the names of the places, where they suffered, were often mentioned in the writings of the Christians.

70 Among the martyrs of Lyons, there were some who were distinguished by their rank and influence, and whose example might strike terror into the whole sect.

71 Origen, in his treatise on the resurrection, mentions that the number of martyrs was very innumerable.

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73 The names of the martyrs, and the names of the places, where they suffered, were often mentioned in the writings of the Christians.

74 The names of the martyrs, and the names of the places, where they suffered, were often mentioned in the writings of the Christians.

75 Dionysius, in his letter to the Christians of Alexandria, mentions that only ten men and seven women suffered for the Christian name.

76 Cyprian, in his letter to the Christians of Carthage, mentions that he was the most distinguished object of envy and of danger.

77 Cyprian, in his letter to the Christians of Carthage, mentions that he was the most distinguished object of envy and of danger.



ground to catch the precious relics of his blood, and received his orders to bestow five-and-twenty pieces of gold on the executioner. The martyr then covered his face with his hands, and at one blow his head was separated from his body. His corpse remained during some hours exposed to the curiosity of the Gentiles; but in the night it was removed, and transported in a triumphal procession, and with a splendid illumination, to the burial-place of the Christians. The funeral of Cyprian was publicly celebrated without receiving any interruption from the Roman magistrates; and those among the faithful, who had performed the last offices to his person and his memory, were secure from the danger of enquiry or of punishment. It is remarkable, that of so great a multitude of bi-shops in the province of Africa, Cyprian was the first who was esteemed worthy to obtain the crown of martyrdom.<sup>88</sup>

It was in the choice of Cyprian, either to die a martyr, or to live an apostate; but on that choice depended the alternative of honour or infamy.

Could we suppose that the bishop of Carthage had employed the profession of the Christian faith only as the instrument of his avarice or ambition, it was still incumbent on him to support the character which he had assumed; <sup>89</sup> and, if he possessed the smallest degree of manly fortitude, rather to expose himself to the most cruel tortures, than by a single act to exchange the reputation of a whole life, for the abhorrence of his Christian brethren, and the contempt of the Gentile world. But if the zeal of Cyprian was supported by the sincere conviction of the truth of those doctrines which he preached, the crown of martyrdom must have appeared to him as an object of desire rather than of terror. It is not easy to extract any distinct ideas from the vague though eloquent declamations of the Fathers, or to ascertain the degree of immortal glory and happiness which they confidently promised to those who were so fortunate as to shed their blood in the cause of religion.<sup>90</sup> They inculcated with becoming diligence, that the fire of martyrdom supplied every defect, and expiated every sin; that while the souls of ordinary Christians were obliged to pass through a slow and painful purification, the triumphant sufferers entered into the immediate fruition of eternal bliss, where in the society of the patriarchs, the apostles, and the prophets, they reigned with Christ, and acted as his assessors in the universal judgment of mankind. The assurance of a lasting reputation upon earth, a motive so congenial to the vanity of human nature, often served to animate the courage of the martyrs. The honours which Rome or Athens bestowed on those citizens who had fallen in the cause of their country,

were cold and unmeaning demonstrations of respect, when compared with the ardent gratitude and devotion which the primitive church expressed towards the victorious champions of the faith. The annual commemoration of their virtues and sufferings was observed as a sacred ceremony, and at length terminated in religious worship. Among the Christians who had publicly confessed their religious principles, those, who (as it very frequently happened) had been dismissed from the tribunal or the prisons of the Pagan magistrates, obtained such honours as were justly due to their imperfect martyrdom, and their generous resolution. The most pious females courted the permission of imprinting kisses on the fetters which they had worn, and on the wounds which they had received. Their persons were esteemed holy, their decisions were admitted with deference, and they too often abused, by their spiritual pride and licentious manners, the pre-eminence which their zeal and intrepidity had acquired.<sup>91</sup> Distinctions like these, whilst they display the exalted merit, betray the inconsiderable number of those who suffered, and of those who died, for the profession of Christianity.

The sober discretion of the present <sup>Arduous of the first Christians.</sup> age will more readily censure than admire, but can more easily admire than imitate, the fervour of the first Christians, who, according to the lively expression of Sulpicius Severus, desired martyrdom with more eagerness than his own contemporaries solicited a bishopric.<sup>92</sup> The epistles which Ignatius composed as he was carried in chains through the cities of Asia, breathe sentiments the most repugnant to the ordinary feelings of human nature. He earnestly beseeches the Romans, that when he should be exposed in the amphitheatre, they would not, by their kind but unseasonable intercession, deprive him of the crown of glory; and he declares his resolution to provoke and irritate the wild beasts which might be employed as the instruments of his death.<sup>93</sup> Some stories are related of the courage of martyrs, who actually performed what Ignatius had intended; who exasperated the fury of the lions, pressed the executioner to hasten his office, cheerfully leaped into the fires which were kindled to consume them, and discovered a sensation of joy and pleasure in the midst of the most exquisite tortures. Several examples have been preserved of a zeal impatient of those restraints which the emperors had provided for the security of the church. The Christians sometimes supplied by their voluntary declaration the want of an accuser, rudely disturbed the public service of paganism, and rushing in crowds round the tribunal of the magistrates, called upon them to pronounce and to inflict the

<sup>88</sup> Pontius, c. 19. M. de Tallemon (Mirones, tom. iv. part. i. p. 150. note 30.) is not pleased with so positive an exclusion of any former martyrs of the episcopal rank.

<sup>89</sup> Who does not find in this entreaty of the character of principles of Thomas Hecker, we must acknowledge that he entered with him a sincere and unwavering of the primitive martyrs. See Lord Lyttelton's History of Henry II. vol. ii. p. 100.

<sup>90</sup> See in particular the treatise of Cyprian, Epist. p. 57. edit. Fell. The learning of Dowling, Dissert. Cyprian. An. 160. and the account of Mullin (on True Penance, p. 162.) who has so severely and the right to condemn the merit, the doctrine, and the motives of the martyrs.

<sup>91</sup> Cyprian, Epist. p. 57. and de Lami. Epist. p. 162. The number of professed martyrs has been so great, that the persecutors which was sufficient of last age that their numbers were enormous.

<sup>92</sup> Cyprian, Epist. p. 57. and de Lami. Epist. p. 162. The number of professed martyrs has been so great, that the persecutors which was sufficient of last age that their numbers were enormous.

<sup>93</sup> See Epist. p. 57. and de Lami. Epist. p. 162. The number of professed martyrs has been so great, that the persecutors which was sufficient of last age that their numbers were enormous.

<sup>94</sup> See Epist. p. 57. and de Lami. Epist. p. 162. The number of professed martyrs has been so great, that the persecutors which was sufficient of last age that their numbers were enormous.

<sup>95</sup> See Epist. p. 57. and de Lami. Epist. p. 162. The number of professed martyrs has been so great, that the persecutors which was sufficient of last age that their numbers were enormous.

sentence of the law. The behaviour of the Christians was too remarkable to escape the notice of the ancient philosophers; but they seem to have considered it with much less admiration than astonishment. Incapable of conceiving the motives which sometimes transported the fortitude of believers beyond the bounds of prudence or reason, they treated such an eagerness to die as the strange result of obstinate despair, of stupid insensibility, or of superstitious frenzy.<sup>65</sup> "Unhappy men!" exclaimed the pro-consul Antoninus to the Christians of Asia; "unhappy men! if you are thus weary of your lives, is it so difficult for you to find ropes and precipices?"<sup>66</sup> He was extremely cautious (as it is observed by a learned and pious historian) of punishing men who had found no accusers but themselves, the Imperial laws not having made any provision for so unexpected a case: condemning therefore a few, as a warning to their brethren, he dismissed the multitude with indignation and contempt.<sup>67</sup> Notwithstanding this real or affected disdain, the intrepid constancy of the faithful was productive of more salutary effects on those minds which nature or grace had disposed for the easy reception of religious truth. On these melancholy occasions, there were many among the Gentiles who pitied, who admired, and who were converted. The generous enthusiasm was communicated from the sufferer to the spectators; and the blood of martyrs, according to a well-known observation, became the seed of the church.

But although devotion had raised, and eloquence continued to inflame, this fever of the mind, it insensibly gave way to the more natural hopes and fears of the human heart, to the love of life, the apprehension of pain, and the horror of dissolution. The more prudent rulers of the church found themselves obliged to restrain the indiscreet ardour of their followers, and to distrust a constancy which too often abandoned them in the hour of trial.<sup>15</sup> As the lives of the faithful became less mortified and austere, they were every day less ambitious of the honours of martyrdom; and the soldiers of Christ, instead of distinguishing themselves by voluntary deeds of heroism, frequently deserted their post, and fled in confusion before the enemy whom it was their duty to resist. There were three methods, however, of escaping the flames of persecution, which were not attended with an equal degree of guilt: the first indeed was generally allowed to be innocent; the second was of a doubtful, or at least of a venial, nature; but the third implied a direct and criminal apostasy from the Christian faith.

I. A modern inquisitor would hear with surprise, that whenever an information was given to a Roman magistrate, of any person within his jurisdiction who had embraced the sect of the Christians, the charge was communicated to the party accused, and that a convenient time was allowed him to settle his domestic concerns, and to prepare an answer to the crime which was imputed to him.<sup>99</sup> If he entertained any doubt of his own constancy, such a delay afforded him the opportunity of preserving his life and honour by flight, of withdrawing himself into some obscure retirement or some distant province, and of patiently expecting the return of peace and security. A measure so consonant to reason was soon authorised by the advice and example of the most holy prelates; and seems to have been censured by few, except by the Montanists, who deviated into heresy by their strict and obstinate adherence to the rigour of ancient discipline.<sup>100</sup> II. The provincial governors, whose zeal was less prevalent than their avarice, had countenanced the practice of selling certificates, (or libels as they were called,) which attested, that the persons therein mentioned had complied with the laws, and sacrificed to the Roman deities. By producing these false declarations, the opulent and timid Christians were enabled to silence the malice of an informer, and to reconcile in some measure their safety with their religion. A slight penance atoned for this profane dissimulation.<sup>101</sup> III. In every persecution there were great numbers of unworthy Christians, who publicly disowned or renounced the faith which they had professed; and who confirmed the sincerity of their abjuration, by the legal acts of burning incense or of offering sacrifices. Some of these apostates had yielded on the first menace or exhortation of the magistrate; whilst the patience of others had been subdued by the length and repetition of tortures. The affrighted countenances of some betrayed their inward remorse, while others advanced with confidence and alacrity to the altars of the gods.<sup>102</sup> But the disguise, which fear had imposed, subsisted no longer than the present danger. As soon as the severity of the persecution was abated, the doors of the churches were assailed by the returning multitude of penitents, who detested their idolatrous subjection, and who solicited with equal ardour, but with various success, their re-admission into the society of Christians.<sup>103</sup>

IV. Notwithstanding the general rules established for the conviction and punishment of the Christians,

<sup>95</sup> See Epictetus, I, c. 7, though he says some things which he alludes to the Christian; Marcus Antonius de Rebus, III, c. 7. Lucian in Peregr.

36 Tertullian ad Scapula, c. 5. The 1 named included 116 on three persons of the same name, who were all procurators of Asia. I am inclined to credit this story to Antipaterus, who was afterward emperor, and who may have governed Asia under the reign of Trajan.

99 See the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna, ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. i. iv. c. 15.

99 In the second apology of Justin there is a parallel and very similar passage. The same old long story of the conversion of the Jews and a sermon by the apostles are followed by a reference to the emperor Trajan. This reference is an obvious, impudic attempt to show that a

of God, &c. &c. He has written a treatise on this subject, (pp. 176—184.) *Esse legem, &c.* &c. filled with the wisdom of heaven and the most purest of feelings. It is, however, even what remarkably, that I will leave out with a merciful eye.

[illegible]

145 It was on this occasion that Chynoweth wrote his treatise *De Lapide*, and many useful epistles. The controversy concerning the institution of the Eucharist does not extend to the Christians of the present day. Still, it would be this to the superiors of their order, and their ignorant knowledge of their history.

the fate of those sectaries, in an extensive and arbitrary government, must still, in a great measure, have depended on their own behaviour, the circumstances of the times, and the temper of their supreme as well as subordinate rulers. Zeal might sometimes provoke, and prudence might sometimes avert or assuage, the superstitious fury of the Pagans. A variety of motives might dispose the provincial governors either to enforce or to relax the execution of the laws; and of these motives the most forcible was their regard not only for the public edicts, but for the secret intentions of the emperor, a glance from whose eye was sufficient to kindle or to extinguish the flames of persecution. As often as any occasional severities were exercised in the different part of the empire, the primitive Christians lamented and perhaps magnified their own sufferings; but the celebrated number of *ten* persecutions has been determined by the ecclesiastical writers of the fifth century, who possessed a more distinct view of the prosperous or adverse fortunes of the church, from the age of Nero to that of Diocletian. The ingenious parallels of the *ten* plagues of Egypt, and of the *ten* horns of the Apocalypse, first suggested this calculation to their minds; and in their application of the faith of prophecy to the truth of history, they were careful to select those reigns which were indeed the most hostile to the Christian cause.<sup>104</sup> But these transient persecutions served only to revive the zeal, and to restore the discipline of the faithful; and the moments of extraordinary rigour were compensated by much longer intervals of peace and security. The indifference of some princes, and the indulgence of others, permitted the Christians to enjoy, though not perhaps a legal, yet an actual and public, toleration of their religion.

The apology of Tertullian contains two very ancient, very singular, but at the same time very suspicious instances of Imperial clemency; the edicts published by Tiberius, and by Marcus Antoninus, and designed not only to protect the innocence of the Christians, but even to proclaim those stupendous miracles which had attested the truth of their doctrine. The first of these examples is attended with some difficulties which might perplex a sceptical mind.<sup>165</sup> We are required to believe, *that* Pontius Pilate informed the emperor of the unjust sentence of death which he had pronounced against an innocent, and, as it appeared, a divine, person; and that, without acquiring the merit, he exposed himself to the danger, of martyrdom; *that* Tiberius, who avowed his contempt for all religion, immediately conceived the design of placing the Jewish Messiah among the gods of Rome; *that* his servile senate ventured to disobey the commands of their master; *that* Tiberius, instead of resenting their

refusal, contented himself with protecting the Christians from the severity of the laws, many years before such laws were enacted, or before the church had assumed any distinct name or existence; and lastly, *that* the memory of this extraordinary transaction was preserved in the most public and authentic records, which escaped the knowledge of the historians of Greece and Rome, and were only visible to the eyes of an African Christian, who composed his apology one hundred and sixty years after the death of Tiberius. The edict of Marcus Antoninus is supposed to have been the effect of his devotion and gratitude, for the miraculous deliverance which he had obtained in the Marcomannic war. The distress of the legions, the seasonable tempest of rain and hail, of thunder and of lightning, and the dismay and defeat of the barbarians, have been celebrated by the eloquence of several Pagan writers. If there were any Christians in that army, it was natural that they should ascribe some merit to the fervent prayers, which, in the moment of danger, they had offered up for their own and the public safety. But we are still assured by monuments of brass and marble, by the Imperial medals, and by the Antonine column, that neither the prince nor the people entertained any sense of this signal obligation, since they unanimously attribute their deliverance to the providence of Jupiter, and to the interposition of Mercury. During the whole course of his reign, Marcus despised the Christians as a philosopher, and punished them as a sovereign.<sup>1-6</sup>

By a singular fatality, the hardships which they had endured under the government of a virtuous prince, immediately ceased on the accession of a tyrant, and as none except themselves had experienced the injustice of Marcus, so they alone were protected by the lenity of Commodus. The celebrated Marcia, the most favoured of his concubines, and who at length contrived the murder of her Imperial lover, entertained a singular affection for the oppressed church; and though it was impossible that she could reconcile the practice of vice with the precepts of the Gospel, she might hope to atone for the frailties of her sex and profession, by declaring herself the patroness of the Christians.<sup>167</sup> Under the gracious protection of Marcia, they passed in safety the thirteen years of a cruel tyranny; and when the empire was established in the house of Severus, they formed a domestic but more honourable connection with the new court. The emperor was persuaded, that, in a dangerous sickness, he had derived some benefit, either spiritual or physical, from the holy oil, with which one of his slaves had anointed him. He always treated with peculiar distinction several persons of both sexes who had embraced the new religion. The nurse as well as the preceptor of

State of the  
Church in  
the reign of  
Commodus and  
Severus. A.D. 180

104 See Moshavi, p. 97. See also, Sussangkarn, the first author of this comparison, the whole section does not appear to recognize the need and the importance of understanding the role of the state.

For the test, the authors first selected 1000 English words from the *Cambridge English Dictionary*. The words were improved such that they could be used to express the intended meaning. The authors then selected 1000 words from the *Cambridge English Dictionary* and improved them such that they could be used to express the intended meaning.

1. The first of these is that the "very first" stated by Donatini et al.

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Caracalla were Christians; and if that young prince ever betrayed a sentiment of humanity, it was occasioned by an incident, which, however trifling, bore some relation to the cause of Christianity.<sup>108</sup> Under the reign of Severus, the fury of the populace was checked; the rigour of ancient laws was for some time suspended; and the provincial governors were satisfied with receiving an annual present from the churches within their jurisdiction, as the price, or as the reward, of their moderation.<sup>109</sup> The controversy concerning the precise time of the celebration of Easter armed the bishops of Asia and Italy against each other, and was considered as the most important business of this

A.D. 193.

period of leisure and tranquillity.<sup>110</sup> Nor was the peace of the church interrupted, till the increasing numbers of proselytes seem at length to have attracted the attention, and to have alienated the mind, of Severus. With the design of restraining the progress of Christianity, he published an edict, which, though it was designed to affect only the new converts, could not be carried into strict execution, without exposing to danger and punishment the most zealous of their teachers and missionaries. In this mitigated persecution, we may still discover the indulgent spirit of Rome and of polytheism, which so readily admitted every excuse in favour of those who practised the religious ceremonies of their fathers.<sup>111</sup>

But the laws which Severus had enacted, soon expired with the authority of that emperor; and the

Christians, after this accidental tempest, enjoyed a calm of thirty eight years.<sup>112</sup> Till this period they had usually held their assemblies in private houses and sequestered places. They were now permitted to erect and consecrate convenient edifices for the purpose of religious worship;<sup>113</sup> to purchase lands, even at Rome itself, for the use of the community; and to conduct the elections of their ecclesiastical ministers in so public, but at the same time in so exemplary, a manner, as to deserve the respectful attention of the Gentiles.<sup>114</sup> This long repose of the church was accompanied with dignity. The reigns of those princes who derived their extraction from the Asiatic provinces, proved the most favourable to the Christians; the eminent persons of the sect, instead of being reduced to implore the protection of a slave or concubine, were admitted into the palace in the honourable cha-

acters of priests and philosophers; and their mysterious doctrines, which were already diffused among the people, insensibly attracted the curiosity of their sovereign. When the empress Mammæa passed through Antioch, she expressed a desire of conversing with the celebrated Origen, the fame of whose piety and learning was spread over the East. Origen obeyed so flattering an invitation, and though he could not expect to succeed in the conversion of an artful and ambitious woman, she listened with pleasure to his eloquent exhortations, and honourably dismissed him to his retirement in Palestine.<sup>115</sup> The sentiments of Mammæa were adopted by her son Alexander, and the philosophic devotion of that emperor was marked by a singular but injudicious regard for the Christian religion. In his domestic chapel he placed the statues of Abraham, of Orpheus, of Apollonius, and of Christ, as an honour justly due to those respectable sages who had instructed mankind in the various modes of addressing their homage to the supreme and universal Deity.<sup>116</sup> A purer faith, as well as worship, was openly professed and practised among his household. Bishops, perhaps for the first time, were seen at court; and, after the death of Alexander, when the inhuman Maximin discharged his fury on the favourites and servants of his unfortunate benefactor, a great number of Christians, of every rank, and of both sexes, were involved in the promiscuous massacre, which, on their account, has improperly received the name of Persecution.<sup>117</sup>

Notwithstanding the cruel disposition of Maximin, the effects of his resentment against the Christians were of a very local and temporary nature, and the pious Origen, who had been proscribed as a devoted victim, was still reserved to convey the truth of the Gospel to the ear of monarchs.<sup>118</sup> He addressed several edifying letters to the emperor Philip, to his wife, and to his mother; and as soon as that prince, who was born in the neighbourhood of Palestine, had usurped the Imperial sceptre, the Christians acquired a friend and a protector. The public and even partial favour of Philip towards the sectaries of the new religion, and his constant reverence for the ministers of the church, gave some colour to the suspicion, which prevailed in his own times, that the emperor himself was become a convert

Of Maximin, Philip, and Decius.

A.D. 244.

<sup>108</sup> Compare the life of Caracalla in the Augustan History, with the epistle of Tertullian to Scapula. In Tertullian's account of Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 56, 57, a constant desire to convert it into a pure lie.

<sup>109</sup> Tertullian de Fide, p. 15. The story was, and during the first of the persecutions, and it is still in the minds of the Christians, that the faithful should be cut out of the most famous professions, which purchased their names of the emperor.

<sup>110</sup> See the life of Origen, p. 25, 26. Mosheim, p. 170, 171.

<sup>111</sup> Justin Martyr's dialogue with Trypho. *Idem* *enchaîné de Chrétiens* *enchaînés*. Hist. Angl. p. 20.

<sup>112</sup> See Severus, *l. ii.* p. 781. This commences a following of the emperor, and by

continued by Tillamont, p. 224, and by Mr. the first construction of them to the peace of Alexander Severus, the latter to the peace of Gallienus.

<sup>113</sup> See the Augustan History, p. 130. The emperor Alexander admitted their meetings, and it is not proper to name of those persons who were admitted to the emperor's table. It is true, that the favour of this practice is likewise attributed to the emperor.

<sup>115</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 21. Hieronym. de Script. Eccl. *l. c.* Mammæa was a holy and pious woman, both by the Christians and the Pagans. From the former, therefore, it was impossible that she

<sup>116</sup> See the Augustan History, p. 174. The emperor had a public temple to him, and Augustus, p. 174. The object which was suggested either to him, or at least in circumstances to Hadrian, appear to have no other foundation than an unprovable report, invented by the historians, and exclusively adopted by an historian of the age of Constantine.

<sup>117</sup> Euseb. *l. vi.* c. 28. It may be presumed, that the success of the Christians has superseded the reason of history of the Pagans. Decius, who composed his history under the former reign, had more probably intended for the use of his master those councils of persecution, which he ascribes to a better age, and to the favourite of Augustus. Concerning this opinion of M. de la Harpe, or rather of Doria, I am not to my own satisfaction of opinion. See *l. vi.* *l. viii.* *l. xii.* and to the Abbé de la Harpe (*Mémoires de l'Académie*, tom. xxiv. p. 7, 8, tom. xvi. p. 174.)

<sup>118</sup> Doria, *l. viii.* c. 1. mentions Origen as the object of Maximin's resentment, and Firmilianus, *l. ii.* c. 1. as the bishop of that see, who joined and combined ideas of this persecution. (*apud* Cyren. *Epist.* *l. ii.*)

to the faith; <sup>111</sup> and afforded some grounds for a fable which was afterwards invented, that he had been purified by confession and penance from the guilt contracted by the murder of his innocent predecessor. <sup>112</sup> The fall of

<sup>A D. 250.</sup> Philip introduced, with the change of masters, a new system of government, so oppressive to the Christians, that their former condition, ever since the time of Domitian, was represented as a state of perfect freedom and security, if compared with the rigorous treatment which they experienced under the short reign of Decius. <sup>121</sup> The virtues of that prince will scarcely allow us to suspect that he was actuated by a mean resentment against the favourites of his predecessor; and it is more reasonable to believe, that in the prosecution of his general design to restore the purity of Roman manners, he was desirous of delivering the empire from what he condemned as a recent and criminal superstition. The bishops of the most considerable cities were removed by exile or death: the vigilance of the magistrates prevented the clergy of Rome during sixteen months from proceeding to a new election; and it was the opinion of the Christians, that the emperor would more patiently endure a competitor for the purple, than a bishop in the capital. <sup>122</sup> Were it possible to suppose that the penetration of Decius had discovered pride under the disguise of humility, or that he could foresee the temporal dominion which might insensibly arise from the claims of spiritual authority, we might be less surprised, that he should consider the successors of St. Peter as the most formidable rivals to those of Augustus.

<sup>OF IT ROME.</sup> The administration of Valerian was distinguished by a levity and inconsistency, ill suited to the gravity of the *Roman Censors*. In the first part of his reign, he surpassed in clemency those princes who had been suspected of an attachment to the Christian faith. In the last three years and a half, listening to the insinuations of a minister addicted to the superstitions of Egypt, he adopted the maxims, and imitated the severity, of his predecessor Decius. <sup>123</sup> The accession of Gallienus, which increased the calamities of the empire, restored peace to the church; and the Christians obtained the free exercise of their religion, by an edict addressed to the bishops, and conceived in such terms as seemed to acknowledge their office and public character. <sup>124</sup> The ancient laws, without being formally re-

pealed, were suffered to sink into oblivion; and (excepting only some hostile intentions which are attributed to the emperor Aurlian<sup>125</sup>) the disciples of Christ passed above forty years in a state of prosperity, far more dangerous to their virtue than the severest trials of persecution.

The story of Paul of Samosata, who filled the metropolitan see of <sup>Paul of Samosata, his episcopate, A.D. 260.</sup> Antioch, while the East was in the hands of Odenathus and Zenobia, may serve to illustrate the condition and character of the times. The wealth of that prelate was a sufficient evidence of his guilt, since it was neither derived from the inheritance of his fathers, nor acquired by the arts of honest industry. But Paul considered the service of the church as a very lucrative profession. <sup>126</sup> His ecclesiastical jurisdiction was venal and rapacious; he extorted frequent contributions from the most opulent of the faithful, and converted to his own use a considerable part of the public revenue. By his pride and luxury, the Christian religion was rendered odious in the eyes of the Gentiles. His council chamber and his throne, the splendour with which he appeared in public, the suppliant crowd who solicited his attention, the multitude of letters and petitions to which he dictated his answers, and the perpetual hurry of business in which he was involved, were circumstances much better suited to the state of a civil magistrate, <sup>127</sup> than to the humility of a primitive bishop. When he harangued his people from the pulpit, Paul affected the figurative style and the rhetorical gestures of an Asiatic sophist, while the cathedral resounded with the loudest and most extravagant acclamations in the praise of his divine eloquence. Against those who resisted his power, or refused to flatter his vanity, the prelate of Antioch was arrogant, rigid and inexorable; but he relaxed the discipline, and lavished the treasures of the church on his dependent clergy, who were permitted to imitate their master in the gratification of every sensual appetite. For Paul indulged himself very freely in the pleasures of the table, and he had received into the episcopal palace two young and beautiful women, as the constant companions of his leisure moments. <sup>128</sup>

Notwithstanding these scandalous vices, if Paul of Samosata had preserved the purity of the orthodox faith, his reign over the capital of Syria would have ended only with his life; and had a season-

<sup>He is de rated from the see of Antioch, A.D. 260.</sup>

which seems to have been very common. By another edict, he directed that the *Cathedra* should be restored to the Christians.

<sup>121</sup> Euseb. l. vi. c. 50. Eusebius de M. P. c. 6. Hieronym. in Chron. p. 177. Orosius, l. vi. c. 23. The historians mention no other cause of this persecution, than that it was at a happy season for the emperor to destroy the superstitions of his subjects. Most of the persecutors, except Diocletian, Diocletian, and Maximian, were themselves Christians, and were not less zealous in the persecution of their own religion.

<sup>122</sup> Paul was better pleased with the title of *Domitian*, than with that of bishop. The *Encyclopædion* says, that he was called from his severity, *the God of the Jews*. He was a native of Samosata, a city of Syria, and died August 10. 260. See a more particular account of his episcopate, and of the persecution which he carried on, in the *Encyclopædion*, which is a very good and useful work, and is a very good and useful work.

<sup>123</sup> Euseb. l. vi. c. 10. Maximian, a native of Samosata, was one of the most cruel persecutors of the Christians. He was a native of Samosata, a city of Syria, and died August 10. 260. See a more particular account of his episcopate, and of the persecution which he carried on, in the *Encyclopædion*, which is a very good and useful work, and is a very good and useful work.

<sup>124</sup> Euseb. l. vi. c. 17. The Greek version of the *Acts*, A. 19. says, that the emperor Valerian, who was a native of Samosata, was one of the most cruel persecutors of the Christians. He was a native of Samosata, a city of Syria, and died August 10. 260. See a more particular account of his episcopate, and of the persecution which he carried on, in the *Encyclopædion*, which is a very good and useful work, and is a very good and useful work.

<sup>111</sup> The mention of those princes who were public enemies to the Christians, as we find it in the *Acts*, of Diocletian of Alexandria (Ep. Euseb. l. vi. c. 10), evidently alludes to Philip and his family, and forms a contemporary evidence, that such a report had prevailed, but the Egyptian bishop, who lived at an immense distance from the court of Rome, was too remote to be hearing of such a report, and the truth of the fact. The apostle of Origen, which were written in the time of Eusebius, see l. vi. c. 50, would most probably mention the emperor, rather than an emperor, question.

<sup>112</sup> Euseb. l. vi. c. 31. The story, as usual, has been repeated, and is a very good and useful work.

<sup>113</sup> Euseb. l. vi. c. 31. The story, as usual, has been repeated, and is a very good and useful work.

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<sup>115</sup> Euseb. l. vi. c. 17. The Greek version of the *Acts*, A. 19. says, that the emperor Valerian, who was a native of Samosata, was one of the most cruel persecutors of the Christians. He was a native of Samosata, a city of Syria, and died August 10. 260. See a more particular account of his episcopate, and of the persecution which he carried on, in the *Encyclopædion*, which is a very good and useful work, and is a very good and useful work.







religious persecution than of martial or even civil law: but they served to alienate the mind of the emperors; to justify the severity of Galerius, who dismissed a great number of Christian officers from their employments; and to authorise the opinion, that a sect of enthusiasts, which avowed principles so repugnant to the public safety, must either remain useless, or would soon become dangerous, subjects of the empire.

Galerius prevails on Diocletian to begin a general persecution.

After the success of the Persian war had raised the hopes and the reputation of Galerius, he passed a winter with Diocletian in the palace of Nicomedia; and the fate of Christianity became the object of their secret consultations.<sup>147</sup> The experienced emperor was still inclined to pursue measures of lenity; and though he readily consented to exclude the Christians from holding any employments in the household or the army, he urged in the strongest terms the danger as well as cruelty of shedding the blood of those deluded fanatics. Galerius at length extorted from him the permission of summoning a council, composed of a few persons the most distinguished in the civil and military departments of the state. The important question was agitated in their presence, and those ambitious courtiers easily discerned, that it was incumbent on them to second, by their eloquence, the importunate violence of the Cæsar. It may be presumed, that they insisted on every topic which might interest the pride, the piety, or the fears of their sovereign in the destruction of Christianity. Perhaps they represented, that the glorious work of the deliverance of the empire was left imperfect, as long as an independent people was permitted to subsist and multiply in the heart of the provinces. The Christians (it might speciously be alleged), renouncing the gods and the institutions of Rome, had constituted a distinct republic, which might yet be suppressed before it had acquired any military force; but which was already governed by its own laws and magistrates, was possessed of a public treasure, and was intimately connected in all its parts, by the frequent assemblies of the bishops, to whose decrees their numerous and opulent congregations yielded an implicit obedience. Arguments like these may seem to have determined the reluctant mind of Diocletian to embrace a new system of persecution: but though we may suspect, it is not in our power to relate, the secret intrigues of the palace, the private views and resentments, the jealousy of women or eunuchs, and all those trifling but decisive causes which so often influence the fate of empires, and the councils of the wisest monarchs.<sup>148</sup>

The pleasure of the emperors was at length signified to the Christians, who, during the course of this melancholy winter, had expected, with anxiety, the result of so many secret consult-

ations. The twenty-third of February, which coincided with the Roman festival of the Terminalia,<sup>149</sup> was appointed (whether from accident or design) to set bounds to the progress of Christianity. At the earliest dawn of day, the prætorian præfect,<sup>150</sup> accompanied by several generals, tribunes, and officers of the revenue, repaired to the principal church of Nicomedia, which was situated on an eminence in the most populous and beautiful part of the city. The doors were instantly broke open; they rushed into the sanctuary; and as they searched in vain for some visible object of worship, they were obliged to content themselves with committing to the flames the volumes of Holy Scripture. The ministers of Diocletian were followed by a numerous body of guards and pioneers, who marched in order of battle, and were provided with all the instruments used in the destruction of fortified cities. By their incessant labour, a sacred edifice, which towered above the Imperial palace, and had long excited the indignation and envy of the Gentiles, was in a few hours levelled with the ground.<sup>151</sup>

The next day the general edict of persecution was published;<sup>152</sup> and though Diocletian, still averse to the effusion of blood, had moderated the fury of Galerius, who proposed, that every one refusing to offer sacrifice should immediately be burnt alive, the penalties inflicted on the obstinacy of the Christians might be deemed sufficiently rigorous and effectual. It was enacted, that their churches, in all the provinces of the empire, should be demolished to their foundations; and the punishment of death was denounced against all who should presume to hold any secret assemblies for the purpose of religious worship. The philosophers, who now assumed the unworthy office of directing the blind zeal of persecution, had diligently studied the nature and genius of the Christian religion; and as they were not ignorant that the speculative doctrines of the faith were supposed to be contained in the writings of the prophets, of the evangelists, and of the apostles, they most probably suggested the order, that the bishops and presbyters should deliver all their sacred books into the hands of the magistrates; who were commanded, under the severest penalties, to burn them in a public and solemn manner. By the same edict, the property of the church was at once confiscated; and the several parts of which it might consist, were either sold to the highest bidder, united to the Imperial domain, bestowed on the cities and corporations, or granted to the solicitations of rapacious courtiers. After taking such effectual measures to abolish the worship, and to dissolve the government, of the Christians, it was thought necessary to subject to the most intolerable hardships the condition of those perverse individuals who should still reject the religion of nature, of

Demosthenes on the death of Nicomedia. A.D. 303, 23d Feb.

<sup>147</sup> De M. P. c. 11. Lactantius (or whoever was the author of this little treatise) was, at that time, an inhabitant of Nicomedia, but it seems difficult to conceive how he could acquire so accurate a knowledge of what passed in the Imperial council.

<sup>148</sup> The only circumstance which we can discover, in the history or traditions of the mother of Galerius. She is described in Lactantius, as being a Roman matron, and a mother of a Christian. She had a great influence over her son, and was offended by the degraded edict of some of her Christian servants.

<sup>149</sup> The worship and festival of the god Terminus are explain-

ed by M. de Boze, Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. 3, p. 61.

<sup>150</sup> In our only MS. of Lactantius, we read *proculus*; but reason, and the authority of all the others, allow us, instead of that word, which denotes the seat of the prætor, to substitute *prætor*.

<sup>151</sup> Lactantius de M. P. c. 12 gives a very lively picture of the destruction of the church. "I have, from many scattered passages of Lactantius, endeavoured to collect a more complete picture of the scene, though the fragments are scattered and disconnected."

Rome, and of their ancestors. Persons of a liberal birth were declared incapable of holding any honours or employments; slaves were for ever deprived of the hopes of freedom; and the whole body of the people were put out of the protection of the law. The judges were authorised to hear and to determine every action that was brought against a Christian. But the Christians were not permitted to complain of any injury which they themselves had suffered; and thus those unfortunate scenarios were exposed to the severity, while they were excluded from the benefits, of public justice. This new species of martyrdom, so painful and lingering, so obscure and ignominious, was, perhaps, the most proper to weary the constancy of the faithful: nor can it be doubted that the passions and interest of mankind were disposed on this occasion to second the designs of the emperors. But the policy of a well-ordered government must sometimes have interposed in behalf of the oppressed Christians; nor was it possible for the Roman princes entirely to remove the apprehensions of punishment, or to connive at every act of fraud and violence, without exposing their own authority and the rest of their subjects to the most alarming dangers.<sup>153</sup>

Zeal and punishment of a Christian.

This edict was scarcely exhibited to the public view, in the most conspicuous place of Nicomedia, before it was torn down by the hands of a Christian, who expressed, at the same time, by the bitterest invectives, his contempt as well as abhorrence for such impious and tyrannical governors. His offence, according to the mildest laws, amounted to treason, and deserved death. And if it be true that he was a person of rank and education, those circumstances could serve only to aggravate his guilt. He was burnt, or rather roasted, by a slow fire; and his executors, zealous to revenge the personal insult which had been offered to the emperors, exhausted every refinement of cruelty, without being able to subdue his patience, or to alter the steady and insulting smile which in his dying agonies he still preserved in his countenance. The Christians, though they confessed that his conduct had not been strictly conformable to the laws of prudence, admired the divine fervour of his zeal; and the excessive commendations which they lavished on the memory of their hero and martyr, contributed to fix a deep impression of terror and hatred in the mind of Diocletian.<sup>154</sup>

Fire of the palace of Nicomedia, kindled by the Christians.

His fears were soon alarmed by the view of a danger from which he very narrowly escaped. Within fifteen days the palace of Nicomedia, and even the bedchamber of Diocletian, were twice in flames; and though both times they were extinguished without any material damage, the singular repetition of the fire was justly considered as an evident proof that it had not been the effect of chance or negligence. The sus-

picion naturally fell on the Christians; and it was suggested, with some degree of probability, that those desperate fanatics, provoked by their present sufferings, and apprehensive of impending calamities, had entered into a conspiracy with their faithful brethren, the eunuchs of the palace, against the lives of two emperors, whom they detested as the irreconcilable enemies of the church of God. Jealousy and resentment prevailed in every breast, but especially in that of Diocletian. A great number of persons, distinguished either by the offices which they had filled, or by the favour which they had enjoyed, were thrown into prison. Every mode of torture was put in practice, and the court, as well as city, was polluted with many bloody executions.<sup>155</sup> But as it was found impossible to extort any discovery of this mysterious transaction, it seems incumbent on us either to presume the innocence, or to admire the resolution, of the sufferers. A few days afterwards Galerius hastily withdrew himself from Nicomedia, declaring, that if he delayed his departure from that devoted palace, he should fall a sacrifice to the rage of the Christians. The ecclesiastical historians, from whom alone we derive a partial and imperfect knowledge of this persecution, are at a loss how to account for the fears and dangers of the emperors. Two of these writers, a prince and a rhetorician, were eye-witnesses of the fire of Nicomedia. The one ascribes it to lightning, and the divine wrath; the other affirms, that it was kindled by the malice of Galerius himself.<sup>156</sup>

As the edict against the Christians of law was designed for a general execution of the whole empire, and as Diocletian and Galerius, though they might not wait for the consent, were assured of the concurrence, of the Western princes, it would appear more consonant to our ideas of policy, that the governors of all the provinces should have received secret instructions to publish on one and the same day, this declaration of war within their respective departments. It was at least to be expected, that the convenience of the public highways and established posts would have enabled the emperors to transmit their orders with the utmost despatch from the palace of Nicomedia to the extremities of the Roman world; and that they would not have suffered fifty days to elapse, before the edict was published in Syria, and near four months before it was signified to the cities of Africa.<sup>157</sup> This delay may perhaps be imputed to the cautious temper of Diocletian, who had yielded a reluctant consent to the measures of persecution, and who was desirous of trying the experiment under his more immediate eye, before he gave way to the disorders and discontent which it must inevitably occasion in the distant provinces. At first, indeed, the magistrates were restrained from the effusion of blood; but the use of every other severity was

<sup>153</sup> Many ages afterwards, Edward I. pursued, with great severity, the same mode of persecution against the Jews. See Henry's History of England, vol. 1. p. 124. 125.

<sup>154</sup> Lactantius may, perhaps, be understood to mean, that the Christians were not permitted to complain of any injury which they themselves had suffered; and thus those unfortunate scenarios were exposed to the severity, while they were excluded from the benefits, of public justice. This new species of martyrdom, so painful and lingering, so obscure and ignominious, was, perhaps, the most proper to weary the constancy of the faithful: nor can it be doubted that the passions and interest of mankind were disposed on this occasion to second the designs of the emperors. But the policy of a well-ordered government must sometimes have interposed in behalf of the oppressed Christians; nor was it possible for the Roman princes entirely to remove the apprehensions of punishment, or to connive at every act of fraud and violence, without exposing their own authority and the rest of their subjects to the most alarming dangers.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>155</sup> Lactantius de M. P. c. 12, 14. Eusebius, Hist. eccl. l. vi. c. 12.

<sup>156</sup> Lactantius de M. P. c. 12, 14. Eusebius, Hist. eccl. l. vi. c. 12. The one ascribes it to lightning, and the divine wrath; the other affirms, that it was kindled by the malice of Galerius himself.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>157</sup> Lactantius de M. P. c. 12, 14. Eusebius, Hist. eccl. l. vi. c. 12.

permitted, and even recommended to their zeal; nor could the Christians, though they cheerfully resigned the ornaments of their churches, resolve to interrupt their religious assemblies, or to deliver their sacred books to the flames. The pious obstinacy of Felix, an African bishop, appears to have embarrassed the subordinate ministers of the government. The curator of his city sent him in chains to the proconsul. The proconsul transmitted him to the prætorian præfect of Italy; and Felix, who disdained even to give an evasive answer, was at length beheaded at Venusia, in Lucania, a place on which the birth of Horace has conferred fame.<sup>158</sup> This precedent, and perhaps some Imperial rescript, which was issued in consequence of it, appeared to authorise the governors of provinces in punishing with death the refusal of the Christians to deliver up their sacred books. There were undoubtedly many persons who embraced this opportunity of obtaining the crown of martyrdom; but there were likewise too many who purchased an ignominious life, by discovering and betraying the holy scripture into the hands of infidels. A great number even of bishops and presbyters acquired, by this criminal compliance, the opprobrious epithet of *Traditors*, and their offence was productive of much present scandal, and of much future discord, in the African church.<sup>159</sup>

Demolition of the churches. The copies, as well as the versions of scripture, were already so multiplied in the empire, that the most severe inquisition could no longer be attended with any fatal consequences; and even the sacrifice of those volumes, which, in every congregation, were preserved for public use, required the consent of some treacherous and unworthy Christians. But the ruin of the churches was easily effected by the authority of the government, and by the labour of the Pagans. In some provinces, however, the magistrates contented themselves with shutting up the places of religious worship. In others, they more literally complied with the terms of the edict; and after taking away the doors, the benches, and the pulpit, which they burnt, as it were in a funeral pile, they completely demolished the remainder of the edifice.<sup>160</sup> It is perhaps to this melancholy occasion, that we should apply a very remarkable story, which is related with so many circumstances of variety and improbability, that it serves rather to excite than to satisfy our curiosity. In a small town in Phrygia, of whose name as well as situation we are left ignorant, it should seem, that the magistrates and the body of the people had embraced the Christian faith; and as some resistance might

be apprehended to the execution of the edict, the governor of the province was supported by a numerous detachment of legionaries. On their approach the citizens threw themselves into the church, with the resolution either of defending by arms that sacred edifice, or of perishing in its ruins. They indignantly rejected the notice and permission which was given to them, to retire, till the soldiers, provoked by their obstinate refusal, set fire to the building on all sides, and consumed, by this extraordinary kind of martyrdom, a great number of Physicians, with their wives and children.<sup>161</sup>

Some slight disturbances, though they were suppressed almost as soon Sulsequent edicts. as excited, in Syria and the frontiers of Armenia, afforded the enemies of the church a very plausible occasion to insinuate, that those troubles had been secretly fomented by the intrigues of the bishops, who had already forgotten their ostentatious professions of passive and unlimited obedience.<sup>162</sup> The resentment, or the fears, of Diocletian, at length transported him beyond the bounds of moderation, which he had hitherto preserved, and he declared, in a series of cruel edicts, his intention of abolishing the Christian name. By the first of these edicts, the governors of the provinces were directed to apprehend all persons of the ecclesiastical order; and the prisons, destined for the vilest criminals, were soon filled with a multitude of bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers, and exorcists. By a second edict, the magistrates were commanded to employ every method of severity, which might reclaim them from their odious superstition, and oblige them to return to the established worship of the gods. This rigorous order was extended, by a subsequent edict, to the whole body of Christians, who were exposed to a violent and general persecution.<sup>163</sup> Instead of those salutary restraints, which had required the direct and solemn testimony of an accuser, it became the duty as well as the interest of the Imperial officers, to discover, to pursue, and to torment, the most obnoxious among the faithful. Heavy penalties were denounced against all who should presume to save a proscribed sectary from the just indignation of the gods, and of the emperors. Yet, notwithstanding the severity of this law, the virtuous courage of many of the Pagans, in concealing their friends or relations, affords an honourable proof, that the rage of superstition had not extinguished in their minds the sentiments of nature and humanity.<sup>164</sup>

Diocletian had no sooner published his edicts against the Christians General idea of the persecution than, as if he had been desirous of committing to other hands the work of persecution, he divested

<sup>158</sup> See the *Acta Sincera* of Rudinart, p. 557; those of Felix of Thibara, or Tibura, appear much less corrupted than in the other editions, which offer a lively specimen of legendary history.

<sup>159</sup> See the first book of Optatus of Mile against the Donatists at Paris, 1560, edit. Duyn. He lived under the reign of Valens.

<sup>160</sup> The ancient monuments, published at the end of Optatus,

<sup>161</sup> See *Modestus*, p. 478. The text of Eusebius very plainly shows, that the governors whose powers were enlarged, did not intend, by the new laws, to add pain to the death of the most sacred priests, as any other body of men would have done.

<sup>162</sup> *Acta Modestus*, p. 550. 41. The emperor, Maximilian, told, in a particular manner, that the Christians, who were enlarged, did not intend, by the new laws, to add pain to the death of the most sacred priests, as any other body of men would have done.

Phrygia reached to the confines of Lycia, it is possible that the restlessness of those independent barbarians may have contributed to this misfortune.

<sup>162</sup> Eusebius, *l. viii. c. 6*. M. de V. V. (with some probability) thinks that he has discovered the Syrian rebellion on an edition of Labranus, and that it was a rash attempt of the tribune Eusebius, who with only his hundred men, to assault the Christians in the town of Emesa, (*l. ix. c. 1*) which was well known to be a city of the Christians.

<sup>163</sup> See *Modestus*, p. 478. The text of Eusebius very plainly shows, that the governors whose powers were enlarged, did not intend, by the new laws, to add pain to the death of the most sacred priests, as any other body of men would have done.

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still more reprehensible. A deacon of that city had published a libel against the emperor. The offender took refuge in the episcopal palace; and though it was somewhat early to advance any claims of ecclesiastical immunities, the bishop refused to deliver him up to the officers of justice. For this treasonable resistance, Mennius was summoned to court, and instead of receiving a legal sentence of death or banishment, he was permitted, after a short examination, to return to his diocese.<sup>170</sup> Such was the happy condition of the Christian subjects of Maxentius, that whenever they were desirous of procuring for their own use any bodies of martyrs, they were obliged to purchase them from the most distant provinces of the East. A story is related of Aglae, a Roman lady, descended from a consular family, and possessed of so ample an estate that it required the management of seventy-three stewards. Among these, Boniface was the favourite of his mistress; and as Aglae mixed love with devotion, it is reported that he was admitted to share her bed. Her fortune enabled her to gratify the pious desire of obtaining some sacred relics from the East. She intrusted Boniface with a considerable sum of gold, and a large quantity of aromatics; and her lover, attended by twelve horsemen and three covered chariots, undertook a remote pilgrimage, as far as Tarsus in Cilicia.<sup>171</sup>

The sanguinary temper of Galerius, the first and principal author of the persecution, was formidable to those Christians whom their misfortunes had placed within the limits of his dominions; and it may fairly be presumed, that many persons of a middle rank, who were not confined by the chains either of wealth or of poverty, very frequently deserted their native country, and sought a refuge in the milder climate of the West. As long as he commanded only the armies and provinces of Illyricum, he could with difficulty either find or make a considerable number of martyrs, in a warlike country, which had entertained the missionaries of the Gospel with more coldness and reluctance than any other part of the empire.<sup>172</sup> But when Galerius had obtained the supreme power and the government of the East, he indulged in their fullest extent his zeal and cruelty, not only in the provinces of Thrace and Asia, which acknowledged his immediate jurisdiction, but in those of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, where Maximin gratified his own inclination, by yielding a rigorous obedience to the stern commands of his benefactor.<sup>173</sup> The frequent disappointments of his ambitious views, the experience of six years of persecution, and the salutary reflections which a lingering and painful distemper suggested to the mind of Galerius, at length convinced him that the most violent efforts of despotism are insufficient to extirpate a whole people, or to subdue their

religious prejudices. Desirous of repairing the mischief that he had occasioned, he published in his own name, and in those of Licinius and Constantine, a general edict, which, after a pompous recital of the Imperial titles, proceeded in the following manner:

"Among the important cares which have occupied our mind for the utility and preservation of the empire, it was our intention to correct and re-establish all things according to the ancient laws and public discipline of the Romans. We were particularly desirous of reclaiming, into the way of reason and nature, the deluded Christians, who had renounced the religion and ceremonies instituted by their fathers; and, presumptuously despising the practice of antiquity, had invented extravagant laws and opinions according to the dictates of their fancy, and had collected a various society from the different provinces of our empire. The edicts which we have published to enforce the worship of the gods having exposed many of the Christians to danger and distress, many having suffered death, and many more, who still persist in their impious folly, being left destitute of any public exercise of religion, we are disposed to extend to those unhappy men the effects of our wonted clemency. We permit them, therefore, freely to profess their private opinions, and to assemble in their conventicles without fear or molestation, provided always that they preserve a due respect to the established laws and government. By another rescript we shall signify our intentions to the judges and magistrates; and we hope that our indulgence will engage the Christians to offer up their prayers to the Deity whom they adore, for our safety and prosperity, for their own, and for that of the republic."<sup>174</sup> It is not usually in the language of edicts and manifestoes that we should search for the real character or the secret motives of princes; but as these were the words of a dying emperor, his situation, perhaps, may be admitted as a pledge of his sincerity.

When Galerius subscribed this edict of toleration, he was well assured that Licinius would readily comply with the inclinations of his friend and benefactor, and that any measures in favour of the Christians would obtain the approbation of Constantine. But the emperor would not venture to insert in the preamble the name of Maximin, whose consent was of the greatest importance, and who succeeded a few days afterwards to the provinces of Asia. In the first six months, however, of his new reign, Maximin affected to adopt the prudent counsels of his predecessor; and though he never condescended to secure the tranquillity of the church by a public edict, Sabinus, his praetorian praefect, addressed a circular letter to

Galerius publishes an edict of toleration.

Peace of the church

<sup>170</sup> Oribasius contra. Donatists, l. i. c. 17, 18.

<sup>171</sup> The acts of the Passion of St. Boniface, which abound in miracles and declarations, are published by Ruinart (p. 285-291), both in Greek and Latin. They are very ancient manuscripts, and there exist few traces of a later version. It has been thought that he extended his jurisdiction over Sicily, the capital of that great province. See the Greek text of the Acts of St. Paul, p. 68-76, with the observations of Lucas Holstenius.

<sup>172</sup> The sixth book of Eusebius, as well as the supplement concerning the martyrs of Palestine, principally relate to the persecution of Galerius and Maximin. The general laws and institutions with which Licinius opens the sixth book of his Divine Institutions, allude to their cruelty.

<sup>173</sup> Eusebius (l. vi. c. 17) has given us a Greek version and Justinus (l. ii. p. c. 51), the Latin original, of this memorable edict. Neither of these writers seems to recollect how strictly it should be observed; they have just affirmed of the remission and relaxation of its terms.

all the governors and magistrates of the provinces, exultating on the Imperial clemency, acknowledging the invincible obstinacy of the Christians, and directing the officers of justice to cease their intellectual prosecutions, and to connive at the secret assemblies of those enthusiasts. In consequence of these orders, great numbers of Christians were released from prison, or delivered from the mines. The confessors, singing hymns of triumph, returned into their own countries; and those who had yielded to the violence of the tempest, solicited with tears of repentance their re-admission into the bosom of the church.<sup>175</sup>

But this treacherous calm was of short duration; nor could the Christians of the East place any confidence in the character of their sovereign. Cruelty and superstition were the ruling passions of the soul of Maximin. The former suggested the means, the latter pointed out the objects, of persecution. The emperor was devoted to the worship of the gods, to the study of magic, and to the belief of oracles. The prophets or philosophers, whom he revered as the favourites of heaven, were frequently raised to the government of provinces, and admitted into his most secret councils. They easily convinced him that the Christians had been indebted for their victories to their regular discipline, and that the weakness of polytheism had principally flowed from a want of union and subordination among the ministers of religion. A system of government was therefore instituted, which was evidently copied from the policy of the church. In all the great cities of the empire, the temples were repaired and beautified by the order of Maximin; and the officiating priests of the various duties were subjected to the authority of a superior pontiff, destined to oppose the bishop, and to promote the cause of paganism. These pontiffs acknowledged, in their turn, the supreme jurisdiction of the metropolitans or high priests of the province, who acted as the immediate viceregents of the emperor himself. A white robe was the ensign of their dignity; and these new prelates were carefully selected from the most noble and opulent families. By the influence of the magistrates, and of the sacerdotal order, a great number of dutiful addresses were obtained, particularly from the cities of Nicomedia, Antioch, and Tyre, which artfully represented the well-known intentions of the court as the general sense of the people; solicited the emperor to consult the laws of justice rather than the dictates of his clemency; expressed their abhorrence of the Christians, and humbly prayed that those mispious sectaries might at least be excluded from the limits of their respective territories. The answer of Maximin to the address which he obtained from the citizens of Tyre is still extant. He praises their zeal and devotion in terms of the highest satisfaction; descants on the obstinate

impiety of the Christians; and betrays, by the readiness with which he consents to their basingment, that he considered himself as receiving, rather than as conferring, an obligation. The priests, as well as the magistrates, were empowered to enforce the execution of his edicts, which were engraved on tables of brass; and though it was recommended to them to avoid the effusion of blood, the most cruel and ignominious punishments were inflicted on the refractory Christians.<sup>176</sup>

The Asiatic Christians had every thing to dread from the severity of a bigoted monarch who prepared his measures of violence with such deliberate policy. But a few months had scarcely elapsed, before the edicts published by the two Western emperors obliged Maximin to suspend the prosecution of his designs: the civil war which he so rashly undertook against Licinius employed all his attention; and the defeat and death of Maximin soon delivered the church from the last and most implacable of her enemies. 177

In this general view of the persecution, which was first authorised by the edicts of Diocletian, I have purposely refrained from describing the particular sufferings and deaths of the Christian martyrs. It would have been an easy task, from the history of Eusebius, from the declamations of Lactantius, and from the most ancient acts, to collect a long series of horrid and disgusting pictures, and to fill many pages with racks and scourges, with iron hooks and red-hot beds, and with all the variety of tortures which fire and steel, savage beasts and more savage executioners, could inflict on the human body. These melancholy scenes might be enlivened by a crowd of visions and miracles destined either to delay the death, to celebrate the triumph, or to discover the relics, of those canonised saints who suffered for the name of Christ. But I cannot determine what I ought to transcribe, till I am satisfied how much I ought to believe. The gravest of the ecclesiastical historians, Eusebius himself, indirectly confesses, that he has related whatever might redound to the glory, and that he has suppressed all that could tend to the disgrace, of religion.<sup>178</sup> Such an acknowledgment will naturally excite a suspicion that a writer who has so openly violated one of the fundamental laws of history, has not paid a very strict regard to the observance of the other; and the suspicion will derive additional credit from the character of Eusebius, which was less tinged with credulity, and more practised in the arts of courts, than that of almost any of his contemporaries. On some particular occasions, when the magistrates were exasperated by some personal motives of interest or resentment; when the zeal of the martyrs urged them to forget the rules of prudence, and perhaps of decency, to overturn the altars, to

Probable ac-  
count of the  
sufferings of  
the martyrs  
and confessors.

175 Enclaves, 183, c. 1. He inserts the article of the prefect.

The two writers agree in representing the art of Maximalist but the former is the champion of several industries, while the latter exclusively serves the retail.

177 After his initial discontent, Reginald was angry about the fact that, even when he put up as the champion who tried to resist, he found the police and governors, who had misunderstood his intentions. See the entry on *Excelsior*, vol. 6, 19.

[illegible]





their intestine dissensions, have inflicted far greater severities on each other, than they had experienced from the zeal of infidels. During the ages of ignorance which followed the subversion of the Roman empire in the West, the bishops of the Imperial city extended their dominion over the laity as well as clergy of the Latin church. The fabric of superstition which they had erected, and which might long have defied the feeble efforts of reason, was at length assaulted by a crowd of daring fanatics, who, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, assumed the popular character of reformers. The church of Rome defended by violence the empire which she had acquired by fraud; a system of peace and benevolence was soon disgraced by proscriptions, wars, massacres, and the institution of the holy office. And as the reformers were animated by the love of civil as well as of religious freedom, the Catholic princes connected their own interest with that of the clergy, and enforced by fire and the sword the terrors of spiritual censures. In the Netherlands alone, more than one hundred thousand of the subjects of Charles the Fifth are said to have suffered by the hand of the executioner; and this extraordinary number is attested by Grotius,<sup>165</sup> a man of genius and learning, who preserved his moderation amidst the fury of contending sects, and who composed the annals of his own age and country, at a time when the invention of printing had facilitated the means of intelligence, and increased the danger of detection. If we are obliged to submit our belief to the authority of Grotius, it must be allowed, that the number of Protestants, who were executed in a single province and a single reign, far exceeded that of the primitive martyrs in the space of three centuries, and of the Roman empire. But if the improbability of the fact itself should prevail over the weight of evidence; if Grotius should be convicted of exaggerating the merit and sufferings of the reformers;<sup>166</sup> we shall be naturally led to enquire what confidence can be placed in the doubtful and imperfect monuments of ancient credulity: what degree of credit can be assigned to a courtly bishop, and a passionate declaimer, who, under the protection of Constantine, enjoyed the exclusive privilege of recording the persecutions inflicted on the Christians by the vanquished rivals or disregarded predecessors of their gracious sovereign.

# CHAP. XVII.

*Foundation of Constantinople. — Policy of System of Constantine, and his Successors. — Military Discipline. — The Palace. — The Eunuchs.*

THE unfortunate Licinius was the last rival who opposed the greatness, and the last captive who adorned the triumph, of Constantine. After a tranquil and prosperous reign, the conqueror bequeathed to his family the inheritance of the Roman empire; a new capital, a new policy,

and a new religion; and the innovations which he established have been embraced and consecrated by succeeding generations. The age of the great Constantine and his sons is filled with important events; but the historian must be oppressed by their number and variety, unless he diligently separates from each other the scenes which are connected only by the order of time. He will describe the political institutions that gave strength and stability to the empire, before he proceeds to relate the wars and revolutions which hastened its decline. He will adopt the division, unknown to the ancients, of civil and ecclesiastical affairs: the victory of the Christians, and their intestine discord, will supply copious and distinct materials both for edification and for scandal.

After the defeat and abdication of Licinius, his victorious rival proceeded to lay the foundations of a city destined to reign, in future times, the mistress of the East, and to survive the empire and religion of Constantine. The motives, whether of pride or of policy, which first induced Diocletian to withdraw himself from the ancient seat of government, had acquired additional weight by the example of his successors, and the habits of forty years. Rome was insensibly confounded with the dependent kingdoms which had once acknowledged her supremacy; and the country of the Caesars was viewed with cold indifference by a mortal prince, born in the neighbourhood of the Danube, educated in the courts and armies of Asia, and invested with the purple by the legions of Britain. The Italians, who had received Constantine as their deliverer, submissively obeyed the edicts which he sometimes condescended to address to the senate and people of Rome; but they were seldom honoured with the presence of their new sovereign. During the vigour of his age, Constantine, according to the various exigencies of peace and war, moved with slow dignity, or with active diligence, along the frontiers of his extensive dominions; and was always prepared to take the field either against a foreign or a domestic enemy. But as he gradually reached the summit of prosperity and the decline of life, he began to meditate the design of fixing in a more permanent station the strength as well as majesty of the throne. In the choice of an advantageous situation, he preferred the confines of Europe and Asia; to curb, with a powerful arm, the barbarians who dwelt between the Danube and the Tanais; to watch with an eye of jealousy the conduct of the Persian monarch, who indignantly supported the yoke of an ignominious treaty. With these views, Diocletian had selected and embellished the residence of Nicomedia. but the memory of Diocletian was justly abhorred by the protector of the church; and Constantine was not insensible to the ambition of founding a city which might perpetuate the glory of his own name. During the late operations of the war against Licinius, he had sufficient opportunity to contain plate, both as a soldier

Design of a new City.  
A.D. 324.

<sup>165</sup> Hist. Anc. de l'Emp. R. l. 1. c. 12. et c. 51.  
<sup>166</sup> Hist. Anc. de l'Emp. R. l. 1. c. 12. et c. 51.

The same opportunity to contain plate, both as a soldier

and as a statesman, the incomparable position of Byzantium; and to observe how strongly it was guarded by nature against an hostile attack, whilst it was accessible on every side to the benefits of commercial intercourse. Many ages before Constantine, one of the most judicious historians of antiquity<sup>1</sup> had described the advantages of a situation, from whence a feeble colony of Greeks derived the command of the sea, and the honours of a flourishing and independent republic.<sup>2</sup>

If we survey Byzantium in the extent which it acquired with the august name of Constantinople, the figure of the Imperial city may be represented under that of an unequal triangle. The obtuse point, which advances towards the east and the shores of Asia, meets and repels the waves of the Thracian Bosphorus. The northern side of the city is bounded by the harbour; and the southern is washed by the Propontis, or Sea of Marmara. The basis of the triangle is opposed to the west, and terminates the continent of Europe. But the admirable form and division of the circumjacent land and water cannot, without a more ample explanation, be clearly or sufficiently understood.

The winding channel through which the waters of the Euxine flow with a rapid and incessant course towards the Mediterranean, received the appellation of Bosphorus, a name not less celebrated in the history, than in the fables, of antiquity.<sup>3</sup> A crowd of temples and of votive altars, profusely scattered along its steep and woody banks, attested the unskillfulness, the terrors, and the devotion of the Grecian navigators, who, after the example of the Argonauts, explored the dangers of the inhospitable Euxine. On these banks tradition long preserved the memory of the palace of Phineus, infested by the obscene harpies;<sup>4</sup> and of the sylvan reign of Amycus, who defied the son of Leda to the combat of the cestus.<sup>5</sup> The straits of the Bosphorus are terminated by the Cyanean rocks, which, according to the description of the poets, had once floated on the face of the waters, and were destined by the gods to protect the entrance of the Euxine against the eye of profane curiosity.<sup>6</sup> From the Cyanean rocks to the point and harbour of Byzantium, the winding length of the Bosphorus extends about sixteen miles,<sup>7</sup> and its

most ordinary breadth may be computed at about one mile and a half. The new castles of Europe and Asia are constructed, on either continent, upon the foundations of two celebrated temples, of Serapis and of Jupiter Urius. The old castles, a work of the Greek emperors, command the narrowest part of the channel, in a place where the opposite banks advance within five hundred paces of each other. These fortresses were destroyed and strengthened by Mahomet the Second, when he meditated the siege of Constantinople,<sup>8</sup> but the Turkish conqueror was most probably ignorant, that, near two thousand years before his reign, Darius had chosen the same situation to connect the two continents by a bridge of boats.<sup>9</sup> At a small distance from the old castles we discover the little town of Chrysopolis, or Scutari, which may almost be considered as the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople. The Bosphorus, as it begins to open into the Propontis, passes between Byzantium and Chalcedon. The latter of those cities was built by the Greeks, a few years before the former; and the blindness of its founders, who overlooked the superior advantages of the opposite coast, has been stigmatised by a proverbial expression of contempt.<sup>10</sup>

The harbour of Constantinople, which may be considered as an arm of the Bosphorus, obtained, in a very remote period, the denomination of the *Golden Horn*. The curve which it describes might be compared to the horn of a stag, or as it should seem, with more propriety, to that of an ox.<sup>11</sup> The epithet of *golden* was expressive of the riches which every wind wafted from the most distant countries into the secure and spacious port of Constantinople. The river Lycus, formed by the conflux of two little streams, pours into the harbour a perpetual supply of fresh water, which serves to cleanse the bottom, and to invite the periodical shoals of fish to seek their retreat in that convenient recess. As the vicissitudes of tides are scarcely felt in those seas, the constant depth of the harbour allows goods to be landed on the quays without the assistance of boats; and it has been observed, that in many places the largest vessels may rest their prows against the houses, while their sterns are floating in the water.<sup>12</sup> From the mouth of the Lycus to that of the harbour, this arm of the Bosphorus is more than seven miles in length. The entrance

covered and then lashed by the waves. At present there are two small islands, one at each either shore, that of Europe is distinguished by the colour of Pompey.

At the mouth of the Bosphorus, fifteen miles from the city, there are two small islands, one at each either shore, that of Europe is distinguished by the colour of Pompey.

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1 Polybius, l. iv. p. 127 edit. Casaubon. He observes that the name of the Bosphorus was first publicly bestowed, at the extent of their territories constructed, by the monarchs of the 13th century.

2 The navigator Byzas, who was styled a son of Neptune, found at the city 600 years before the Christian era. He built a vessel out of from Arius and Meander. Byzantium was afterwards called Constantinople by the Spartan general Pericles. See Strabo, l. vi. c. 1. and Ptolemy, c. 13. With regard to the story of the Bosphorus, see the fables, the fables, and the kings of Bithynia, we should not be surprised, but the ancient writers who lived before the junction of the Bosphorus and the Euxine, a part of letters and history.

3 The Bosphorus has been very variously described by Dionysius of Byzantium, who lived in the time of Darius (Hindus), to which Minor town, and by Gules or Gullus, a French traveller of the 16th century. Tournefort (l. ii. c. 15) seems to have used his own eyes, and the language of sailors.

4 There are very few conjectures, or happy as that of Le Clerc (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. i. p. 115) who supposes that the harpies were only lions. The Syriac or Phoenician name of those islands, there may flight, the stretch and devastation which they occasion, and the north wind which drives them into the sea, all contribute to form the striking resemblance.

5 The residence of Amycus was, in Asia, between the old and the new castles, at a place called Amycus Insula. That of Phineus was in Europe, near the village of Marone and the Black Sea. See G. 1. l. v. c. 1. p. 115. Tournefort, l. ii. c. 15.

6 The deception was occasioned by several pointed rocks, alternately

is about five hundred yards broad, and a strong chain could be occasionally drawn across it, to guard the port and city from the attack of a hostile navy.<sup>13</sup>

Between the Bosphorus and the

The Propontis.

Hellespont, the shores of Europe and Asia receding on either side enclose the sea of Marmara, which was known to the ancients by the denomination of Propontis. The navigation from the issue of the Bosphorus to the entrance of the Hellespont is about one hundred and twenty miles. Those who steer their westward course through the middle of the Propontis, may at once descry the high lands of Thrace and Bithynia, and never lose sight of the lofty summit of Mount Olympus, covered with eternal snows.<sup>14</sup> They leave on the left a deep gulf, at the bottom of which Nicomedia was seated, the imperial residence of Diocletian; and they pass the small islands of Cyzicus and Proconnesus before they cast anchor at Gallipoli; where the sea, which separates Asia from Europe, is again contracted into a narrow channel.

The geographers who, with the most skilful accuracy, have surveyed the form and extent of the Hellespont, assign about sixty miles for the winding course, and about three miles for the ordinary breadth of those celebrated straits.<sup>15</sup> But the narrowest part of the channel is found to the northward of the old Turkish castles between the cities of Sestus and Abydos. It was here that the adventurous Leander braved the passage of the flood for the possession of his mistress.<sup>16</sup> It was here likewise, in a place where the distance between the opposite banks cannot exceed five hundred paces, that Xerxes imposed a stupendous bridge of boats, for the purpose of transporting into Europe an hundred and seventy myriads of barbarians.<sup>17</sup> A sea contracted within such narrow limits, may seem but ill to deserve the singular epithet of *hro d*, which Homer, as well as Orpheus, has frequently bestowed on the Hellespont. But our ideas of greatness are of a relative nature: the traveller, and especially the poet, who sailed along the Hellespont, who pursued the windings of the stream, and contemplated the rural scenery, which appeared on every side to terminate the prospect, insensibly lost the remembrance of the sea; and his fancy painted those celebrated

straits, with all the attributes of a mighty river flowing with a swift current, in the midst of a woody and inland country, and at length, through a wide mouth, discharging itself into the Ægean or Archipelago.<sup>18</sup> Ancient Troy,<sup>19</sup> seated on an eminence at the foot of Mount Ida, overlooked the mouth of the Hellespont, which scarcely received an accession of waters from the tribute of those innumerable rivulets the Simois and Scamander. The Grecian camp had stretched twelve miles along the shore from the Sigæan to the Rhætean promontory; and the flanks of the army were guarded by the bravest chiefs who fought under the banners of Agamemnon. The first of those promontories was occupied by Achilles with his invincible Myrmidons, and the dauntless Ajax pitched his tents on the other. After Ajax had fallen a sacrifice to his disappointed pride, and to the ingratitude of the Greeks, his sepulchre was erected on the ground where he had defended the navy against the rage of Jove and of Hector; and the citizens of the rising town of Rhætium celebrated his memory with divine honours.<sup>20</sup> Before Constantine gave a just preference to the situation of Byzantium, he had conceived the design of erecting the seat of empire on this celebrated spot, from whence the Romans derived their fabulous origin. The extensive plain which lies below ancient Troy, towards the Rhætean promontory and the tomb of Ajax, was first chosen for his new capital; and though the undertaking was soon relinquished, the stately remains of unlished walls and towers attracted the notice of all who sailed through the straits of the Hellespont.<sup>21</sup>

We are at present qualified to view the advantageous position of Constantinople; which appears to have been formed by nature for the centre and capital of a great monarchy. Situated in the forty-first degree of latitude, the Imperial city commanded, from her seven hills,<sup>22</sup> the opposite shores of Europe and Asia; the climate was healthy and temperate, the soil fertile, the harbour secure and capacious; and the approach on the side of the continent was of small extent and easy defence. The Bosphorus and the Hellespont may be considered as the two gates of Constantinople; and the prince who possessed those important passages could always shut them

<sup>13</sup> See DuRoi, C. P. I. l. part. c. 16. and his observations on the Hellespont, p. 291. The strait was drawn from the Propontis near the town of R. S. K. to the town of Gallipoli, and was so called at the entrance of the Hellespont.

<sup>14</sup> The distance between the Propontis and the Hellespont is about 120 miles. The Propontis is a large body of water, and the Hellespont is a narrow strait. The distance between the two is about 120 miles.

<sup>15</sup> See an admirable description of the Hellespont in the *Journal de Voyage de M. de la Harpe*, tom. i. p. 178. The Hellespont is a narrow strait, and the distance between the two is about 120 miles.

<sup>16</sup> The distance between Sestus and Abydos was about 120 miles. The Hellespont is a narrow strait, and the distance between the two is about 120 miles.

<sup>17</sup> The distance between Sestus and Abydos was about 120 miles. The Hellespont is a narrow strait, and the distance between the two is about 120 miles.

first of the Persians, and afterwards of the Greeks, was intended to shut the way to the enemy. I should much doubt whether the Romans have ever outnumbered the men of any country which they attacked.

See Wood's observations on Homer, p. 290. Thayer, with pleasure, cited this from an author, who in general seems to have a just and correct view of the Hellespont, and still more so of the Hellespont. He had visited the Hellespont, he had read Strabo, he had seen the Hellespont, and he had seen the Hellespont.

See Wood's observations on Homer, p. 290. Thayer, with pleasure, cited this from an author, who in general seems to have a just and correct view of the Hellespont, and still more so of the Hellespont.

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permanent enclosure of walls.<sup>32</sup> From the eastern promontory to the golden gate, the extreme length of Constantinople was about three Roman miles ; <sup>33</sup> the circumference measured between ten and eleven ; and the surface might be computed as equal to about two thousand English acres. It is impossible to justify the vain and credulous exaggerations of modern travellers, who have sometimes stretched the limits of Constantinople over the adjacent villages of the European, and even of the Asiatic coast.<sup>34</sup> But the suburbs of Pera and Galata, though situate beyond the harbour, may deserve to be considered as a part of the city ; <sup>35</sup> and this addition may perhaps authorise the measure of a Byzantine historian, who assigns sixteen Greek (about fourteen Roman) miles for the circumference of his native city.<sup>36</sup> Such an extent may seem not unworthy of an Imperial residence. Yet Constantinople must yield to Babylon and Thebes,<sup>37</sup> to ancient Rome, to London, and even to Paris.<sup>38</sup>

The master of the Roman world, who aspired to erect an eternal monument of the glories of his reign, could employ in the prosecution of that great work the wealth, the labour, and all that yet remained of the genius of obedient millions. Some estimate may be formed of the expense bestowed with imperial liberality on the foundation of Constantinople, by the allowance of about two millions five hundred thousand pounds for the construction of the walls, the porticoes, and the aqueducts.<sup>1</sup> The forests that overshadowed the shores of the Euxine, and the celebrated quarries of white marble in the little island of Proconnesus, supplied an inexhaustible stock of materials, ready to be conveyed, by the convenience of a swift water-carriage, to the harbour of Byzantium.<sup>2</sup> A multitude of labourers and artificers urged the conclusion of the work with incessant toil; but the impatience of Constantine soon discovered, that, in the decline of the arts, the skill as well as numbers of his architects bore a very unequal proportion to the greatness of his designs. The magistrates of the most distant provinces were therefore directed to institute schools, to appoint professors, and, by the hopes of rewards and pri-

villages, to engage in the study and practice of architecture a sufficient number of ingenious youths, who had received a liberal education.<sup>11</sup> The buildings of the new city were executed by such artificers as the reign of Constantine could afford ; but they were decorated by the hands of the most celebrated masters of the age of Pericles and Alexander. To revive the genius of Phidias and Lysippus, surpassed indeed the power of a Roman emperor ; but the immortal productions which they had bequeathed to posterity were exposed without defence to the rapacious vanity of a despot. By his commands the cities of Greece and Asia were despoiled of their most valuable ornaments.<sup>12</sup> The trophies of memorable wars, the objects of religious veneration, the most finished statues of the gods and heroes, of the sages and poets, of ancient times, contributed to the splendid triumph of Constantinople ; and gave occasion to the remark of the historian Codræus,<sup>13</sup> who observes, with some enthusiasm, that nothing seemed wanting except the souls of the illustrious men whom those admirable monuments were intended to represent. But it is not in the city of Constantine, nor in the declining period of an empire, when the human mind was depressed by civil and religious slavery, that we should seek for the souls of Homer and of Demosthenes.

During the siege of Byzantium, the conqueror had pitched his tent on the commanding eminence of the second hill. To perpetuate the memory of his success, he chose the same advantageous position for the principal Forum;<sup>44</sup> which appears to have been of a circular, or rather elliptical form. The two opposite entrances formed triumphal arches; the porticoes, which enclosed it on every side, were filled with statues, and the centre of the Forum was occupied by a lofty column, of which a mutilated fragment is now degraded by the appellation of the *burnt pillar*. This column was erected on a pedestal of white marble twenty feet high; and was composed of ten pieces of porphyry, each of which measured about ten feet in height, and about thirty-three in circumference.<sup>45</sup> On the summit of the pillar, above one hundred and twenty feet from the ground,

32 The new wall of Thendolius was constructed in the year 417. In 447 it was thrown down by an earthquake, and rebuilt in three months by the diligence of the prefect *vir*. The suburb of the Basilica was first taken into the city in the reign of Heraclius. *Dionysius*, *Geogr. l. c.* 10, 11.

33 The measurement is expressed in the Notman by 11/075 feet. It is reasonable to suppose that these were fore-knots; the proportion of which has been ingeniously determined by M. de la Harpe. He compares the length with that of the hair of a man's head, as modern writers are accustomed to heighten the stature of the ancients with some such device.

[illegible]

very much resembles that of *Perla* and *Lucania*. The evening of the latter is unknown. See *Lucania*, *Conchologia*, 1840, p. 100.

56 One hundred and eleven stadia, which was the same as the modern Greek measure of seven stadia, was the distance from the French coast. See the map of the Mediterranean Sea.

7: When the novel text, which has a lot of errors and  
 There, we used the suggested novel method to improve the  
 a-remained, we find that the error is less than the previous method.

To if we divide (Constantinople and Byzantium) areas of 30

French forest, the former contains 570, and the latter 1160 of those species.

To six hundred centenaries, or sixty thousand pounds' weight of gold. This sum is taken from Cedrenus, *Antiquit. Const.* p. 11, but unless that contemptible author had derived his information from some purer sources, he would probably have been unacquainted with so insignificant a waste of reckoning.

for the north equinoxes of the Proconsuls, see Siraisi, *loc. cit.* p. 188. The letter had already furnished the materials of the stately buildings of

11. See the index. The idea I was put to rest. This law is dated in the year 714, and was introduced by the great of Italy, whose name is recorded over Africa. The commentary of Gualtero on

[illegible]

The present study followed the Asia Minor map is supposed to have been the last one.

11. The following is a list of the names of the persons who are known to have been in contact with the subject of this investigation, and who are known to have been in contact with the subject of this investigation, and who are known to have been in contact with the subject of this investigation.

[illegible]

4. If  $\alpha \in \mathcal{A}$ , then  $\alpha \in \mathcal{A}^*$  if and only if  $\alpha \in \mathcal{A}$  and  $\alpha \in \mathcal{A}^*$ . In other words,  $\mathcal{A}^*$  is the set of all elements of  $\mathcal{A}$  that are also in  $\mathcal{A}^*$ .

stood the colossal statue of Apollo. It was of bronze, had been transported either from Athens or from a town of Phrygia, and was supposed to be the work of Phidias. The artist had represented the god of day, or, as it was afterwards interpreted, the emperor Constantine himself, with a sceptre in his right hand, the globe of the world in his left, and a crown of rays glittering on his head.<sup>46</sup> The Circus, or Hippodrome, was a stately building about four hundred paces in length, and one hundred in breadth.<sup>47</sup> The space between the two *meta* or goals was filled with statues and obelisks; and we may still remark a very singular fragment of antiquity; the bodies of three serpents, twisted into one pillar of brass. Their triple heads had once supported the golden tripod which, after the defeat of Xerxes, was consecrated in the temple of Delphi by the victorious Greeks.<sup>48</sup> The beauty of the Hippodrome has been long since defaced by the rude hands of the Turkish conquerors; but, under the similar appellation of Atmeidan, it still serves as a place of exercise for their horses. From the throne, whence the emperor viewed the Circensian games, a winding staircase<sup>49</sup> descended to the palace; a magnificent edifice, which scarcely yielded to the residence of Rome itself, and which, together with the dependent courts, gardens, and porticoes, covered a considerable extent of ground upon the banks of the Propontis, between the Hippodrome and the church of St. Sophia.<sup>50</sup> We might likewise celebrate the baths, which still retained the name of Zeuxippus, after they had been enriched, by the munificence of Constantine, with lofty columns, various marbles, and above three-score statues of bronze.<sup>51</sup> But we should deviate from the design of this history, if we attempted minutely to describe the different buildings or quarters of the city. It may be sufficient to observe, that whatever could adorn the dignity of a great capital, or contribute to the benefit or pleasure of its numerous inhabitants, was contained within the walls of Constantinople. A particular description, composed about a century after its foundation, enumerates a capitol or school of learning, a circus, two theatres, eight

public, and one hundred and fifty-three private, baths, fifty-two postices, five granaries, eight aqueducts or reservoirs of water, four spacious halls for the meetings of the senate or courts of justice, fourteen churches, fourteen palaces, and four thousand three hundred and eighty-eight houses, which, for their size or beauty, deserved to be distinguished from the multitude of plebeian habitations.<sup>52</sup>

The populousness of his favoured city was the next and most serious Population. object of the attention of its founder. In the dark ages which succeeded the translation of the empire, the remote and the immediate consequences of that memorable event were strangely confounded by the vanity of the Greeks, and the credulity of the Latins.<sup>53</sup> It was asserted, and believed, that all the noble families of Rome, the senate, and the equestrian order, with their innumerable attendants, had followed their emperor to the banks of the Propontis; that a spurious race of strangers and plebeians was left to possess the solitude of the ancient capital; and that the lands of Italy, long since converted into gardens, were at once deprived of cultivation and inhabitants.<sup>54</sup> In the course of this history, such exaggerations will be reduced to their just value. Yet, since the growth of Constantinople cannot be ascribed to the general increase of mankind and of industry, it must be admitted, that this artificial colony was raised at the expense of the ancient cities of the empire. Many opulent senators of Rome, and of the Eastern provinces, were probably invited by Constantine to adopt for their country the fortunate spot which he had chosen for his own residence. The invitations of a master are scarcely to be distinguished from commands; and the liberality of the emperor obtained a ready and cheerful obedience. He bestowed on his favourites the palaces which he had built in the several quarters of the city, assigned them lands and pensions for the support of their dignity,<sup>55</sup> and alienated the demesnes of Pontus and Asia to grant hereditary estates by the easy tenure of maintaining a house in the capital.<sup>56</sup> But these encouragements and obligations soon became

<sup>46</sup> Ducas, *Const. l. i. c. 24. p. 76* and his notes ad Alexand. p. 382. The statue of Constantine or Apollo was thrown down under the reign of Alexius Comnenus.

<sup>47</sup> Fourmont (*Lettre XII*) computes the Atmeidan at four hundred paces. If his numbers are correct, it is less than the Hippodrome of Rome, which was three hundred paces in length, and four hundred in breadth.

<sup>48</sup> See *Antiqu. de l'Empire, t. 1. p. 27*.

<sup>49</sup> The gardens of the Hippodrome were called *Atmeidan*, because they were able to produce such a chain of evidence as was to be alleged on this occasion. See Boudinard *Antiqu. de l'Empire, t. 1. p. 308*. The Hippodrome of Byzantium is *l. i. c. 15*. The original name of the Hippodrome of Rome is the Hippodrome of the Propontis, from the Propontis being the name of the sea which separates the Propontis from the Propontis. The Hippodrome of Rome is the Hippodrome of the Propontis, from the Propontis being the name of the sea which separates the Propontis from the Propontis. The Hippodrome of Rome is the Hippodrome of the Propontis, from the Propontis being the name of the sea which separates the Propontis from the Propontis.

<sup>49</sup> The Latin name *Cochlea* was adopted by the Greeks, and very frequently occurs in the Byzantine history. Ducas, *Const. l. i. c. 1. p. 104*.

<sup>50</sup> There are three topographical points which indicate the position of the Hippodrome. 1. The statue of the Hippodrome, which was the Hippodrome of the Propontis, from the Propontis being the name of the sea which separates the Propontis from the Propontis. 2. A small artificial port on the Propontis, from whence there was an easy access, by a flight of a noble staircase, to the entrance of the Hippodrome. 3. The Hippodrome was a noble staircase, one side of which was occupied by the front of the palace, and another by the church of St. Sophia.

<sup>51</sup> Zeuxippus was an epithet of Jupiter, and the baths were a part of old Byzantium. The difficulty of assigning their true situation

has not been felt by Ducas. History seems to connect them with St. Sophia and the Hippodrome, but the original plan inserted in Boudinard places them on the opposite side of the city, near the Hippodrome. Further, the Hippodrome of the Propontis, from the Propontis being the name of the sea which separates the Propontis from the Propontis, is the Hippodrome of the Propontis, from the Propontis being the name of the sea which separates the Propontis from the Propontis.

<sup>52</sup> See the Notes. Rome only contained 170,000 free houses, *domus*, but the word must have had a more denigred signification. *Nostrales* are mentioned at Constantinople. The old capital consisted of 424 streets, the rest of 324.

<sup>53</sup> Fourmont (*Lettre ad. Prop. Nicomacum*, p. 155). The moderns have unjustly discarded the antiquities of Constantinople. We might excuse the errors of the Turkish or Arabian writers, but it is somewhat astonishing, that the Greeks, who had access to the authentic materials preserved in their own language, should prefer to reject so truth and lose tradition to genuine history. In a single page of *Constantin* we may detect twelve unparaphrased mistakes, the recollection of Severus and Niger, the marriage of Ilirius and Antigone, the seat of Byzantium by the Macedonians, the invasion of the Gauls, which recalled Severus to Rome, the error, which elapsed from his death to the foundation of Constantinople, &c.

<sup>54</sup> Montesquieu, *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, c. 17.

<sup>55</sup> *Thémist. Orat. p. 18* edit. Harlani. *Socrus*, l. i. c. 5. *Zosimus*, l. i. p. 107. *Ammonius*, *Epistola*, p. 713. If we could credit *Constantin*, (p. 11) Constantine built houses for the senators on the extent of their Roman purses, and granted them, as well as himself, with the persons of an agreeable surprise, but the whole story is full of historical and chronological errors.

<sup>56</sup> *Procopius*, *de B. Goth.*, l. i. c. 1. *Theophrastus*, in the year 138, speaks of the seat of the Hippodrome, and says, *l. i. c. 1. p. 107*. *Theophrastus*, *de B. Goth.*, l. i. c. 1. p. 107. *Theophrastus*, *de B. Goth.*, l. i. c. 1. p. 107. *Theophrastus*, *de B. Goth.*, l. i. c. 1. p. 107.





the city of Constantine.<sup>68</sup> But the name of Constantinople<sup>69</sup> has prevailed over that honourable epithet; and, after the revolution of fourteen centuries, still perpetuates the fame of its author.<sup>70</sup>

**Form of government.** The foundation of a new capital is naturally connected with the establishment of a new form of civil and military administration. The distinct view of the complicated system of policy, introduced by Diocletian, improved by Constantine, and completed by his immediate successors, may not only amuse the fancy by the singular picture of a great empire, but will tend to illustrate the secret and internal causes of its rapid decay. In the pursuit of any remarkable institution, we may be frequently led into the more early or the more recent times of the Roman history; but the proper limits of this enquiry will be included within a period of about one hundred and thirty years, from the accession of Constantine to the publication of the Theodosian code;<sup>71</sup> from which, as well as from the *Notitia* of the east and west,<sup>72</sup> we derive the most copious and authentic information of the state of the empire. This variety of objects will suspend, for some time, the course of the narrative; but the interruption will be censured only by those readers who are insensible to the importance of laws and manners, while they peruse, with eager curiosity, the transient intrigues of a court, or the accidental event of a battle.

**Hierarchy of the state.** The manly pride of the Romans, content with substantial power, had left to the vanity of the East the forms and ceremonies of ostentatious greatness.<sup>73</sup> But when they lost even the semblance of those virtues which were derived from their ancient freedom, the simplicity of Roman manners was insensibly corrupted by the stately affectation of the courts of Asia. The distinctions of personal merit and influence, so conspicuous in a republic, so feeble and obscure under a monarchy, were abolished by the despotism of the emperors; who substituted in their room a severe subordination of rank and office, from the titled slaves who were seated on the steps of the throne, to the meanest instruments of arbitrary power. This multitude of abject dependants was interested in the support of the actual government, from the dread of a revolution, which might at once confound their hopes, and intercept the reward of their services. In this divine hierarchy for such it is frequently styled) every rank was marked with the most scrupulous exactness, and its dig-

nity was displayed in a variety of trifling and solemn ceremonies, which it was a study to learn, and a sacrilege to neglect.<sup>74</sup> The purity of the Latin language was debased, by adopting, in the intercourse of pride and flattery, a profusion of epithets, which Tully would scarcely have understood, and which Augustus would have rejected with indignation. The principal officers of the empire were saluted, even by the sovereign himself, with the deceitful titles of your *Sincerity*, your *Gravity*, your *Excellency*, your *Eminenence*, your *sublime and wonderful Magnitude*, your *illustrious and magnificent Highness*.<sup>75</sup> The edicts or patents of their office were curiously emblazoned with such emblems as were best adapted to explain its nature and high dignity: the image or portrait of the reigning emperors; a triumphal car; the book of mandates placed on a table, covered with a rich carpet, and illuminated by four tapers; the allegorical figures of the provinces which they governed; or the appellations and standards of the troops whom they commanded. Some of these official ensigns were really exhibited in their hall of audience; others preceded their pompous march whenever they appeared in public; and every circumstance of their demeanour, their dress, their ornaments, and their train, was calculated to inspire a deep reverence for the representatives of supreme majesty. By a philosophic observer, the system of the Roman government might have been mistaken for a splendid theatre, filled with players of every character and degree, who repeated the language, and imitated the passions, of their original model.<sup>76</sup>

All the magistrates of sufficient importance to find a place in the general state of the empire, were accurately divided into three classes. 1. The *Illustrious*; 2. The *Stoicables*, or *Respectable*; and, 3. The *Chastants*, whom we may translate by the word *Honourable*. In the times of Roman simplicity, the last-mentioned epithet was used only as a vague expression of deference, till it became at length the peculiar and appropriated title of all who were members of the senate,<sup>77</sup> and consequently of all who, from that venerable body, were selected to govern the provinces. The vanity of those who, from their rank and office, might claim a superior distinction above the rest of the senatorial order, was long afterwards indulged with the new appellation of *Respectable*; but the title of *Illustrious* was always reserved to some eminent personages who were obeyed or revered by the two subordinate classes. It

<sup>68</sup> Sozomen, l. i. c. 2. Dacryge, C. P. l. i. c. 6. Vellei Span. R. me filius, is the expression of Augustus de Civitate Dei, l. v. c. 18.

<sup>69</sup> Eutropius, l. i. c. 8. Julian, Cœs. p. 8. Dacryge, C. P. l. i. c. 6. The name of Constantinople is evident on the medals of Constantine.

<sup>70</sup> The *Notitia* Frontenelle *Notitias des Mors* is an attempt to divide the vanity of human ambition, but is so much in the old importance of Constantine, whose imperial name is now lost in the vulgar appellation of *Constantin*, a Turk, *Constantin*, &c.

<sup>71</sup> The *Notitia* Frontenelle *Notitias des Mors* is an attempt to divide the vanity of human ambition, but is so much in the old importance of Constantine, whose imperial name is now lost in the vulgar appellation of *Constantin*, a Turk, *Constantin*, &c.

<sup>72</sup> The *Notitia* Frontenelle *Notitias des Mors* is an attempt to divide the vanity of human ambition, but is so much in the old importance of Constantine, whose imperial name is now lost in the vulgar appellation of *Constantin*, a Turk, *Constantin*, &c.

rather inclined to place this useful work between the final division of the empire (A. D. 395), and the successful invasion of Gaul by the barbarians (A. D. 407). See Histoire des anciens Empires de l'Europe, to. ii. p. 10.

<sup>73</sup> *Non est externis superius sueta, non inerat notitia nostri* (per hunc morem, apud quos, l. opera solent, inveniuntur transmutantur). C. d. Theod. l. vi. c. 1. The gradation, from the style of freedom and

to that of slavery, may be traced in the Epistles

forming a law of precedence *his liberty*, thus continues *Signis, naturæ nobilitatem sibi locum inparitatem, nulla se incutit honore*

debetur, *signis place nobilitatem, reus, qui divina prærogative neglegent*. C. d. Theod. l. vi. c. 1.

<sup>74</sup> Consult the *Notitia Dignitatum* at the end of the Theodosian Code, to. vi. p. 516.

<sup>75</sup> *Præfatus ad Notitiam utriusque Imperii*, p. 30. But his explanations are obscure, and he does not sufficiently distinguish the particular degrees of the title, the *Illustrious*, &c.

<sup>76</sup> In the *Notitia*, which is referred to the reigns of the Antonines, *Illustrious* is the ordinary and legal title of a senator.

was communicated only, I. To the consuls and patricians; II. To the prætorian præfects, with the præfects of Rome and Constantinople; III. To the masters general of the cavalry and the infantry; and, IV. To the seven ministers of the palace, who exercised their *secret* functions about the person of the emperor.<sup>76</sup> Among those illustrious magistrates who were esteemed co-ordinate with each other, the seniority of appointment gave place to the union of dignities.<sup>77</sup> By the expedient of honorary codicils, the emperors, who were fond of multiplying their favours, might sometimes gratify the vanity, though not the ambition, of impatient courtiers.<sup>78</sup>

I. As long as the Roman consuls were the first magistrates of a free state, they derived their right to power from the choice of the people. As long as the emperors condescended to disguise the servitude which they imposed, the consuls were still elected by the real or apparent suffrage of the senate. From the reign of Diocletian, even these vestiges of liberty were abolished, and the successful candidates who were invested with the annual honours of the consulship, affected to deplore the humiliating condition of their predecessors. The Scipios and the Catos had been reduced to solicit the votes of plebeians, to pass through the tedious and expensive forms of a popular election, and to expose their dignity to the shame of a public refusal; while their own happier fate had reserved them for an age and government in which the rewards of virtue were assigned by the unerring wisdom of a gracious sovereign.<sup>79</sup> In the epistles which the emperor addressed to the two consuls elect, it was declared, that they were created by his sole authority.<sup>80</sup> Their names and portraits, engraved on gilt tablets of ivory, were dispersed over the empire as presents to the provinces, the cities, the magistrates, the senate, and the people.<sup>81</sup> Their solemn inauguration was performed at the place of the Imperial residence; and during a period of one hundred and twenty years, Rome was constantly deprived of the presence of her ancient magistrates.<sup>82</sup> On the morning of the first of January, the consuls assumed the ensigns of their dignity. Their dress was a robe of purple, embroidered in silk and gold, and sometimes ornamented with costly gems.<sup>83</sup> On this

solemn occasion they were attended by the most eminent officers of the state and army, in the habit of senators; and the useless fasces, armed with the once formidable axes, were borne before them by the lictors.<sup>84</sup> The procession moved from the palace<sup>85</sup> to the Forum, or principal square of the city; where the consuls ascended their tribunal, and seated themselves in the curule chairs, which were framed after the fashion of ancient times. They immediately exercised an act of jurisdiction, by the manumission of a slave, who was brought before them for that purpose; and the ceremony was intended to represent the celebrated action of the elder Brutus, the author of liberty and of the consulship, when he admitted among his fellow-citizens the faithful Vindex, who had revealed the conspiracy of the Tarquins.<sup>86</sup> The public festival was continued during several days in all the principal cities; in Rome, from custom; in Constantinople, from imitation; in Carthage, Antioch, and Alexandria, from the love of pleasure and the superfluity of wealth.<sup>87</sup> In the two capitals of the empire the annual games of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre,<sup>88</sup> cost four thousand pounds of gold, (about) one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling; and if so heavy an expense surpassed the faculties or the inclination of the magistrates themselves, the sum was supplied from the Imperial treasury.<sup>89</sup> As soon as the consuls had discharged these customary duties, they were at liberty to retire into the shade of private life, and to enjoy, during the remainder of the year, the undisturbed contemplation of their own greatness. They no longer attended in the national councils; they no longer executed the resolutions of peace or war. Their abilities (unless they were employed in more effective offices) were of little moment; and their names served only as the legal date of the year in which they had filled the chair of Marins and of Cæsar. Yet it was still felt and acknowledged, in the last period of Roman servitude, that this empty name might be compared, and even preferred, to the possession of substantial power. The title of consul was still the most splendid object of ambition, the noblest reward of virtue and loyalty. The emperors themselves, who disdained the faint shadow of the republic, were conscious that they acquired

<sup>76</sup> Paterius, p. 12-17. I have not taken any notice of the two inferior orders, *Prætorianæ* and *Fæderis*, which were sixth century persons, who were not raised to the senatorial dignity.

<sup>77</sup> Tacit. *Histor.* l. i. c. 4. *Prætor* and *Consul* were sometimes joined with the most important offices by the emperor, and invested with equal powers by their annual magistracy.

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<sup>86</sup> Tacit. *Histor.* l. i. c. 4. *Prætor* and *Consul* were sometimes joined with the most important offices by the emperor, and invested with equal powers by their annual magistracy.

*Honori*, 357, &c. though in the latter it is not easy to separate the one adopted the emperor from those of the civil. Anomus received from the liberality of Constantine, a truly princely, or senatorial state, in which the figure of the emperor Constantine was introduced.

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an additional splendour and majesty as often as they assumed the annual honours of the consular dignity.<sup>2</sup>

The patricians.

The proudest and most perfect separation which can be found in any age or country, between the nobles and the people, is perhaps that of the patricians and the plebeians, as it was established in the first age of the Roman republic. Wealth and honours, the offices of the state, and the ceremonies of religion, were almost exclusively possessed by the former; who, preserving the purity of their blood with the most insulting jealousy,<sup>3</sup> held their clients in a condition of specious vassalage. But these distinctions, so incompatible with the spirit of a free people, were removed, after a long struggle, by the persevering efforts of the tribunes. The most active and successful of the plebeians accumulated wealth, aspired to honours, deserved triumphs, contracted alliances, and, after some generations, assumed the pride of ancient nobility.<sup>4</sup> The patrician families, on the other hand, whose original number was never recruited till the end of the commonwealth, either failed in the ordinary course of nature, or were extinguished in so many foreign and domestic wars, or, through a want of merit or fortune, insensibly mingled with the mass of the people.<sup>5</sup> Very few remained who could derive their pure and genuine origin from the infancy of the city, or even from that of the republic, when Cæsar and Augustus, Claudius and Vespasian, created from the body of the senate a competent number of new patrician families, in the hope of perpetuating an order, which was still considered as honourable and sacred.<sup>6</sup> But these artificial supplies (in which the reigning house was always included) were rapidly swept away by the rage of tyrants, by frequent revolutions, by the change of manners, and by the intermixture of nations.<sup>7</sup> Little more was left when Constantine ascended the throne, than a vague and imperfect tradition, that the patricians had once been the first of the Romans. To form a body of nobles, whose influence may restrain, while it secures the authority of the monarch, would have been very inconsistent with the character and policy of Constantine; but had he seriously entertained such a design, it might have exceeded the measure of his power to ratify, by an arbitrary edict, an institution which must expect the sanction of time and of opinion. He revived, indeed, the title of PATRICIUS, but he revived it as a personal, not as an hereditary distinction. They yielded only to the transient superiority of the annual consuls; but they enjoyed the pre-emi-

nence over all the great officers of state, with the most familiar access to the person of the prince. This honourable rank was bestowed on them for life; and as they were usually favourites, and ministers who had grown old in the Imperial court, the true etymology of the word was perverted by ignorance and flattery; and the patricians of Constantine were revered as the adopted *Fathers* of the emperor and the republic.<sup>8</sup>

11. The fortunes of the prætorian præfects were essentially different from those of the consuls and patricians. The latter saw their ancient greatness evaporate in a vain title. The former, rising by degrees from the most humble condition, were invested with the civil and military administration of the Roman world. From the reign of Severus to that of Diocletian, the guards and the palace, the laws and the finances, the armies and the provinces, were intrusted to their superintending care; and, like the vizirs of the East, they held with one hand the seal, and with the other the standard of the empire. The ambition of the præfects, always formidable, and sometimes fatal to the masters whom they served, was supported by the strength of the prætorian bands; but after those haughty troops had been weakened by Diocletian, and finally suppressed by Constantine, the præfects, who survived their fall, were reduced without difficulty to the station of useful and obedient ministers. When they were no longer responsible for the safety of the emperor's person, they resigned the jurisdiction which they had hitherto claimed and exercised over all the departments of the palace. They were deprived by Constantine of all military command, as soon as they had ceased to lead into the field, under their immediate orders, the flower of the Roman troops; and at length, by a singular revolution, the captains of the guards were transformed into the civil magistrates of the provinces. According to the plan of government instituted by Diocletian, the four princes had each their prætorian præfect; and after the monarchy was once more united in the person of Constantine, he still continued to create the same number of FOUR PRÆFECTS, and intrusted to their care the same provinces which they already administered. 1. The præfect of the East stretched his ample jurisdiction into the three parts of the globe which were subject to the Romans, from the cataracts of the Nile to the banks of the Phasis, and from the mountains of Thrace to the frontiers of Persia. 2. The important provinces of Pannonia, Dacia, Macedonia, and Greece, once acknowledged the

<sup>2</sup> In ancient times, as I have already said, the consuls were elected for one year only. These annual elections were continued from the republic to the empire, and the consuls were the only officers of state who were elected for one year only. See the *Adels- und Consular-Verfassung* of the Romans, by the late Baron de Mevius, in the *Annalen*, xiv. p. 289. who dignifies the name of the old consuls, and who sometimes finds them in his consular lists.

<sup>3</sup> I am sure, however, that between the consuls and plebeians were prohibited by the law of the XII. Tables, and the prohibition of human nature may attest that the custom survived the law. See in the *Annalen*, l. i. c. 1. the pride of consuls in the consular, and the rights of mankind asserted by the tribune Cicerone.

<sup>4</sup> See the ancient pictures drawn by Suetonius, in the *Imperial war*, of the pride of the nobles, and even of the virtuous Mæcenas, who was unable to brook the idea that the honour of the consuls should be bestowed on the obscure men of his century. Mæcenas, it is said, had a hundred years before the rise of the Mæcenas themselves were confounded among the plebeians of Rome, and from the splendour of human nature may attest that the custom survived the law. See in the *Annalen*, l. i. c. 1. the pride of consuls in the consular, and the rights of mankind asserted by the tribune Cicerone.

<sup>5</sup> In the year of Rome 800, viz. first, remained, but not only of the old

patrician families, but even of those which had been created by Cæsar and Augustus. (See the *Annalen*, vi. 23.) The family of Scipio, a branch of the patrician family, was degraded, so low that his first slaves, and some at less than three hundred pounds sterling. (Varron, *Memor.* l. i. c. 1. n. 11. Aurel. Victor in Scipio.) The family was saved from oblivion by the merit of the son.

<sup>6</sup> The *Annalen*, vi. 23. Dion Cassius, l. xiv. p. 105. The virtues of Agricola, who was created a patrician by the emperor Vespasian, in the title honour of that ancient order, but his ancestors had not any

that Vespasian created at once. The *Annalen*, vi. 23. The family of Scipio, a branch of the patrician family, was degraded, so low that his first slaves, and some at less than three hundred pounds sterling. (Varron, *Memor.* l. i. c. 1. n. 11. Aurel. Victor in Scipio.) The family was saved from oblivion by the merit of the son.

<sup>7</sup> See the *Annalen*, vi. 23. Dion Cassius, l. xiv. p. 105. The virtues of Agricola, who was created a patrician by the emperor Vespasian, in the title honour of that ancient order, but his ancestors had not any

authority of the præfect of Illyricum. 3. The power of the præfect of Italy was not confined to the country from whence he derived his title; it extended over the additional territory of Rhaetia as far as the banks of the Danube, over the dependent islands of the Mediterranean, and over that part of the continent of Africa which lies between the confines of Cyrene and those of Tingitania. 4. The præfect of the Gauls comprehended under that plural denomination the kindred provinces of Britain and Spain, and his authority was obeyed from the wall of Antoninus to the foot of Mount Atlas.<sup>99</sup>

After the praetorian prefects had been dismissed from all military command, the civil functions which they were ordained to exercise over so many subject nations, were adequate to the ambition and abilities of the most consummate ministers. To their wisdom was committed the supreme administration of justice and of the finances, the two objects which, in a state of peace, comprehend almost all the respective duties of the sovereign and of the people : of the former, to protect the citizens who are obedient to the laws ; of the latter, to contribute the share of their property which is required for the expenses of the state. The coin, the highways, the posts, the granaries, the manufactures, whatever could interest the public prosperity, was moderated by the authority of the praetorian prefects. As the immediate representatives of the Imperial majesty, they were empowered to explain, to enforce, and on some occasions to modify, the general edicts by their directory proclamations. They watched over the conduct of the provincial governors, removed the negligent and inflicted punishments on the guilty. From all the inferior jurisdictions, an appeal in every matter of importance, either civil or criminal, might be brought before the tribunal of the prefect ; but his sentence was final and absolute ; and the emperors themselves refused to admit any complaints against the judgment or the integrity of a magistrate whom they honoured with such unbounded confidence.<sup>102</sup> His appointments were suitable to his dignity ;<sup>103</sup> and if avarice was his ruling passion, he enjoyed frequent opportunities of collecting a rich harvest of fees, of presents, and of perquisites. Though the emperors no longer dreaded the ambition of their prefects, they were attentive to counterbalance the power of this great office by the uncertainty and shortness of its duration.<sup>104</sup>

From their superior importance and dignity, Rome and Constantinople were alone excepted from the jurisdiction of the praetorian prefects. The immense size of the city, and the experience of the tardy, ineffectual operation of the laws, had furnished the policy of Augustus with a specious pretence for introducing a new magistrate, who alone could restrain a servile and turbulent populace by the strong arm of arbitrary power.<sup>103</sup> Valerius Messalla was appointed the first prefect of Rome, but his reputation might countenance so invidious a measure—but, at the end of a few days, that accomplished citizen<sup>104</sup> resigned his office, declaring, with a spirit worthy of the friend of Brutus, that he found himself incapable of exercising a power incompatible with public freedom.<sup>105</sup> As the sense of liberty became less exquisite, the advantages of order were more clearly understood; and the prefect, who seemed to have been designed as a terror only to slaves and vagrants, was permitted to extend his civil and criminal jurisdiction over the equestrian and noble families of Rome. The praetors, annually created as the judges of law and equity, could not long dispute the possession of the Forum with a vigorous and permanent magistrate, who was usually admitted into the confidence of the prince. Their courts were deserted, their number, which had once fluctuated between twelve and eighteen,<sup>106</sup> was gradually reduced to two or three, and their important functions were confined to the expensive obligation<sup>107</sup> of exhibiting games for the amusement of the people. After the office of the Roman consuls had been changed into a vain pageant, which was rarely displayed in the capital, the prefects assumed their vacant place in the senate, and were soon acknowledged as the ordinary presidents of that venerable assembly. They received appeals from the distance of one hundred miles; and it was allowed as a principle of jurisprudence, that all municipal authority was derived from them alone.<sup>108</sup> In the discharge of his laborious employment, the governor of Rome was assisted by fifteen officers, some of whom had been originally his equals, or even his superiors. The principal departments were relative to the command of a numerous watch, established as a safeguard against fires, robberies, and nocturnal disorders; the custody and distribution of the public allowance of corn and provisions; the care of the port, of the aqueducts, of the common sewers, and of the navigation and bed of the Tiber; the

[illegible]

1. The first step in the process of production is the selection of the raw materials. This is done by the producer, who chooses the materials that are most suitable for the production of the product.

inspection of the markets, the theatres, and of the private as well as public works. Their vigilance ensured the three principal objects of a regular police, safety, plenty, and cleanliness; and as a proof of the attention of government to preserve the splendour and ornaments of the capital, a particular inspector was appointed for the statues; the guardian, as it were, of that inanimate people, which, according to the extravagant computation of an old writer, was scarcely inferior in number to the living inhabitants of Rome. About thirty years after the foundation of Constantinople, a similar magistrate was created in that rising metropolis, for the same uses and with the same powers. A perfect equality was established between the dignity of the *two* municipal, and that of the *four* prætorian, præfects.<sup>109</sup>

Those who, in the Imperial hierarchy, were distinguished by the title of *Respectable*, formed an intermediate class between the *illustrious* præfects, and the *honourable* magistrates of the provinces. In this class the proconsuls of Asia, Achaia, and Africa, claimed a pre-eminence, which was yielded to the remembrance of their ancient dignity; and the appeal from their tribunal to that of the præfects was almost the only mark of their dependence.<sup>110</sup> But the civil government of the empire was distributed into thirteen great *dioceses*, each of which equalled the just measure of a powerful kingdom. The first of these dioceses was subject to the jurisdiction of the *count* of the East; and we may convey some idea of the importance and variety of his functions, by observing, that six hundred apparitors, who would be styled at present either secretaries, or clerks, or ushers, or messengers, were employed in his immediate office.<sup>111</sup> The place of *Augustal præfect* of Egypt was no longer filled by a Roman knight; but the name was retained; and the extraordinary powers which the situation of the country, and the temper of the inhabitants, had once made indispensable, were still continued to the governor. The eleven remaining dioceses, of Asiana, Pontica, and Thæce; of Macedonia, Dacia, and Pannonia, or western Illyricum; of Italy and Africa; of Gaul, Spain, and Britain; were governed by twelve *viciars*, or *vice-præfects*,<sup>112</sup> whose name sufficiently explains the nature and dependence of their office. It may be added, that the lieutenant-generals of the Roman armies, the military counts and dukes, who will be hereafter mentioned, were allowed the rank and title of *Respectable*.

As the spirit of jealousy and contention prevailed in the councils of the emperors, they proceeded with anxious diligence to divide the substance and to multiply the titles of power. The vast

countries which the Roman conquerors had united under the same simple form of administration, were imperceptibly crumbled into minute fragments; till at length the whole empire was distributed into one hundred and sixteen provinces, each of which supported an expensive and splendid establishment. Of these, three were governed by *proconsuls*, thirty-seven by *consulars*, five by *correctors*, and seventy-one by *presidents*. The appellations of these magistrates were different; they ranked in successive order, the ensigns of their dignity were curiously varied, and their situation, from accidental circumstances, might be more or less agreeable or advantageous. But they were all (excepting only the proconsuls) alike included in the class of *honourable* persons; and they were alike intrusted, during the pleasure of the prince, and under the authority of the præfects or their deputies, with the administration of justice and the finances in their respective districts. The ponderous volumes of the Codes and Pandects<sup>113</sup> would furnish ample materials for a minute enquiry into the system of provincial government, as in the space of six centuries it was improved by the wisdom of the Roman statesmen and lawyers. It may be sufficient for the historian to select two singular and salutary provisions, intended to restrain the abuse of authority. 1. For the preservation of peace and order, the governors of the provinces were armed with the sword of justice. They inflicted corporal punishments, and they exercised, in capital offences, the power of life and death. But they were not authorised to indulge the condemned criminal with the choice of his own execution, or to pronounce a sentence of the mildest and most honourable kind of exile. These prerogatives were reserved to the præfects, who alone could impose the heavy fine of fifty pounds of gold: their vicegerents were confined to the trifling weight of a few ounces.<sup>114</sup> This distinction, which seems to grant the larger, while it denies the smaller degree of authority, was founded on a very rational motive. The smaller degree was infinitely more liable to abuse. The passions of a provincial magistrate might frequently provoke him into acts of oppression, which affected only the freedom or the fortunes of the subject; though, from a principle of prudence, perhaps of humanity, he might still be terrified by the guilt of innocent blood. It may likewise be considered, that exile, considerable fines, or the choice of an easy death, relate more particularly to the rich and the noble; and the persons the most exposed to the avarice or resentment of a provincial magistrate, were thus removed from his obscure persecution to the more august and impartial tribunal of the prætorian præfect.

entared to preceale and command all city magistrates sine injuriâ ac detrimento honoris alieni.

<sup>109</sup> Besides our usual guides, we may observe that Felix Cantelonus

<sup>111</sup> The proconsul of Africa had four hundred apparitors, and they all received large salaries, either from the treasury or the province. See Panciroli p. 26, and Cod. Justinian. l. xii. tit. lvi. lvi.

<sup>112</sup> In Italy there was likewise the *Fear of Rome*. It has been much disputed, whether his jurisdiction measured a hundred miles from the city, or whether it stretched over the ten southern provinces of Italy.

<sup>113</sup> Among the works of the celebrated Lipan, there was one in ten books, concerning the office of a proconsul, whose duties in the most essential articles were the same as those of an ordinary governor of a province.

<sup>114</sup> The pro-presidents, or consulars, could impose only two ounces; the vice-præfects, three; the proconsuls, count of the East, and præfect of Egypt, six. See Humeon Jur. Civil. tom. i. p. 75. Pandect. l. xlviii. tit. xix. n. 9. Cod. Justinian. l. i. tit. lvi. leg. 4. 5.

2. As it was reasonably apprehended that the integrity of the judge might be biased, if his interest was concerned, or his affections were engaged; the strictest regulations were established, to exclude any person, without the special dispensation of the emperor, from the government of the province where he was born; <sup>115</sup> and to prohibit the governor or his son from contracting marriage with a native, or an inhabitant; <sup>116</sup> or from purchasing slaves, lands, or houses, within the extent of his jurisdiction. <sup>117</sup> Notwithstanding these rigorous precautions, the emperor Constantine, after a reign of twenty-five years, still deploras the venal and oppressive administration of justice, and expresses the warmest indignation that the audience of the judge, his despatch of business, his seasonable delays, and his final sentence, were publicly sold, either by himself or by the officers of his court. The continuance, and perhaps the impunity, of these crimes, is attested by the repetition of impotent laws, and intellectual menaces. <sup>118</sup>

All the civil magistrates were drawn from the profession of the law. The celebrated Institutes of Justinian are addressed to the youth of his dominions, who had devoted themselves to the study of Roman jurisprudence; and the sovereign condescends to animate their diligence, by the assurance that their skill and ability would in time be rewarded by an adequate share in the government of the republic.<sup>117</sup> The rudiments of this lucrative science were taught in all the considerable cities of the East and West; but the most famous school was that of Berytus,<sup>118</sup> on the coast of Phœnicia; which flourished above three centuries from the time of Alexander Severus, the author perhaps of an institution so advantageous to his native country. After a regular course of education, which lasted five years, the students dispersed themselves through the provinces, in search of fortune and honours; nor could they want an inexhaustible supply of business in a great empire, already corrupted by the multiplicity of laws, of arts, and of vices. The court of the prætorian præfect of the East could alone furnish employment for one hundred and fifty advocates, sixty-four of whom were distinguished by peculiar privileges, and two were

115 Utrulq patre sum ade ministratio sine speciali principu personu pertinetur. Cuiusmodi legem hanc. This law was first enacted by the emperor Maximilian after the rebellion of Essex (1569-1571). The same regulation is observed in China, with equal strictness, and with the same effect.

The first group of participants was 58 (57.1%). The majority of participants (34) were female, and 24 were male. They were of various ages, with a range of 18 to 65 years. The majority of participants (34) were of various ethnicities, with a range of 18 to 65 years. The majority of participants (34) were of various ethnicities, with a range of 18 to 65 years.

the province, than war as a means of establishing the expression of their power. God has made it his will that we should

[illegible]

121. A. is a former pupil of H. and is the author of a very popular but incorrect, *Isabelle* about the middle of the 19th century.

annually chosen with a salary of sixty pounds of gold, to defend the causes of the treasury. The first experiment was made of their judicial talents, by appointing them to act occasionally as assessors to the magistrates; from thence they were often raised to preside in the tribunals before which they had pleaded. They obtained the government of a province; and, by the aid of merit, of reputation, or of favour, they ascended, by successive steps, to the *illustrious* dignities of the state.<sup>121</sup> In the practice of the bar, these men had considered reason as the instrument of dispute; they interpreted the laws according to the dictates of private interest; and the same pernicious habits might still adhere to their characters in the public administration of the state. The honour of a liberal profession has indeed been vindicated by ancient and modern advocates, who have filled the most important stations, with pure integrity, and consummate wisdom: but in the decline of Roman jurisprudence, the ordinary promotion of lawyers was pregnant with mischief and disgrace. The noble art, which had once been preserved as the sacred inheritance of the patricians, was fallen into the hands of freedmen and plebeians,<sup>122</sup> who, with cunning rather than with skill, exercised a sordid and pernicious trade. Some of them procured admittance into families for the purpose of fomenting differences, of encouraging suits, and of preparing a harvest of gain for themselves or their brethren. Others, recluse in their chambers, maintained the dignity of legal professors, by furnishing a rich client with subtleties to confound the plainest truths, and with arguments to colour the most unjustifiable pretensions. The splendid and popular class was composed of the advocates, who filled the Forum with the sound of their turgid and lequacious rhetoric. Careless of fame and of justice, they are described, for the most part, as ignorant and rapacious guides, who conducted their clients through a maze of expense, of delay, and of disappointment; from whence, after a tedious series of years, they were at length dismissed, when their patience and fortune were almost exhausted.<sup>123</sup>

III. In the system of policy introduced by Augustus, the governors, those at least of the Imperial provinces, were invested with the full powers of the sovereign.

Theodore. He was distinguished by his eloquence, while he also held an advance in the court of the praetorian prefect. 2. He learned one of the provinces of Africa as governor, president or consular, and observed, by his administration, the horror of a brutal state. 3. He was appointed urban, or vice-prae-fect of Macedonia. 4. Thevenet. A count of the sacred largesses. 6. Praetorian-prefect of Gaul. 7. Praetorian-prefect of Italy. 8. Praetorian-prefect of Syria. 9. After a retirement upon a desert, of many years, which Malinus is supposed by some critics, with the poet Manilius, to have been Lucan's father. Ernest notes that he was 300 employed in the office of the praetorian prefect; it was named Praetorian prefect of the East, and he was called Praetorian Prefect of the West, and his name, as mentioned by the laws of his reign, the seventh Eutropius, was changed from Lucan to Lucanus. In the year 408, Malinus was elected a second time praetorian prefect of Italy. Even in the very last days of his life we find him over the city of Constantinople. Theodorus, who is a rare scholar, was the intimate friend both of Symmachus and of St. Augustin; see Islefont, Hist des Emp. romains p. 1111-1113.

[2.] Mamertus in Pateric. Vet. xi. 20. Asterius unde Photius,

P. 125 The curius; image of Apollo is a Greek figure which he identifies as one of the two great flowers, the other a strange mixture of wind and rose, for which he describes a more beautiful flower (the figure of Adonis) as being more beautiful than the other two combined, and another "sort." Is the former more than a carnation, might have been lower, with two books. Eloquent in Vit. Edition, p. 72

reign himself. Ministers of peace and war, the distribution of rewards and punishments depended on them alone, and they successively appeared on their tribunal in the robes of civil magistracy, and in complete armour at the head of the Roman legions.<sup>124</sup> The influence of the revenue, the authority of law, and the command of a military force, concurred to render their power supreme and absolute; and whenever they were tempted to violate their allegiance, the loyal province which they involved in their rebellion, was scarcely sensible of any change in its political state. From the time of Commodus to the reign of Constantine, near one hundred governors might be enumerated, who, with various success, erected the standard of revolt; and though the innocent were too often sacrificed, the guilty might be sometimes prevented, by the suspicious cruelty of their master.<sup>125</sup> To secure his throne and the public tranquillity from these formidable servants, Constantine resolved to divide the military from the civil administration; and to establish, as a permanent and professional distinction, a practice which had been adopted only as an occasional expedient. The supreme jurisdiction exercised by the prætorian prefects over the armies of the empire, was transferred to the two *masters general* whom he instituted, the one for the *country*, the other for the *infantry*; and though each of these *illustrious* officers was more peculiarly responsible for the discipline of those troops which were under his immediate inspection, they both indifferently commanded in the field the several bodies, whether of horse or foot, which were united in the same army.<sup>126</sup> Their number was soon doubled by the division of the east and west; and as separate generals of the same rank and title were appointed on the four important frontiers of the Rhine, of the Upper and the Lower Danube, and of the Euphrates, the defence of the Roman empire was at length committed to eight masters general of the cavalry and infantry. Under their orders, thirty-five military commanders were stationed in the provinces: three in Britain, six in Gaul, one in Spain, one in Italy, five on the Upper, and four on the Lower Danube; in Asia eight, three in Egypt, and four in Africa. The titles of *counts*, and *dukes*,<sup>127</sup> by which they were properly distinguished, have obtained in modern languages so very different a sense, that the use of them may occasion some surprise. But it should be recollected, that the second of those appellations is only a corruption of the Latin word, which was indiscriminately applied to any military chief. All these provincial generals were therefore *dukes*, but no more than ten among them were dignified with the rank of *counts* or companions, a title of honour, or rather of favour, which had been recently invented in the court of

Constantine. A gold belt was the ensign which distinguished the office of the counts and dukes; and besides their pay, they received a liberal allowance sufficient to maintain one hundred and ninety servants, and one hundred and fifty-eight horses. They were strictly prohibited from interfering in any matter which related to the administration of justice or the revenue; but the command which they exercised over the troops of their department, was independent of the authority of the magistrates. About the same time that Constantine gave a legal sanction to the ecclesiastical order, he instituted in the Roman empire the nice balance of the civil and the military powers. The emulation, and sometimes the discord, which reigned between two professions of opposite interests and incompatible manners, was productive of beneficial and of pernicious consequences. It was seldom to be expected that the general and the civil governor of a province should either conspire for the disturbance, or should unite for the service, of their country. While the one delayed to offer the assistance which the other disclaimed to solicit, the troops very frequently remained without orders or without supplies; the public safety was betrayed, and the defenceless subjects were left exposed to the fury of the barbarians. The divided administration, which had been formed by Constantine, relaxed the vigour of the state, while it secured the tranquillity of the monarch.

The memory of Constantine has been deservedly censured for another Distinction of the troops. innovation which corrupted military discipline, and prepared the ruin of the empire. The nineteen years which preceded his final victory over Licinius, had been a period of licence and intestine war. The rivals who contended for the possession of the Roman world, had withdrawn the greatest part of their forces from the guard of the general frontier; and the principal cities which formed the boundary of their respective dominions were filled with soldiers, who considered their countrymen as their most implacable enemies. After the use of these internal garrisons had ceased with the civil war, the conqueror wanted either wisdom or firmness to revive the severe discipline of Diocletian, and to suppress a fatal indulgence, which habit had endeared and almost confirmed to the military order. From the reign of Constantine a popular and even legal distinction was admitted between the *Palatines*<sup>128</sup> and the *Borderers*; the troops of the court, as they were improperly styled, and the troops of the frontier. The former, elevated by the superiority of their pay and privileges, were permitted, except in the extraordinary emergencies of war, to occupy their tranquil stations in the heart of the provinces. The most flourishing cities were oppressed by the intolerable weight of quarters. The soldiers insensibly

<sup>124</sup> See a very splendid example in the life of Agricola, particularly c. 20, 21. The latter part of Britain was intrusted with the same powers which were, in process of time, exercised in the name of the senate and people.

<sup>125</sup> The Abbe Dubou, who has examined with accuracy the Hist. de la Monarchie Française, t. vi. p. 41. — 44. edit. 1711; the institutions of Augustus and of Constantine, observes, that if he had been put to death the day before he executed his conspiracy, Otho would now appear in history as innocent as Cæsar.

<sup>126</sup> Justinian, l. i. c. 10. Before the end of the reign of Constantine, the number of military was already increased to four. See Valentinian, l. i. c. 1. — c. 7.

<sup>127</sup> Though the military counts and dukes are frequently mentioned, both in history and the codes, we must have recourse to the Notitia for the exact knowledge of their number and stations. For the institution, rank, privileges, &c. of the counts in general, see Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xi. — xx. with the commentary of Godefroy.

<sup>128</sup> See Justinian, l. i. c. 111. The distinction between the two classes of Roman troops is very clearly expressed in the historians, the laws, and the Notitia. Consult, however, the *opuscule parénetique* of Godefr. Schlegel, which Godefr. has drawn up at the seventh book, de c. 31. tit. vi. of the Theodosian Code, l. vi. tit. i. leg. 15. l. vi. tit. i. leg. 14.

forgot the virtues of their profession, and contracted only the vices of civil life. They were either degraded by the industry of mechanic trades, or enervated by the luxury of baths and theatres. They soon became careless of their martial exercises, curious in their diet and apparel; and while they inspired terror to the subjects of the empire, they trembled at the hostile approach of the barbarians.<sup>121</sup> The chain of fortifications which Diocletian and his colleagues had extended along the banks of the great rivers, was no longer maintained with the same care, or defended with the same vigilance. The numbers which still remained under the name of the troops of the frontier, might be sufficient for the ordinary defence. But their spirit was degraded by the humiliating reflection, that *they* who were exposed to the hardships and dangers of a perpetual warfare, were rewarded only with about two thirds of the pay and emoluments which were lavished on the troops of the court. Even the bands or legions that were raised the nearest to the level of those unworthy favourites, were in some measure disgraced by the title of honour which they were allowed to assume. It was in vain that Constantine repeated the most dreadful menaces of fire and sword against the Borderers who should dare to desert their colours, to connive at the inroads of the barbarians, or to participate in the spoil.<sup>122</sup> The mischiefs which flow from injudicious counsels are seldom removed by the application of partial severities; and though succeeding princes laboured to restore the strength and numbers of the frontier garrisons, the empire, till the last moment of its dissolution, continued to languish under the mortal wound which had been so rashly or so weakly inflicted by the hand of Constantine.

The same timid policy, of diminishing whatever is united, of reducing whatever is eminent, of dreading every active power, and of expecting that the most feeble will prove the most obedient, seems to pervade the institutions of several princes, and particularly those of Constantine. The martial pride of the legions, whose victorious camps had so often been the scene of rebellion, was nourished by the memory of their past exploits, and the consciousness of their actual strength. As long as they maintained their ancient establishment of six thousand men, they subsisted, under the reign of Diocletian, each of them singly, a visible and important object in the military history of the Roman empire. A few years afterwards, these gigantic bodies were shrunk to a very diminutive size; and when seven legions, with scarce any arms, defended the city of Anapa, against the Persians, the total garrison, with the inhabitants of both sexes,

and the peasants of the deserted country, did not exceed the number of twenty thousand persons.<sup>131</sup> From this fact, and from similar examples, there is reason to believe, that the constitution of the legionary troops, to which they partly owed their valour and discipline, was dissolved by Constantine; and that the bands of Roman infantry, which still assumed the same names and the same honours, consisted only of one thousand or fifteen hundred men.<sup>132</sup> The conspiracy of so many separate detachments, each of which was awed by the sense of its own weakness, could easily be checked; and the successors of Constantine might indulge their love of ostentation, by issuing their orders to one hundred and thirty-two legions, inscribed on the muster-roll of their numerous armies. The remainder of their troops was distributed into several hundred cohorts of infantry, and squadrons of cavalry. Their arms, and titles, and ensigns, were calculated to inspire terror, and to display the variety of nations who marched under the Imperial standard. And not a vestige was left of that severe simplicity, which, in the ages of freedom and victory, had distinguished the line of battle of a Roman army from the confused host of an Asiatic monarch.<sup>133</sup> A more particular enumeration, drawn from the *Notitia*, might exercise the diligence of an antiquary; but the historian will content himself with observing, that the number of permanent stations or garrisons established on the frontiers of the empire, amounted to five hundred and eighty-three; and that, under the successors of Constantine, the complete force of the military establishment was computed at six hundred and forty-five thousand soldiers.<sup>134</sup> An effort so prodigious surpassed the wants of a more ancient, and the faculties of a later, period.

In the various states of society, <sup>Difficulty of</sup> armies are recruited from very dif- <sup>series.</sup> ferent motives. Barbarians are urged by the love of war; the citizens of a free republic may be prompted by a principle of duty; the subjects, or at least the nobles of a monarchy, are animated by a sentiment of honour; but the timid and luxurious inhabitants of a declining empire must be allured into the service by the hopes of profit, or compelled by the dread of punishment. The resources of the Roman treasury were exhausted by the increase of pay, by the repetition of donatives, and by the invention of new emoluments and indulgences, which, in the opinion of the provincial youth, might compensate the hardships and dangers of a military life. Yet, although the stature was lowered,<sup>1</sup> although slaves, at least by a tacit connivance, were indiscriminately received into the ranks, the insurmountable difficulty of procuring a regular and adequate supply of volun-

[illegible][illegible]

1)  $\text{Mg} + 2\text{HCl} \rightarrow \text{MgCl}_2 + \text{H}_2$  (the reaction is exothermic, the temperature of the solution increases);

177. R. is a native of the province of Agram, and of the family of the same name, which is a noble and distinguished one in the empire. He was born at Agram, in the year 1716, and was educated at the University of that city, where he took the degree of Doctor of Laws, in the year 1740. He was afterwards employed in the service of the Emperor, and was promoted to the rank of Colonel, in the year 1750. He died at Agram, in the year 1760, and was buried in the church of St. Peter and Paul.

The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the
 asymptotic behavior of the sequence of functions  $f_n(x)$ 
 defined by the recurrence relation
 
$$f_{n+1}(x) = \frac{1}{2} (f_n(x) + f_n(x^2))$$
 for  $n \geq 1$  and  $f_1(x) = x$ . It is shown that the
 sequence  $f_n(x)$  converges to the function  $f(x) = \frac{1}{2} (1 + \sqrt{1-x})$ 
 for  $x \in [0, 1]$ . The second part of the paper is devoted
 to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the sequence of
 functions  $g_n(x)$  defined by the recurrence relation
 
$$g_{n+1}(x) = \frac{1}{2} (g_n(x) + g_n(x^2))$$
 for  $n \geq 1$  and  $g_1(x) = x^2$ . It is shown that the
 sequence  $g_n(x)$  converges to the function  $g(x) = \frac{1}{2} (1 + \sqrt{1-x^2})$ 
 for  $x \in [0, 1]$ .



teers, obliged the emperors to adopt more effectual and coercive methods. The lands bestowed on the veterans, as the free reward of their valour, were henceforward granted under a condition, which contains the first rudiments of the feudal tenures; that their sons, who succeeded to the inheritance, should devote themselves to the profession of arms, as soon as they attained the age of manhood; and their cowardly refusal was punished by the loss of honour, of fortune, or even of life.<sup>136</sup> But as the annual growth of the sons of the veterans bore a very small proportion to the demands of the service, levies of men were frequently required from the provinces, and every proprietor was obliged either to take up arms, or to procure a substitute, or to purchase his exemption by the payment of a heavy fine. The sum of forty-two pieces of gold, to which it was reduced, ascertains the exorbitant price of volunteers, and the reluctance with which the government admitted of this alternative.<sup>137</sup> Such was the horror for the profession of a soldier, which had affected the minds of the degenerate Romans, that many of the youth of Italy, and the provinces, chose to cut off the fingers of their right hand to escape from being pressed into the service; and this strange expedient was so commonly practised, as to deserve the severe animadversion of the laws,<sup>138</sup> and a peculiar name in the Latin language.<sup>139</sup>

The introduction of barbarians into the Roman armies became every day more universal, more necessary, and more fatal. The most daring of the Scythians, of the Goths, and of the Germans, who delighted in war, and who found it more profitable to defend than to ravage the provinces, were enrolled, not only in the auxiliaries of their respective nations, but in the legions themselves, and among the most distinguished of the Palatine troops. As they freely mingled with the subjects of the empire, they gradually learned to despise their manners, and to imitate their arts. They abjured the implicit reverence which the pride of Rome had exacted from their ignorance, while they acquired the knowledge and possession of those advantages by which alone she supported her declining greatness. The barbarian soldiers, who displayed any military talents, were advanced, without exception, to the most important commands; and the names of the tribunes, of the counts and dukes, and of the generals themselves, betray a foreign origin, which they no longer condescended to disguise. They were often intrusted with the conduct of a war against their countrymen; and though most of them preferred the

ties of allegiance to those of blood, they did not always avoid the guilt, or at least the suspicion, of holding a treasonable correspondence with the enemy, of inviting his invasion, or of sparing his retreat. The camps, and the palace of the son of Constantine, were governed by the powerful faction of the Franks, who preserved the strictest connection with each other, and with their country, and who resented every personal affront as a national indignity.<sup>140</sup> When the tyrant Caligula was suspected of an intention to invest a very extraordinary candidate with the consular robes, the sacrilegious profanation would have scarcely excited less astonishment, if, instead of a horse, the noblest chieftain of Germany or Britain had been the object of his choice. The revolution of three centuries had produced so remarkable a change in the prejudices of the people, that, with the public approbation, Constantine showed his successors the example of bestowing the honours of the consulship on the barbarians, who, by their merit and services, had deserved to be ranked among the first of the Romans.<sup>141</sup> But as these hardy veterans, who had been educated in the ignorance or contempt of the laws, were incapable of exercising any civil offices, the powers of the human mind were contracted by the irreconcilable separation of talents as well as of professions. The accomplished citizens of the Greek and Roman republics, whose characters could adapt themselves to the bar, the senate, the camp, or the schools, had learned to write, to speak, and to act with the same spirit, and with equal abilities.

IV. Besides the magistrates and <sup>Seven ministers of the palace.</sup> generals, who at a distance from the court diffused their delegated authority over the provinces and armies, the emperor conferred the rank of *Illustris* on seven of his more immediate servants, to whose fidelity he intrusted his safety, or his counsels, or his treasures. 1. The private apartments of the palace were governed by a favourite eunuch, who, in the language of that age, was styled the *præpositus* or <sup>The chamberlain.</sup> præfect of the sacred bedchamber. His duty was to attend the emperor in his hours of state, or in those of amusement, and to perform about his person all those menial services, which can only derive their splendour from the influence of royalty. Under a prince who deserved to reign, the great chamberlain (for such we may call him) was an useful and humble domestic; but an artful domestic, who improves every occasion of unguarded confidence, will insensibly acquire over a feeble mind that ascendancy which harsh wisdom and uncomplaising virtue can seldom obtain. The degenerate grand-

so considerable, that the province complained of a scarcity of recruits. (Id. leg. 10.)

<sup>139</sup> They were called *Murci*. *Murcidus* is found in Plautus and Festus, to denote a lazy and cowardly person, who, according to Arnobius and Augustine, was under the immediate protection of the goddess *Fera*. From this particular instance of cowardice, *murcus* is used as synonymous to *muldus*, by the writers of the middle Latinity. See Lindenbrogus and Valeus ad Ammian. Marcellin. l. ix. c. 12.

<sup>140</sup> *Malarichus* — adhibuit. Francis quorum ea tempestate in palatio multitudine florabat, erectus jam loquebatur cumturalaturque. Ammian. l. xv. c. 5.

<sup>141</sup> A Barbarian among primus, ad usque fides auxerat et tribus consules. Ammian. l. xx. c. 10. Eusebius in Vit. Constantini. l. iv. c. 7. and Ammian. Victor seem to confirm the truth of this assertion. In the thirty-two consular fasti of the reign of Constantine, I cannot discover the name of a single barbarian. I should therefore interpret the few instances of that name, as relative to the ornaments, rather than to the office, of the consulship.

<sup>136</sup> See the two titles, De Veteranis, and De Filis Veteranorum, in the seventh book of the Theodosian Code. The age at which their military service was required, varied from twenty-five to sixteen. If the sons of the veterans appeared with a horse, they had a right to serve in the

<sup>137</sup> *Id.* *Id.*

<sup>138</sup> *Id.* *Id.*

<sup>139</sup> *Id.* *Id.*

<sup>140</sup> *Id.* *Id.*

<sup>141</sup> *Id.* *Id.*

<sup>142</sup> *Id.* *Id.*

<sup>143</sup> *Id.* *Id.*

<sup>144</sup> *Id.* *Id.*

<sup>145</sup> *Id.* *Id.*

<sup>146</sup> *Id.* *Id.*

<sup>147</sup> *Id.* *Id.*

<sup>148</sup> *Id.* *Id.*

<sup>149</sup> *Id.* *Id.*

<sup>150</sup> *Id.* *Id.*

<sup>151</sup> *Id.* *Id.*

sons of Theodosius, who were invisible to their subjects, and contemptible to their enemies, exalted the prefects of their bedchamber above the heads of all the ministers of the palace; 142 and even his deputy, the first of the splendid train of slaves who waited in the presence, was thought worthy to rank before the *respectable* proconsuls of Greece or Asia. The jurisdiction of the chamberlain was acknowledged by the *counts*, or superintendents, who regulated the two important provinces, of the magnificence of the wardrobe, and of the luxury of the

Imperial table.<sup>143</sup> 2. The principal administration of public affairs was committed to the diligence and abilities of the *master of the offices*.<sup>144</sup> He was the supreme magistrate of the palace, inspected the discipline of the civil and military *schools*, and received appeals from all parts of the empire in the causes which related to that numerous army of privileged persons, who, as the servants of the court, had obtained, for themselves and families, a right to decline the authority of the ordinary judges. The correspondence between the prince and his subjects was managed by the four *scrinia*, or offices of this minister of state. The first was appropriated to memorials, the second to epistles, the third to petitions, and the fourth to papers and orders of a miscellaneous kind. Each of these was directed by an inferior *master of respectable* dignity, and the whole business was despatched by a hundred and forty-eight secretaries, chosen for the most part from the profession of the law, on account of the variety of abstracts of reports and references which frequently occurred in the exercise of their several functions. From a condescension, which in former ages would have been esteemed unworthy of the Roman majesty, a particular society was allowed for the Greek language; and interpreters were appointed to receive the ambassadors of the barbarians: but the department of foreign affairs, which constitutes so essential a part of modern policy, seldom diverted the attention of the master of the offices. His mind was more seriously engaged by the general direction of the posts and arsenals of the empire. There were thirty-four cities, fifteen in the east, and nineteen in the west, in which regular companies of workmen were perpetually employed in fabricating defensive armour, offensive weapons,

pons of all sorts, and military engines, which were deposited in the arsenals, and occasionally delivered for the service of the troops. 3. In the course of nine The quarstor.

centuries, the office of *questor* had experienced a very singular revolution. In the infancy of Rome, two inferior magistrates were annually elected by the people, to relieve the consuls from the invidious management of the public treasure;<sup>145</sup> a similar assistant was granted to every proconsul, and to every praetor, who exercised a military or provincial command; with the extent of conquest, the two *questors* were gradually multiplied to the number of four, of eight, of twenty, and, for a short time, perhaps, of forty;<sup>146</sup> and the noblest citizens ambitiously solicited an office which gave them a seat in the senate, and a just hope of obtaining the honours of the republic. Whilst Augustus affected to maintain the freedom of election, he consented to accept the annual privilege of recommending, or rather indeed of nominating, a certain proportion of candidates; and it was his custom to select one of these distinguished youths, to read his orations or epistles in the assemblies of the senate.<sup>147</sup> The practice of Augustus was imitated by succeeding princes, the occasional commission was established as a permanent office; and the favoured *questor*, assuming a new and more illustrious character, alone survived the suppression of his ancient and useless colleagues.<sup>148</sup> As the orations, which he composed in the name of the emperor,<sup>149</sup> acquired the force, and, at length, the form of absolute edicts, he was considered as the representative of the legislative power, the oracle of the council, and the original source of the civil jurisprudence. He was sometimes invited to take his seat in the supreme judicature of the Imperial consistory, with the praetorian prefects, and the master of the offices; and he was frequently requested to resolve the doubts of inferior judges: but as he was not oppressed with a variety of subordinate business, his leisure and talents were employed to cultivate that dignified style of eloquence, which, in the corruption of taste and language, still preserves the majesty of the Roman laws.<sup>150</sup> In some respects, the office of the Imperial *questor* may be compared with that of a modern chancellor; but the use of a great seal, which seems to have been adopted by the

142 Cod. Theol. 1 v. 10 9.

115 B. A very sensitive method, borrowed from the military character of the test tubes, the use of the "bullet" was used in the count of the test tubes. The "bullet" is a very small, perfectly flat, thin, transparent plate of the size of the end of a rifle bullet, which is placed in the center of the plate and in the center of the tube. A very small

The fourth runs (1) to (4) Darius V. is on the left, and the fifth runs very close to it, and the sixth runs very close to the fifth. The seventh runs are the most distant, and the eighth runs are the most distant. The ninth runs are the most distant, and the tenth runs are the most distant. The eleventh runs are the most distant, and the twelfth runs are the most distant. The thirteenth runs are the most distant, and the fourteenth runs are the most distant. The fifteenth runs are the most distant, and the sixteenth runs are the most distant. The seventeenth runs are the most distant, and the eighteenth runs are the most distant. The nineteenth runs are the most distant, and the twentieth runs are the most distant. The twenty-first runs are the most distant, and the twenty-second runs are the most distant. The twenty-third runs are the most distant, and the twenty-four runs are the most distant. The twenty-fifth runs are the most distant, and the twenty-six runs are the most distant. The twenty-seventh runs are the most distant, and the twenty-eight runs are the most distant. The twenty-ninth runs are the most distant, and the thirtieth runs are the most distant. The thirty-first runs are the most distant, and the thirty-second runs are the most distant. The thirty-third runs are the most distant, and the thirty-four runs are the most distant. The thirty-fifth runs are the most distant, and the thirty-six runs are the most distant. The thirty-seventh runs are the most distant, and the thirty-eight runs are the most distant. The thirty-ninth runs are the most distant, and the fortieth runs are the most distant. The forty-first runs are the most distant, and the forty-second runs are the most distant. The forty-third runs are the most distant, and the forty-four runs are the most distant. The forty-fifth runs are the most distant, and the forty-six runs are the most distant. The forty-seventh runs are the most distant, and the forty-eight runs are the most distant. The forty-ninth runs are the most distant, and the fiftieth runs are the most distant. The fifty-first runs are the most distant, and the fifty-second runs are the most distant. The fifty-third runs are the most distant, and the fifty-four runs are the most distant. The fifty-fifth runs are the most distant, and the fifty-six runs are the most distant. The fifty-seventh runs are the most distant, and the fifty-eight runs are the most distant. The fifty-ninth runs are the most distant, and the sixtieth runs are the most distant. The sixty-first runs are the most distant, and the sixty-second runs are the most distant. The sixty-third runs are the most distant, and the sixty-four runs are the most distant. The sixty-fifth runs are the most distant, and the sixty-six runs are the most distant. The sixty-seventh runs are the most distant, and the sixty-eight runs are the most distant. The sixty-ninth runs are the most distant, and the seventieth runs are the most distant. The seventy-first runs are the most distant, and the seventy-second runs are the most distant. The seventy-third runs are the most distant, and the seventy-four runs are the most distant. The seventy-fifth runs are the most distant, and the seventy-six runs are the most distant. The seventy-seventh runs are the most distant, and the seventy-eight runs are the most distant. The seventy-ninth runs are the most distant, and the eightieth runs are the most distant. The eighty-first runs are the most distant, and the eighty-second runs are the most distant. The eighty-third runs are the most distant, and the eighty-four runs are the most distant. The eighty-fifth runs are the most distant, and the eighty-six runs are the most distant. The eighty-seventh runs are the most distant, and the eighty-eight runs are the most distant. The eighty-ninth runs are the most distant, and the ninetieth runs are the most distant. The ninety-first runs are the most distant, and the ninety-second runs are the most distant. The ninety-third runs are the most distant, and the ninety-four runs are the most distant. The ninety-fifth runs are the most distant, and the ninety-six runs are the most distant. The ninety-seventh runs are the most distant, and the ninety-eight runs are the most distant. The ninety-ninth runs are the most distant, and the hundredth runs are the most distant.

137 Tacitus (*Ann.* 12. 24. 1) states that the emperor was loved by the people, sixty-four years after the foundation of the republic, but he is of opinion that this figure is far too high, since the annual amount of the census and *capitatio* is the wage. But this obscure point of antiquity is omitted by other writers.

116 Tacita Annae x. 12' super ocellis lateribusque thoracis et  
number of quaters and Diemil xvi p. 754 distinde thit  
dictator l'psyon. cnied for x. t vaxo' b' 20 f' c' 2' h' p' x' x'

of an unknown date. The specimen is made of a mixture of granite and  
made of previous material under the name of "Granite" and is now  
147. Sutton, in August, 1865 and is now ad hoc. The class  
p. 147

118 The youth and inexperience of the quakers, who entered in that important office in their two English years, and

T. it is said by engaged Anzai to remove them from the management of the railways, and though they were reported by Gendous, they seem to have been finally dismissed by Noto. (*Fact. Annal.*, 1897, p. 60; *Jour. de la Société d'Économie Industrielle*, 1897, p. 27.)

[illegible]

But in the process of this search we managed to discover a series of  
factors that may affect the rate of change in the Augustin

the same time, the Government has been working to improve the quality of the services it provides to the public. This includes a number of initiatives, such as the introduction of a new system of public transport, the expansion of the health care system, and the improvement of the education system. These efforts are part of a broader strategy to modernize the country and improve the lives of its citizens.

1. The report is written in a clear, concise, and professional manner. It is well-organized and easy to read. The information is presented in a logical and coherent way. The report is well-written and easy to read. The information is presented in a logical and coherent way. The report is well-written and easy to read. The information is presented in a logical and coherent way.

That is,  $\mathcal{P}(\mathcal{A})$  is a  $\mathcal{P}(\mathcal{A})$ -module.  $\square$

$\mathbf{S}_{\text{eff}} = \frac{1}{2} \int d^4x \left[ \frac{1}{2} (\partial_\mu \phi)^2 - \frac{1}{2} m^2 \phi^2 - \frac{1}{4} F_{\mu\nu}^2 \right]$   
 $\mathbf{L} = \frac{1}{2} \int d^4x \left[ \frac{1}{2} (\partial_\mu \phi)^2 - \frac{1}{2} m^2 \phi^2 - \frac{1}{4} F_{\mu\nu}^2 \right]$   
 $\mathbf{M} = \frac{1}{2} \int d^4x \left[ \frac{1}{2} (\partial_\mu \phi)^2 - \frac{1}{2} m^2 \phi^2 - \frac{1}{4} F_{\mu\nu}^2 \right]$

For the purpose of the investigation, the following hypotheses were formulated:

illiterate barbarians, was never introduced to attest the public acts of the emperors. 4. The extraordinary title of *count of the sacred largesses*, was bestowed on the treasurer-general of the revenue, with the intention perhaps of inculcating, that every payment flowed from the voluntary bounty of the monarch. To conceive the almost infinite detail of the annual and daily expense of the civil and military administration in every part of a great empire, would exceed the powers of the most vigorous imagination. The actual account employed several hundred persons, distributed into eleven different offices, which were artfully contrived to examine and control their respective operations. The multitude of these agents had a natural tendency to increase; and it was more than once thought expedient to dismiss to their native homes the useless supernumeraries, who, deserting their honest labours, had pressed with too much eagerness into the lucrative profession of the finances.<sup>151</sup> Twenty-nine provincial receivers, of whom eighteen were honoured with the title of count, corresponded with the treasurer; and he extended his jurisdiction over the mines from whence the precious metals were extracted, over the mints, in which they were converted into the current coin, and over the public treasuries of the most important cities, where they were deposited for the service of the state. The foreign trade of the empire was regulated by this minister, who directed likewise all the linen and woollen manufactures, in which the successive operations of spinning, weaving, and dyeing, were executed, chiefly by women of a servile condition, for the use of the palace and army. Twenty-six of these institutions are enumerated in the West, where the arts had been more recently introduced, and a still larger proportion may be allowed for the industrious provinces of the East.<sup>152</sup> 5. Besides the public revenue, which an absolute monarch might levy and expend according to his pleasure, the emperors, in the capacity of opulent citizens, possessed a very extensive property, which was administered by the *count*, or *treasurer of the private estate*. Some part had perhaps been the ancient demesnes of kings and republics; some accessions might be derived from the families which were successively invested with the purple; but the most considerable portion flowed from the impure source of confiscations and forfeitures. The Imperial estates were scattered through the provinces, from Mauritania to Britain; but the rich and fertile soil of Cappadocia tempted the monarch to acquire in that country his fairest possessions,<sup>153</sup> and either Constantine or his successors embraced the occasion of justifying

avarice by religious zeal. They suppressed the rich temple of Comana, where the high-priest of the goddess of war supported the dignity of a sovereign prince; and they applied to their private use the consecrated lands which were inhabited by six thousand subjects or slaves of the deity and her ministers.<sup>154</sup> But these were not the valuable inhabitants: the plains that stretch from the foot of Mount Argeus to the banks of the Sarus, bred a generous race of horses, renowned above all others in the ancient world for their majestic shape and incomparable swiftness. These *sacred* animals, destined for the service of the palace and the Imperial games, were protected by the laws from the profanation of a vulgar master.<sup>155</sup> The demesnes of Cappadocia were important enough to require the inspection of a *count*; <sup>156</sup> officers of an inferior rank were stationed in the other parts of the empire; and the deputies of the private, as well as those of the public, treasurer, were maintained in the exercise of their independent functions, and encouraged to control the authority of the provincial magistrates.<sup>157</sup> 6, 7. The chosen bands of cavalry and infantry, <sup>the counts of the domestics.</sup> which guarded the person of the emperor, were under the immediate command of the *two counts of the domestics*. The whole number consisted of three thousand five hundred men, divided into seven *schools*, or troops, of five hundred each; and in the East, this honourable service was almost entirely appropriated to the Armenians. Whenever, on public ceremonies, they were drawn up in the courts and porticoes of the palace, their lofty stature, silent order, and splendid arms of silver and gold, displayed a martial pomp, not unworthy of the Roman majesty.<sup>158</sup> From the seven schools two companies of horse and foot were selected, of the *protectors*, whose advantageous station was the hope and reward of the most deserving soldiers. They mounted guard in the interior apartments, and were occasionally despatched into the provinces, to execute with celerity and vigour the orders of their master.<sup>159</sup> The counts of the domestics had succeeded to the office of the praetorian præfects; like the præfects, they aspired from the service of the palace to the command of armies.

The perpetual intercourse between the court and the provinces was facilitated by the construction of roads and the institution of posts. But these beneficial establishments were accidentally connected with a pernicious and intolerable abuse. Two or three hundred *agents* or messengers were employed, under the jurisdiction of the master of the offices, to announce the names of the annual consuls, and the edicts or victories of the emperors. They insensibly assumed the licence of

<sup>151</sup> Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. 50. Cod. Justinian. l. x. tit. 21.

<sup>152</sup> In the departments of the two counts of the treasury, the eastern part of the *Notulus* happens to be very defective. It may be observed, that we had a treasury chest in London, and a pecuniary or financial count at Winchester. But Britain was not thought worthy the delivery of a count or of an arsenal. Gaul alone possessed three of the former, and

<sup>153</sup> Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. 50. Cod. Justinian. l. x. tit. 21. The other temples of Comana, &c. are described in the Latin poem of Corippus. De Laudibus Justin. l. iii. p. 157-179. P. 119, 120 of the Appendix Hist. Byzantin. Rem. 177.

collected every circumstance of antiquity relative to the Cappadocian horses. One of the finest breeds, the Palmarian, was the forfeiture of a rebel, whose estate lay about sixteen miles from Tyana, near the

<sup>154</sup> The province of the count of the favourite eunuch, who

<sup>155</sup> Pan. Ammian. p. 102, 136. The appearance of these military domestics is described in the Latin poem of Corippus. De Laudibus Justin. l. iii. p. 157-179. P. 119, 120 of the Appendix Hist. Byzantin. Rem. 177.

<sup>156</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, who served so many years, obtained the office of a protector. The first ten among these honourable soldiers were *Chastissimi*

<sup>157</sup> Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. vi. de Grege Domusico. Gouffroy has

reporting whatever they could observe of the conduct either of magistrates or of private citizens; and were soon considered as the eyes of the monarch,<sup>160</sup> and the scourge of the people. Under the warm influence of a feeble reign, they multiplied to the incredible number of ten thousand, disdained the mild though frequent admonitions of the laws, and exercised in the profitable management of the posts a rapacious and insolent oppression. These official spies, who regularly corresponded with the palace, were encouraged, by favour and reward, anxiously to watch the progress of every treasonable design, from the faint and latent symptoms of disaffection, to the actual preparation of an open revolt. Their careless or criminal violation of truth and justice was covered by the consecrated mask of zeal; and they might securely aim their poisoned arrows at the breast either of the guilty or the innocent, who had provoked their resentment, or refused to purchase their silence. A faithful subject, of Syria perhaps, or of Britain, was exposed to the danger, or at least to the dread, of being dragged in chains to the court of Milan or Constantinople, to defend his life and fortune against the malicious charge of these privileged informers. The ordinary administration was conducted by those methods which extreme necessity can alone palliate; and the defects of evidence were diligently supplied by the use of torture.<sup>161</sup>

**Use of torture.** The deceitful and dangerous experiment of the criminal *question*, as it is emphatically styled, was admitted, rather than approved, in the jurisprudence of the Romans. They applied this sanguinary mode of examination only to scoundrel bodies, whose sufferings were seldom weighed by those haughty republicans in the scale of justice or humanity; but they would never consent to violate the sacred person of a citizen, till they possessed the clearest evidence of his guilt.<sup>162</sup> The annals of tyranny, from the reign of Tiberius to that of Domitian, circumstantially relate the executions of many innocent victims; but, as long as the faintest remembrance was kept alive of the national freedom and honour, the last hours of a Roman were secure from the danger of ignominious torture.<sup>163</sup> The conduct of the provincial magistrates was not, however, regulated by the practice of the city, or the strict maxims of the civilians. They found the use of torture established not only among the slaves of oriental despotism, but among the Macedonians, who obeyed a limited monarchy; among the Rhodians, who flourished by the liberty of commerce; and even among the sage Athenians, who had asserted and adorned the dignity of human kind.<sup>164</sup> The

acquiescence of the provincials encouraged their governors to acquire, or perhaps to usurp, a discretionary power of employing the rack, to extort from vagrants or plebeian criminals the confession of their guilt, till they insensibly proceeded to confound the distinction of rank, and to disregard the privileges of Roman citizens. The apprehensions of the subjects urged them to solicit, and the interest of the sovereign engaged him to grant, a variety of special exemptions, which tacitly allowed, and even authorised, the general use of torture. They protected all persons of illustrious or honourable rank, bishops and their presbyters, professors of the liberal arts, soldiers and their families, municipal officers, and their posterity to the third generation, and all children under the age of puberty.<sup>165</sup> But a fatal maxim was introduced into the new jurisprudence of the empire, that in the case of treason, which included every offence that the subtlety of lawyers could derive from an *hostile intention* towards the prince or republic,<sup>166</sup> all privileges were suspended, and all conditions were reduced to the same ignominious level. As the safety of the emperor was avowedly preferred to every consideration of justice or humanity, the dignity of age, and the tenderness of youth, were alike exposed to the most cruel tortures; and the terrors of a malicious information, which might select them as the accomplices, or even as the witnesses, perhaps, of an imaginary crime, perpetually hung over the heads of the principal citizens of the Roman world.<sup>167</sup>

These evils, however terrible they may appear, were confined to the smaller number of Roman subjects, whose dangerous situation was in some degree compensated by the enjoyment of those advantages, either of nature or of fortune, which exposed them to the jealousy of the monarch. The obscure millions of a great empire have much less to dread from the cruelty than from the avarice of their masters; and *their* humble happiness is principally affected by the grievance of excessive taxes, which gently pressing on the wealthy, descend with accelerated weight on the meaner and more indigent classes of society. An ingenious philosopher<sup>168</sup> has calculated the universal measure of the public impositions by the degrees of freedom and servitude, and ventures to assert, that, according to an invariable law of nature, it must always increase with the former, and diminish in a just proportion to the latter. But this reflection, which would tend to alleviate the miseries of despotism, is contradicted at least by the history of the Roman empire, which accuses the same princes of despoiling the senate of its authority, and the provinces of their wealth. Without

<sup>160</sup> Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, lib. i. c. 2. §. 1. B. 2. c. 1. §. 1. P. 1. c. 1. §. 1. No. 1. p. 1. c. 1. §. 1. The use of torture was not known to the Greeks.

<sup>161</sup> For the *question* of the Romans, see Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, lib. i. c. 2. §. 1. B. 2. c. 1. §. 1. P. 1. c. 1. §. 1. No. 1. p. 1. c. 1. §. 1. The use of torture was not known to the Greeks.

<sup>162</sup> For the *question* of the Romans, see Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, lib. i. c. 2. §. 1. B. 2. c. 1. §. 1. P. 1. c. 1. §. 1. No. 1. p. 1. c. 1. §. 1. The use of torture was not known to the Greeks.

<sup>163</sup> For the *question* of the Romans, see Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, lib. i. c. 2. §. 1. B. 2. c. 1. §. 1. P. 1. c. 1. §. 1. No. 1. p. 1. c. 1. §. 1. The use of torture was not known to the Greeks.

<sup>164</sup> For the *question* of the Romans, see Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, lib. i. c. 2. §. 1. B. 2. c. 1. §. 1. P. 1. c. 1. §. 1. No. 1. p. 1. c. 1. §. 1. The use of torture was not known to the Greeks.

<sup>165</sup> For the *question* of the Romans, see Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, lib. i. c. 2. §. 1. B. 2. c. 1. §. 1. P. 1. c. 1. §. 1. No. 1. p. 1. c. 1. §. 1. The use of torture was not known to the Greeks.

<sup>166</sup> For the *question* of the Romans, see Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, lib. i. c. 2. §. 1. B. 2. c. 1. §. 1. P. 1. c. 1. §. 1. No. 1. p. 1. c. 1. §. 1. The use of torture was not known to the Greeks.

<sup>167</sup> For the *question* of the Romans, see Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, lib. i. c. 2. §. 1. B. 2. c. 1. §. 1. P. 1. c. 1. §. 1. No. 1. p. 1. c. 1. §. 1. The use of torture was not known to the Greeks.

<sup>168</sup> For the *question* of the Romans, see Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, lib. i. c. 2. §. 1. B. 2. c. 1. §. 1. P. 1. c. 1. §. 1. No. 1. p. 1. c. 1. §. 1. The use of torture was not known to the Greeks.

<sup>169</sup> For the *question* of the Romans, see Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, lib. i. c. 2. §. 1. B. 2. c. 1. §. 1. P. 1. c. 1. §. 1. No. 1. p. 1. c. 1. §. 1. The use of torture was not known to the Greeks.

abolishing all the various customs and duties on merchandises, which are imperceptibly discharged by the apparent choice of the purchaser, the policy of Constantine and his successors preferred a simple and direct mode of taxation, more congenial to the spirit of an arbitrary government.<sup>169</sup>

The name and use of the *indictiones*,<sup>170</sup> which serve to ascertain the chronology of the middle ages, were derived from the regular practice of the Roman tributes.<sup>171</sup> The emperor subscribed with his own hand, and in purple ink, the solemn edict, or indiction, which was fixed up in the principal city of each diocese, during two months previous to the first day of September. And, by a very easy connection of ideas, the word *indiction* was transferred to the measure of tribute which it prescribed, and to the annual term which it allowed for the payment. This general estimate of the supplies was proportioned to the real and imaginary wants of the state; but as often as the expense exceeded the revenue, or the revenue fell short of the computation, an additional tax, under the name of *superindiction*, was imposed on the people; and the most valuable attribute of sovereignty was communicated to the prætorian præfects, who, on some occasions, were permitted to provide for the unforeseen and extraordinary exigencies of the public service. The execution of these laws (which it would be tedious to pursue in their minute and intricate detail) consisted of two distinct operations; the resolving the general imposition into its constituent parts, which were assessed on the provinces, the cities, and the individuals of the Roman world; and the collecting the separate contributions of the individuals, the cities, and the provinces, till the accumulated sums were poured into the Imperial treasuries. But as the account between the monarch and the subject was perpetually open, and as the renewal of the demand anticipated the perfect discharge of the preceding obligation, the weighty machine of the finances was moved by the same hands round the circle of its yearly revolution. Whatever was honourable or important in the administration of the revenue, was committed to the wisdom of the præfects and their provincial representatives; the lucrative functions were claimed by a crowd of subordinate officers, some of whom depended on the treasurer, others on the governor of the province; and who, in the inevitable conflicts of a perplexed jurisdiction, had frequent opportunities of disputing with each other the spoils of the people. The laborious offices, which could be productive only of envy and re-

proach, of expense and danger, were imposed on the *Decurions*, who formed the corporations of the cities, and whom the severity of the Imperial laws had condemned to sustain the burdens of civil society.<sup>172</sup> The whole landed property of the empire (without excepting the patrimonial estates of the monarch) was the object of ordinary taxation; and every new purchaser contracted the obligations of the former proprietor. An accurate *census*,<sup>173</sup> or survey, was the only equitable mode of ascertaining the proportion which every citizen should be obliged to contribute for the public service; and from the well-known period of the indictions, there is reason to believe that this difficult and expensive operation was repeated at the regular distance of fifteen years. The lands were measured by surveyors, who were sent into the provinces; their nature, whether arable or pasture, or vineyards or woods, was distinctly reported; and an estimate was made of their common value from the average produce of five years. The numbers of slaves and of cattle constituted an essential part of the report; an oath was administered to the proprietors, which bound them to disclose the true state of their affairs; and their attempts to prevaricate, or elude the intention of the legislator, were severely watched, and punished as a capital crime, which included the double guilt of treason and sacrilege.<sup>174</sup> A large portion of the tribute was paid in money; and of the current coin of the empire, gold alone could be legally accepted.<sup>175</sup> The remainder of the taxes, according to the proportions determined by the annual indiction, was furnished in a manner still more direct, and still more oppressive. According to the different nature of lands, their real produce in the various articles of wine or oil, corn or barley, wood or iron, was transported by the labour, or at the expense, of the provincials, to the Imperial magazines, from whence they were occasionally distributed, for the use of the court, of the army, and of the two capitals, Rome and Constantinople. The commissioners of the revenue were so frequently obliged to make considerable purchases, that they were strictly prohibited from allowing any compensation, or from receiving in money the value of those supplies which were exacted in kind. In the primitive simplicity of small communities, this method may be well adapted to collect the almost voluntary offerings of the people; but it is at once susceptible of the utmost latitude, and of the utmost strictness, which in a corrupt and absolute monarchy must introduce a perpetual contest between the power of oppression and the arts of fraud.<sup>176</sup> The agriculture of the Roman

<sup>169</sup> Mr. Hume (Favre, vol. i. p. 789) has seen this important title with some degree of perplexity.

<sup>170</sup> The title of *indictio*, which may be traced as high as the reign of Constantine, or perhaps of his father Constantius, is still employed by the Papal court, but the commencement of the year has been very reasonably altered to the first of January. See *Acta de Venetis* les. Dates, p. 6. and *Historia consularis Ravennatensis*, antiquæ, tom. ii. p. 25, two accurate treatises, which come from the workshop of the B. indictiones.

<sup>171</sup> The first twenty-eight titles of the eleventh book of the Theodosian Code are filled with the circumstances and regulations on the important subject of tribute, but they suppose a clearer knowledge of the nature of the tax, than we are now enabled to attain.

<sup>172</sup> *Lex* (tit. i.) is the most exact it contains not less than

<sup>173</sup> *Sigis sacrilegiæ vitæ fæce succidit, aut forasum ramorum mentiatu calidè*

*P. R. victis gentibus argentum semper impense non aurum. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 15.*

<sup>174</sup> Some precautions were taken (see *Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. ii.* and *Cod. Justinian l. x. tit. xxvii. leg. 1, 2, 3*) to restrain the marauding, either in the execution or in the

<sup>175</sup> *de Fruentibus*, might instruct oppression, with regard to the carriage. The avails of an

<sup>176</sup> ignorance of precept or prece-

provinces was insensibly ruined, and, in the progress of despotism, which tends to disappoint its own purpose, the emperors were obliged to derive some merit from the forgiveness of debts, or the remission of tributes, which their subjects were utterly incapable of paying. According to the new division of Italy, the fertile and happy province of Campania, the scene of the early victories and of the delicious retirements of the citizens of Rome, extended between the sea and the Apennine, from the Tyber to the Silarus. Within sixty years after the death of Constantine, and on the evidence of an actual survey, an exemption was granted in favour of three hundred and thirty thousand English acres of desert and uncultivated land; which amounted to one eighth of the whole surface of the province. As the footsteps of the barbarians had not yet been seen in Italy, the cause of this amazing desolation, which is recorded in the laws, can be ascribed only to the administration, of the Roman emperors.<sup>177</sup>

Assessed in the form of a capitation

Either from design or from accident, the mode of assessment seemed to unite the substance of a land-tax with the forms of a capitation.<sup>178</sup> The returns which were sent of every province or district, expressed the number of tributary subjects, and the amount of the public impositions. The latter of these sums was divided by the former; and the estimate, that such a province contained so many *capita*, or heads of tribute, and that each *head* was rated at such a price, was universally received, not only in the popular, but even in the legal computation. The value of a tributary head must have varied, according to many accidental, or at least fluctuating circumstances; but some knowledge has been preserved of a very curious fact, the more important, since it relates to one of the richest provinces of the Roman empire, and which now flourishes as the most splendid of the European kingdoms. The rapacious ministers of Constantius had exhausted the wealth of Gaul, by exacting twenty-five pieces of gold for the annual tribute of every head. The humane policy of his successor reduced the capitation to seven pieces.<sup>179</sup> A moderate proportion between these opposite extremes of extravagant oppression and of transient indulgence, may therefore be fixed at sixteen pieces of gold, or about nine pounds sterling, the common standard, perhaps, of the impositions of

Gaul.<sup>180</sup> But this calculation, or rather indeed the facts from whence it is deduced, cannot fail of suggesting two difficulties to a thinking mind, who will be at once surprised by the *equality*, and by the *enormity* of the capitation. An attempt to explain them may perhaps reflect some light on the interesting subject of the finances of the declining empire.

I. It is obvious, that, as long as the immutable constitution of human nature produces and maintains so unequal a division of property, the most numerous part of the community would be deprived of their subsistence, by the equal assessment of a tax from which the sovereign would derive a very trifling revenue. Such indeed might be the theory of the Roman capitation; but in the practice, this unjust equality was no longer felt, as the tribute was collected on the principle of a *real*, not of a *personal* imposition. Several indigent citizens contributed to compose a single *head*, or share of taxation; while the wealthy provincial, in proportion to his fortune, alone represented several of those imaginary beings. In a poetical request, addressed to one of the last and most deserving of the Roman princes who reigned in Gaul, Sidonius Apollinaris personifies his tribute under the figure of a triple monster, the Geryon of the Grecian fables, and entreats the new Hercules that he would most graciously be pleased to save his life by cutting off three of his heads.<sup>181</sup> The fortune of Sidonius far exceeded the customary wealth of a poet; but if he had pursued the allusion, he must have painted many of the Gallie nobles with the hundred heads of the deadly Hydra, spreading over the face of the country, and devouring the substance of an hundred families. II. The difficulty of allowing an annual sum of about nine pounds sterling, even for the average of the capitation of Gaul, may be rendered more evident by the comparison of the present state of the same country, as it is now governed by the absolute monarch of an industrious, wealthy, and affectionate people. The taxes of France cannot be magnified, either by fear or by flattery, beyond the annual amount of eighteen millions sterling, which ought perhaps to be shared among four-and-twenty millions of inhabitants.<sup>182</sup> Seven millions of these, in the capacity of fathers, or brothers, or husbands, may discharge the obligation of the remaining mil-

<sup>177</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. xxviii. cap. 2. published the 24th of March, A. D. 423. In the year 423, the emperor, two years after the death of his father Theodosius, had issued a rescript, which gave a full and complete description of the state of the empire, and contained a full and complete description of the state of the empire.

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lions, we may compute the Roman point of gold, the usual method of reckoning the taxes, at forty pounds sterling, and we may fix the current value of the *moneta* at twenty-five more than their shillings.

<sup>180</sup> The *capitum* was a measure of the capitation-tribute.

<sup>181</sup> Sidon. Apollinaris. *Carmin.* l. vi. cap. 1. The expression of Gaul is here used, as Sidonius was a native of that country.

<sup>182</sup> The taxation of France, as Sidonius Apollinaris has observed, is not so great as that of the Roman empire, but it is not so small as that of the Greek empire. The taxes of France are not so great as those of the Roman empire, but they are not so small as those of the Greek empire. The taxes of France are not so great as those of the Roman empire, but they are not so small as those of the Greek empire.

titude of women and children; yet the equal proportion of each tributary subject will scarcely rise above fifty shillings of our money, instead of a proportion almost four times as considerable, which was regularly imposed on their Gallic ancestors. The reason of this difference may be found, not so much in the relative scarcity or plenty of gold and silver, as in the different state of society in ancient Gaul and in modern France. In a country where personal freedom is the privilege of every subject, the whole mass of taxes, whether they are levied on property or on consumption, may be fairly divided among the whole body of the nation. But the far greater part of the lands of ancient Gaul, as well as of the other provinces of the Roman world, were cultivated by slaves, or by peasants, whose dependent condition was a less rigid servitude.<sup>183</sup> In such a state the poor were maintained at the expense of the masters, who enjoyed the fruits of their labour; and as the rolls of tribute were filled only with the names of those citizens who possessed the means of an honourable, or at least of a decent subsistence, the comparative smallness of their numbers explains and justifies the high rate of their capitation. The truth of this assertion may be illustrated by the following example:—The Ædui, one of the most powerful and civilised tribes or *civies* of Gaul, occupied an extent of territory, which now contains above five hundred thousand inhabitants, in the two ecclesiastical dioceses of Autun and Nevers;<sup>184</sup> and with the probable accession of those of Châlons and Maçon,<sup>185</sup> the population would amount to eight hundred thousand souls. In the time of Constantine, the territory of the Ædui afforded no more than twenty-five thousand *heads* of capitation, of whom seven thousand were discharged by that prince from the intolerable weight of tribute.<sup>186</sup> A just analogy would seem to countenance the opinion of an ingenious historian,<sup>187</sup> that the free and tributary citizens did not surpass the number of half a million; and if, in the ordinary administration of government, their annual payments may be computed at about four millions and a half of our money, it would appear, that although the share of each individual was four times as considerable, a fourth part only of the modern taxes of France was levied on the Imperial province of Gaul. The exactions of Constantius may be calculated at seven millions sterling, which were reduced to two millions by the humanity or the wisdom of Julian.

But this tax, or capitation, on the proprietors of land, would have suffered a rich and nu-

merous class of free citizens to escape. With the view of sharing that species of wealth which is derived from art or labour, and which exists in money or in merchandise, the emperors imposed a distinct and personal tribute on the trading part of their subjects.<sup>188</sup> Some exemptions, very strictly confined both in time and place, were allowed to the proprietors who disposed of the produce of their own estates. Some indulgence was granted to the profession of the liberal arts: but every other branch of commercial industry was affected by the severity of the law. The honourable merchant of Alexandria, who imported the gems and spices of India for the use of the Western world; the usurer, who derived from the interest of money a silent and ignominious profit; the ingenious manufacturer, the diligent mechanic, and even the most obscure retailer of a sequestered village, were obliged to admit the officers of the revenue into the partnership of their gain; and the sovereign of the Roman empire, who tolerated the profession, consented to share the infamous salary of public prostitutes. As this general tax upon industry was collected every fourth year, it was styled the *Lustral Contribution*; and the historian Zosimus<sup>189</sup> laments that the approach of the fatal period was announced by the tears and terrors of the citizens, who were often compelled by the impending scourge to embrace the most abhorred and unnatural methods of procuring the sum at which their property had been assessed. The testimony of Zosimus cannot indeed be justified from the charge of passion and prejudice; but from the nature of this tribute, it seems reasonable to conclude, that it was arbitrary in the distribution, and extremely rigorous in the mode of collecting. The secret wealth of commerce, and the precarious profits of art or labour, are susceptible only of a discretionary valuation, which is seldom disadvantageous to the interest of the treasury; and as the person of the trader supplies the want of a visible and permanent security, the payment of the imposition, which, in the case of a land-tax, may be obtained by the seizure of property, can rarely be extorted by any other means than those of corporal punishments. The cruel treatment of the insolvent debtors of the state, is attested, and was perhaps mitigated by a very humane edict of Constantine, who, disclaiming the use of racks and of scourges, allots a spacious and airy prison for the place of their confinement.<sup>190</sup>

These general taxes were imposed and levied by the absolute

Free gifts.

<sup>183</sup> Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. iv. x. xi. Cod. Justinian. l. xi. tit. lxxi. Co. int. appellatur qui conditionem debent gentili sola, propter agriculturam sub domino possessorum. Augustin de Civitate Dei, l. x. c. 1.

<sup>184</sup> The ancient jurisdiction of (the *græfdom*) Autun in Burgundy, the capital of the Ædui, comprehended the only part of territory of (the *voiegrain*) Nevers. See d'Anville, Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 491. The two dioceses of Autun and Nevers are now composed of the former of 610, and the latter of 160, parishes. The registers of the same province proportion of 25, see *not* authorities to parishes, who have been of Nevers and for the extent of

country which was once possessed by the Ædui.

<sup>185</sup> We might derive an additional supply of 701,750 inhabitants from the dioceses of Châlons (*Châlons*) and of Maçon (*Maçon*).

since they contain, the one 200, and the other 260, parishes. This accession of tributors might be justified by very specious reasons. L. Châlons and Maçon were undoubtedly within the original jurisdiction of the Ædui. (See d'Anville, Notice, p. 197. 413.) In the Notitia of Gaul, they are enumerated not as *Civitates*, but merely as *Civitas*. 5 They do not appear to have been episcopal sees before the fifth and sixth centuries. Yet there is a passage in Eusebius (Papez v. Vet. viii. 7) which very forcibly deters me from extending the boundaries of the Ædui.

<sup>188</sup> See Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. i. and iv.

<sup>189</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. p. 115. There is probably as much passion and prejudice in the attack of Zosimus, as in the elaborate defence of the memory of Constantine by the zealous Dr. Howell. Hist. of the World, v. 2. p. 20.

<sup>190</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. vii. leg. 7.

authority of the monarch; but the occasional offerings of the *coronary gold* still retained the name and semblance of popular consent. It was an ancient custom that the allies of the republic, who ascribed their safety or deliverance to the success of the Roman arms, and even the cities of Italy, who admired the virtues of their victorious general, adorned the pomp of his triumph, by their voluntary gifts of crowns of gold, which after the ceremony were consecrated in the temple of Jupiter, to remain a lasting monument of his glory to future ages. The progress of zeal and flattery soon multiplied the number, and increased the size, of these popular donations; and the triumph of Cæsar was enriched with two thousand eight hundred and twenty-two massy crowns, whose weight amounted to twenty thousand four hundred and fourteen pounds of gold. This treasure was immediately melted down by the prudent dictator, who was satisfied that it would be more serviceable to his soldiers than to the gods; his example was imitated by his successors; and the custom was introduced of exchanging these splendid ornaments for the more acceptable present of the current gold coin of the empire.<sup>1</sup>

The spontaneous offering was at length exacted as the debt of duty; and instead of being confined to the occasion of a triumph, it was supposed to be granted by the several cities and provinces of the monarchy, as often as the emperor condescended to announce his accession, his consulship, the birth of a son, the creation of a Cæsar, a victory over the barbarians, or any other real or imaginary event which graced the annals of his reign. The peculiar free gift of the senate of Rome was fixed by custom at sixteen hundred pounds of gold, or about sixty-four thousand pounds sterling. The oppressed subjects celebrated their own felicity, that their sovereign should graciously consent to accept this feeble but voluntary testimony of their loyalty and gratitude.<sup>2</sup>

#### Conclusion.

A people elated by pride, or soured by discontent, are seldom qualified to form a just estimate of their actual situation. The subjects of Constantine were incapable of discerning the decline of genius and manly virtue, which so far degraded them below the dignity of their ancestors; but they could feel and lament the rage of tyranny, the relaxation of discipline, and the increase of taxes. The impartial historian, who acknowledges the justice of their complaints, will observe some favourable circumstances which tended to alleviate the misery of their condition. The threatening tempest of barbarians, which so soon subverted the foundations of Roman greatness, was still repelled, or suspended, on the frontiers. The arts of luxury and literature were cultivated, and the elegant pleasures of society were enjoyed, by the inhabitants of a considerable portion of the globe. The forms,

the pomp, and the expense of the civil administration contributed to restrain the irregular licence of the soldiers; and although the laws were violated by power, or perverted by subtlety, the sage principles of the Roman jurisprudence preserved a sense of order and equity, unknown to the despotic governments of the East. The rights of mankind might derive some protection from religion and philosophy; and the name of freedom, which could no longer alarm, might sometimes admonish, the successors of Augustus, that they did not reign over a nation of slaves or barbarians.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAP. XVIII.

*Character of Constantine. — Gothic War. — Death of Constantine. — Division of the Empire among his three Sons. — Persian War. — Tragic Deaths of Constantine the Younger and Constantius. — Usurpation of Magnentius. — Civil War. — Victory of Constantius.*

THE character of the prince who removed the seat of empire, and introduced such important changes into the civil and religious constitution of his country, has fixed the attention, and divided the opinions, of mankind. By the grateful zeal of the Christians, the deliverer of the church has been decorated with every attribute of a hero, and even of a saint; while the discontent of the vanquished party has compared Constantine to the most abhorred of those tyrants, who, by their vice and weakness, dishonoured the Imperial purple. The same passions have in some degree been perpetuated to succeeding generations, and the character of Constantine is considered, even in the present age, as an object either of satire or of panegyric. By the impartial union of those defects which are confessed by his warmest admirers, and of those virtues which are acknowledged by his most implacable enemies, we might hope to delineate a just portrait of that extraordinary man, which the truth and candour of history should adopt without a blush.<sup>1</sup> But it would soon appear, that the vain attempt to blend such discordant colours, and to reconcile such inconsistent qualities, must produce a figure monstrous rather than human, unless it is viewed in its proper and distinct lights, by a careful separation of the different periods of the reign of Constantine.

The person, as well as the mind, of Constantine had been enriched by nature with her choicest endowments. His stature was lofty, his countenance majestic, his deportment graceful; his strength and activity were displayed in every manly exercise, and from his earliest youth, to a very advanced season of life, he preserved the vigour of his constitution by a strict adherence to the domestic virtues of

of a Roman prince from that of a Persian monarch. Virtue was his aim, for the one, he is said to have been the other.

1. On the subject of Constantine's character, see a great deal of what has been said by the learned and judicious writers, who have treated of his reign. See the *History of the Roman Empire, by the late Mr. Gibbon, vol. vi. c. 17. and the *History of the Christian Church, by the late Mr. Mosheim, vol. ii. c. 10. and the *History of the Roman Empire, by the late Mr. Hume, vol. vi. c. 17.***



chastity and temperance. He delighted in the social intercourse of familiar conversation; and though he might sometimes indulge his disposition to raillery with less reserve than was required by the severe dignity of his station, the courtesy and liberality of his manners gained the hearts of all who approached him. The sincerity of his friendship has been suspected; yet he showed, on some occasions, that he was not incapable of a warm and lasting attachment. The disadvantage of an illiterate education had not prevented him from forming a just estimate of the value of learning; and the arts and sciences derived some encouragement from the munificent protection of Constantine. In the despatch of business, his diligence was indefatigable; and the active powers of his mind were almost continually exercised in reading, writing, or meditating, in giving audience to ambassadors, and in examining the complaints of his subjects. Even those who censured the propriety of his measures were compelled to acknowledge, that he possessed magnanimity to conceive, and patience to execute, the most arduous designs, without being checked either by the prejudices of education, or by the clamours of the multitude. In the field, he infused his own intrepid spirit into the troops, whom he conducted with the talents of a consummate general; and to his abilities, rather than to his fortune, we may ascribe the signal victories which he obtained over the foreign and domestic foes of the republic. He loved glory as the reward, perhaps as the motive, of his labours. The boundless ambition, which, from the moment of his accepting the purple at York, appears as the ruling passion of his soul, may be justified by the dangers of his own situation, by the character of his rivals, by the consciousness of superior merit, and by the prospect that his success would enable him to restore peace and order to the distracted empire. In his civil wars against Maxentius and Licinius, he had engaged on his side the inclinations of the people, who compared the undissembled vices of those tyrants with the spirit of wisdom and justice which seemed to direct the general tenour of the administration of Constantine.<sup>2</sup>

His vices.

Had Constantine fallen on the banks of the Tyber, or even in the plains of Hadrianople, such is the character which, with a few exceptions, he might have transmitted to posterity. But the conclusion of his reign (according to the moderate and indeed tender sentence of a writer of the same age) degraded him from the rank which he had acquired among the most deserving of the Roman princes.<sup>3</sup> In the life of Augustus, we behold the tyrant of the republic, converted, almost by imperceptible degrees, into the father of his country, and of human kind. In that of Constantine, we may

contemplate a hero, who had so long inspired his subjects with love, and his enemies with terror, degenerating into a cruel and dissolute monarch, corrupted by his fortune, or raised by conquest above the necessity of dissimulation.

The general peace which he maintained during the last fourteen years A.D. 323-337. of his reign, was a period of apparent splendour rather than of real prosperity; and the old age of Constantine was disgraced by the opposite yet reconcilable vices of rapaciousness and prodigality. The accumulated treasures found in the palaces of Maxentius and Licinius, were lavishly consumed; the various innovations introduced by the conqueror, were attended with an increasing expense; the cost of his buildings, his court, and his festivals, required an immediate and plentiful supply; and the oppression of the people was the only fund which could support the magnificence of the sovereign.<sup>4</sup> His unworthy favourites, enriched by the boundless liberality of their master, usurped with impunity the privilege of rapine and corruption.<sup>5</sup> A secret but universal decay was felt in every part of the public administration, and the emperor himself, though he still retained the obedience, gradually lost the esteem, of his subjects. The dress and manners, which, towards the decline of life, he chose to affect, served only to degrade him in the eyes of mankind. The Asiatic pomp, which had been adopted by the pride of Diocletian, assumed an air of softness and effeminacy in the person of Constantine. He is represented with false hair of various colours, laboriously arranged by the skilful artists of the times; a diadem of a new and more expensive fashion; a profusion of gems and pearls, of collars and bracelets, and a variegated flowing robe of silk, most curiously embroidered with flowers of gold. In such apparel, scarcely to be excused by the youth and folly of Valerianus, we are at a loss to discover the wisdom of an aged monarch, and the simplicity of a Roman veteran.<sup>6</sup> A mind thus relaxed by prosperity and indulgence, was incapable of rising to that magnanimity which disdains suspicion, and dares to forgive. The deaths of Maximian and Licinius may, perhaps, be justified by the maxims of policy, as they are taught in the schools of tyrants; but an impartial narrative of the executions, or rather murders, which sullied the declining age of Constantine, will suggest to our most candid thoughts, the idea of a prince who could sacrifice without reluctance the laws of justice, and the feelings of nature, to the dictates either of his passions or of his interest.

The same fortune which so invariably followed the standard of His family. Constantine, seemed to secure the hopes and comforts of his domestic life. Those among

<sup>2</sup> The virtues of Constantine are collected for the most part from Eutropius, and the younger Victor, two sincere pagans, who wrote after the extinction of his family. Even Zosimus, and the emperor Julian, acknowledge his personal courage and military achievements.

<sup>3</sup> See Eutropius, l. 6. In primo Imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo modo comparandis. From the ancient Greek version of Paganus, edit. Havercamp, p. 697; I am inclined to suspect that Eutropius had originally wrote in Greek, and that the otherwise unaccountable was dropped by the wiful inadvertency of transcribers. Aurelius Victor expresses the general opinion in a vulgar and indeed obscure proverb. *Trochilus decem annis prædictus annus, duodecim quantibus lauro; decem novissimis pugilatus ob immodicas profusiones.*

<sup>4</sup> Julian, Orat. 1. p. 8. In a flattering discourse pronounced before

the sons of Constantine, and Cæsares, p. 353. Zosimus, p. 114, 115. The stately building of Constantinople, &c. may be quoted as a lasting and unquestionable proof of the prodigality of our founder.

<sup>5</sup> The emperor Valerianus deserves all our confidene. *E. Prætorum quædam aperuit primum omnium Constantinus.* l. xvi. c. 8. Euseb. has himself confessed the abuse (Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 29, 34.) and some of the Imperial laws clearly point out the remedy. See above, p. 223.

<sup>6</sup> Julian, in the Cæsars, attempts to ridicule his uncle. His suspicious testimony is counteracted however by the learned Senheims, with

his predecessors who had enjoyed the longest and most prosperous reigns, Augustus, Trajan, and Diocletian, had been disappointed of posterity; and the frequent revolutions had never allowed sufficient time for any Imperial family to grow up and multiply under the shade of the purple. But the royalty of the Flavian line, which had been first ennobled by the Gothic Claudius, descended through several generations; and Constantine himself derived from his royal father the hereditary honours which he transmitted to his children. The emperor had been twice married. Minervina, the obscure but lawful object of his youthful attachment, had left him only one son, who was called Caisus. By Fausta, the daughter of Maximian, he had three daughters, and three sons known by the kindred names of Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. The unambitious brothers of the great Constantine, Julius Constantius, Dalmatius, and Hannibalianus, were permitted to enjoy the most honourable rank, and the most affluent fortune, that could be consistent with a private station. The youngest of the three lived without a name, and died without posterity. His two elder brothers obtained in marriage the daughters of wealthy senators, and propagated new branches of the Imperial race. Gallus and Julian afterwards became the most illustrious of the children of Julius Constantius the *Patrician*. The two sons of Dalmatius, who had been decorated with the vain title of *Censor*, were named Dalmatius and Hannibalianus. The two sisters of the great Constantine, Anastasia and Eutropia, were bestowed on Optatus and Nepotianus, two senators of noble birth and of consular dignity. His third sister, Constantina, was distinguished by her pre-eminence of greatness and of misery. She remained the widow of the vanquished Licinius; and it was by her entreaties, that an innocent boy, the off-spring of their marriage, preserved, for some time, his life, the title of Cæsar, and a precarious hope of the succession. Besides the females, and the allies of the Flavian house, ten or twelve males, to whom the language of modern courts would apply the title of princes of the blood, seemed, according to the order of their birth, to be destined either to inherit or to support the throne of Constantine. But in less than thirty years, this numerous and increasing family was reduced to the persons of Constantius and Julian, who alone had survived a series of crimes and calamities, such as the tragic poets have deplored in the devoted lines of Pelops and of Cadmus.

Crispus, the eldest son of Constantine, and the presumptive heir of the empire, is represented by reputable historians as an amiable and accomplished youth. The care of his education, or at least of his studies, was intrusted to Lactantius, the most dis-

quent of the Christians; a preceptor admirably qualified to form the taste, and to excite the virtues, of his illustrious disciple." At the age of seventeen, Crispus was invested with the title of Cæsar, and the administration of the Gallic provinces, where the inroads of the Germans gave him an early occasion of signalising his military prowess. In the civil war which broke out soon afterwards, the father and son divided their powers; and this history has already celebrated the valour as well as conduct displayed by the latter, in forcing the straits of the Hellespont, so obstinately defended by the superior fleet of Licinius. This naval victory contributed to determine the event of the war; and the names of Constantine and of Crispus were united in the joyful acclamations of their eastern subjects: who loudly proclaimed, that the world had been subdued, and was now governed, by an emperor endowed with every virtue; and by his illustrious son, a prince beloved of Heaven, and the lively image of his father's perfections. The public favour, which seldom accompanies old age, diffused its lustre over the youth of Crispus. He deserved the esteem, and he engaged the affections, of the court, the army, and the people. The experienced merit of a reigning monarch is acknowledged by his subjects with reluctance, and frequently denied with partial and discontented murmurs; while, from the opening virtues of his successor, they fondly conceive the most unbounded hopes of private as well as public felicity.<sup>14</sup>

This dangerous popularity soon excited the attention of Constantine, who, both as a father and as a king, was inpatient of an equal. Instead of attempting to secure the allegiance of his son, by the generous ties of confidence and gratitude, he resolved to prevent the mischiefs which might be apprehended from dissatisfied ambition. Crispus soon had reason to complain, that while his infant brother Constantius was sent, with the title of Caesar, to reign over his peculiar department of the Gallic provinces,<sup>11</sup> *he*, a prince of mature years, who had performed such recent and signal services, instead of being raised to the superior rank of Augustus, was confined almost a prisoner to his father's court; and exposed, without power or defence, to every calumny which the malice of his enemies could suggest. Under such painful circumstances, the royal youth might not always be able to compose his behaviour, or suppress his discontent; and we may be assured, that he was encompassed by a train of indiscreet or perfidious followers, who assiduously studied to inflame, and who were perhaps instructed to betray, the unguarded warmth of his resentment. An edict of Constantine, published about this time, manifestly indicates his real or affected

Justice of  
Constantine,  
A.D. 344,  
Oct. 19.

A.D. 325,  
October 3.

Jalousy of  
Cassidine.  
A. D. 324,  
Oct. 10.

A. D. 325,  
October 1.

7. Zozulya and Zozulya agree on concerning Mervyn's "the" in the first sentence, but find it odd that the "the" in the second clause is "the" and "who" are kept from the top sentence. "A" is more proper to the sentence and not "the".

8. The 20. Page 10. Paragraph 11. It has now been found after Zozulya's second reading that the sentence is not correct. It should be "the" and "who" are kept from the top sentence. The sentence is in the third clause and approved by F. Mont, but it is not correct, too. It is "the".

1. *Learn to think*. The purpose of *Learn to think* is to guide the reader to a proper understanding of the difference between the science of the universe and the science of the human mind. Men, *Learn to think*, vol. 1, part 1.

[illegible]



grandson Crispus: nor was it long before a real or pretended discovery was made, that Fausta herself entertained a criminal connection with a slave belonging to the Imperial stables.<sup>23</sup> Her condemnation and punishment were the instant consequences of the charge; and the adulteress was suffocated by the steam of a bath, which, for that purpose, had been heated to an extraordinary degree.<sup>24</sup> By some it will perhaps be thought, that the remembrance of a conjugal union of twenty years, and the honour of their common offspring, the destined heirs of the throne, might have softened the obdurate heart of Constantine, and persuaded him to suffer his wife, however guilty she might appear, to expiate her offences in a solitary prison. But it seems a superfluous labour to weigh the propriety, unless we could ascertain the truth, of this singular event; which is attended with some circumstances of doubt and perplexity. Those who have attacked, and those who have defended, the character of Constantine, have alike disregarded two very remarkable passages of two orations pronounced under the succeeding reign. The former celebrates the virtues, the beauty, and the fortune of the empress Fausta, the daughter, wife, sister, and mother of so many princes.<sup>25</sup> The latter asserts, in explicit terms, that the mother of the younger Constantine, who was slain three years after his father's death, survived to weep over the fate of her son.<sup>26</sup> Notwithstanding the positive testimony of several writers of the Pagan as well as of the Christian religion, there may still remain some reason to believe, or at least to suspect, that Fausta escaped the blind and suspicious cruelty of her husband. The deaths of a son, and of a nephew, with the execution of a great number of respectable, and perhaps innocent friends,<sup>27</sup> who were involved in their fall, may be sufficient, however, to justify the discontent of the Roman people, and to explain the satirical verses affixed to the palace-gate, comparing the splendid and bloody reigns of Constantine and Nero.<sup>28</sup>

The sons and inheritance of the empire seemed to devolve on the three sons of Fausta, who have been already mentioned under the names of Constantine, of Constantius, and of Constans. These young princes were successively invested with the title of Cæsar; and the dates of their promotion may be referred to the tenth, the twentieth, and the thirtieth years of the reign of their father.<sup>29</sup> This conduct, though

it tended to multiply the future masters of the Roman world, might be excused by the partiality of paternal affection; but it is not so easy to understand the motives of the emperor, when he endangered the safety both of his family and of his people, by the unnecessary elevation of his two nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus. The former was raised, by the title of Cæsar, to an equality with his cousins. In favour of the latter, Constantine invented the new and singular appellation of *Nobilissimus*; <sup>30</sup> to which he annexed the flattering distinction of a robe of purple and gold. But of the whole series of Roman princes in any age of the empire, Hannibalianus alone was distinguished by the title of KING; a name which the subjects of Tiberius would have detested, as the profane and cruel insult of capricious tyranny. The use of such a title, even as it appears under the reign of Constantine, is a strange and unconnected fact, which can scarcely be admitted on the joint authority of Imperial medals and contemporary writers.<sup>31</sup>

The whole empire was deeply <sup>Ther edu- cation.</sup> interested in the education of these five youths, the acknowledged successors of Constantine. The exercises of the body prepared them for the fatigues of war, and the duties of active life. Those who occasionally mention the education or talents of Constantius, allow that he excelled in the gymnastic arts of leaping and running; that he was a dexterous archer, a skilful horseman, and a master of all the different weapons used in the service either of the cavalry or of the infantry.<sup>32</sup> The same assiduous cultivation was bestowed, though not perhaps with equal success, to improve the minds of the sons and nephews of Constantine.<sup>33</sup> The most celebrated professors of the Christian faith, of the Grecian philosophy, and of the Roman jurisprudence, were invited by the liberality of the emperor, who reserved for himself the important task of instructing the royal youths in the science of government, and the knowledge of mankind. But the genius of Constantine himself had been formed by adversity and experience. In the free intercourse of private life, and amidst the dangers of the court of Galerius, he had learned to command his own passions, to encounter those of his equals, and to depend for his present safety and future greatness on the prudence and firmness of his personal conduct. His destined successors had the misfortune of being born and educated in the Imperial purple.

<sup>23</sup> P. Orosius, l. iii. c. 1. Zonaras, l. x. p. 101. His opinion is, that Constantine the death of his wife, and the discovery of her adultery, was the cause of his rage. See also the account of Jerome, who observes, that the emperor was so enraged, that he ordered that she should be suffocated in a bath.

<sup>24</sup> If Fausta was not dead, she might have been confined to a private apartment, and the emperor might have been able to govern with more moderation. The order of the emperor's life, and the conduct of his empire, on a desert mountain, is a very different thing.

<sup>25</sup> The emperor's life, and the conduct of his empire, on a desert mountain, is a very different thing. She might have been confined to a private apartment, and the emperor might have been able to govern with more moderation. The order of the emperor's life, and the conduct of his empire, on a desert mountain, is a very different thing.

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It is somewhat singular, that these emperors had no better education, than that of the emperor's life, and the conduct of his empire, on a desert mountain, is a very different thing.

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Incessantly surrounded with a train of flatterers, they passed their youth in the enjoyment of luxury, and the expectation of a throne; nor would the dignity of their rank permit them to descend from that elevated station from whence the various characters of human nature appear to wear a smooth and uniform aspect. The indulgence of Constantine admitted them, at a very tender age, to share the administration of the empire; and they studied the art of reigning, at the expense of the people intrusted to their care. The younger Constantine was appointed to hold his court in Gaul; and his brother Constantius exchanged that department, the ancient patrimony of their father, for the more opulent, but less martial, countries of the East. Italy, the Western Illyrium, and Africa, were accustomed to revere Constant, the third of his sons, as the representative of the great Constantine. He fixed Dalmatius on the Gothic frontier, to which he annexed the government of Thracia, Macedonia, and Greece. The city of Cæsarea was chosen for the residence of Hannibalianus; and the provinces of Pontus, Cappadocia, and the Lesser Armenia, were destined to form the extent of his new kingdom. For each of these princes a suitable establishment was provided. A just proportion of guards, of legions, and of auxiliaries, was allotted for their respective dignity and defence. The ministers and generals, who were placed about their persons, were such as Constantine could trust to assist, and even to control, these youthful sovereigns in the exercise of their delegated power. As they advanced in years and experience, the limits of their authority were insensibly enlarged: but the emperor always reserved for himself the title of Augustus; and while he showed the *Cæsars* to the armies and provinces, he maintained every part of the empire in equal obedience to its supreme head.<sup>34</sup> The tranquillity of the last fourteen years of his reign was scarcely interrupted by the contemptible insurrection of a camel-driver in the island of Cyprus,<sup>35</sup> or by the active part which the policy of Constantine engaged him to assume in the wars of the Goths and Sarmatians.

Among the different branches of the human race, the Sarmatians form a very remarkable shade; as they seem to unite the manners of the Asiatic barbarians with the figure and complexion of the ancient inhabitants of Europe. According to the various accidents of peace and war, of alliance or conquest, the Sarmatians were sometimes confined to the banks of the Tanais; and they sometimes spread themselves over the immense plains which lie between the Vistula and the

Volga.<sup>36</sup> The care of their numerous flocks and herds, the pursuit of game, and the exercise of war, or rather of rapine, directed the vagrant motions of the Sarmatians. The moveable camps or cities, the ordinary residence of their wives and children, consisted only of large wagons, drawn by oxen, and covered in the form of tents. The military strength of the nation was composed of cavalry; and the custom of their warriors, to lead in their hand one or two spare horses, enabled them to advance and to retreat with a rapid diligence, which surprised the security, and eluded the pursuit, of a distant enemy.<sup>37</sup> Their poverty of iron prompted their rude industry to invent a sort of cuirass, which was capable of resisting a sword or javelin, though it was formed only of horses' hoof, cut into thin and polished slices, carefully laid over each other in the manner of scales or feathers, and sewed upon an under-garment of coarse linen.<sup>38</sup> The offensive arms of the Sarmatians were short daggers, long lances, and a weighty bow with a quiver of arrows. They were reduced to the necessity of employing fish-bones for the points of their weapons; but the custom of dipping them in a venomous liquor, is alone sufficient to prove the most savage manners; since a people impressed with a sense of humanity would have abhorred so cruel a practice, and a nation skilled in the arts of war would have disdained so impotent a resource.<sup>39</sup> Whenever these barbarians issued from their dens in quest of prey, their slaggish beards, uncoiled locks, the furs with which they were covered from head to foot, and their fierce countenances, which seemed to express the innate cruelty of their minds, inspired the more civilised provincials of Rome with horror and dismay.

The tender Ovid, after a youth spent in the enjoyment of fame and luxury, was condemned to a hopeless exile on the frozen banks of the Danube, where he was exposed, almost without defence, to the fury of these monsters of the desert, with whose stern spirit he feared that his gentle shade might hereafter be confounded. In his pathetic, but sometimes unmanly lamentations,<sup>40</sup> he describes in the most lively colours the dress, and manners, the arms and inroads of the Getae and Sarmatians, who were associated for the purposes of destruction; and from the accounts of history, there is some reason to believe that these Sarmatians were the Jazygæ, one of the most numerous and warlike tribes of the nation. The allurements of plenty engaged them to seek

Their settlement near the Danube.

39. *Aspicit multa sub alano torqva feræ,*

See, in the very curious medals extracted from the vegetable vessels, but that employed by the Sarmatians appears to have been different from the viper, and a mixture of human blood. The use of pointed arms which has been spread over both worlds, never pre-existed a savage tribe from the arms of a domesticated enemy.

40. The nine books of *Metastasis Epistole*, which Ovid composed during the seven first years of his exile, possess, besides the extent of elegance, a double value. They exhibit a picture of the human mind under very singular circumstances; and they contain many curious observations, which no Roman, except Ovid, could be an opportunity of making. Every circumstance which tends to illustrate the history of the barbarians, has been drawn together by the very accurate *Comte de Rivet*. *Desir. Antienne des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. iv. c. 2. p. 281. — 317.

34. Eusebius lib. iv. c. 31. 52. with a design of exalting the authority and glory of the emperor, observes, that he divided the Roman empire as a private citizen might have divided his provinces. His division of the provinces may be collected from Eusebius, the *tyrannicides*, and the *Vies* of all Emperors.

35. Justinus, the absolute lord of his religion, or rather himself, was apprehended and burnt alive in the market place of Jerusalem, by the vigilance of Pilate. See the order of the *Acts*, the Chronicle of Jeron, and the doubtful tradition of Theodoret, and of Cedrenus.

36. Claudius has collected the opinions of the ancients concerning the European and Asiatic Sarmatians, and M. de Anville has applied them to modern geography, with the skill and accuracy which always distinguish that excellent writer.

37. Ammian l. xiv. c. 12. The Sarmatian horses were castrated





soldiers and people, are of a more obvious nature: and they might with decency, as well as truth, insist on the superior rank of the children of Constantine, the danger of multiplying the number of sovereigns, and the impending mischiefs which threatened the republic, from the discord of so many rival princes, who were not connected by the tender sympathy of fraternal affection. The intrigue was conducted with zeal and secrecy, till a loud and unanimous declaration was procured from the troops, that they would suffer none, except the sons of their lamented monarch, to reign over the Roman empire.<sup>48</sup> The younger Dalmatins, who was united with his collateral relations by the ties of friendship and interest, is allowed to have inherited a considerable share of the abilities of the great Constantine: but, on this occasion, he does not appear to have concerted any measures for supporting, by arms, the just claims which himself and his royal brother derived from the liberality of their uncle. Astonished and overwhelmed by the tide of popular fury, they seem to have remained, without the power of flight or of resistance, in the hands of their implacable enemies. Their fate was suspended till the arrival of Constantius, the second,<sup>49</sup> and perhaps the most favoured, of the sons of Constantine.

The voice of the dying emperor <sup>Massacre of the princes.</sup> had recommended the care of his funeral to the piety of Constantius; and that prince, by the vicinity of his eastern station, could easily prevent the diligence of his brothers, who resided in their distant government of Italy and Gaul. As soon as he had taken possession of the palace of Constantinople, his first care was to remove the apprehensions of his kinmen, by a solemn oath, which he pledged for their security. His next employment was to find some specious pretence which might release his conscience from the obligation of an imprudent promise. The arts of fraud were made subservient to the designs of cruelty; and a manifest forgery was attested by a person of the most sacred character. From the hands of the Bishop of Nicomedia, Constantius received a fatal scroll, affirmed to be the genuine testament of his father; in which the emperor expressed his suspicions that he had been poisoned by his brothers; and conjured his sons to revenge his death, and to consult their own safety, by the punishment of the guilty.<sup>50</sup> Whatever reasons might have been alleged by these unfortunate princes to defend their life and honour against so incredible an accusation, they

were silenced by the furious clamours of the soldiers, who declared themselves, at once, their enemies, their judges, and their executioners. The spirit, and even the forms of legal proceedings were repeatedly violated in a promiscuous massacre; which involved the two uncles of Constantius, seven of his cousins, of whom Dalmatius and Hannibaldianus were the most illustrious, the patrician Optatus, who had married a sister of the late emperor, and the præfect Ablavius, whose power and riches had inspired him with some hopes of obtaining the purple. If it were necessary to aggravate the horrors of this bloody scene, we might add, that Constantius himself had espoused the daughter of his uncle Julius, and that he had bestowed his sister in marriage on his cousin Hannibaldianus. These alliances, which the policy of Constantine, regardless of the public prejudice,<sup>51</sup> had formed between the several branches of the Imperial house, served only to convince mankind, that these princes were as cold to the endearments of conjugal affection, as they were insensible to the ties of consanguinity, and the moving entreaties of youth and innocence. Of so numerous a family, Gallus and Julian alone, the two youngest children of Julius Constantius, were saved from the hands of the assassins, till their rage, satiated with slaughter, had in some measure subsided. The emperor Constantius, who, in the absence of his brothers, was the most obnoxious to guilt and reproach, discovered, on some future occasions, a faint and transient remorse for those cruelties which the perfidious counsels of his ministers, and the irresistible violence of the troops, had extorted from his unexperienced youth.<sup>52</sup>

The massacre of the Flavian race <sup>Division of the empire. A. D. 337. Sept. 11.</sup> was succeeded by a new division of the provinces; which was ratified in a personal interview of the three brothers, Constantine, the eldest of the Cæsars, obtained, with a certain pre-eminence of rank, the possession of the new capital, which bore his own name and that of his father. Thrace, and the countries of the East, were allotted for the patrimony of Constantius; and Constans was acknowledged as the lawful sovereign of Italy, Africa, and the western Illyricum. The armies submitted to their hereditary right; and they condescended, after some delay, to accept from the Roman senate, the title of *Augustus*. When they first assumed the reins of government, the eldest of these princes was twenty-one, the second twenty, and the third only seventeen, years of age.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> See the account of this event in the *Historia Augusta*, *Constantinus*, c. 10. The emperor is represented as having been seized with a sudden fit of madness, and as having ordered the massacre of his sons.

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Sapor King of  
Persia.  
A. D. 310.

While the martial nations of Europe followed the standard of his brothers, Constantius, at the head of the effeminate troops of Asia, was left to sustain the weight of the Persian war. At the decease of Constantine, the throne of the East was filled by Sapor, son of Hormouz, or Hormisdas, and grandson of Narses, who, after the victory of Galerius, had humbly confessed the superiority of the Roman power. Although Sapor was in the thirtieth year of his long reign, he was still in the vigour of youth, as the date of his accession, by a very strange fatality, had preceded that of his birth. The wife of Hormouz remained pregnant at the time of her husband's death; and the uncertainty of the sex, as well as of the event, excited the ambitious hopes of the princes of the house of Sassan. The apprehensions of civil war were at length removed, by the positive assurance of the Magi, that the widow of Hormouz had conceived, and would safely produce a son. Obedient to the voice of superstition, the Persians prepared, without delay, the ceremony of his coronation. A royal bed, on which the queen lay in state, was exhibited in the midst of the palace; the diadem was placed on the spot, which might be supposed to conceal the future heir of Artaverxes, and the prostrate satraps adored the majesty of their invisible and insensible sovereign.<sup>54</sup> If any credit can be given to this marvellous tale, which seems however to be countenanced by the manners of the people, and by the extraordinary duration of his reign, we must admire not only the fortune, but the genius, of Sapor. In the soft sequestered education of a Persian haram, the royal youth could discover the importance of exercising the vigour of his mind and body; and, by his personal merit, deserved a throne, on which he had been seated, while he was yet unconscious of the duties and temptations of absolute power. His minority was exposed to the almost inevitable calamities of domestic discord; his capital was surprised and plundered by Thair, a powerful king of Yemen, or Arabia; and the majesty of the royal family was degraded by the captivity of a princess, the sister of the deceased king. But as soon as Sapor attained the age of manhood, the presumptuous Thair, his nation, and his country, fell beneath the first effort of the young warrior; who used his victory with so judicious a mixture of vigour and clemency, that he obtained from the fears and gratitude of the Arabs, the title of *Dhoulacuf*, or protector of the nation.<sup>55</sup>

The ambition of the Persian, to whom his enemies ascribe the virtues of a soldier and a statesman, was animated by the desire of revenging the disgrace of his father, and of wresting from the hands of the Romans the five provinces beyond the Tigris. The military fame of Constantine, and

the real or apparent strength of his government, suspended the attack; and while the hostile conduct of Sapor provoked the resentment, his artful negotiations amused the patience of the Imperial court. The death of Constantine was the signal of war,<sup>56</sup> and the actual condition of the Syrian and Armenian frontier, seemed to encourage the Persians by the prospect of a rich spoil, and an easy conquest. The example of the massacres of the palace, diffused a spirit of licentiousness and sedition among the troops of the East, who were no longer restrained by their habits of obedience to a veteran commander. By the prudence of Constantius, who, from the interview with his brothers in Pannonia, immediately hastened to the banks of the Euphrates, the legions were gradually restored to a sense of duty and discipline; but the season of anarchy had permitted Sapor to form the siege of Nisibis, and to occupy several of the most important fortresses of Mesopotamia.<sup>57</sup> In Armenia, the renowned Tiridates had long enjoyed the peace and glory which he deserved by his valour and fidelity to the cause of Rome. The firm alliance which he maintained with Constantine, was productive of spiritual as well as of temporal benefits; by the conversion of Tiridates, the character of a saint was applied to that of a hero, the Christian faith was preached and established from the Euphrates to the shores of the Caspian, and Armenia was attached to the empire by the double ties of policy and religion. But as many of the Armenian nobles still refused to abandon the plurality of their gods and of their wives, the public tranquillity was disturbed by a discontented faction, which insulted the feeble age of their sovereign, and impatiently expected the hour of his death. He died at

A. D. 342.

length after a reign of fifty-six years, and the fortune of the Armenian monarchy expired with Tiridates. His lawful heir was driven into exile, the Christian priests were either murdered or expelled from their churches, the barbarous tribes of Albania were solicited to descend from their mountains; and two of the most powerful governors, usurping the ensigns or the powers of royalty, implored the assistance of Sapor, and opened the gates of their cities to the Persian garrisons. The Christian party, under the guidance of the archbishop of Artaxata, the immediate successor of St. Gregory the Illuminator, had recourse to the piety of Constantius. After the troubles had continued about three years, Antiochus, one of the officers of the household, executed with success the Imperial commission of restoring Choroës, the son of Tiridates, to the throne of his fathers, of distributing honours and rewards among the faithful servants of the house of Arsaces, and of proclaiming a general amnesty, which was accepted by the greater part of the rebellious satraps. But the Romans derived more honour than ad-

Idat. in Chron. See two notes of Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 106–107. The remains of the emperor's brother at Constantinople is noticed only in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*.

<sup>54</sup> Agathang, who lived in the sixth century, is the author of this story (l. iv. p. 13), edit. Louvre). He derived his information from some extracts of the Persian Chronicles, obtained and translated by the interpreter Sergius, during his embassy at that court. The conversion of the mother of Sapor is likewise mentioned by Schikard (*Tarikh*, p. 116), and D'Hérbelot (*Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 763).

<sup>55</sup> D'Hérbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 761.

<sup>56</sup> See note on p. 247.

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Emperors, tom. iv. p. 120.

<sup>57</sup> Julian *Orat.* i. p. 20.

vantage from this revolution. Chosroes was a prince of a puny stature, and a pusillanimous spirit. Unequal to the fatigues of war, averse to the society of mankind, he withdrew from his capital to a retired palace, which he built on the banks of the river Eleutherus, and in the centre of a shady grove; where he consumed his vacant hours in the rural sports of hunting and hawking. To secure this inglorious ease, he submitted to the conditions of peace which Sapor condescended to impose; the payment of an annual tribute, and the restitution of the fertile province of Atropatene, which the courage of Thidates, and the victorious arms of Galerius, had annexed to the Armenian monarchy.<sup>8</sup>

During the long period of the reign of Constantius, the provinces of the East were afflicted by the calamities of the Persian war. The irregular incursions of the light troops alternately spread terror and devastation beyond the Tigris and beyond the Euphrates, from the gates of Ctesiphon to those of Antioch, and this active service was performed by the Arabs of the desert, who were divided in their interest and affections; some of their independent chiefs being enlisted in the party of Sapor, whilst others had engaged their doubtful fidelity to the emperor.<sup>9</sup> The more grave and important operations of the war were conducted with equal vigour; and the armies of Rome and Persia encountered each other in nine bloody fields, in two of which

Constantius himself commanded in person.<sup>10</sup> The event of the day was most commonly adverse to the Romans, but in the battle of Singara, their imprudent valour had almost achieved a signal and decisive victory. The stationary troops of Singara retired on the approach of Sapor, who passed the Tigris over three bridges, and occupied near the village of Hilleh an advantageous camp, which, by the labour of his numerous pioneers, he surrounded in one day with a deep ditch, and a lofty rampart. His formidable host, when it was drawn out in order of battle, covered the banks of the river, the adjacent heights, and the whole extent of a plain of above twelve miles, which separated the two armies. Both were alike impatient to engage; but the barbarians, after a slight resistance, fled in disorder; unable to resist, or desirous to weary, the strength of the heavy legions, who, fainting with heat and thirst, pursued them across the plain, and cut in pieces a line of cavalry, clothed in complete armour, which had been posted before the gates of the camp to protect their retreat. Constantius, who was hurried along in the pursuit,

attempted, without effect, to restrain the ardour of his troops, by representing to them the dangers of the approaching night, and the certainty of completing their success with the return of day. As they depended much more on their own valour than on the experience or the abilities of their chief, they silenced by their clamours his timid remonstrances; and rushing with fury to the charge, filled up the ditch, broke down the rampart, and dispersed themselves through the tents to recruit their exhausted strength, and to enjoy the rich harvest of their labours. But the prudent Sapor had watched the moment of victory. His army, of which the greater part, securely posted on the heights, had been spectators of the action, advanced in silence, and under the shadow of night; and his Persian archers, guided by the illumination of the camp, poured a shower of arrows on a disarmed and licentious crowd. The sincerity of history<sup>61</sup> declares, that the Romans were vanquished with a dreadful slaughter, and that the flying remnant of the legions was exposed to the most intolerable hardships. Even the tenderness of panegyric, confessing that the glory of the emperor was sullied by the disobedience of his soldiers, chooses to draw a veil over the circumstances of this melancholy retreat. Yet one of those venal orators, so jealous of the fame of Constantius, relates, with amazing coolness, an act of such incredible cruelty, as, in the judgment of posterity, must imprint a far deeper stain on the honour of the Imperial name. The son of Sapor, the heir of his crown, had been made a captive in the Persian camp. The unhappy youth, who might have excited the compassion of the most savage enemy, was scourged, tortured, and publicly executed by the inhuman Romans.<sup>62</sup>

Whatever advantages might attend the arms of Sapor in the field, <sup>Siege of Nisibis.</sup> though nine repeated victories diffused among the nations the fame of his valour and conduct, he could not hope to succeed in the execution of his designs, while the fortified towns of Mesopotamia, and above all, the strong and ancient city of Nisibis, remained in the possession of the Romans. In the space of twelve years, Nisibis, which, since the time of Lucullus, had been deservedly esteemed the bulwark of the East, sustained three memorable sieges <sup>A.D. 335, 346, 350.</sup> against the power of Sapor; and the disappointed monarch, after urging his attacks above sixty, eighty, and a hundred days, was thrice repulsed with loss and ignominy.<sup>63</sup> This large and populous city was situate about two days' journey from the Tigris, in the midst of a pleasant and fertile plain at the foot of Mount

<sup>8</sup> Julius Orient. p. 24. <sup>9</sup> M. de Guignes, Hist. des Arabes, p. 246. <sup>10</sup> The particular account of these battles is given by the national historians, as is right to be expected, but with a little more detail. For the most of these battles, the names of the commanders are given, and a few circumstances are related, which are not found in the other historians. See Guignes, Hist. des Arabes, p. 246.

<sup>61</sup> Ammianus, lib. 19, p. 105. <sup>62</sup> The account of this war is given by Ammianus, lib. 19, p. 105. <sup>63</sup> The account of this war is given by Ammianus, lib. 19, p. 105. <sup>64</sup> The account of this war is given by Ammianus, lib. 19, p. 105. <sup>65</sup> The account of this war is given by Ammianus, lib. 19, p. 105.

The two first sieges of Nisibis, and the third siege of Tiberias, are mentioned by Ammianus, lib. 19, p. 105. <sup>61</sup> The account of this war is given by Ammianus, lib. 19, p. 105. <sup>62</sup> The account of this war is given by Ammianus, lib. 19, p. 105. <sup>63</sup> The account of this war is given by Ammianus, lib. 19, p. 105. <sup>64</sup> The account of this war is given by Ammianus, lib. 19, p. 105. <sup>65</sup> The account of this war is given by Ammianus, lib. 19, p. 105.

Masius. A treble enclosure of brick walls was defended by a deep ditch;<sup>64</sup> and the intrepid assistance of Count Lucilianus, and his garrison, was seconded by the desperate courage of the people. The citizens of Nisibis were animated by the exhortations of their bishop,<sup>65</sup> inured to arms by the presence of danger, and convinced of the intentions of Sapor to plant a Persian colony in their room, and to lead them away into distant and barbarous captivity. The event of the two former sieges elated their confidence, and exasperated the haughty spirit of the Great King, who advanced a third time towards Nisibis, at the head of the united forces of Persia and India. The ordinary machines, invented to batter or undermine the walls, were rendered ineffectual by the superior skill of the Romans; and many days had vainly elapsed, when Sapor embraced a resolution worthy of an eastern monarch, who believed that the elements themselves were subject to his power. At the stated season of the melting of the snows in Armenia, the river Mygdonius, which divides the plain and the city of Nisibis, forms, like the Nile,<sup>66</sup> an inundation over the adjacent country. By the labour of the Persians, the course of the river was stopped below the town, and the waters were confined on every side by solid mounds of earth. On this artificial lake, a fleet of armed vessels filled with soldiers, and with engines which discharged stones of five hundred pounds' weight, advanced in order of battle, and engaged, almost upon a level, the troops which defended the ramparts. The irresistible force of the waters was alternately fatal to the contending parties, till at length a portion of the walls, unable to sustain the accumulated pressure, gave way at once, and exposed an ample breach of one hundred and fifty feet. The Persians were instantly driven to the assault, and the fate of Nisibis depended on the event of the day. The heavy-armed cavalry, who led the van of a deep column, were embarrassed in the mud, and great numbers were drowned in the unseen holes which had been filled by the rushing waters. The elephants, made furious by their wounds, increased the disorder, and trampled down thousands of the Persian archers. The Great King, who, from an exalted throne, beheld the misfortunes of his arms, sounded, with reluctant indignation, the signal of the retreat, and suspended for some hours the prosecution of the attack. But the vigilant citizens improved the opportunity of the night; and the return of day discovered a new wall of six feet in height, rising every moment to fill up the interval of the breach. Notwithstanding the disappointment of his hopes, and the loss of more than twenty thousand men, Sapor still pressed the reduction of Nisibis, with an obstinate firmness, which could have yielded

only to the necessity of defending the eastern provinces of Persia against a formidable invasion of the Massagetae.<sup>67</sup> Alarmed by this intelligence, he hastily relinquished the siege, and marched with rapid diligence from the banks of the Tigris to those of the Oxus. The danger and difficulties of the Scythian war engaged him soon afterwards to conclude, or at least to observe, a truce with the Roman emperor, which was equally grateful to both princes; as Constantius himself, after the death of his two brothers, was involved, by the revolutions of the West, in a civil contest, which required and seemed to exceed the most vigorous exertion of his undivided strength.

After the partition of the empire, Civil war, and death of Constantine A.D. 310. March. three years had scarcely elapsed before the sons of Constantine seemed impatient to convince mankind that they were incapable of contenting themselves with the dominions which they were unqualified to govern. The eldest of those princes soon complained that he was defrauded of his just proportion of the spoils of their murdered kinsmen; and though he might yield to the superior guilt and merit of Constantius, he exacted from Constant the cession of the African provinces, as an equivalent for the rich countries of Macedonia and Greece, which his brother had acquired by the death of Dalmatius. The want of sincerity, which Constantine experienced in a tedious and fruitless negotiation, exasperated the fierceness of his temper; and he eagerly listened to those favourites, who suggested to him that his honour, as well as his interest, was concerned in the prosecution of the quarrel. At the head of a tumultuary band, suited for rapine rather than for conquest, he suddenly broke into the dominions of Constant, by the way of the Julian Alps, and the country round Aquileia felt the first effects of his resentment. The measures of Constant, who then resided in Dacia, were directed with more prudence and ability. On the news of his brother's invasion, he detached a select and disciplined body of his Illyrian troops, proposing to follow them in person, with the remainder of his forces. But the conduct of his lieutenants soon terminated the unnatural contest. By the artful appearances of flight, Constantine was betrayed into an ambuscade, which had been concealed in a wood, where the rash youth, with a few attendants, was surprised, surrounded, and slain. His body, after it had been found in the obscure stream of the Alsa, obtained the honours of an Imperial sepulchre; but his provinces transferred their allegiance to the conqueror, who, refusing to admit his elder brother Constantius to any share in these new acquisitions, maintained the undisputed possession of more than two thirds of the Roman empire.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Sallust. Fragment. lxxvii. edit. Broese, and Plutarch in Lucull. tom. ii. p. 151. Nisibis is now related to one hundred and fifty houses, the marshy lands produce rice, and the fertile meadows, as far as the Mosul and the Tigris, are covered with the ruins of towns and villages. See Niebuhr, Voyages, tom. ii. p. 391.

<sup>65</sup> The miracles which Theodoret (l. ii. c. 34.) ascribes to St. James, Bishop of Edessa, were at least performed in a worthy cause, the defence of his country. He appeared on the walls under the figure of the Roman emperor, and sent an army of goats to stam the trunks of the elephants, and to discomfit the host of the new Sennacherib.

<sup>66</sup> Julian Orat. l. p. 27. Though Niebuhr (tom. ii. p. 307.) allows very considerably well to the Mygdonius, over which he creeps a bridge of *barre* arches it is difficult, however, to understand this

parallel of a trifling rivulet with a mighty river. There are many circumstances obscure and almost unintelligible, in the description of these stupendous water-works.

<sup>67</sup> We are obliged to Zosaras (tom. i. l. xiii. p. 11) for this invasion of the Massagetae, which is perfectly consistent with the general series of events, to which we are darkly led by the broken history of Ammianus.

<sup>68</sup> The causes and the events of this civil war are related with much propriety and contradiction. I have chiefly followed Zosaras and the younger Victor. The money (ad valent Europ. edit. Havercamp.) pronounced on the death of Constantine, might have been very instructive; but prudence and false taste engaged the orator to involve himself in vague declamation.



marched towards Europe, with a mind agitated by the conflict of hope and fear, of grief and indignation. On his arrival at Heraclea in Thrace, the emperor gave audience to the ambassadors of Magnentius and Vetricio. The first author of the conspiracy, Marcellinus, who in some measure had bestowed the purple on his new master, boldly accepted this dangerous commission; and his three colleagues were selected from the illustrious personages of the state and army. These deputies were instructed to soothe the resentment, and to alarm the fears, of Constantius. They were empowered to offer him the friendship and alliance of the western princes, to cement their union by a double marriage; of Constantius with the daughter of Magnentius, and of Magnentius himself with the ambitious Constantina; and to acknowledge in the treaty the pre-eminence of rank, which might justly be claimed by the emperor of the East. Should pride and mistaken piety urge him to refuse these equitable conditions, the ambassadors were ordered to expatiate on the inevitable ruin which must attend his rashness, if he ventured to provoke the sovereigns of the West to exert their superior strength; and to employ against him that valour, those abilities, and those legions, to which the house of Constantine had been indebted for so many triumphs. Such propositions and such arguments appeared to deserve the most serious attention; the answer of Constantius was deferred till the next day; and as he had reflected on the importance of justifying a civil war in the opinion of the people, he thus addressed his council, who listened with real or affected credulity: "Last night," said he, "after I retired to rest, the shade of the great Constantine, embracing the corpse of my murdered brother, rose before my eyes; his well-known voice awakened me to revenge, forbade me to despair of the republic, and assured me of the success and immortal glory which would crown the justice of my arms." The authority of such a vision, or rather of the prince who alleged it, silenced every doubt, and excluded all negotiation. The ignominious terms of peace were rejected with disdain. One of the ambassadors of the tyrant was dismissed with the haughty answer of Constantius; his colleagues, as unworthy of the privileges of the law of nations, were put in irons; and the contending powers prepared to wage an implacable war.<sup>75</sup>

Deposes Vetricio.

Such was the conduct, and such the policy, of Constantius towards the perfidious usurper of Gaul. The situation and character of Vetricio admitted of milder measures; and the policy of the Eastern emperor was directed to disunite his antagonists, and to separate the forces of Illyricum from the cause of rebellion. It was an easy task to deceive the frankness and simplicity of Vetricio, who, fluctuating some time between the opposite views of honour and interest, displayed to the world the insincerity of his temper, and was insensibly engaged in the

snare of an artful negotiation. Constantius acknowledged him as a legitimate and equal colleague in the empire, on condition that he would renounce his disgraceful alliance with Magnentius, and appoint a place of interview on the frontiers of their respective provinces; where they might pledge their friendship by mutual vows of fidelity, and regulate by common consent the future operations of the civil war. In consequence of this agreement, Vetricio advanced to the city of Sardica,<sup>76</sup> at the head of twenty thousand horse, and of a more numerous body of infantry; a power so far superior to the forces of Constantius, that the Illyrian emperor appeared to command the life and fortunes of his rival, who, depending on the success of his private negotiations, had seduced the troops, and undermined the throne, of Vetricio. The chiefs, who had secretly embraced the party of Constantius, prepared in his favour a public spectacle, calculated to discover and inflame the passions of the multitude.<sup>77</sup> The united armies were commanded to assemble in a large plain near the city. In the centre, according to the rules of ancient discipline, a military tribunal, or rather scaffold, was erected, from whence the emperors were accustomed, on solemn and important occasions, to harangue the troops. The well-ordered ranks of Romans and barbarians, with drawn swords, or with erected spears, the squadrons of cavalry, and the cohorts of infantry, distinguished by the variety of their arms and ensigns, formed an immense circle round the tribunal; and the attentive silence which they preserved was sometimes interrupted by loud bursts of clamour or of applause. In the presence of this formidable assembly, the two emperors were called upon to explain the situation of public affairs: the precedence of rank was yielded to the royal birth of Constantius; and though he was indifferently skilled in the arts of rhetoric, he acquitted himself, under these difficult circumstances, with firmness, dexterity, and eloquence. The first part of his oration seemed to be pointed only against the tyrant of Gaul; but while he tragically lamented the cruel murder of Constantine, he insinuated, that none, except a brother, could claim a right to the succession of his brother. He displayed, with some complacency, the glories of his Imperial race; and recalled to the memory of the troops, the valour, the triumphs, the liberality of the great Constantine, to whose sons they had engaged their allegiance by an oath of fidelity, which the ingratitude of his most favoured servants had tempted them to violate. The officers, who surrounded the tribunal, and were instructed to act their parts in this extraordinary scene, confessed the irresistible power of reason and eloquence, by saluting the emperor Constantius as their lawful sovereign. The contagion of loyalty and repentance was communicated from rank to rank; till the plain of Sardica resounded with the universal acclamation of "Away with these upstart usurpers! Long life and vic-

<sup>75</sup> See Peter the Patrician, in the *Excerpta Legationum*, p. 27.  
<sup>76</sup> Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 15. The position of Sardica, near the modern city of Sophia, appears better suited to this interview than the situation of either Naissus or Birmium, where it is placed by Jeron, Sozomenus, and Sozomenus.

<sup>77</sup> See the two first orations of Julian, particularly p. 31.; and Zosimus, l. ii. p. 122. The distinct narrative of the historian serves to illustrate the diffuse, but vague, descriptions of the orator.

"tory to the son of Constantine! Under his banners alone we will fight and conquer." The shout of thousands, their menacing gestures, the fierce clashing of their arms, astonished and subdued the courage of Vetricio, who stood, amidst the defection of his followers, in anxious and silent suspense. Instead of embracing the last refuge of generous despair, he tamely submitted to his fate; and taking the diadem from his head, in the view of both parties, fell prostrate at the feet of his conqueror. Constantius used his victory with prudence and moderation; and raising from the ground the aged suppliant, whom he affected to style by the endearing name of Father, he gave him his hand to descend from the throne. The city of Prusa was assigned for the exile or retirement of the abdicated monarch, who lived six years in the enjoyment of ease and affluence. He often expressed his grateful sense of the goodness of Constantius, and, with a very amiable simplicity, advised his benefactor to resign the sceptre of the world, and to seek for content (where alone it could be found) in the peaceful obscurity of a private condition.<sup>78</sup>

Makes war against Magnentius. A. D. 351. The behaviour of Constantius on this memorable occasion was celebrated with some appearance of justice; and his courtiers compared the studied orations which a Pericles or a Demosthenes addressed to the populace of Athens, with the victorious eloquence which had persuaded an armed multitude to desert and depose the object of their partial choice.<sup>79</sup> The approaching contest with Magnentius was of a more serious and bloody kind. The tyrant advanced by rapid marches to encounter Constantius, at the head of a numerous army, composed of Gauls and Spaniards, of Franks and Saxons; of those provincials who supplied the strength of the legions, and of those barbarians who were dreaded as the most formidable enemies of the republic. The fertile plains<sup>80</sup> of the Lower Pannonia, between the Drave, the Save, and the Danube, presented a spacious theatre; and the operations of the civil war were protracted during the summer months by the skill or timidity of the combatants.<sup>81</sup> Constantius had declared his intention of deciding the quarrel in the fields of Cibalis, a name that would animate his troops by the remembrance of the victory which, on the same auspicious ground, had been obtained by the arms of his father Constantine. Yet by the impregnable fortifications with which the emperor encompassed his camp, he appeared to decline, rather than to invite, a general engagement. It was the object of Magnentius to tempt or to compel his adversary to relinquish this advantageous position; and he employed, with that view, the various marches, evolutions, and stra-

tagems, which the knowledge of the art of war could suggest to an experienced officer. He carried by assault the important town of Siscia; made an attack on the city of Sirmium, which lay in the rear of the Imperial camp; attempted to force a passage over the Save into the eastern provinces of Illyricum; and cut in pieces a numerous detachment, which he had allured into the narrow passes of Adarne. During the greater part of the summer, the tyrant of Gaul showed himself master of the field. The troops of Constantius were harassed and dispirited; his reputation declined in the eye of the world; and his pride condescended to solicit a treaty of peace, which would have resigned to the assassin of Constans the sovereignty of the provinces beyond the Alps. These offers were enforced by the eloquence of Philip the Imperial ambassador; and the council as well as the army of Magnentius were disposed to accept them. But the haughty usurper, careless of the remonstrances of his friends, gave orders that Philip should be detained as a captive, or at least as a hostage; while he despatched an officer to reproach Constantius with the weakness of his reign, and to insult him by the promise of a pardon, if he would instantly abdicate the purple. "That he should confide in the justice of his cause, and the protection of an avenging Deity," was the only answer which honour permitted the emperor to return. But he was so sensible of the difficulties of his situation, that he no longer dared to retaliate the indignity which had been offered to his representative. The negotiation of Philip was not, however, ineffectual, since he determined Sylvanus the Frank, a general of merit and reputation, to desert with a considerable body of cavalry, a few days before the battle of Mursa.

The city of Mursa, or Essek, Battle of Mursa. A. D. 351, Sept. 23. celebrated in modern times for a bridge of boats five miles in length, over the river Drave, and the adjacent morasses,<sup>82</sup> has been always considered as a place of importance in the wars of Hungary. Magnentius, directing his march towards Mursa, set fire to the gates, and, by a sudden assault, had almost scaled the walls of the town. The vigilance of the garrison extinguished the flames; the approach of Constantius left him no time to continue the operations of the siege; and the emperor soon removed the only obstacle that could embarrass his motions, by forcing a body of troops which had taken post in an adjoining amphitheatre. The field of battle round Mursa was a naked and level plain: on this ground the army of Constantius formed, with the Drave on their right; while their left, either from the nature of their disposition, or from the superiority of their cavalry, extended far beyond the right

<sup>78</sup> The younger Victor assigns to his exile the emphatical appellation of "Coluperantur otium." Socrates (*l. iii. c. 13*) is the voucher for the correspondence with the emperor, which would seem to prove, that Vetricio was, indeed, *prope ad ultimum animum supplicium*.

<sup>79</sup> Eum Constantius . . . *in fudit et deiecit Imperium in privatum otium removit.* *Quæ gloria post natum Imperium et processit eloquio, clementia, æque Aureliæ Victor, l. iii. c. 13.* Themistius (*l. iii. c. 13*) is to be taken this exploit with all the artificial and false colouring of their rhetoric.

<sup>80</sup> Basabeque (*l. p. 112*) traversed the Lower Hungary and Sclavonia at a time when they were reduced almost to a desert, by the reciprocal hostilities of the Turks and Christians. Yet he mentions

with admiration the unconquerable fertility of the soil; and observes, that the height of the grass was sufficient to load a loaded wagon from his sight. See likewise Brown's Travels, in *l. ii. c. 13*, and *l. iii. c. 13*.

<sup>81</sup> Zosimus gives a very long account of the war, and the negotiation, in *l. iii. c. 13*. But the number of himself and other narrators, and the variety of the accounts, must be weighed with caution, and not used with confidence.

<sup>82</sup> This remarkable bridge, which is filled with rafts, and supported on large wooden posts, is situated in the river Drave, between the cities of Mursa and Essek. See Brown's Travels, and Brown's *System of Geography*, vol. ii. p. 112.

flank of Magnentius.<sup>83</sup> The troops on both sides remained under arms in anxious expectation during the greatest part of the morning; and the son of Constantine, after animating his soldiers by an eloquent speech, retired into a church at some distance from the field of battle, and committed to his generals the conduct of this decisive day.<sup>84</sup> They deserved his confidence by the valour and military skill which they exerted. They wisely began the action upon the left; and advancing their whole wing of cavalry in an oblique line, they suddenly wheeled it on the right flank of the enemy, which was unprepared to resist the impetuosity of their charge. But the Romans of the West soon rallied, by the habits of discipline; and the barbarians of Germany supported the renown of their national bravery. The engagement soon became general; was maintained with various and singular turns of fortune; and scarcely ended with the darkness of the night. The signal victory which Constantius obtained is attributed to the arms of his cavalry. His cuirassiers are described as so many massy statues of steel, glittering with their scaly armour, and breaking with their ponderous lances the firm array of the Gallic legions. As soon as the legions gave way, the lighter and more active squadrons of the second line rode sword in hand into the intervals, and completed the disorder. In the mean while, the huge bodies of the Germans were exposed almost naked to the dexterity of the Oriental archers; and whole troops of those barbarians were urged by anguish and despair to precipitate themselves into the broad and rapid stream of the Drave.<sup>85</sup> The number of the slain was computed at fifty-four thousand men, and the slaughter of the conquerors was more considerable than that of the vanquished;<sup>86</sup> a circumstance which proves the obstinacy of the contest, and justifies the observation of an ancient writer, that the forces of the empire were consumed in the fatal battle of Mursa, by the loss of a veteran army, sufficient to defend the frontiers, or to add new triumphs to the glory of Rome.<sup>87</sup> Notwithstanding the invectives of a servile orator, there is not the least reason to believe that the tyrant deserted his own standard in the beginning of the engagement. He seems to have displayed the virtues of a general and of a soldier till the day was irrecoverably lost, and his camp in the possession of the enemy. Magnentius then consulted his safety, and throwing away the Imperial ornament, escaped with some difficulty from the pursuit of the light

horse, who incessantly followed his rapid flight from the banks of the Drave to the foot of the Julian Alps.<sup>88</sup>

The approach of winter supplied the indolence of Constantius with specious reasons for deferring the prosecution of the war till the ensuing spring. Magnentius had fixed his residence in the city of Aquileia, and showed a seeming resolution to dispute the passage of the mountains and morasses which fortified the confines of the Venetian province. The surprisal of a castle in the Alps by the secret march of the Imperialists, could scarcely have determined him to relinquish the possession of Italy, if the inclinations of the people had supported the cause of their tyrant.<sup>89</sup> But the memory of the cruelties exercised by his ministers, after the unsuccessful revolt of Nepotian, had left a deep impression of horror and resentment on the minds of the Romans. That rash youth, the son of the princess Eutropia, and the nephew of Constantine, had seen with indignation the sceptre of the West usurped by a perfidious barbarian. Arming a desperate troop of slaves and gladiators, he overpowered the feeble guard of the domestic tranquillity of Rome, received the homage of the senate, and assuming the title of Augustus, precariously reigned during a tumult of twenty-eight days. The march of some regular forces put an end to his ambitious hopes: the rebellion was extinguished in the blood of Nepotian, of his mother Eutropia, and of his adherents; and the proscription was extended to all who had contracted a fatal alliance with the name and family of Constantine.<sup>90</sup> But as soon as Constantius, after the battle of Mursa, became master of the sea-coast of Dalmatia, a band of noble exiles, who had ventured to equip a fleet in some harbour of the Adriatic, sought protection and revenge in his victorious camp. By their secret intelligence with their countrymen, Rome and the Italian cities were persuaded to display the banners of Constantius on their walls. The grateful veterans, enriched by the liberality of the father, signalled their gratitude and loyalty to the son. The cavalry, the legions, and the auxiliaries of Italy, renewed their oath of allegiance to Constantius; and the usurper, alarmed by the general desertion, was compelled, with the remains of his faithful troops, to retire beyond the Alps into the provinces of Gaul. The detachments, however, which were ordered either to press or to intercept the flight of Magnentius, conducted themselves with the usual imprudence

Conquest of Italy, A. D. 352.

<sup>83</sup> This partition, and the subsequent divisions, are clearly, though confusedly, described in Julian *Orat. ii. p. 59.*

<sup>84</sup> Sulpicius Severus, *l. ii. p. 100.* The emperor passed the day in prayer with Valens, the Archbishop of Mursa, who gained his confidence by announcing the success of the battle of Mursa to the Emperor, *l. ii. p. 111.* Very properly remarks the silence of Julian with regard to this personal property of Constantius in the battle of Mursa. The silence of history is sometimes equal to the most positive and authentic declaration.

<sup>85</sup> Julian, *Orat. i. p. 35, 37.* and *Orat. ii. p. 59, 60.* Zonaras, *tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 17.* Zosimus, *l. ii. p. 154-155.* The last of the e celebrates the dexterity of the archer Menelaus, who could discharge three arrows at the same time, an advantage which, according to the ancients, contributed to the victory.

<sup>86</sup> *Intus, out of 90,000 men, lost out out of 36,000. The other and authentic, but the numbers mistaken, either by the author I collected the whole force of the to our formidable body, which cannot fairly be estimated at less than 100,000 men.* Julian *Orat. i. p. 54, 55.*

<sup>87</sup> Ingentes R. I. vires et ditione consumptæ sunt, ad quaslibet bellica exercitia inertes, quæ multum triumphorum poscent securitatem conferre. Eutropius, *c. 15.* The younger Victor expresses himself to the same effect.

<sup>88</sup> On this occasion, we must prefer the unsuspected testimony of Zonaras and Zosimus to the flattering assertions of Julian.

<sup>89</sup> Julian *Orat. i. p. 53, 54.* In that place, however, as well as in *Orat. ii. p. 97.* he assumes the general disposition of the senate, the people, and the soldiers of Italy, towards the party of the emperor.

<sup>90</sup> The elder Victor describes in a pathetic manner the miserable condition of Rome. "Cujus stolidum ingenium adeo P. R. paucibus extitit fatis, ut passim domus, fora, viæ, templaque, cruore cadaverisque operculenter hauriantur modo." Athanasius (*tom. i. p. 677*) deplors the fate of several illustrious victims, and Julian (*Orat. ii. p. 38*) execrates the cruelty of Marcellinus, the implacable enemy of the house of Constantine.

of success; and allowed him, in the plains of Pavia, an opportunity of turning on his pursuers, and of gratifying his despair by the carnage of a useless victory.<sup>91</sup>

The pride of Magnentius was reduced, by repeated misfortunes, to sue, and to sue in vain, for peace. He first despatched a senator in

August 10.] He first despatched a senator, in whose abilities he confided, and afterwards several bishops, whose holy character might obtain a more favourable audience, with the offer of resigning the purple, and the promise of devoting the remainder of his life to the service of the emperor. But Constantius, though he granted fair terms of pardon and reconciliation to all who abandoned the standard of rebellion,<sup>92</sup> avowed his inflexible resolution to inflict a just punishment on the crimes of an assassin, whom he prepared to overwhelm on every side by the effort of his victorious arms. An Imperial fleet acquired the easy possession of Africa and Spain, confirmed the wavering faith of the Moorish nations, and landed a considerable force, which passed the Pyrenees, and advanced towards Lyons, the last and fatal station of Magnentius.<sup>93</sup> The temper of the tyrant, which was never inclined to clemency, was urged by distress to exercise every act of oppression which could extort an immediate supply from the cities of Gaul.<sup>94</sup> Their patience was at length exhausted; and Treves, the seat of pretorian government, gave the signal of revolt, by shutting her gates against Decentius, who had been raised by his brother to the rank either of Cæsar or of Augustus.<sup>95</sup> From Treves, Decentius was obliged to retire to Sens, where he was soon surrounded by an army of Germans, whom the pernicious arts of Constantius had introduced into the civil dissensions of Rome.<sup>96</sup> In the mean time, the Imperial troops forced the passages of the Cortian Alps, and in the bloody combat of Mount Seleucus irrevocably fixed the title of rebels on the party of Magnentius.<sup>97</sup> He was unable to bring another army into the field; the fidelity of his guards was corrupted; and when he appeared in public to animate them by his exhortations, he was saluted with an unanimous shout of "Long live the emperor Constantius!" The tyrant, who perceived that they were preparing to deserve pardon and reward by the sacrifice of the most obnoxious criminal,

prevented their design by falling on his sword ;<sup>98</sup> a death more easy and more honourable than he could hope to obtain from the hands of an enemy, whose revenge would have been coloured with the specious pretence of justice and fraternal piety. The example of suicide was imitated by Decentius, who strangled himself on the news of his brother's death. The author of the conspiracy, Marcellinus, had long since disappeared in the battle of Mursa,<sup>99</sup> and the public tranquillity was confirmed by the execution of the surviving leaders of a guilty and unsuccessful faction. A severe inquisition was extended over all who, either from choice or from compulsion, had been involved in the cause of rebellion. Paul, surnamed Catena from his superior skill in the judicial exercise of tyranny, was sent to explore the latent remains of the conspiracy in the remote province of Britain. The honest indignation expressed by Martin, vice-prefect of the island, was interpreted as an evidence of his own guilt ; and the governor was urged to the necessity of turning against his breast the sword with which he had been provoked to wound the Imperial minister. The most innocent subjects of the West were exposed to exile and confiscation, to death and torture ; and as the timid are always cruel, the mind of Constantius was inaccessible to mercy.<sup>100</sup>

## CHAP. XIX.

*Constantius sole Emperor. — Elevation and Death of Gallus. — Danger and Elevation of Julian. — Sacmatian and Persian Wars. — Victories of Julian in Gaul.*

THE divided provinces of the empire were again united by the victory of Constantius; but as that feeble prince was destitute of personal merit, either in peace or war; as he feared his generals, and distrusted his ministers; the triumph of his arms served only to establish the reign of the *eunuchs* over the Roman world. Those unhappy beings, the ancient production of Oriental jealousy and despotism,<sup>1</sup> were introduced into Greece and Rome by the contagion of Asiatic luxury.<sup>2</sup> Their progress was rapid; and the eunuchs, who, in the time of Augustus, had been abhorred, as the monstrous retinue of an Egyptian queen,<sup>3</sup> were

int, before he expired, had hands his mother and his

<sup>49</sup> Julian (*Irat* i p. 18, 53) seems at a loss to determine, whether he inflicted on himself the punishment of his crimes, whether he was drowned in the *Irat*, or whether he was carried by the avenging demons from the field of battle to his destined place of eternal torture.

1. *Ammonius* *liv.* 5, *col.* 16.  
2. *Ammonius* *liv.* 5, *col.* 6, computes the first practice of castration to the civil emperor of Semnaries, who is supposed to have reigned three or four hundred years before Christ. The use of eunuchs is of such antiquity, both in Asia and Egypt. They are mentioned in the law of Moses, *Deuter. c.* xv. 1. See Goguet, *Origines des Loix*, *liv.* part. 1, *col.* 1.

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It is the word of God, the Lord Jesus Christ, who has said that He will send His angels to gather up the elect from all parts of the world, and to bring them to Himself.



gradually admitted into the families of matrons, of senators, and of the emperors themselves.<sup>4</sup> Restrained by the severe edicts of Domitian and Nerva,<sup>5</sup> cherished by the pride of Diocletian, reduced to an humble station by the prudence of Constantine,<sup>6</sup> they multiplied in the palaces of his degenerate sons, and insensibly acquired the knowledge, and at length the direction, of the secret councils of Constantius. The aversion and contempt which mankind has so uniformly entertained for that imperfect species, appears to have degraded their character, and to have rendered them almost as incapable as they were supposed to be, of conceiving any generous sentiment, or of performing any worthy action.<sup>7</sup> But the eunuchs were skilled in the arts of flattery and intrigue; and they alternately governed the mind of Constantius by his fears, his indolence, and his vanity.<sup>8</sup> Whilst he viewed in a deceitful mirror the fair appearance of public prosperity, he supinely permitted them to intercept the complaints of the injured provinces, to accumulate immense treasures by the sale of justice and of honours; to disgrace the most important dignities, by the promotion of those who had purchased at their hands the powers of oppression,<sup>9</sup> and to gratify their resentment against the few independent spirits, who arrogantly refused to solicit the protection of slaves. Of these slaves the most distinguished was the chamberlain Eusebius, who ruled the monarch and the palace with such absolute sway, that Constantius, according to the sarcasm of an impartial historian, possessed some credit with this haughty favourite.<sup>10</sup> By his artful suggestions, the emperor was persuaded to subscribe the condemnation of the unfortunate Gallus, and to add a new crime to the long list of unnatural murders which pollute the honour of the house of Constantine.

When the two nephews of Constantine, Gallus and Julian, were saved from the fury of the soldiers, the former was about twelve, and the latter about six, years of age; and, as the eldest was thought to be of a sickly constitution, they obtained with the less difficulty a precarious and dependent life, from the affected pity of Constantius, who was sensible that the execution of

these helpless orphans would have been esteemed, by all mankind, an act of the most deliberate cruelty.<sup>11</sup> Different cities of Ionia and Bithynia were assigned for the places of their exile and education; but, as soon as their growing years excited the jealousy of the emperor, he judged it more prudent to secure those unhappy youths in the strong castle of Marcellum, near Cæsarea. The treatment which they experienced during a six years' confinement, was partly such as they could hope from a careful guardian, and partly such as they might dread from a suspicious tyrant.<sup>12</sup> Their prison was an ancient palace, the residence of the kings of Cappadocia; the situation was pleasant, the building stately, the enclosure spacious. They pursued their studies, and practised their exercises, under the tuition of the most skillful masters; and the numerous household appointed to attend, or rather to guard, the nephews of Constantine, was not unworthy of the dignity of their birth. But they could not disguise to themselves that they were deprived of fortune, of freedom, and of safety; secluded from the society of all whom they could trust or esteem, and condemned to pass their melancholy hours in the company of slaves, devoted to the commands of a tyrant, who had already injured them beyond the hope of reconciliation. At length, however, the emergencies

Gallus declared  
Cæsar,  
A.D. 311,  
March 3.

or rather his eunuchs, to invest Gallus, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, with the title of Cæsar, and to cement this political connection by his marriage with the princess Constantina. After a formal interview, in which the two princes mutually engaged their faith never to undertake any thing to the prejudice of each other, they repaired without delay to their respective stations. Constantius continued his march towards the West, and Gallus fixed his residence at Antioch; from whence, with a delegated authority, he administered the five great dioceses of the eastern præfecture.<sup>13</sup> In this fortunate change, the new Cæsar was not unmindful of his brother Julian, who obtained the honours of his rank, the appearances of liberty, and the restitution of an ample patri-  
mony.<sup>14</sup>

4 We need only mention Ptolemaeus, a freedman and eunuch of Claudius, in whose favour the emperor procured some of the most honorable rewards of military valor. See Sueton. in Claudio, c. 28. Ptolemaeus employed a sum at part of his wealth in building.

5 *Uspado vinecent Capitolina nostra* Ptolemaeus.

6 Castrani mareis vult. Sueton. in Domitiano c. 7. See Dom. Cassius, l. xxi. p. 1107. l. lxxvi. p. 1119.

7 There is a passage in the Augustan History, p. 157, in which Lampridius, whilst he praises Alexander Severus and Constantine for restraining the excesses of the eunuchs by, also re-uses the mischievous words they occasioned in other reigns. *Hinc et illud quod eunuchi in rebus in consiliis nec in ministeriis habuit qui soli principes perficerent, omnino eos non gerunt aut videri Periculum solent videri, qui a populo tam amicum quam servum, et qui potestatem sunt, aliud quam consponderet referunt, claudentes principem in sumis, et agentes a ne omnia ne quid sciat.*

8 Xenophon (*Cyropædia*, l. vi. p. 540) has stated the specious reasons which engaged Cyrus to intrust his person to the guard of eunuchs.

9 *Attached to the person of the benefactor. But a long experience has contradicted the judgment of Cyrus. Some persons at least may occur of eunuchs distinguished by their fidelity, their valor, and their abilities, but if we examine the general history of Persia, India, and China, we shall find that the power of the eunuchs has uniformly marked the decline and fall of every dynasty.*

10 See Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxi. c. 10. l. xxv. c. 1. The whole tenor of his impartial history serves to justify the invectives of

Martinus, of Libanius, and of Julian himself, who have insulted the eunuchs of the court of Constantius.

11 Aurelius Victor censures the negligence of his sovereign in choosing the governors of the provinces, and the generals of the army, and concludes his history with a very bold observation, as it is much more dangerous to have a feeble reign to attack the ministers than the minister himself. *Ubi in verum obliuiscam, uti Imperator ipse* "Cæsaris autem imperatoris principisque regni atque nihil."

12 *Apud quos (si vere dici debeat) multum Constantius potuit.* Ammianus, l. xxi. c. 3.

13 Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* p. 98) reproaches the apostate with his ingratitude towards Mark, bishop of Arethusa, who had contributed to save his life, and we learn, though from a less respectable authority (Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 916), that Julian was concealed in the sanctuary of a church.

14 The most authentic account of the education and adventures of Julian, is contained in the epistle or manifesto to which he himself

the solemn engagement. He supported that character with generosity, but St. de Tilletmont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 1120) thinks it very improbable that an heretic should have possessed a virtue.

15 Julian was at first permitted to pursue his studies at Constantinople, but the reputation which he acquired soon excited the jealousy of Constantius, and the young prince was advised to withdraw himself to the less conspicuous cities of Bithynia and Ionia.

Cruelty and  
imprudence of  
Gallus.

The writers the most indulgent to the memory of Gallus, and even Julian himself, though he wished to cast a veil over the failties of his brother, are obliged to confess that the Cæsar was incapable of reigning. Transported from a prison to a throne, he possessed neither genius nor application, nor docility, to compensate for the want of knowledge and experience. A temper naturally morose and violent, instead of being corrected, was soured by solitude and adversity; the remembrance of what he had endured, disposed him to retaliation rather than to sympathy; and the ungoverned sallies of his rage were often fatal to those who approached his person, or were subject to his power.<sup>15</sup> Constantina, his wife, is described, not as a woman, but as one of the infernal furies tormented with an insatiate thirst of human blood.<sup>16</sup> Instead of employing her influence to insinuate the mild counsels of prudence and humanity, she exasperated the fierce passions of her husband; and as she retained the vanity, though she had renounced the gentleness of her sex, a pearl necklace was esteemed an equivalent price for the murder of an innocent and virtuous nobleman.<sup>17</sup> The cruelty of Gallus was sometimes displayed in the undissembled violence of popular or military executions: and was sometimes disguised by the abuse of law, and the forms of judicial proceedings. The private houses of Antioch, and the places of public resort, were besieged by spies and informers; and the Cæsar himself, concealed in a plebeian habit, very frequently condescended to assume that odious character. Every apartment of the palace was adorned with the instruments of death and torture, and a general consternation was diffused through the capital of Syria. The prince of the East, as if he had been conscious how much he had to fear, and how little he deserved to reign, selected for the objects of his resentment, the provincials accused of some imaginary treason, and his own courtiers, whom with more reason he suspected of incensing, by their secret correspondence, the timid and suspicious mind of Constantius. But he forgot that he was depriving himself of his only support, the affection of the people; whilst he furnished the malice of his enemies with the arms of truth, and afforded the emperor the fairest pretence of exacting the forfeit of his purple, and of his life.<sup>18</sup>

Massacre of the  
Imperial mi-  
nisters.  
A. D. 324

A. D. 324

knowledge of the weak and cruel administration to which his choice had subjected the East; and the discovery of some assassins, secretly despatched to Antioch by the tyrant of Gaul, was

15 See Julian ad S.P.O. p. 271. Jerom in Chron. Anecis Victor Entiquus, xlii. I shall copy the words of E. Enquius, who wrote his abridgment about fifteen years after the death of Caesar, when there was no longer a ymotive either to flatter or to reprove his character. "Multis in publicis gestis laudatus, et a sevir natura ferox et ad tyrannidem promptus, si non juve imperare liceret."

In his name was the name of Alexander, and his ornaments were those of a king; he had the crown of his mother's diadem adorned by the crown of his father's diadem.

employed to convince the public, that the emperor and the Cæsar were united by the same interest, and pursued by the same enemies.<sup>19</sup> But when the victory was decided in favour of Constantius, his dependent colleague became less useful and less formidable. Every circumstance of his conduct was severely and suspiciously examined, and it was privately resolved, either to deprive Gallus of the purple, or at least to remove him from the indolent luxury of Asia to the hardships and dangers of a German war. The death of Theophilus, consular of the province of Syria, who in a time of scarcity had been massacred by the people of Antioch, with the connivance, and almost at the instigation, of Gallus, was justly resented, not only as an act of wanton cruelty, but as a dangerous insult on the supreme majesty of Constantius. Two ministers of illustrious rank, Domitian, the Oriental præfect, and Montius, quæstor of the palace, were empowered by a special commission to visit and reform the state of the East. They were instructed to behave towards Gallus with moderation and respect, and, by the gentlest arts of persuasion, to engage him to comply with the invitation of his brother and colleague. The rashness of the præfect disappointed these prudent measures, and hastened his own ruin, as well as that of his enemy. On his arrival at Antioch, Domitian passed disdainfully before the gates of the palace, and alleging a slight pretence of indisposition, continued several days in sullen retirement, to prepare an inflammatory memorial, which he transmitted to the Imperial court. Yielding at length to the pressing solicitations of Gallus, the præfect condescended to take his seat in council; but his first step was to signify a concise and haughty mandate, importing that the Cæsar should immediately repair to Italy, and threatening that he himself would punish his delay or hesitation, by suspending the usual allowance of his household. The nephew and daughter of Constantine, who could ill brook the insolence of a subject, expressed their resentment by instantly delivering Domitian to the custody of a guard. The quarrel still admitted of some terms of accommodation. They were rendered impracticable by the imprudent behaviour of Montius, a statesman, whose art and experience were frequently betrayed by the levity of his disposition.<sup>20</sup> The quæstor reproached Gallus in haughty language, that a prince, who was scarcely authorised to remove a municipal magistrate, should presume to imprison a prætorian præfect; convoked a meeting of the civil and military officers; and required them, in the name of their sovereign, to defend the person and dignity of his representatives. By this rash

In Nov. 17 Ammonius II. xiv. c. 1. 7, a very ample detail of the  
crimes of Gaius. His brother Julian (p. 222) insinuates, that  
a secret conspiracy had been formed against him, and Zosimus  
tells us (l. i. p. 156) the persons engaged in it, a number of con-  
sular officers, and two obscure agents, who were resolved to make  
the emperor

[illegible]

declaration of war, the impatient temper of Gallus was provoked to embrace the most desperate counsels. He ordered his guards to stand to their arms, assembled the populace of Antioch, and recommended to their zeal the care of his safety and revenge. His commands were too fatally obeyed. They rudely seized the præfect and the quæstor, and tying their legs together with ropes, they dragged them through the streets of the city, inflicted a thousand insults and a thousand wounds on these unhappy victims, and at last precipitated their mangled and lifeless bodies into the stream of the Orontes.<sup>21</sup>

Dangerous situation of Gallus. After such a deed, whatever might have been the designs of Gallus, it was only in a field of battle that he could assert his innocence with any hope of success. But the mind of that prince was formed of an equal mixture of violence and weakness. Instead of assuming the title of Augustus, instead of employing in his defence the troops and treasures of the East, he suffered himself to be deceived by the affected tranquillity of Constantius, who, leaving him the vain pageantry of a court, imperceptibly recalled the veteran legions from the provinces of Asia. But as it still appeared dangerous to arrest Gallus in his capital, the slow and safer arts of dissimulation were practised with success. The frequent and pressing epistles of Constantius were filled with professions of confidence and friendship; exhorting the Cæsar to discharge the duties of his high station, to relieve his colleague from a part of the public cares, and to assist the West by his presence, his counsels, and his arms. After so many reciprocal injuries, Gallus had reason to fear and to distrust. But he had neglected the opportunities of flight and of resistance; he was seduced by the flattering assurances of the tribune Scindillo, who, under the semblance of a rough soldier, disguised the most artful insinuation; and he depended on the credit of his wife Constantina, till the unseasonable death of that princess completed the ruin in which he had been involved by her impetuous passions.<sup>22</sup>

His disgrace and death A. D. 311, December. After a long delay, the reluctant Cæsar set forwards on his journey to the Imperial court. From Antioch to Hadrianople, he traversed the wide extent of his dominions with a numerous and stately train; and as he laboured to conceal his apprehensions from the world, and perhaps from himself, he entertained the people of Constantinople with an exhibition of the games of the circus. The progress of the journey might, however, have warned him of the impending danger. In all the principal cities he was met by ministers of confidence, commissioned to seize the offices of government, to observe his motions, and to pre-

vent the hasty sallies of his despair. The persons despatched to secure the provinces which he left behind, passed him with cold salutations, or affected disdain; and the troops, whose station lay along the public road, were studiously removed on his approach, lest they might be tempted to offer their swords for the service of a civil war.<sup>23</sup> After Gallus had been permitted to repose himself a few days at Hadrianople, he received a mandate, expressed in the most laughtly and absolute style, that his splendid retinue should halt in that city, while the Cæsar himself, with only ten post-carriages, should hasten to the Imperial residence at Milan. In this rapid journey, the profound respect which was due to the brother and colleague of Constantius, was insensibly changed into a rude familiarity; and Gallus, who discovered in the countenances of the attendants that they already considered themselves as his guards, and might soon be employed as his executioners, began to accuse his fatal rashness, and to recollect, with terror and remorse, the conduct by which he had provoked his fate. The dissimulation which had hitherto been preserved, was laid aside at Petovio in Pannonia. He was conducted to a palace in the suburbs, where the general Barbatio, with a select band of soldiers, who could neither be moved by pity, nor corrupted by rewards, expected the arrival of his illustrious victim. In the close of the evening he was arrested, ignominiously stripped of the ensigns of Cæsar, and hurried away to Pola in Istria, a sequestered prison, which had been so recently polluted with royal blood. The horror which he felt was soon increased by the appearance of his implacable enemy the eunuch Eusebius, who, with the assistance of a notary and a tribune, proceeded to interrogate him concerning the administration of the East. The Cæsar sunk under the weight of shame and guilt, confessed all the criminal actions, and all the treasonable designs with which he was charged; and by imputing them to the advice of his wife, exasperated the indignation of Constantius, who reviewed with partial prejudice the minutes of the examination. The emperor was easily convinced, that his own safety was incompatible with the life of his cousin: the sentence of death was signed, despatched, and executed; and the nephew of Constantine, with his hands tied behind his back, was beheaded in prison like the vilest malefactor.<sup>24</sup> Those who are inclined to palliate the cruelties of Constantius, assert that he soon relented, and endeavoured to recall the bloody mandate; but that the second messenger, entrusted with the reprieve, was detained by the eunuchs, who dreaded the unforbearing temper of Gallus, and were desirous of reuniting to their empire the wealthy provinces of the East.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Instead of being obliged to collect scattered and imperfect hints from various sources, we now enter into the full stream of the history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire.

<sup>22</sup> 28, though

on the road,

<sup>23</sup> The Theban legions, which were then quartered at Hadrianople, sent a detachment to Gallus, with a tender of their services. Ammian. l. xiv. c. 11. The Notitia (s. 6. 26. 38. edit. Fab.) mentions three several legions which bore the name of Theban. The zeal of M. de Volsaire, to destroy a despicable though celebrated legend, has prompted him on the slightest grounds to deny the existence of a The-

ban legion in the Roman armies. See Œuvres de Voltaire, tom. xv. p. 311, quarto edition.

<sup>24</sup> See the complete narrative in Ammianus, l. xiv. c. 11. put to death without a trial the cruel revenge which he at last to acknowledge that

<sup>25</sup> Photodorus, l. iv. c. 1. Zonaras, l. xiv. tom. ii. p. 19. But the former was partial towards an Arian monarch, and the latter transcribed, without choice or criticism, whatever he found in the writings of the ancients.

The danger and  
escape of Julian.

Besides the reigning emperor, Julian alone survived, of all the numerous posterity of Constantius Chlorus. The misfortune of his royal birth involved him in the disgrace of Gallus. From his retirement in the happy country of Ionia, he was conveyed under a strong guard to the court of Milan; where he languished above seven months, in the continual apprehension of suffering the same ignominious death, which was daily inflicted, almost before his eyes, on the friends and adherents of his persecuted family. His looks, his gestures, his silence, were scrutinised with malignant curiosity, and he was perpetually assailed by enemies whom he had never offended, and by arts to which he was a stranger.<sup>26</sup> But in the school of adversity, Julian insensibly acquired the virtues of firmness and discretion. He defended his honour, as well as his life, against the ensnaring subtleties of the eunuchs, who endeavoured to extort some declaration of his sentiments; and whilst he cautiously suppressed his grief and resentment, he nobly disdained to flatter the tyrant, by any seeming approbation of his brother's murder. Julian most devoutly ascribes his miraculous deliverance to the protection of the gods, who had exempted his innocence from the sentence of destruction pronounced by their justice against the impious house of Constantine.<sup>27</sup> As the most effectual instrument of their providence, he gratefully acknowledges the steady and generous friendship of the empress Eusebia,<sup>28</sup> a woman of beauty and merit, who, by the ascendancy which she had gained over the mind of her husband, counterbalanced, in some measure, the powerful conspiracy of the eunuchs. By the intercession of his patroness, Julian was admitted into the Imperial presence; he pleaded his cause with a decent freedom; he was heard with favour; and, notwithstanding the efforts of his enemies, who urged the danger of sparing an avenger of the blood of Gallus, the milder sentiment of Eusebia prevailed in the council. But the effects of a second interview were dreaded by the eunuchs; and Julian was advised to withdraw for a while into the neighbourhood of Milan, till the emperor thought

He is sent to Athens  
A.D. 355,  
May.

proper to assign the city of Athens for the place of his honourable exile. As he had discovered, from his earliest youth, a propensity, or rather passion, for the language, the manners, the learning, and the religion of the Greeks, he obeyed with pleasure an order so agreeable to his wishes. Far from the tumult of arms, and the treachery of courts, he spent six months amidst the groves of the academy, in a free intercourse with the philosophers of the age, who studied to enliven the

genius, to encourage the vanity, and to inflame the devotion of their royal pupil. Their labours were not unsuccessful; and Julian inviolably preserved for Athens that tender regard, which seldom fails to arise in a liberal mind, from the recollection of the place where it has discovered and exercised its growing powers. The gentleness and affability of manners, which his temper suggested and his situation imposed, insensibly engaged the affections of the strangers, as well as citizens, with whom he conversed. Some of his fellow-students might perhaps examine his behaviour with an eye of prejudice and aversion; but Julian established, in the schools of Athens, a general prepossession in favour of his virtues and talents, which was soon diffused over the Roman world.<sup>29</sup>

Whilst his hours were passed in studios retirement, the empress, resolute to achieve the generous design which she had undertaken, was not unmindful of the care of his fortune. The death of the late Cæsar had left Constantius invested with the sole command, and oppressed by the accumulated weight, of a mighty empire. Before the wounds of civil discord could be healed, the provinces of Gaul were overwhelmed by a deluge of barbarians. The Sarmatians no longer respected the barrier of the Danube. The impunity of rapine had increased the boldness and numbers of the wild Isaurians: those robbers descended from their craggy mountains to ravage the adjacent country, and had even presumed, though without success, to besiege the important city of Seleucia, which was defended by a garrison of three Roman legions. Above all, the Persian monarch, elated by victory, again threatened the peace of Asia, and the presence of the emperor was indispensably required, both in the West and in the East. For the first time, Constantius sincerely acknowledged, that his single strength was unequal to such an extent of care and of dominion.<sup>30</sup> Insensible to the voice of flattery, which assured him that his all-powerful virtue, and celestial fortune, would still continue to triumph over every obstacle, he listened with complacency to the advice of Eusebia, which gratified his indolence, without offending his suspicious pride. As she perceived that the remembrance of Gallus dwelt on the emperor's mind, she artfully turned his attention to the opposite characters of the two brothers, which from their infancy had been compared to those of Domitian and of Titus.<sup>31</sup> She accustomed her husband to consider Julian as a youth of a mild unambitious disposition, whose allegiance and gratitude might be secured by the gift of the purple, and who was qualified to fill, with honour, a subordinate station, without

26. See Ammonius Marcellus, l. c. p. 17. And himself, in his epistle to the theomast, takes a very liberal view of his own danger, and of the sects into which he is divided. He speaks of his danger, as if it were a dream, and of the sects, as if they were a fiction. He says, that they lived above a cloud, a period which cannot be reconciled with the truth of the prop.

17. *Idem* has worked for 20 years and 10 generations of the family of Constantine into an allegorical tale, which is happy, unexcited and agreeably related. It forms the conclusion of the great tragedy, from whence it has been detached and translated by the Abbé de la Blotière. *Vie de Lavoisier*, loc. cit. p. 387-108.

28. She was a native of Thessalonica in Macedonia, of a noble family, and the daughter as well as sister of a prince. Her birth age with the emperor may be placed in the year 512. In a distant age, the nobility of all parts is agreed in her praises. See the 1<sup>st</sup> of the 2<sup>d</sup> collected of Tacitus. Just also Ammianus, tom. 1. p. 106. 114.

[illegible][illegible]

aspiring to dispute the commands, or to shade the glories, of his sovereign and benefactor. After an obstinate, though secret struggle, the opposition of the favourite eunuchs submitted to the ascendancy of the empress; and it was resolved that Julian, after celebrating his nuptials with Helena, sister of Constantius, should be appointed, with the title of Cæsar, to reign over the countries beyond the Alps.<sup>32</sup>

Although the order which recalled him to court was probably accompanied by some intimation of his approaching greatness, he appeals to the people of Athens to witness his tears of undissembled sorrow, when he was reluctantly torn away from his beloved retirement.<sup>33</sup> He trembled for his life, for his fame, and even for his virtue; and his sole confidence was derived from the persuasion that Minerva inspired all his actions, and that he was protected by an invisible guard of angels, whom for that purpose she had borrowed from the Sun and Moon. He approached, with horror, the palace of Milan; nor could the ingenuous youth conceal his indignation, when he found himself accosted with false and servile respect by the assassins of his family. Eusebia, rejoicing in the success of her benevolent schemes, embraced him with the tenderness of a sister; and endeavoured, by the most soothing caresses, to dispel his terrors, and reconcile him to his fortune. But the ceremony of shaving his beard, and his awkward demeanour, when he first exchanged the cloak of a Greek philosopher for the military habit of a Roman prince, amused, during a few days, the levity of the Imperial court.<sup>34</sup>

The emperors of the age of Constantine no longer deigned to consult with the senate in the choice of a colleague; but they were anxious that their nomination should be ratified by the consent of the army. On this solemn occasion, the guards, with the other troops whose stations were in the neighbourhood of Milan, appeared under arms; and Constantius ascended his lofty tribunal, holding by the hand his cousin Julian, who entered the same day into the twenty-fifth year of his age.<sup>35</sup> In a studied speech, conceived and delivered with dignity, the emperor represented the various dangers which threatened the prosperity of the republic, the necessity of naming a Cæsar for the administration of the West, and his own intention, if it was agreeable to their wishes, of rewarding with the honours of the purple the promising virtues of the nephew of Constantine. The approbation of the soldiers was testified by a respectful murmur; they gazed on the manly countenance of Julian, and observed

with pleasure, that the fire which sparkled in his eyes was tempered by a modest blush, on being thus exposed, for the first time, to the public view of mankind. As soon as the ceremony of his investiture had been performed, Constantius addressed him with the tone of authority, which his superior age and station permitted him to assume; and exhorting the new Cæsar to deserve, by heroic deeds, that sacred and immortal name, the emperor gave his colleague the strongest assurances of a friendship which should never be impaired by time, nor interrupted by their separation into the most distant climates. As soon as the speech was ended, the troops, as a token of applause, clashed their shields against their knees;<sup>36</sup> while the officers who surrounded the tribunal expressed, with decent reserve, their sense of the merits of the representative of Constantius.

The two princes returned to the <sup>and declared</sup> palace in the same chariot; and <sup>Cæsar. A. D. 355, Nov. 6.</sup> during the slow procession, Julian repeated to himself a verse of his favourite Homer, which he might equally apply to his fortune and to his fears.<sup>37</sup> The four and twenty days which the Cæsar spent at Milan after his investiture, and the first months of his Gallic reign, were devoted to a splendid, but severe captivity; nor could the acquisition of honour compensate for the loss of freedom.<sup>38</sup> His steps were watched, his correspondence was intercepted; and he was obliged, by prudence, to decline the visits of his most intimate friends. Of his former domestics, four only were permitted to attend him; two pages, his physician, and his librarian; the last of whom was employed in the care of a valuable collection of books, the gift of the empress, who studied the inclinations as well as the interest of her friend. In the room of these faithful servants, an household was formed, such indeed as became the dignity of a Cæsar; but it was filled with a crowd of slaves, destitute, and perhaps incapable of any attachment for their new master, to whom, for the most part, they were either unknown or suspected. His want of experience might require the assistance of a wise council; but the minute instructions which regulated the service of his table, and the distribution of his hours, were adapted to a youth still under the discipline of his preceptors, rather than to the situation of a prince intrusted with the conduct of an important war. If he aspired to deserve the esteem of his subjects, he was checked by the fear of displeasing his sovereign; and even the fruits of his marriage-bed were blasted by the jealous artifices of Eusebia.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Ammianus, l. xv. c. 8. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 137, 138.  
<sup>33</sup> Julian, ad S. P. Q. A. p. 275, 276. Lib. nius, Orat. x. p. 268.  
Julian did not yield till the gods had signified their will by repeated  
visions and omens.

<sup>34</sup> Julian himself  
stances of his own  
plenty at being thus  
every object appeared strange and hostile.

<sup>35</sup> See Ammianus Marcellinus, l. vi. c. 8. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 139.  
Aurelius Victor, Victor Junius in Eutrop. x. lib. ii.

<sup>36</sup> Militares omnes horrendo fragore scuta gentis sudentes; quod  
est prosperitatis indicium plenum, nam contra eum hastas clipei  
feruntur, iræ documentum est et odoris. Ammianus adds, with a  
more distinction, Euræque ut potius reverentia servarunt, ut supra  
modum laudabant nec infra quam d. erant.

<sup>37</sup> Εὐχόμενος τὸν ποταμὸν ἅμα αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν. The word purple,  
which Homer had used as a value but common epithet for death, was  
applied by Julian to express, very aptly, the nature and object of his  
own apprehensions.

<sup>38</sup> He is, in the most pathetic terms (p. 277, "the distresses

of his new situation. The provision for his table was however so de-  
gout and sumptuous, that the young philosopher rejected it with  
disdain. Quam legeret libellum assidue, quem Constantius ut  
privilegium ad studia mittens manū suā concessisset, prælosum  
disponens quod in convivio Cæsaris impendi deberet, Phœnaces  
vultum et sumen exiguū reitit inferni. Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xvi.  
c. 5.

<sup>39</sup> It is not necessary to suppose that the Emperor of the East had above  
all things a jealousy of the Emperor of the West.

ed immediately, quod obstricta corrupta mercede, mox natus  
præseco plusquam convenerat umbilico necavit. She accompanied  
the emperor and empress in their journey to Rome, and the latter,  
quæstum venenum bibere per fraudem illexit, ut quodcumque con-  
tingeret, 10. Our  
impugned

herself, who, on this occasion alone, seems to have been unmindful of the tenderness of her sex, and the generosity of her character. The memory of his father and of his brothers reminded Julian of his own danger, and his apprehensions were increased by the recent and

Fatal end of  
Sylvanus  
A.D. 355,  
September.

unworthy fate of Sylvanus. In the summer which preceded his own elevation, that general had been chosen to deliver Gaul from the tyranny of the barbarians; but Sylvanus soon discovered that he had left his most dangerous enemies in the Imperial court. A dexterous informer, countenanced by several of the principal ministers, procured from him some recommendatory letters, and erasing the whole of the contents, except the signature, filled up the vacant parchment with matters of high and treasonable import. By the industry and courage of his friends, the fraud was however detected, and in a great council of the civil and military officers, held in the presence of the emperor himself, the innocence of Sylvanus was publicly acknowledged. But the discovery came too late; the report of the calumny, and the hasty seizure of his estate, had already provoked the indignant chief to the rebellion of which he was so unjustly accused. He assumed the purple at his head-quarters of Cologne, and his active powers appeared to menace Italy with an invasion, and Milan with a siege. In this emergency, Ursicinus, a general of equal rank, regained, by an act of treachery, the favour which he had lost by his eminent services in the East. Exasperated, as he might speciously allege, by injuries of a similar nature, he hastened with a few followers to join the standard, and to betray the confidence, of his too credulous friend. After a reign of only twenty-eight days, Sylvanus was assassinated; the soldiers who, without any criminal intentions, had blindly followed the example of their leader, immediately returned to their allegiance; and the flatterers of Constantius celebrated the wisdom and felicity of the monarch, who had extinguished a civil war without the hazard of a battle.<sup>40</sup>

Constantius  
visits Rome.  
A.D. 357,  
April 26.

The protection of the Rhetian frontier, and the persecution of the Catholic church, detained Constantius in Italy above eighteen months after the departure of Julian. Before the emperor returned into the East, he indulged his pride and curiosity in a visit to the ancient capital.<sup>41</sup> He proceeded from Milan to Rome along the Æmilian and Flaminian ways; and as soon as he approached within forty miles of the city, the march of a prince who had never vanquished a foreign enemy, assumed the appearance of a triumphal procession. His splendid train was composed of all the ministers of luxury; but in a time of profound peace, he was unopposed by the glittering arms of the numerous squadrons of his guards and cuirassiers. Their streaming banners

of silk, embossed with gold, and shaped in the form of dragons, waved round the person of the emperor. Constantius sat alone in a lofty car resplendent with gold and precious gems; and, except when he bowed his head to pass under the gates of the cities, he affected a stately demeanour of inflexible, and, as it might seem, of insensible gravity. The severe discipline of the Persian youth had been introduced by the eunuchs into the Imperial palace; and such were the habits of patience which they had inculcated, that during a slow and sultry march, he was never seen to move his hand towards his face, or to turn his eyes either to the right or to the left. He was received by the magistrates and senate of Rome; and the emperor surveyed, with attention, the civil honours of the republic, and the consular images of the noble families. The streets were lined with an innumerable multitude. Their repeated acclamations expressed their joy at beholding, after an absence of thirty-two years, the sacred person of their sovereign; and Constantius himself expressed, with some pleasantry, his affected surprise that the human race should thus suddenly be collected on the same spot. The son of Constantine was lodged in the ancient palace of Augustus; he presided in the senate, harangued the people from the tribunal which Cicero had so often ascended, assisted with unusual courtesy at the games of the circus, and accepted the crowns of gold, as well as the panegyrics which had been prepared for the ceremony by the deputies of the principal cities. His short visit of thirty days was employed in viewing the monuments of art and power, which were scattered over the seven hills and the interjacent valleys. He admired the awful majesty of the capitol, the vast extent of the baths of Caracalla and Diocletian, the severe simplicity of the Pantheon, the massy greatness of the amphitheatre of Titus, the elegant architecture of the theatre of Pompey and the Temple of Peace, and, above all, the stately structure of the Forum and column of Trajan; acknowledging, that the voice of fame, so prone to invent and to magnify, had made an inadequate report of the metropolis of the world. The traveller, who has contemplated the ruins of ancient Rome, may conceive some imperfect idea of the sentiments which they must have inspired, when they reared their heads in the splendour of unsullied beauty.

The satisfaction which Constantius had received from this journey A new obelisk. excited him to the generous emulation of bestowing on the Romans some memorial of his own gratitude and munificence. His first idea was to imitate the equestrian and colossal statue which he had seen in the Forum of Trajan; but when he had maturely weighed the difficulties of the execution,<sup>42</sup> he chose rather to embellish the capital by the gift of an Egyptian obelisk. In a remote but polished age, which seems to have preceded the invention of alpha-

<sup>40</sup> Ammianus (xv. 5) was perfectly well informed of the conduct and fate of Sylvanus. He himself was one of the few followers who attended Ursicinus in his dangerous enterprise.

<sup>41</sup> For the particulars of the visit of Constantius to Rome, see Ammianus, l. xvi. c. 10. We have only to add, that the emperor was accompanied by several of his ministers, and that he composed his first oration for this occasion.

<sup>42</sup> Herodotus, a fugitive prince of Persia, observed to the emperor

that if he made such a horse, he must think of preparing a similar statue (the Forum of Trajan). Another saying of Herodotus is recorded, "that one should not find it easy to find that which is called in Rome as well as elsewhere." It is plain, that the saying of the text of Ammianus, *displacement instead of the crown*, is a correction of the word of Herodotus. The author seems to have meant that

betical writing, a great number of these obelisks had been erected, in the cities of Thebes and Heliopolis, by the ancient sovereigns of Egypt, in a just confidence that the simplicity of their form, and the hardness of their substance, would resist the injuries of time and violence.<sup>43</sup> Several of these extraordinary columns had been transported to Rome by Augustus and his successors, as the most durable monuments of their power and victory;<sup>44</sup> but there remained one obelisk, which, from its size or sanctity, escaped for a long time the rapacious vanity of the conquerors. It was designed by Constantine to adorn his new city;<sup>45</sup> and, after being removed by his order from the pedestal where it stood before the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, was floated down the Nile to Alexandria. The death of Constantine suspended the execution of his purpose, and this obelisk was destined by his son to the ancient capital of the empire. A vessel of uncommon strength and capaciousness was provided to convey this enormous weight of granite, at least an hundred and fifteen feet in length, from the banks of the Nile to those of the Tyber. The obelisk of Constantius was landed about three miles from the city, and elevated, by the efforts of art and labour, in the great Circus of Rome.<sup>46</sup>

The departure of Constantius from Rome was hastened by the alarming intelligence of the distress and danger of the Illyrian provinces. The distractions of civil war, and the irreparable loss which the Roman legions had sustained in the battle of Mursa, exposed those countries, almost without defence, to the light cavalry of the barbarians; and particularly to the inroads of the Quadi, a fierce and powerful nation, who seem to have exchanged the institutions of Germany for the arms and military arts of their Sarmatian allies.<sup>47</sup> The garrisons of the frontier were insufficient to check their progress; and the indolent monarch was at length compelled to assemble, from the extremities of his dominions, the flower of the Palatine troops, to take the field in person, and to employ a whole campaign, with the preceding autumn and the ensuing spring, in the serious prosecution of the war. The emperor passed the Danube on a bridge of boats, cut in pieces all that encountered his march, penetrated into the heart of the country of the Quadi, and severely retaliated the calamities which they had inflicted on the Roman province. The dismayed barbarians were soon reduced to sue for peace: they offered the restitution of his captive subjects, as an atonement for the past, and the noblest hostages as a pledge of their future conduct. The generous courtesy which was shown to the first among their chieftains who implored the clemency of Constantius, encouraged the more timid, or the more obstinate, to imitate their

example; and the Imperial camp was crowded with the princes and ambassadors of the most distant tribes, who occupied the plains of the Lesser Poland, and who might have deemed themselves secure behind the lofty ridge of the Carpathian mountains. While Constantius gave laws to the barbarians beyond the Danube, he distinguished, with specious compassion, the Sarmatian exiles, who had been expelled from their native country by the rebellion of their slaves, and who formed a very considerable accession to the power of the Quadi. The emperor, embracing a generous but artful system of policy, released the Sarmatians from the bands of this humiliating dependence, and restored them, by a separate treaty, to the dignity of a nation united under the government of a king, the friend and ally of the republic. He declared his resolution of ascertaining the justice of their cause, and of securing the peace of the provinces by the extirpation, or at least the banishment, of the Limigantes, whose manners were still infected with the vices of their servile origin. The execution of this design was attended with more difficulty than glory. The territory of the Limigantes was protected against the Romans by the Danube, against the hostile barbarians by the Teyss. The marshy lands, which lay between those rivers, and were often covered by their inundations, formed an intricate wilderness, pervious only to the inhabitants, who were acquainted with its secret paths and inaccessible fortresses. On the approach of Constantius, the Limigantes tried the efficacy of prayers, of fraud, and of arms; but he sternly rejected their supplications, defeated their rude stratagems, and repelled with skill and firmness the efforts of their irregular valour. One of their most warlike tribes, established in a small island towards the conflux of the Teyss and the Danube, consented to pass the river with the intention of surprising the emperor during the security of an amicable conference. They soon became the victims of the perfidy which they meditated. Encircled on every side, trampled down by the cavalry, slaughtered by the swords of the legions, they disclaimed to ask for mercy; and with an undaunted countenance still grasped their weapons in the agonies of death. After this victory a considerable body of Romans was landed on the opposite banks of the Danube; the Taifalæ, a Gothic tribe engaged in the service of the empire, invaded the Limigantes on the side of the Teyss; and their former masters, the free Sarmatians, animated by hope and revenge, penetrated through the hilly country into the heart of their ancient possessions. A general conflagration revealed the huts of the barbarians, which were seated in the depth of the wilderness; and the soldier fought with confidence on marshy ground, which it was dangerous for him to tread. In this extremity

<sup>43</sup> When Germanicus visited the ancient monuments of Thebes, the edict of the priests explained to him the meaning of these hieroglyphics. Tacit. *Annal.* ii. c. 60. But it seems probable, that before the useful invention of an alphabet, these natural or arbitrary signs were the common characters of the Egyptian nation. See Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*, vol. iii. p. 69. 245.

<sup>44</sup> See *Plin. Hist. Natur.* l. xxxv. c. 14, 15.  
<sup>45</sup> Ammian. *Marcellin.* l. xxi. c. 1. He gives us a Greek interpretation of the hieroglyphics, and his commentator Lindenbrog us adds

a Latin inscription, which, in twenty verses of the age of Constantius, contains short histories of the obelisks.

<sup>46</sup> See *Dionys. Roma Antiqua*, l. iii. c. 14, l. iv. c. 12, and the learned, though confused, Dissertation of Barceus on Obelisks, inserted in the fourth volume of Grævius's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 1497-1506. This Dissertation is dedicated to Pope Sixtus V., who erected the obelisk of Constantius in the square before the patriarchal church of St. John Lateran.

<sup>47</sup> The events of this Quadian and Sarmatian war are related by Ammianus, xxi. 10. xxi. 12, 15. xxi. 11.

the bravest of the Limigantes were resolved to die in arms, rather than to yield : but the milder sentiment, enforced by the authority of their elders, at length prevailed ; and the suppliant crowd, followed by their wives and children, repaired to the Imperial camp, to learn their fate from the mouth of the conqueror. After celebrating his own clemency, which was still inclined to pardon their repeated crimes, and to spare the remnant of a guilty nation, Constantius assigned for the place of their exile a remote country, where they might enjoy a safe and honourable repose. The Limigantes obeyed with reluctance ; but before they could reach, at least before they could occupy, their destined habitations, they returned to the banks of the Danube, exaggerating the hardships of their situation, and requesting, with fervent professions of fidelity, that the emperor would grant them an undisturbed settlement within the limits of the Roman provinces. Instead of consulting his own experience of their incurable perfidy, Constantius listened to his flatterers, who were ready to represent the honour and advantage of accepting a colony of soldiers, at a time when it was much easier to obtain the pecuniary contributions than the military service of the subjects of the empire. The Limigantes were permitted to pass the Danube ; and the emperor gave audience to the multitude in a large plain near the modern city of Buda. They surrounded the tribunal, and seemed to hear with respect an oration full of mildness and dignity ; when one of the barbarians, casting his shoe into the air, exclaimed with a loud voice, *Morda ! Morda !* a word of defiance, which was received as the signal of the tumult. They rushed with fury to seize the person of the emperor ; his royal throne and golden couch were pillaged by these rude hands ; but the faithful defence of his guards, who died at his feet, allowed him a moment to mount a fleet horse, and to escape from the confusion. The disgrace which had been incurred by a treacherous surprise was soon retrieved by the numbers and discipline of the Romans ; and the combat was only terminated by the extinction of the name and nation of the Limigantes. The free Sarmatians were reinstated in the possession of their ancient seats ; and although Constantius distrusted the levity of their character, he entertained some hopes that a sense of gratitude might influence their future conduct. He had remarked the lofty stature and obsequious demeanour of Zizus, one of the modest of their chiefs. He conferred on him the title of King, and Zizus proved that he was not unworthy to reign, by a sincere and lasting attachment to the interest of his benefactor, who, after this splendid success, received the name of *Sarmatians* from the acclamations of his victorious army.<sup>40</sup>

While the Roman emperor and the Persian monarch, at the distance of three thousand miles, defended

their extreme limits against the barbarians of the Danube and of the Oxus, their intermediate frontier experienced the vicissitudes of a languid war, and a precarious truce. Two of the eastern ministers of Constantius, the praetorian praefect Ansonian, whose abilities were disgraced by the want of truth and integrity, and Cassian duke of Mesopotamia, a hardy and veteran soldier, opened a secret negotiation with the satrap Tamsapor.<sup>43</sup> These overtures of peace, translated into the servile and flattering language of Asia, were transmitted to the camp of the Great King, who resolved to signify, by an ambassador, the terms which he was inclined to grant to the suppliant Romans. Narses, whom he invested with that character, was honourably received in his passage through Antioch and Constantinople; he reached Sirinnum after a long journey, and, at his first audience, respectfully unfolded the silken veil which covered the haughty epistle of his sovereign. Sapor, King of kings, and Brother of the Sun and Moon (such were the lofty titles affected by Oriental vanity), expressed his satisfaction that his brother, Constantius Caesar, had been taught wisdom by adversity. As the lawful successor of Darius Hystaspes, Sapor asserted, that the river Strymon, in Macedonia, was the true and ancient boundary of his empire; declaring, however, that, as an evidence of his moderation, he would content himself with the provinces of Armenia and Mesopotamia, which had been fraudulently extorted from his ancestors. He alleged, that, without the restitution of these disputed countries, it was impossible to establish any treaty on a solid and permanent basis; and he arrogantly threatened, that if his ambassador reiterated in vain, he was prepared to take the field in the spring, and to support the justice of his cause by the strength of his invincible arms. Narses, who was endowed with the most polite and amiable manners, endeavoured, as far as was consistent with his duty, to soften the harshness of the message.<sup>44</sup> Both the style and substance were maturely weighed in the Imperial council, and he was dismissed with the following answer: "Constantius had a right to declaim the officiousness of his ministers, who had acted without any specific orders from the throne; he was not, however, averse to an equal and honourable treaty; but it was highly indecent, as well as absurd, to propose to the sole and victorious emperor of the Roman world, the same conditions of peace which he had indignantly rejected at the time when his power was contracted within the narrow limits of the East; the chance of arms was uncertain; and Sapor should recollect, that if the Romans had sometimes been vanquished in battle, they had almost always been successful in the event of the war." A few days after the departure of Narses, three ambassadors were sent to the court of Sapor, who was already returned from the Scythian expedition to his ordinary residence of Ctesiphon. A count, a notary, and a scribe, had been selected

[illegible][illegible]



for this important commission; and Constantius, who was secretly anxious for the conclusion of the peace, entertained some hopes that the dignity of the first of these ministers, the dexterity of the second, and the rhetoric of the third,<sup>51</sup> would persuade the Persian monarch to abate of the rigour of his demands. But the progress of their negotiation was opposed and defeated by the hostile arts of Antoninus,<sup>52</sup> a Roman subject of Syria, who had fled from oppression, and was admitted into the councils of Sapor, and even to the royal table, where, according to the custom of the Persians, the most important business was frequently discussed.<sup>53</sup> The dexterous fugitive promoted his interest by the same conduct which gratified his revenge. He incessantly urged the ambition of his new master, to embrace the favourable opportunity when the bravest of the Palatine troops were employed with the emperor in a distant war on the Danube. He pressed Sapor to invade the exhausted and defenceless provinces of the East, with the numerous armies of Persia, now fortified by the alliance and accession of the fiercest barbarians. The ambassadors of Rome retired without success, and a second embassy, of a still more honourable rank, was detained in strict confinement, and threatened either with death or exile.

The military historian,<sup>54</sup> who was himself despatched to observe the army of the Persians, as they were preparing to construct a bridge of boats over the Tigris, beheld from an eminence the plain of Assyria, as far as the edge of the horizon, covered with men, with horses, and with arms. Sapor appeared in the front, conspicuous by the splendour of his purple. On his left hand, the place of honour among the Orientals, Grumbates, king of the Chionites, displayed the stern countenance of an aged and renowned warrior. The monarch had reserved a similar place on his right hand for the king of the Albanians, who led his independent tribes from the shores of the Caspian. The satraps and generals were distributed according to their several ranks, and the whole army, besides the numerous train of Oriental luxury, consisted of more than one hundred thousand effective men, inured to fatigue, and selected from the bravest nations of Asia. The Roman deserter, who in some measure guided the councils of Sapor, had prudently advised, that, instead of wasting the summer in tedious and difficult sieges, he should march directly to the Euphrates, and press forwards without delay to seize the feeble and wealthy metropolis of Syria. But the Persians were no sooner advanced into the plains of Mesopotamia, than they discovered that every precaution had been used

which could retard their progress, or defeat their design. The inhabitants, with their cattle, were secured in places of strength, the green forage throughout the country was set on fire, the fords of the river were fortified by sharp stakes; military engines were planted on the opposite banks, and a seasonable swell of the waters of the Euphrates deterred the barbarians from attempting the ordinary passage of the bridge of Thapsacus. Their skilful guide, changing his plan of operations, then conducted the army by a longer circuit, but through a fertile territory, towards the head of the Euphrates, where the infant river is reduced to a shallow and accessible stream. Sapor overlooked, with prudent disdain, the strength of Nisibis; but as he passed under the walls of Amida, he resolved to try whether the majesty of his presence would not awe the garrison into immediate submission. The sacrilegious insult of a random dart, which glanced against the royal tiara, convinced him of his error; and the indignant monarch listened with impatience to the advice of his ministers, who conjured him not to sacrifice the success of his ambition to the gratification of his resentment. The following day Grumbates advanced towards the gates with a select body of troops, and required the instant surrender of the city, as the only atonement which could be accepted for such an act of rashness and insolence. His proposals were answered by a general discharge, and his only son, a beautiful and valiant youth, was pierced through the heart by a javelin, shot from one of the balistæ. The funeral of the prince of the Chionites was celebrated according to the rites of his country; and the grief of his aged father was alleviated by the solemn promise of Sapor, that the guilty city of Amida should serve as a funeral pile to expiate the death, and to perpetuate the memory, of his son.

The ancient city of Amid or <sup>Siege of Amida.</sup> Amida,<sup>55</sup> which sometimes assumes the provincial appellation of Diarbekir,<sup>56</sup> is advantageously situate in a fertile plain, watered by the natural and artificial channels of the Tigris, of which the least inconsiderable stream bends in a semicircular form round the eastern part of the city. The emperor Constantius had recently conferred on Amida the honour of his own name, and the additional fortifications of strong walls and lofty towers. It was provided with an arsenal of military engines, and the ordinary garrison had been reinforced to the amount of seven legions, when the place was invested by the arras of Sapor.<sup>57</sup> His first and most sanguine hopes depended on the success of a general assault. To the several nations which followed his standard their respective posts were assigned;

<sup>51</sup> Ammian. l. x. c. 5. et l. xii. c. 10. The sophist, or philosopher (soyouth), was Eudaimon (Eudæmon), and the friend of the emperor.

<sup>52</sup> Ammian. xvi. c. 5. The deceitful and respectful behaviour of Antoninus towards the Roman general sets him in a very interesting light; and Ammianus himself speaks of the traitor with some compassion and esteem.

<sup>53</sup> This circumstance, as it is noticed by Ammianus, serves to prove the veracity of Herodotus (l. i. c. 127), and the pertinacity of the Persian manners. In every age the Persians have been addicted to intemperance, and the words of Strabo (v. c. 10) are confirmed by the law of Mahomet. Brisson de Regno Pers. l. i. p. 162-172, and Cl. Ardin, Voyage en Perse, tom. iv. p. 36.

<sup>54</sup> Ammian. l. xii. c. 6, 7, 8, 10.

<sup>55</sup> The operations of the siege of Amida are very minutely described by Ammianus (l. xii. c. 9), who acted an honourable part in the defence, and escaped with difficulty, when the city was stormed by the Persians.

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the south to the Vertæ; the north to the Albanians; the east to the Chionites, inflamed with grief and indignation; the west to the Segestans, the bravest of his warriors, who covered their front with a formidable line of Indian elephants.<sup>58</sup> The Persians, on every side, supported their efforts, and animated their courage; and the monarch himself, careless of his rank and safety, displayed, in the prosecution of the siege, the ardour of a youthful soldier. After an obstinate combat, the barbarians were repulsed; they incessantly returned to the charge; they were again driven back with a dreadful slaughter, and two rebel legions of Gauls, who had been banished into the East, signalled their undisciplined courage by a nocturnal sally into the heart of the Persian camp. In one of the fiercest of these repeated assaults, Amida was betrayed by the treachery of a deserter, who indicated to the barbarians a secret and neglected staircase, scooped out of the rock that hangs over the stream of the Tigris. Seventy chosen archers of the royal guard ascended in silence to the third story of a lofty tower, which commanded the precipice; they elevated on high the Persian banner, the signal of confidence to the assailants, and of dismay to the besieged; and if this devoted band could have maintained their post a few minutes longer, the reduction of the place might have been purchased by the sacrifice of their lives. After Sapor had tried, without success, the efficacy of force and of stratagem, he had recourse to the slower but more certain operations of a regular siege, in the conduct of which he was instructed by the skill of the Roman deserters. The trenches were opened at a convenient distance, and the troops destined for that service advanced under the portable cover of strong hurdles, to fill up the ditch, and undermine the foundations of the walls. Wooden towers were at the same time constructed, and moved forwards on wheels, till the soldiers, who were provided with every species of missile weapons, could engage almost on level ground with the troops who defended the rampart. Every mode of resistance which art could suggest, or courage could execute, was employed in the defence of Amida, and the works of Sapor were more than once destroyed by the fire of the Romans. But the resources of a besieged city may be exhausted. The Persians repaired their losses, and pushed their approaches; a large breach was made by the battering-ram, and the strength of the garrison, wasted by the sword and by disease, yielded to the fury of the assault. The soldiers, the citizens, their wives, their children, all who had not time to escape through

the opposite gate, were involved by the conquerors in a promiscuous massacre.

But the ruin of Amida was the *of Singara, &c.* safety of the Roman provinces. As *A. D. 360.* soon as the first transports of victory had subsided, Sapor was at leisure to reflect, that to elavise a disobedient city, he had lost the flower of his troops, and the most favourable season for conquest.<sup>59</sup> Thirty thousand of his veterans had fallen under the walls of Amida, during the continuance of a siege which lasted seventy-three days; and the disappointed monarch returned to his capital with affected triumph and secret mortification. It is more than probable, that the inconstancy of his barbarian allies was tempted to relinquish a war in which they had encountered such unexpected difficulties; and that the aged king of the Chionites, satiated with revenge, turned away with horror from a scene of action where he had been deprived of the hope of his family and nation. The strength as well as spirit of the army with which Sapor took the field in the ensuing spring, was no longer equal to the unbounded views of his ambition. Instead of aspiring to the conquest of the East, he was obliged to content himself with the reduction of two fortified cities of Mesopotamia, Singara and Bezabde;<sup>60</sup> the one situate in the midst of a sandy desert, the other in a small peninsula, surrounded almost on every side by the deep and rapid stream of the Tigris. Five Roman legions, of the diminutive size to which they had been reduced in the age of Constantine, were made prisoners, and sent into remote captivity on the extreme confines of Persia. After dismantling the walls of Singara, the conqueror abandoned that solitary and sequestered place; but he carefully restored the fortifications of Bezabde, and fixed in that important post a garrison or colony of veterans, amply supplied with every means of defence, and animated by high sentiments of honour and fidelity. Towards the close of the campaign, the arms of Sapor incurred some disgrace by an unsuccessful enterprise against Virtha, or Tecrit, a strong, or, as it was universally esteemed till the age of Tamerlane, an impregnable fortress of the independent Arabs.<sup>61</sup>

The defence of the East against *Conduct of the Romans.* the arms of Sapor required, and would have exercised, the abilities of the most consummate general; and it seemed fortunate for the state, that it was the actual province of the brave Ursicinus, who alone deserved the confidence of the soldiers and people. In the hour of danger, Ursicinus<sup>62</sup> was removed from his station by the intrigues of the eunuchs; and

<sup>58</sup> Of these four nations, the Albanians are too weak to require any description. The Segestans inhabited a large tract of country, which still preserves their name, to the south of Behar, and the west of Hindustan (see Geography, by N. Pons, p. 177, and D. H. B. 4, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 797). Notwithstanding the boasted victory of Bahram (vol. 1. p. 110), the Segestans, almost five years afterwards, appear as an independent nation, the allies of Persia. We are ignorant of the situation of the Vertæ and Chionites, but I am inclined to place them (at least the latter) towards the confines of India and Sindh. See Ammian. xx. 9.

<sup>59</sup> Ammianus has marked the chronology of this war by three years, which do not perfectly coincide with each other, or with the series of the history. The corn was ripe when Sapor invaded Mesopotamia (Am. l. c. 10). The agreement of the three dates, which is the only one that happens in July

and August. Plin. Hist. Nat. v. 21. Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, tom. 1. p. 696. 3. When Sapor had taken Amida, after a siege of seventy three days, the autumn was far advanced. <sup>60</sup> Assume principally hadramum improbo sidere exortu. To reconcile these apparent contradictions, we must allow for some delay in the Persian king, some inactivity in the historian, and some disorder in the MSS.

<sup>61</sup> The account of these sieges is given by Ammianus, xx. 6, 7. <sup>62</sup> Ursicinus, the most and which a soldier was ed, yet the whole 34-

the military command of the East was bestowed, by the same influence, on Sabinian, a wealthy and subtle veteran, who had attained the infirmities, without acquiring the experience, of age. By a second order, which issued from the same jealous and inconstant counsels, Ursicinus was again despatched to the frontier of Mesopotamia, and condemned to sustain the labours of a war, the honours of which had been transferred to his unworthy rival. Sabinian fixed his indolent station under the walls of Edessa; and while he amused himself with the idle parade of military exercise, and moved to the sound of flutes in the Pyrrhic dance, the public defence was abandoned to the boldness and diligence of the former general of the East. But whenever Ursicinus recommended any vigorous plan of operations; when he proposed, at the head of a light and active army, to wheel round the foot of the mountains, to intercept the convoys of the enemy, to harass the wide extent of the Persian lines, and to relieve the distress of Amida; the timid and envious commander alleged, that he was restrained by his positive orders from endangering the safety of the troops. Amida was at length taken; its bravest defenders, who had escaped the sword of the barbarians, died in the Roman camp by the hand of the executioner; and Ursicinus himself, after supporting the disgrace of a partial enquiry, was punished for the misconduct of Sabinian by the loss of his military rank. But Constantius soon experienced the truth of the prediction which honest indignation had extorted from his injured lieutenant, that as long as such maxims of government were suffered to prevail, the emperor himself would find it no easy task to defend his eastern dominions from the invasion of a foreign enemy. When he had subdued or pacified the barbarians of the Danube, Constantius proceeded by slow marches into the East; and after he had wept over the smoking ruins of Amida, he formed, with a powerful army, the siege of Bezabde. The walls were shaken by the reiterated efforts of the most enormous of the battering-rams; the town was reduced to the last extremity; but it was still defended by the patient and intrepid valour of the garrison, till the approach of the rainy season obliged the emperor to raise the siege, and ingloriously to retreat into his winter-quarters at Antioch.<sup>63</sup> The pride of Constantius, and the ingenuity of his courtiers, were at a loss to discover any materials for panegyric in the events of the Persian war; while the glory of his cousin Julian, to whose military command he had intrusted the provinces of Gaul, was proclaimed to the world in the simple and concise narrative of his exploits.

Invasion of  
Gaul by the  
Germans.

In the blind fury of civil discord, Constantius had abandoned to the barbarians of Germany the countries

of Gaul, which still acknowledged the authority of his rival. A numerous swarm of Franks and Alemanni were invited to cross the Rhine by presents and promises, by the hopes of spoil, and by a perpetual grant of all the territories which they should be able to subdue.<sup>64</sup> But the emperor, who for a temporary service had thus imprudently provoked the rapacious spirit of the barbarians, soon discovered and lamented the difficulty of dismissing these formidable allies, after they had tasted the richness of the Roman soil. Regardless of the nice distinction of loyalty and rebellion, these undisciplined robbers treated as their natural enemies all the subjects of the empire, who possessed any property which they were desirous of acquiring. Forty-five flourishing cities, Tongres, Cologne, Treves, Worms, Spire, Strasburgh, &c. besides a far greater number of towns and villages, were pillaged, and for the most part reduced to ashes. The barbarians of Germany, still faithful to the maxims of their ancestors, abhorred the confinement of walls, to which they applied the odious names of prisons and sepulchres; and fixing their independent habitations on the banks of rivers, the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Meuse, they secured themselves against the danger of a surprise, by a rude and hasty fortification of large trees, which were felled and thrown across the roads. The Alemanni were established in the modern countries of Alsace and Lorraine; the Franks occupied the island of the Batavians, together with an extensive district of Brabant, which was then known by the appellation of Toxandria,<sup>65</sup> and may deserve to be considered as the original seat of their Gallic monarchy.<sup>66</sup> From the sources, to the mouth, of the Rhine, the conquests of the Germans extended above forty miles to the west of that river, over a country peopled by colonies of their own name and nation; and the scene of their devastations was three times more extensive than that of their conquests. At a still greater distance the open towns of Gaul were deserted, and the inhabitants of the fortified cities, who trusted to their strength and vigilance, were obliged to content themselves with such supplies of corn as they could raise on the vacant land within the enclosure of their walls. The diminished legions, destitute of pay and provisions, of arms and discipline, trembled at the approach, and even at the name, of the barbarians.

Under these melancholy circumstances, Conduct of  
Julian. an unexperienced youth was appointed to save and to govern the provinces of Gaul, or rather, as he expresses it himself, to exhibit the vain image of Imperial greatness. The retired scholastic education of Julian, in which he had been more conversant with books than with arms, with the dead than with the living, left him in profound ignorance of the

<sup>63</sup> Ammian. xx. 11. Omissis vano incepto, hematurus Antiochie redit in Syriam ærummosam, perperis et ulcerum sed et atrocis, duque defenda. It is *thus* that James Gronovius has restored an obscure passage; and he thinks, that this correction alone would have deserved a new edition of his author; whose sense may now be darkly perceived. I expected some additional light from the recent labours of the learned Ernestus (Lipsæ, 1775.)

<sup>64</sup> The ravages of the Germans, and the distress of Gaul, may be collected from Julian himself. Orat. ad S. F. Q. Athen. p. 277. Ammian. xv. 11. Libanius, Orat. x. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 140. Sozomen, l. iii. c. 1.

<sup>65</sup> Ammianus, xvi. 8. This name seems to be derived from the Toxandria of Phry, and very frequently occurs in the histories of the

middle age. Toxandria was a country of woods and morasses, which extended from the neighbourhood of Tongres to the conflux of the Vahel and the Rhine. See Valerius, Notæ. Galliar. p. 558.

<sup>66</sup> The paradox of P. Daniel, that the Franks never obtained any permanent settlement on this side of the Rhine before the time of Clovis, is refuted with much learning and good sense by M. Huet, who has proved, by a chain of evidence, their uninterrupted possession of

practical arts of war and government; and when he awkwardly repeated some military exercise which it was necessary for him to learn, he exclaimed with a sigh, "O Plato, Plato, what a task for a philosopher!" Yet even this speculative philosophy, which men of business are too apt to despise, had filled the mind of Julian with the noblest precepts, and the most shining examples; had animated him with the love of virtue, the desire of fame, and the contempt of death. The habits of temperance recommended in the schools, are still more essential in the severe discipline of a camp. The simple wants of nature regulated the measure of his food and sleep. Rejecting with disdain the delicacies provided for his table, he satisfied his appetite with the coarse and common fare which was allotted to the meanest soldiers. During the rigour of a Gallic winter he never suffered a fire in his bedchamber; and after a short and interrupted slumber, he frequently rose in the middle of the night from a carpet spread on the floor, to despatch any urgent business, to visit his rounds, or to steal a few moments for the prosecution of his favourite studies.<sup>67</sup> The precepts of eloquence, which he had hitherto practised on fancied topics of declamation, were more usefully applied to excite or to assuage the passions of an armed multitude; and although Julian, from his early habits of conversation and literature, was more familiarly acquainted with the beauties of the Greek language, he had attained a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue.<sup>68</sup> Since Julian was not originally designed for the character of a legislator, or a judge, it is probable that the civil jurisprudence of the Romans had not engaged any considerable share of his attention; but he derived from his philosophic studies an inflexible regard for justice, tempered by a disposition to clemency; the knowledge of the general principles of equity and evidence, and the faculty of patiently investigating the most intricate and tedious questions which could be proposed for his discussion. The measures of policy, and the operations of war, must submit to the various accidents of circumstance and character, and the unpractised student will often be perplexed in the application of the most perfect theory. But in the acquisition of this important science, Julian was assisted by the active vigour of his own genius, as well as by the wisdom and experience of Sallust, an officer of rank, who soon conceived a sincere attachment for a prince so worthy of his friendship; and whose incorruptible integrity was adorned by the talent of insinuating the hardest truths without wounding the delicacy of a royal ear.<sup>69</sup>

Immediately after Julian had received the purple at Milan, he was sent into Gaul, with a feeble retinue of three hundred and sixty soldiers. At Vienna, where he passed a painful and anxious winter,

in the hands of those ministers to whom Constantius had intrusted the direction of his conduct, the Cæsar was informed of the siege and deliverance of Autun. That large and ancient city, protected only by a ruined wall and pusillanimous garrison, was saved by the generous resolution of a few veterans, who resumed their arms for the defence of their country. In his march from Autun, through the heart of the Gallic provinces, Julian embraced with ardour the earliest opportunity of signalising his courage. At the head of a small body of archers, and heavy cavalry, he preferred the shorter but the more dangerous of two roads; and sometimes eluding, and sometimes resisting, the attacks of the barbarians, who were masters of the field, he arrived with honour and safety at the camp near Rheims, where the Roman troops had been ordered to assemble. The aspect of their young prince revived the drooping spirit of the soldiers, and they marched from Rheims in search of the enemy, with a confidence which had almost proved fatal to them. The Alemanni, familiarised to the knowledge of the country, secretly collected their scattered forces, and seizing the opportunity of a dark and rainy day, poured with unexpected fury on the rear-guard of the Romans. Before the inevitable disorder could be remedied, two legions were destroyed; and Julian was taught by experience, that caution and vigilance are the most important lessons of the art of war. In a second and more successful action, he recovered and established his military fame; but as the agility of the barbarians saved them from the pursuit, his victory was neither bloody nor decisive. He advanced, however, to the banks of the Rhine, surveyed the ruins of Cologne, convinced himself of the difficulties of the war, and retreated on the approach of winter, discontented with the court, with his army, and with his own success.<sup>70</sup> The power of the enemy was yet unbroken; and the Cæsar had no sooner separated his troops and fixed his own quarters at Sens, in the centre of Gaul, than he was surrounded and besieged by a numerous host of Germans. Reduced in this extremity to the resources of his own mind, he displayed a prudent intrepidity which compensated for all the deficiencies of the place and garrison; and the barbarians, at the end of thirty days, were obliged to retire with disappointed rage.

The conscious pride of Julian, who was indebted only to his sword for this signal deliverance, was embittered by the reflection, that he was abandoned, betrayed, and perhaps devoted to destruction, by those who were bound to assist him by every tie of honour and fidelity. Marcellus, master-general of the cavalry in Gaul, interpreting too strictly the jealous orders of the court, beheld with supine indifference the distress of Julian,

His second campaign.  
A.D. 357.

<sup>67</sup> The private life of Julian in Gaul, and the severe discipline which he embraced, are displayed by Ammianus (xvi. 5.), who professes to praise, and by Julian himself, who affects to ridicule (c. *Myriapogon*, p. 346.) a conduct, which, in a prince of the house of Constantine, might justly excite the surprise of mankind.

<sup>68</sup> Adversat Latinæ quæque discentis in officio sermo. Ammianus, art. 5. But Julian, educated in the schools of Athens, always conversed the language of the Romans as a foreign and popular dialect, which he might use on necessary occasions.

<sup>69</sup> We are ignorant of the true office of this excellent minister,

whom Julian afterwards erected prefect of Gaul. Sallust was speedily recalled by the sickness of the emperor, and we may still read a sensible but perfunctory discourse (p. 221. *Ép.*), in which Julian deplores the loss of a rival's friendship, to whom he acknowledges himself indebted for his reputation. See La Bèthune, *En face a l'aveu de Julien*, l. 20.

<sup>70</sup> Ammianus (xvi. 2. 3.) appears much better satisfied with the success of this first campaign than Julian himself, who very truly says that he did nothing of consequence, and that he died before the enemy.

and had restrained the troops under his command from marching to the relief of Sens. If the Cæsar had dissembled in silence so dangerous an insult, his person and authority would have been exposed to the contempt of the world; and if an action so criminal had been suffered to pass with impunity, the emperor would have confirmed the suspicions, which received a very specious colour from his past conduct towards the princes of the Flavian family. Marcellus was recalled, and gently dismissed from his office.<sup>71</sup> In his room Severus was appointed general of the cavalry; an experienced soldier, of approved courage and fidelity, who could advise with respect, and execute with zeal; and who submitted, without reluctance, to the supreme command which Julian, by the interest of his patroness Eusebia, at length obtained over the armies of Gaul.<sup>72</sup> A very judicious plan of operations was adopted for the approaching campaign. Julian himself, at the head of the remains of the veteran bands, and of some new levies which he had been permitted to form, boldly penetrated into the centre of the German cantonnements, and carefully re-established the fortifications of Saverne, in an advantageous post, which would either check the incursions, or intercept the retreat, of the enemy. At the same time Barbatio, general of the infantry, advanced from Milan with an army of thirty thousand men, and passing the mountains, prepared to throw a bridge over the Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Basil. It was reasonable to expect that the Alemanni, pressed on either side by the Roman arms, would soon be forced to evacuate the provinces of Gaul, and to hasten to the defence of their native country. But the hopes of the campaign were defeated by the incapacity, or the envy, or the secret instructions, of Barhatio; who acted as if he had been the enemy of the Cæsar, and the secret ally of the barbarians. The negligence with which he permitted a troop of pillagers freely to pass, and to return almost before the gates of his camp, may be imputed to his want of abilities; but the treasonable act of burning a number of boats, and a superfluous stock of provisions, which would have been of the most essential service to the army of Gaul, was an evidence of his hostile and criminal intentions. The Germans despised an enemy who appeared destitute either of power or of inclination to offend them; and the ignominious retreat of Barbatio deprived Julian of the expected support; and left him to extricate himself from a hazardous situation, where he could neither remain with safety, nor retire with honour.<sup>73</sup>

As soon as they were delivered from the fears of invasion, the Alemanni prepared to chastise the Roman youth, who presumed to dispute the possession of that country, which they claimed as

their own by the right of conquest and of treaties. They employed three days, and as many nights, in transporting over the Rhine their military powers. The fierce Chnodomar, shaking the ponderous javelin, which he had victoriously wielded against the brother of Magnentius, led the van of the barbarians, and moderated, by his experience, the martial ardour which his example inspired.<sup>74</sup> He was followed by six other kings, by ten princes of regal extraction, by a long train of high-spirited nobles, and by thirty-five thousand of the bravest warriors of the tribes of Germany. The confidence derived from the view of their own strength, was increased by the intelligence which they received from a deserter, that the Cæsar, with a feeble army of thirteen thousand men, occupied a post about one and twenty miles from their camp of Strasburgh. With this inadequate force, Julian resolved to seek and to encounter the barbarian host; and the chance of a general action was preferred to the tedious and uncertain operation of separately engaging the dispersed parties of the Alemanni. The Romans marched in close order, and in two columns, the cavalry on the right, the infantry on the left; and the day was so far spent when they appeared in sight of the enemy, that Julian was desirous of deferring the battle till the next morning, and of allowing his troops to recruit their exhausted strength by the necessary refreshments of sleep and food. Yielding, however, with some reluctance, to the clamours of the soldiers, and even to the opinion of his council, he exhorted them to justify by their valour the eager impatience, which, in case of a defeat, would be universally branded with the epithets of rashness and presumption. The trumpets sounded, the military shout was heard through the field, and the two armies rushed with equal fury to the charge. The Cæsar, who conducted in person his right wing, depended on the dexterity of his archers, and the weight of his cuirassiers. But his ranks were instantly broken by an irregular mixture of light-horse and of light-infantry, and he had the mortification of beholding the flight of six hundred of his most renowned cuirassiers.<sup>75</sup> The fugitives were stopped and rallied by the presence and authority of Julian, who, careless of his own safety, threw himself before them, and urging every motive of shame and honour, led them back against the victorious enemy. The conflict between the two lines of infantry was obstinate and bloody. The Germans possessed the superiority of strength and stature, the Romans that of discipline and temper; and as the barbarians, who served under the standard of the empire, united the respective advantages of both parties, their strenuous efforts, guided by a skilful leader, at length determined the event of the day. The Romans lost four

<sup>71</sup> Ammianus (xv. 11.) describes the conduct of the emperor in this affair.

<sup>72</sup> Severus, non discors, non arrogans, sed longa maturæ frugilitate compertus; et cum recta præsentem securus, ut ductorem moriens miles. Ammian. xvi. 11. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 140.

<sup>73</sup> On the design and failure of the co-operation between Julian and Barbatio, see Ammianus (xvi. 11.), and Lutatius, *Orat.* v. p. 275.

<sup>74</sup> Ammianus (xvi. 12.) describes, with his inflated eloquence, the

figure and character of Chnodomar. Audax et fidens ingenti robore lacertum, altæ arbor prætor speraturæ armis, equo spontaneæ, sublimior, erectus in jaculum formidandæ vastitatis, armorumque nitore conspicuus. Antea strenuus et miles, et utilis præter ceteros ductor. ----- Deceitum Casarem superavit æquo Marte con-

<sup>75</sup> After the battle, Julian ventured to revive the rigour of ancient discipline, by exposing those fugitives in female apparel to the derision of the whole camp. In the next campaign, these troops nobly retrieved their honour. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 142.

tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three soldiers, in this memorable battle of Strasburgh, so glorious to the Caesar,<sup>76</sup> and so salutary to the afflicted provinces of Gaul. Six thousand of the Alemanni were slain in the field, without including those who were drowned in the Rhine, or transfix'd with darts whilst they attempted to swim across the river.<sup>77</sup> Chnodomar himself was surrounded and taken prisoner, with three of his brave companions, who had devoted themselves to follow in life or death the fate of their chieftain. Julian received him with military pomp in the council of his officers; and expressing a generous pity for the fallen state, dissembled his inward contempt for the abject humiliation, of his captive. Instead of exhibiting the vanquished king of the Alemanni, as a grateful spectacle to the cities of Gaul, he respectfully laid at the feet of the emperor this splendid trophy of his victory. Chnodomar experienced an honourable treatment: but the impatient barbarian could not long survive his defeat, his confinement, and his exile.<sup>78</sup>

After Julian had repulsed the Alemanni from the provinces of the Upper Rhine, he turned his arms against the Franks, who were seated nearer to the ocean on the confines of Gaul and Germany; and who, from their numbers, and still more from their intrepid valour, had ever been esteem'd the most formidable of the barbarians.<sup>79</sup> Although they were strongly actuated by the allurements of rapine, they profess'd a disinterested love of war; which they consider'd as the supreme honour and felicity of human nature; and their minds and bodies were so completely hardened by perpetual action, that, according to the lively expression of an orator, the snows of winter were as pleasant to them as the flowers of spring. In the month of December, which followed the battle of Strasburgh, Julian attacked a body of six hundred Franks, who had thrown themselves into two castles on the Meuse.<sup>80</sup> In the midst of that severe season they sustained, with inflexible constancy, a siege of fifty-four days; till at length, exhausted by hunger, and satisfied that the vigilance of the enemy, in breaking the ice of the river, left them no hopes of escape, the Franks consented, for the first time, to dispense with the ancient law which commanded them to conquer or to die. The Caesar immediately sent his captives to the court of Constantius, who, accepting them as a valuable present,<sup>81</sup> rejoiced in the opportunity of adding so many heroes to the choicest troops

of his domestic guards. The obstinate resistance of this handful of Franks apprised Julian of the difficulties of the expedition which he meditated for the ensuing spring, against the whole body of the nation. His rapid diligence surprised and astonished the active barbarians. Ordering his soldiers to provide themselves with biscuit for twenty days, he suddenly pitched his camp near Tongres, while the enemy still supposed him in his winter-quarters of Paris, expecting the slow arrival of his convoys from Aquitain. Without allowing the Franks to unite or to deliberate, he skilfully spread his legions from Cologne to the ocean; and by the terror, as well as by the success of his arms, soon reduced the suppliant tribes to implore the clemency, and to obey the commands, of their conqueror. The Chamavians submissively retired to their former habitations beyond the Rhine: but the Salians were permitted to possess their new establishment of Taxandria, as the subjects and auxiliaries of the Roman empire.<sup>82</sup> The treaty was ratified by solemn oaths; and perpetual inspectors were appointed to reside among the Franks, with the authority of enforcing the strict observance of the conditions. An incident is related, interesting enough in itself, and by no means repugnant to the character of Julian, who ingeniously contriv'd both the plot and the catastrophe of the tragedy. When the Chamavians sued for peace, he requir'd the son of their king, as the only hostage on whom he could rely. A mournful silence, interrupted by tears and groans, declin'd the sad perplexity of the barbarians; and their aged chief lamented, in pathetic language, that his private loss was now embitter'd by a sense of the public calamity. While the Chamavians lay prostrate at the foot of his throne, the royal captive, whom they believ'd to have been slain, unexpectedly appear'd before their eyes; and as soon as the tumult of joy was hush'd into attention, the Caesar address'd the assembly in the following terms: "Behold the son, the prince, whom you wept. You had lost him by your fault. God and the Romans have restored him to you. I shall still preserve and educate the youth, rather as a monument of my own virtue, than as a pledge of your sincerity. Should you presume to violate the faith which you have sworn, the arms of the republic will avenge the perfidy, not on the innocent, but on the guilty." The barbarians withdrew from his presence, impress'd with the warmest sentiments of gratitude and admiration.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Julianus apud A. N. S. P. O. A. D. 358. Julianus de la bataille de Strasbourg, le 25. du mois de Décembre. Les Franks furent vaincus, et six mille hommes furent tués. Les provinces de la Gaule furent délivrées de la domination des Franks. Les provinces de la Gaule furent délivrées de la domination des Franks.

<sup>77</sup> Ammianus, lib. 31. p. 117. Julianus de la bataille de Strasbourg, le 25. du mois de Décembre. Les Franks furent vaincus, et six mille hommes furent tués. Les provinces de la Gaule furent délivrées de la domination des Franks.

<sup>78</sup> Ammianus, lib. 31. p. 117. Julianus de la bataille de Strasbourg, le 25. du mois de Décembre. Les Franks furent vaincus, et six mille hommes furent tués. Les provinces de la Gaule furent délivrées de la domination des Franks.

had been always full of the Barbarians, and he compares them to the Franks, who were besieged and taken in the island of Sicily.

<sup>81</sup> Julianus apud A. N. S. P. O. A. D. 358. Julianus de la bataille de Strasbourg, le 25. du mois de Décembre. Les Franks furent vaincus, et six mille hommes furent tués. Les provinces de la Gaule furent délivrées de la domination des Franks.

<sup>82</sup> Ammianus, lib. 31. p. 117. Julianus de la bataille de Strasbourg, le 25. du mois de Décembre. Les Franks furent vaincus, et six mille hommes furent tués. Les provinces de la Gaule furent délivrées de la domination des Franks.

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Makes three expeditions beyond the Rhine, A.D. 537, 538, 539.

It was not enough for Julian to have delivered the provinces of Gaul from the barbarians of Germany.

He aspired to emulate the glory of the first and most illustrious of the emperors; after whose example he composed his own commentaries of the Gallic war.<sup>84</sup> Cæsar has related, with conscious pride, the manner in which he twice passed the Rhine. Julian could boast, that, before he assumed the title of Augustus, he had carried the Roman eagles beyond that great river in three successful expeditions.<sup>85</sup> The consternation of the Germans, after the battle of Strasburgh, encouraged him to the first attempt; and the reluctance of the troops soon yielded to the persuasive eloquence of a leader, who shared the fatigues and dangers which he imposed on the meanest of the soldiers. The villages on either side of the Meyn, which were plentifully stored with corn and cattle, felt the ravages of an invading army. The principal houses, constructed with some imitation of Roman elegance, were consumed by the flames; and the Cæsar boldly advanced about ten miles, till his progress was stopped by a dark and impenetrable forest, undermined by subterraneous passages, which threatened, with secret snares and ambush, every step of the assailant. The ground was already covered with snow; and Julian, after repairing an ancient castle which had been erected by Trajan, granted a truce of ten months to the submissive barbarians. At the expiration of the truce, Julian undertook a second expedition beyond the Rhine, to humble the pride of Surmar and Hortaïre, two of the kings of the Alemanni, who had been present at the battle of Strasburgh. They promised to restore all the Roman captives who yet remained alive; and as the Cæsar had procured an exact account, from the cities and villages of Gaul, of the inhabitants whom they had lost, he detected every attempt to deceive him with a degree of readiness and accuracy, which almost established the belief of his supernatural knowledge. His third expedition was still more splendid and important than the two former. The Germans had collected their military powers, and moved along the opposite banks of the river, with a design of destroying the bridge, and of preventing the passage of the Romans. But this judicious plan of defence was disconcerted by a skilful diversion. Three hundred light-armed and active soldiers were detached in forty small boats, to fall down the stream in silence, and to land at some distance from the posts of the enemy. They executed their orders with so much boldness and celerity, that they had almost surprised the barbarian chiefs, who returned in the fearless confidence of intoxication from one of their nocturnal festivals. Without repeating

the uniform and disgusting tale of slaughter and devastation, it is sufficient to observe, that Julian dictated his own conditions of peace to six of the haughtiest kings of the Alemanni, three of whom were permitted to view the severe discipline and martial pomp of a Roman camp. Followed by twenty thousand captives, whom he had rescued from the chains of the barbarians, the Cæsar repassed the Rhine, after terminating a war, the success of which has been compared to the ancient glories of the Punic and Cimbric victories.

As soon as the valour and conduct of Julian had secured an interval of peace, he applied himself to a work more congenial to his humane and philosophic temper. The cities of Gaul, which had suffered from the inroads of the barbarians, he diligently repaired; and seven important posts, between Mentz and the mouth of the Rhine, are particularly mentioned, as having been rebuilt and fortified by the order of Julian.<sup>86</sup> The vanquished Germans had submitted to the just but humiliating condition of preparing and conveying the necessary materials. The active zeal of Julian urged the prosecution of the work; and such was the spirit which he had diffused among the troops, that the auxiliaries themselves, waving their exemption from any duties of fatigue, contended in the most servile labours with the diligence of the Roman soldiers. It was incumbent on the Cæsar to provide for the subsistence, as well as for the safety, of the inhabitants and of the garrisons. The desertion of the former, and the mutiny of the latter, must have been the fatal and inevitable consequences of famine. The tillage of the provinces of Gaul had been interrupted by the calamities of war; but the scanty harvests of the continent were supplied, by his paternal care, from the plenty of the adjacent island. Six hundred large barks, framed in the forest of the Ardennes, made several voyages to the coast of Britain; and returning from thence laden with corn, sailed up the Rhine, and distributed their cargoes to the several towns and fortresses along the banks of the river.<sup>87</sup> The arms of Julian had restored a free and secure navigation, which Constantius had offered to purchase at the expense of his dignity, and of a tributary present of two thousand pounds of silver. The emperor parsimoniously refused to his soldiers the sums which he granted with a lavish and trembling hand to the barbarians. The dexterity, as well as the firmness, of Julian, was put to a severe trial, when he took the field with a discontented army, which had already served two campaigns, without receiving any regular pay or any extraordinary donative.<sup>88</sup>

A tender regard for the peace and happiness

84. Libanius, the friend of Julian, clearly insinuates (Orat. iv. p. 178.) that his hero had composed the history of his Gallic campaigns. But Zonaras (l. iii. p. 140.) seems to have derived his information only from the *Orations*, *Apologies*, and the *Epistles* of Julian. The discourse which is addressed to the Athenians contains an account.

85. *l. iii. p. 141.*  
86. Of these seven posts, three are supposed to have been situated on the Rhine, and the other four on the Moselle. See the map of the Rhine, in the *Geographical Dictionary*, under the word *Rhine*.  
87. The troops once broke out into a mutiny, immediately before the second passage of the Rhine. Ammian. xvi. 9.

the Dutch have constructed the fort of Schenk, a name so offensive to the fastidious delicacy of Boileau. See *L'Anville, Notice de l'Antiquité Gaule*, p. 187. Boileau, *Entrepreneur* and the notes.

88. The same kind of mutiny happened to S. P. Q. Atheniensium, t. of the transaction, p. 145. If we consider the numbers each, they were author's *Weights* and could bear so large an exportation, must already have attained an improved state of agriculture. The troops once broke out into a mutiny, immediately before the second passage of the Rhine. Ammian. xvi. 9.

Civil ad-  
ministration  
of Julian.

of his subjects, was the ruling principle which directed, or seemed to direct, the administration of Julian.<sup>87</sup>

He devoted the leisure of his winter-quarters to the offices of civil government; and affected to assume, with more pleasure, the character of a magistrate, than that of a general. Before he took the field, he devolved on the provincial governors, most of the public and private causes which had been referred to his tribunal: but, on his return, he carefully revised their proceedings, mitigated the rigour of the law, and pronounced a second judgment on the judges themselves. Superior to the last temptation of virtuous minds, an indiscreet and intemperate zeal for justice, he restrained, with calmness and dignity, the warmth of an advocate who prosecuted, for extortion, the president of the Narbonnese province. "Who will ever be found guilty," exclaimed the vehement Delphidius, "if it be enough to deny?" "And who," replied Julian, "will ever be innocent, if it is sufficient to affirm?" In the general administration of peace and war, the interest of the sovereign is commonly the same as that of his people; but Constantius would have thought himself deeply injured, if the virtues of Julian had defrauded him of any part of the tribute which he extorted from an oppressed and exhausted country. The prince who was invested with the ensigns of royalty, might sometimes presume to correct the rapacious insolence of the inferior agents; to expose their corrupt arts, and to introduce an equal and easier mode of collection. But the management of the finances was more safely entrusted to Florentius, prætorian præfect of Gaul, an effeminate tyrant, incapable of pity or remorse; and the haughty minister complained of the most decent and gentle opposition, while Julian himself was rather inclined to censure the weakness of his own behaviour. The Cæsar had rejected, with abhorrence, a mandate for the levy of an extraordinary tax; a new superdiction which the præfect had offered for his signature; and the faithful picture of the public misery, by which he had been obliged to justify his refusal, offended the court of Constantius. We may enjoy the pleasure of reading the sentiments of Julian, as he expresses them with warmth and freedom in a letter to one of his most intimate friends. After stating his own conduct, he proceeds in the following terms: "Was it possible for the disciple of Plato and Aristotle to act otherwise than I have done? Could I abandon the unhappy subjects intrusted to my care? Was I not called upon to defend them from the repeated injuries of these unfeeling robbers? A tribute who deserts his post is punished with death, and deprived of the honours of burial. With what justice could I pronounce his sentence, if, in the hour of danger, I myself neglected a duty far more sacred and far more important? God has placed me in this elevated post; his providence

"will guard and support me. Should I be condemned to suffer, I shall derive comfort from the testimony of a pure and upright conscience. Would to heaven that I still possessed a counsellor like Sallust! If they think proper to send me a successor, I shall submit without reluctance; and had much rather improve the short opportunity of doing good, than enjoy a long and lasting impunity of evil."<sup>88</sup> The precarious and dependent situation of Julian displayed his virtues, and concealed his defects. The young hero who supported, in Gaul, the throne of Constantius, was not permitted to reform the vices of the government; but he had courage to alleviate or to pity the distress of the people. Unless he had been able to revive the martial spirit of the Romans, or to introduce the arts of industry and refinement among their savage enemies, he could not entertain any rational hopes of securing the public tranquillity, either by the peace or conquest of Germany. Yet the victories of Julian suspended, for a short time, the inroads of the barbarians, and delayed the ruin of the Western Empire.

His salutary influence restored Description of  
Paris. the cities of Gaul, which had been so long exposed to the evils of civil discord, barbarian war, and domestic tyranny; and the spirit of industry was revived with the hopes of enjoyment. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, again flourished under the protection of the laws; and the *curiæ*, or civil corporations, were again filled with useful and respectable members: the youth were no longer apprehensive of marriage; and married persons were no longer apprehensive of posterity: the public and private festivals were celebrated with customary pomp; and the frequent and secure intercourse of the provinces displayed the image of national prosperity.<sup>89</sup> A mind like that of Julian must have felt the general happiness of which he was the author; but he viewed, with peculiar satisfaction and complacency, the city of Paris; the seat of his winter residence, and the object even of his partial affection.<sup>90</sup> That splendid capital, which now embraces an ample territory on either side of the Seine, was originally confined to the small island in the midst of the river, from whence the inhabitants derived a supply of pure and salubrious water. The river bathed the foot of the walls; and the town was accessible only by two wooden bridges. A forest overspread the northern side of the Seine; but on the south, the ground, which now bears the name of the University, was insensibly covered with houses, and adorned with a palace and amphitheatre, baths, an aqueduct, and a field of Mars for the exercise of the Roman troops. The severity of the climate was tempered by the neighbourhood of the ocean; and with some precautions, which experience had taught, the vine and fig-tree were successfully cultivated. But, in remarkable winters, the Seine was deeply frozen; and the

<sup>87</sup> See Appendix, p. 156. See also the Introduction to the Preface of the *Œuvres* of Julian, p. 156. The *Œuvres* of Julian are a collection of his most important works, and are divided into three parts: the first contains his letters, the second his orations, and the third his fragments. The *Œuvres* of Julian are a collection of his most important works, and are divided into three parts: the first contains his letters, the second his orations, and the third his fragments. The *Œuvres* of Julian are a collection of his most important works, and are divided into three parts: the first contains his letters, the second his orations, and the third his fragments.

<sup>88</sup> See Julian's *Œuvres*, p. 156. The *Œuvres* of Julian are a collection of his most important works, and are divided into three parts: the first contains his letters, the second his orations, and the third his fragments. The *Œuvres* of Julian are a collection of his most important works, and are divided into three parts: the first contains his letters, the second his orations, and the third his fragments.





consultation of the Aruspices.<sup>9</sup> While this important revolution yet remained in suspense, the Christians and the Pagans watched the conduct of their sovereign with the same anxiety, but with very opposite sentiments. The former were prompted by every motive of zeal, as well as vanity, to exaggerate the marks of his favour, and the evidences of his faith. The latter, till their just apprehensions were changed into despair and resentment, attempted to conceal from the world, and from themselves, that the gods of Rome could no longer reckon the emperor in the number of their votaries. The same passions and prejudices have engaged the partial writers of the times to connect the public profession of Christianity with the most glorious or the most ignominious era of the reign of Constantine.

His Pagan superstition. Whatever symptoms of Christian piety might transpire in the discourses or actions of Constantine, he persevered till he was near forty years of age in the practice of the established religion;<sup>10</sup> and the same conduct, when in the court of Nicomedia might be imputed to his fear, could be ascribed only to the inclination or policy of the sovereign of Gaul. His liberality restored and enriched the temples of the gods: the medals which issued from his Imperial mint are impressed with the figures and attributes of Jupiter and Apollo, of Mars and Hercules; and his filial piety increased the council of Olympus by the solemn apotheosis of his father Constantius.<sup>11</sup> But the devotion of Constantine was more peculiarly directed to the genius of the Sun, the Apollo of Greek and Roman mythology; and he was pleased to be represented with the symbols of the God of Light and Poetry. The unerring shafts of that deity, the brightness of his eyes, his laurel wreath, immortal beauty, and elegant accomplishments, seem to point him out as the patron of a young hero. The altars of Apollo were crowned with the votive offerings of Constantine; and the credulous multitude were taught to believe, that the emperor was permitted to behold with mortal eyes the visible majesty of their tutelar deity; and that, either waking or in a vision, he was blessed with the auspicious omens of a long and victorious reign. The Sun was universally celebrated as the invincible guide and protector of Constantine; and the Pagans might reasonably expect that the insulted god would pursue with unrelenting vengeance the impiety of his ungrateful favourite.<sup>12</sup>

He professed Christianity. As long as Constantine exercised a limited sovereignty over the provinces of Gaul, his Christian subjects were protected by the authority, and perhaps by the laws, of a prince, who wisely left to the gods the care of vindicating their own honour. If

we may credit the assertion of Constantine himself, he had been an indignant spectator of the savage cruelties which were inflicted by the hands of Roman soldiers, on those citizens whose religion was their only crime.<sup>13</sup> In the East and in the West, he had seen the different effects of severity and indulgence; and as the former was rendered still more odious by the example of Galerius, his implacable enemy, the latter was recommended to his imitation by the authority and advice of a dying father. The son of Constantine immediately suspended or repealed the edicts of persecution, and granted the free exercise of their religious ceremonies to all those who had already professed themselves members of the church. They were soon encouraged to depend on the favour as well as on the justice of their sovereign, who had imbibed a secret and sincere reverence for the name of Christ, and for the God of the Christians.<sup>14</sup>

About five months after the conquest of Italy, the emperor made a solemn and authentic declaration of his sentiments, by the celebrated edict of Milan, which restored peace to the Catholic church. In the personal interview of the two western princes, Constantine, by the ascendant of genius and power, obtained the ready concurrence of his colleague Licinius; the union of their names and authority disarmed the fury of Maximin; and, after the death of the tyrant of the East, the edict of Milan was received as a general and fundamental law of the Roman world.<sup>15</sup>

The wisdom of the emperors provided for the restoration of all the civil and religious rights of which the Christians had been so unjustly deprived. It was enacted, that the places of worship, and public lands, which had been confiscated, should be restored to the church without dispute, without delay, and without expense; and this severe injunction was accompanied with a gracious promise, that if any of the purchasers had paid a fair and adequate price, they should be indemnified from the Imperial treasury. The salutary regulations which guard the future tranquillity of the faithful, are framed on the principles of enlarged and equal toleration; and such an equality must have been interpreted by a recent sect as an advantageous and honourable distinction. The two emperors proclaim to the world, that they have granted a free and absolute power to the Christians, and to all others, of following the religion which each individual thinks proper to prefer, to which he has addicted his mind, and which he may deem the best adapted to his own use. They can fully explain every ambiguous word, remove every exception, and exact from the governors of the provinces a strict obedience to the true and simple meaning

A. D. 313,  
Milan.  
Emperor of Milan.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* The edict is not extant, but the substance of it is contained in a consultation, addressed to the emperor by the Aruspices, in which they are represented as having declared that the emperor was the only person who could restore the empire to its former state.

<sup>10</sup> The date of this edict is not certain, but it is generally supposed to have been issued in the year 313, or 314, at the time of the emperor's return from the East.

<sup>11</sup> See the edict of Constantine, in which he is represented as having ordered the gods of Rome to be worshipped as before, and as having ordered the emperor to be represented as the son of Jupiter.

<sup>12</sup> The passage of the edict of Milan, in which the emperor is represented as having ordered the gods of Rome to be worshipped as before, and as having ordered the emperor to be represented as the son of Jupiter.

<sup>13</sup> See the edict of Constantine, in which he is represented as having ordered the gods of Rome to be worshipped as before, and as having ordered the emperor to be represented as the son of Jupiter.

<sup>14</sup> See the edict of Constantine, in which he is represented as having ordered the gods of Rome to be worshipped as before, and as having ordered the emperor to be represented as the son of Jupiter.

<sup>15</sup> See the edict of Constantine, in which he is represented as having ordered the gods of Rome to be worshipped as before, and as having ordered the emperor to be represented as the son of Jupiter.

<sup>16</sup> See the edict of Constantine, in which he is represented as having ordered the gods of Rome to be worshipped as before, and as having ordered the emperor to be represented as the son of Jupiter.

of an edict, which was designed to establish and secure, without any limitation, the claims of religious liberty. They condescend to assign two weighty reasons which have induced them to allow this universal toleration: the humane intention of consulting the peace and happiness of their people; and the pious hope, that, by such a conduct, they shall appease and propitiate the *Deity*, whose seat is in heaven. They gratefully acknowledge the many signal proofs which they have received of the divine favour; and they trust that the same Providence will for ever continue to protect the prosperity of the prince and people. From these vague and indefinite expressions of piety, three suppositions may be deduced, of a different, but not of an incompatible, nature. The mind of Constantine might fluctuate between the Pagan and the Christian religions. According to the loose and complying notions of polytheism, he might acknowledge the God of the Christians as *one of the many deities* who composed the hierarchy of heaven. Or perhaps he might embrace the philosophic and pleasing idea, that, notwithstanding the variety of names, of rites, and of opinions, all the sects and all the nations of mankind are united in the worship of the common Father and Creator of the universe.<sup>16</sup>

Use and beauty  
of the hier-  
archic morality.

But the counsels of princes are more frequently influenced by views of temporal advantage, than by considerations of abstract and speculative truth. The partial and increasing favour of Constantine may naturally be referred to the esteem which he entertained for the moral character of the Christians; and to a persuasion, that the propagation of the Gospel would inculcate the practice of private and public virtue. Whatever latitude an absolute monarch may assume in his own conduct, whatever indulgence he may claim for his own passions, it is undoubtedly his interest that all his subjects should respect the natural and civil obligations of society. But the operation of the wisest laws is imperfect and precarious. They seldom inspire virtue, they can not always restrain vice. Their power is insufficient to prohibit all that they condemn, nor can they always punish the actions which they prohibit. The legislators of antiquity had summoned to their aid the powers of education and of opinion. But every principle which had once maintained the vigour and purity of Rome and Sparta, was long since extinguished in a declining and despotic empire. Philosophy still exercised her temperate sway over the human mind, but the cause of virtue derived very feeble support from the influence of the Pagan superstition. Under these discouraging circumstances, a prudent magistrate might observe with pleasure the progress of a religion, which diffused among the people a pure, benevolent, and

universal system of ethics, adapted to every duty and every condition of life; recommended as the will and reason of the supreme Deity, and enforced by the sanction of eternal rewards or punishments. The experience of Greek and Roman history could not inform the world how far the system of national manners might be reformed and improved by the precepts of a divine revelation; and Constantine might listen with some confidence to the flattering, and indeed reasonable, assurances of Lactantius. The eloquent apologist seemed firmly to expect, and almost ventured to promise, *that* the establishment of Christianity would restore the innocence and felicity of the primitive age; *that* the worship of the true God would extinguish war and dissension among those who mutually considered themselves as the children of a common parent; *that* every inpure desire, every angry or selfish passion, would be restrained by the knowledge of the Gospel; and *that* the magistrates might sheath the sword of justice among a people who would be universally actuated by the sentiments of truth and piety, of equity and moderation, of harmony and universal love.<sup>17</sup>

The passive and unresisting obedience, which bows under the yoke of authority, or even of oppression,

Theory and  
practice of pas-  
sive obedience

must have appeared, in the eyes of an absolute monarch, the most conspicuous and useful of the evangelic virtues.<sup>18</sup> The primitive Christians derived the institution of civil government, not from the consent of the people, but from the decrees of Heaven. The reigning emperor, though he had usurped the sceptre by treason and murder, immediately assumed the sacred character of viceroy of the Deity. To the Deity alone he was accountable for the abuse of his power; and his subjects were indissolubly bound, by their oath of fidelity, to a tyrant, who had violated every law of nature and society. The humble Christians were sent into the world as sheep among wolves; and since they were not permitted to employ force, even in the defence of their religion, they should be still more criminal if they were tempted to shed the blood of their fellow-creatures, in disputing the vain privileges, or the sordid possessions, of this transitory life. Faithful to the doctrine of the apostle, who in the reign of Nero had preached the duty of unconditional submission, the Christians of the three first centuries preserved their conscience pure and innocent of the guilt of secret conspiracy, or open rebellion. While they experienced the rigour of persecution, they were never provoked either to meet their tyrants in the field, or indignantly to withdraw themselves into some remote and sequestered corner of the globe.<sup>19</sup> The protestants of France, of Germany, and of Britain, who asserted with such intrepid courage their civil and religious

<sup>16</sup> A panegyric of Constantine, pronounced seven or eight months after the edict of Milan (see Gouthrard, *Chronologie*, t. i. p. 7, and Tilletmont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 216), uses the following remarkable expression: "Summe rerum sator, cupis tot nomina sancti, quot lingua gentium esse voluit, quem ex te ipse d. i. x. e. scire non possumus." Panegyric, Ver. ix. 26. In explaining Constantine's progress in the faith, Mosheim (p. 271, &c.) is ingenious, subtle, and polite.

<sup>17</sup> See the elegant description of Lactantius (*Divin. Institut.* v. 8.), who is much more perspicuous and positive than it becomes a discreet prophet.

<sup>18</sup> The political system of the Christians is explained by Grotius, de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. i. c. 3, §. 1. Grotius was a republican and an exile. For the mildness of his temper inclined him to support the established powers.

<sup>19</sup> I. i. c. i. §. 1. Apolog. c. 72, 71, 73, 76. Tamen nunquam Albinum, nec Nigrinum vel Cassianum inveniri poterunt Christiani. Ad Sulpicium, c. 2. If this assertion be strictly true, it excludes the Christians of that age from all civil and military employments, which would have compelled them to take an active part in the service of their respective governors. See Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 349.



faith must have multiplied in the court and army; the barbarians of Germany, who filled the ranks of the legions, were of a careless temper, which acquiesced without resistance in the religion of their commander; and when they passed the Alps, it may fairly be presumed, that a great number of the soldiers had already consecrated their swords to the service of Christ and of Constantine.<sup>26</sup> The habits of mankind, and the interest of religion, gradually abated the horror of war and blood-shed, which had so long prevailed among the Christians; and in the councils which were assembled under the gracious protection of Constantine, the authority of the bishops was seasonably employed to ratify the obligation of the military oath, and to inflict the penalty of excommunication on those soldiers who threw away their arms during the peace of the church.<sup>27</sup> While Constantine, in his own dominions, increased the number and zeal of his faithful adherents, he could depend on the support of a powerful faction in those provinces, which were still possessed or usurped by his rivals. A secret disaffection was diffused among the Christian subjects of Maxentius and Licinius; and the resentment which the latter did not attempt to conceal, served only to engage them still more deeply in the interest of his competitor. The regular correspondence which connected the bishops of the most distant provinces, enabled them freely to communicate their wishes and their designs, and to transmit without danger any useful intelligence, or any pious contributions, which might promote the service of Constantine, who publicly declared that he had taken up arms for the deliverance of the church.<sup>28</sup>

The enthusiasm which inspired the troops, and perhaps the emperor himself, had sharpened their swords while it satisfied their conscience. They marched to battle with the full assurance, that the same God, who had formerly opened a passage to the Israelites through the waters of Jordan, and had thrown down the walls of Jericho at the sound of the trumpets of Joshua, would display his visible majesty and power in the victory of Constantine. The evidence of ecclesiastical history is prepared to affirm, that their expectations were justified by the conspicuous miracle to which the conversion of the

first Christian emperor has been almost unanimously ascribed. The real or imaginary cause of so important an event, deserves and demands the attention of posterity; and I shall endeavour to form a just estimate of the famous vision of Constantine, by a distinct consideration of the *standard*, the *dream*, and the *celestial sign*; by separating the historical, the natural, and the marvellous parts of this extraordinary story, which, in the composition of a specious argument, have been artfully confounded in one splendid and brittle mass.

I. An instrument of the tortures which were inflicted only on slaves and strangers, became an object of horror in the eyes of a Roman citizen; and the ideas of guilt, of pain, and of ignominy, were closely united with the idea of the cross.<sup>29</sup> The piety, rather than the humanity, of Constantine, soon abolished in his dominions the punishment which the Saviour of mankind had condescended to suffer;<sup>30</sup> but the emperor had already learned to despise the prejudices of his education, and of his people, before he could erect in the midst of Rome his own statue, bearing a cross in its right hand; with an inscription, which referred the victory of his arms, and the deliverance of Rome, to the virtue of that salutary sign, the true symbol of force and courage.<sup>31</sup> The same symbol sanctified the arms of the soldiers of Constantine; the cross glittered on their helmets, was engraved on their shields, was interwoven into their banners; and the consecrated emblems which adorned the person of the emperor himself, were distinguished only by richer materials and more exquisite workmanship.<sup>32</sup> But the principal standard which displayed the triumph of the cross was styled the *Labarum*,<sup>33</sup> an obscure, though celebrated, name, which has been vainly derived from almost all the languages of the world. It is described<sup>34</sup> as a long pike intersected by a transversal beam. The silken veil which hung down from the beam, was curiously entwined with the images of the reigning monarch and his children. The summit of the pike supported a crown of gold which enclosed the mysterious monogram, at once expressive of the figure of the cross, and the initial letters of the name of Christ.<sup>35</sup> The safety of the *labarum* was intrusted to fifty guards, of

**Expectation  
and belief of  
a miracle.**

26 This careless temper of the Germans was almost uniformly in the history of the cruelties inflicted on the infidels. The legions of Constantine were restricted, variously, to 12, 15, 20, 30, 40, 50, and 60 days, and the count even of hours, would be a daily occurrence. See the first book of the life of Constantine, c. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

27 De his qui vult probare in plene et libera conscientia distingere a commissione "Concilii Arlatis" nonnulli. Fin testis, applica the-

rather than the reverse, some of which had not yet been identified by this particular assumption may be recognized, including the basic and general sense of the Greek interpreters, Hilsum, Zornius, and Alexis Arsenius. Bezae, Erasmus, Pander, Eclis, Gratian, p. 72, tom. i. p. 78, Agostinus.

2) Nomen insum crece deit tot m do a corpore cum m Roma-

a bird flying, a man swimming, a mast and yard, a plough, a *fourard*, &c. &c. &c. See *lemous de France* l. i. c. 6.

30 See Aurelius Victor, who considers this law as one of the examples of Constantine's piety. An act so honourable to Christianity deserved a place in the Theodosian Code, instead of the indirect mention of it, which seems to result from the comparison of the *vet.* and *act.* titles of the 15th book.

Ni Eusebius, in Vit. Constant. l. i. c. 10. This statue, or at least

the cross and inscription, may be ascribed with more probability to the second, or even the third, visit of Constantine to Rome. Immediately after the date of Maxentius, the minds of the senate and people were scarcely ripe for this public miracle.

36. As to regulations not strictly necessary:

In quo ne effluens collis aut geminata retinetur,  
Aut longis solo ex auro præterit in hastis  
Hæc sic innotuit, transmissis Alpheus Utor  
Scilicet, cum soluit miserabile Constatum

• • • • •

Christus per aurem gerimanti textus in auro  
Signabit *Laba sua*, digne orum in lignis Christus  
Scribitur *analecti*, minus *ergo* addita *rebus*.

33 The derivation and meaning of the word *Laborum*, or *Laborum*,

which is employed by Dr. Lary Nansen, Ambrose, Prulentius, &c. still remain totally unknown, in spite of the efforts of the critics, who have ineffectually tortured the Latin, Greek, Spanish, Celtic,

Do not have mentioned. Consult the Latin, Greek, Spanish, Italian, Teutonic, Hebrew, Armenian, &c. in search of an etymology. See Du Ronge, in Gloss. med. etymol. Latinæ sub voce *Labarum*, and the before-mentioned Etymol. univers. p. 117.

31 Eusebi in Vit. Constant. l. i. c. 70, 31. Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 312, No. 26) has engraved a representation of the

75. Transversi X latera, summo capite circumflexo, Christum in  
scutis notat. (F. de M. P. c. 44. super ad M. P. in edit.)

lactant, torn in p. 300., and Barons 1 A. D. 312, No. 21), have engraved from ancient monuments several specimens (as thus

for ✱) of these monograms, which became extremely fashionable in the Christian world.

approved valour and fidelity; their station was marked by honours and emoluments; and some fortunate accidents soon introduced an opinion, that as long as the guards of the labarum were engaged in the execution of their office, they were secure and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy. In the second civil war Licinius felt and dreaded the power of this consecrated banner, the sight of which, in the distress of battle, animated the soldiers of Constantine with an invincible enthusiasm, and scattered terror and dismay through the ranks of the adverse legions.<sup>36</sup> The Christian emperors, who respected the example of Constantine, displayed in all their military expeditions the standard of the cross; but when the degenerate successors of Theodosius had ceased to appear in person at the head of their armies, the labarum was deposited as a venerable but useless relic in the palace of Constantinople.<sup>37</sup> Its honours are still preserved on the medals of the Flavian family. Their grateful devotion has placed the monogram of Christ in the midst of the ensigns of Rome. The solemn epithets of, safety of the republic, glory of the army, restoration of public happiness, are equally applied to the religious and military trophies; and there is still extant a medal of the emperor Constantius, where the standard of the labarum is accompanied with these memorable words, *BE TUIS SIGNI THOU SHALT CONQUER.*<sup>38</sup>

**II.** In all occasions of danger or distress, it was the practice of the primitive Christians to fortify their minds and bodies by the sign of the cross, which they used, in all their ecclesiastical rites, in all the daily occurrences of life, as an infallible preservative against every species of spiritual or temporal evil.<sup>39</sup> The authority of the church might alone have had sufficient weight to justify the devotion of Constantine, who, in the same prudent and gradual progress, acknowledged the truth, and assumed the symbol, of Christianity. But the testimony of a cotemporary writer, who in a formal treatise has avenged the cause of religion, bestows on the piety of the emperor a more awful and sublime character. He affirms, with the most perfect confidence, that in the night which preceded the last battle against Maxentius, Constantine was admonished in a dream to inscribe the shields of his soldiers with the *celestial sign of God*, the sacred monogram of the name of Christ; that he executed the

commands of Heaven, and that his valour and obedience were rewarded by the decisive victory of the Milvian bridge. Some considerations might perhaps incline a sceptical mind to suspect the judgment or the veracity of the rhetorician, whose pen, either from zeal or interest, was devoted to the cause of the prevailing faction.<sup>40</sup> He appears to have published his *Deaths of the Persecutors at Nicomedia* about three years after the Roman victory; but the interval of a thousand miles, and a thousand days, will allow an ample latitude for the invention of declaimers, the credulity of party, and the tacit approbation of the emperor himself; who might listen without indignation to a marvellous tale, which exalted his fame, and promoted his designs. In favour of Licinius, who still dissembled his animosity to the Christians, the same author has provided a similar vision, of a form of prayer, which was communicated by an angel, and repeated by the whole army before they engaged the legions of the tyrant Maximin. The frequent repetition of miracles serves to provoke, where it does not subdue, the reason of mankind;<sup>41</sup> but if the dream of Constantine is separately considered, it may be naturally explained either by the policy or the enthusiasm of the emperor. Whilst his anxiety for the approaching day, which must decide the fate of the empire, was suspended by a short and interrupted slumber, the venerable form of Christ, and the well-known symbol of his religion, might forcibly offer themselves to the active fancy of a prince who revered the name, and had perhaps secretly implored the power, of the God of the Christians. As readily might a consummate statesman indulge himself in the use of one of those military stratagems, one of those pious frauds, which Philip and Sertorius had employed with such art and effect.<sup>42</sup> The preternatural origin of dreams was universally admitted by the nations of antiquity, and a considerable part of the Gallic army was already prepared to place their confidence in the salutary sign of the Christian religion. The secret vision of Constantine could be disproved only by the event; and the intrepid hero who had passed the Alps and the Apennine, might view with careless despair the consequences of a defeat under the walls of Rome. The senate and people, exulting in their own deliverance from an odious tyrant, acknowledged that the victory of Constantine surpassed the

<sup>36</sup> Euseb. *h. A. C.* lib. 10. c. 27. § 1. He introduces the testimony of the Emperor, who says, "I have seen the labarum, and have been made acquainted with the power of it." "I have seen the labarum, and have been made acquainted with the power of it." "I have seen the labarum, and have been made acquainted with the power of it."

<sup>37</sup> See the account of the labarum in the *h. A. C.* lib. 10. c. 27. § 1. The labarum was a banner or standard, which was used by the Emperor Constantine, and was the symbol of the Christian religion. It was a banner or standard, which was used by the Emperor Constantine, and was the symbol of the Christian religion.

<sup>38</sup> The *h. A. C.* lib. 10. c. 27. § 1. The labarum was a banner or standard, which was used by the Emperor Constantine, and was the symbol of the Christian religion. It was a banner or standard, which was used by the Emperor Constantine, and was the symbol of the Christian religion.

<sup>39</sup> See the account of the labarum in the *h. A. C.* lib. 10. c. 27. § 1. The labarum was a banner or standard, which was used by the Emperor Constantine, and was the symbol of the Christian religion. It was a banner or standard, which was used by the Emperor Constantine, and was the symbol of the Christian religion.

<sup>40</sup> See the account of the labarum in the *h. A. C.* lib. 10. c. 27. § 1. The labarum was a banner or standard, which was used by the Emperor Constantine, and was the symbol of the Christian religion. It was a banner or standard, which was used by the Emperor Constantine, and was the symbol of the Christian religion.

powers of man, without daring to insinuate that it had been obtained by the protection of the Gods. The triumphal arch, which was erected about three years after the event, proclaims, in ambiguous language, that, by the greatness of his own mind, and by an *instinct* or impulse of the Divinity, he had saved and avenged the Roman republic.<sup>43</sup> The pagan orator, who had seized an earlier opportunity of celebrating the virtues of the conqueror, supposes that he alone enjoyed a secret and intimate commerce with the Supreme Being, who delegated the care of mortals to his subordinate deities; and thus assigns a very plausible reason why the subjects of Constantine should not presume to embrace the new religion of their sovereign.<sup>44</sup>

III. The philosopher, who with calm suspicion examines the dreams and omens, the miracles and prodigies, of profane or even of ecclesiastical history, will probably conclude, that if the eyes of the spectators have sometimes been deceived by fraud, the understanding of the readers has much more frequently been insulted by fiction. Every event, or appearance, or accident, which seems to deviate from the ordinary course of nature, has been rashly ascribed to the immediate action of the Deity; and the astonished fancy of the multitude has sometimes given shape and colour, language and motion, to the fleeting but uncommon meteors of the air.<sup>45</sup> Nazarius and Eusebius are the two most celebrated orators, who in studied panegyrics have laboured to exalt the glory of Constantine.

A. D. 341. Nine years after the Roman victory, Nazarius<sup>46</sup> describes an army of divine warriors, who seemed to fall from the sky: he marks their beauty, their spirit, their gigantic forms, the stream of light which beamed from their celestial armour, their patience in suffering themselves to be heard, as well as seen, by mortals; and their declaration that they were sent, that they flew, to the assistance of the great Constantine. For the truth of this prodigy, the Pagan orator appeals to the whole Gallic nation, in whose presence he was then speaking; and seems to hope that the ancient apparitions<sup>47</sup> would now obtain credit from this recent and public event. The Christian A. D. 373. fable of Eusebius, which, in the space of twenty-six years, might arise from the original dream, is cast in a much more correct and elegant mould. In one of the marches of Constantine, he is reported to

have seen with his own eyes the luminous trophy of the cross, placed above the meridian sun, and inscribed with the following words: BY THIS, CONQUER. This amazing object in the sky astonished the whole army, as well as the emperor himself, who was yet undetermined in the choice of a religion: but his astonishment was converted into faith by the vision of the ensuing night. Christ appeared before his eyes; and displaying the same celestial sign of the cross, he directed Constantine to frame a similar standard, and to march, with an assurance of victory, against Maxentius and all his enemies.<sup>48</sup> The learned bishop of Cæsarea appears to be sensible, that the recent discovery of this marvellous anecdote would excite some surprise and distrust among the most pious of his readers. Yet, instead of ascertaining the precise circumstances of time and place, which always serve to detect falsehood, or establish truth;<sup>49</sup> instead of collecting and recording the evidence of so many living witnesses, who must have been spectators of this stupendous miracle;<sup>50</sup> Eusebius contents himself with alleging a very singular testimony; that of the deceased Constantine, who, many years after the event, in the freedom of conversation, had related to him this extraordinary incident of his own life, and had attested the truth of it by a solemn oath. The prudence and gratitude of the learned prelate forbade him to suspect the veracity of his victorious master; but he plainly intimates, that, in a fact of such a nature, he should have refused his assent to any meaner authority. This motive of credibility could not survive the power of the Flavian family; and the celestial sign, which the infidels might afterwards deride,<sup>51</sup> was disregarded by the Christians of the age which immediately followed the conversion of Constantine.<sup>52</sup> But the Catholic church, both of the East and of the West, has adopted a prodigy, which favours, or seems to favour, the popular worship of the cross. The vision of Constantine maintained an honourable place in the legend of superstition, till the bold and sagacious spirit of criticism presumed to depreciate the triumph, and to arraign the truth, of the first Christian emperor.<sup>53</sup>

The Protestant and philosophic readers of the present age will incline to believe, that, in the account of his own conversion, Constantine attested a wilful falsehood by a solemn and deliberate perjury. They may not hesitate to pronounce,

The conversion of Constantine might be sincere.

<sup>43</sup> *Instinctu Divinitus, mentis inaccessibilis.* The inscription on the triumphal arch of Constantine, which has been copied by Baronius, Gruter, &c. may still be traced in the various travellers.

<sup>44</sup> Habes profecto, si quidem cum, la morte la tua veritate, que delegata nostra Dis Maximus cura tunc tibi dignatur ostendere. Panegyric, l. vi. p. 8. 29.

<sup>45</sup> M. Perret (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. iv. p. 111. 137.) testimony, by physical causes, of the prodigies of antiquity; and Fabricius, who is abused by both parties, vaunts to introduce the celestial cross of Constantine among the solar halos. *Bibliothec. Græc.* tom. vi. p. 8. 29.

<sup>46</sup> Nazarius, *ent. Panegyric*, l. x. 11. 15. It is unnecessary to name the moderns, whose understanding and ravenous appetite has swallowed even the Pagani bar of Nazarius.

<sup>47</sup> He announces a prodigy, which he mentions in the 12th cent. of the e.

marbles is omitted, and only recalled by Eusebius. l. iv. c. 28. 29. 30. The silence of the same Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, is deeply felt by those advocates for the miracle who are not absolutely callous.

<sup>49</sup> The narrative of Constantine seems to indicate, that he saw the cross in the sky before he passed the Alps against Maxentius. The

scene has been fixed by provincial vanity at Treves, Besançon, &c. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 373.

<sup>50</sup> The pious Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. vi. p. 1317.) rejects with a sigh the useful Acts of Armentius, a veteran and a martyr, who attests as an eye-witness the vision of Constantine.

<sup>51</sup> Geltsius (*Græc.* in Act. Concil. Nuen.) l. c. 4.

<sup>52</sup> The advocates for the vision are unable to produce a single testimony from the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, who, in their voluminous writings, repeatedly celebrate the triumph of the church and of Constantine. As these venerable men had not any dislike to a miracle, we may suspect (and the suspicion is confirmed by the ignorance of Jerome) that they were all unacquainted with the diligence of those who have traced and who have represented in

<sup>53</sup> The first was the first *torium*, l. i. c. 6. p. 163, explained by Cardinal Baronius, and the Ceremonies of Magdeburg critics have inclined to be urged, with great force, tom. iv. p. 6. 11, and also du Vau, p. 100, of learning and moderation.

that, in the choice of a religion, his mind was determined only by a sense of interest ; and that (according to the expression of a profane poet <sup>24</sup>) he used the altars of the church as a convenient footstool to the throne of the empire. A conclusion so harsh and so absolute is not, however, warranted by our knowledge of human nature, of Constantine, or of Christianity. In an age of religious fervour, the most ardent statesmen are observed to feel some part of the enthusiasm which they inspire ; and the most orthodox saints assume the dangerous privilege of defending the cause of truth by the arms of deceit and falsehood. Personal interest is often the standard of our belief, as well as of our practice ; and the same motives of temporal advantage which might influence the public conduct and professions of Constantine, would insensibly dispose his mind to embrace a religion so propitious to his fame and fortunes. His vanity was gratified by the flattering assurance, that *he* had been chosen by Heaven to reign over the earth ; success had justified his divine title to the throne, and that title was founded on the truth of the Christian revelation. As real virtue is sometimes excited by undeserved applause, the specious piety of Constantine, if at first it was only specious, might gradually, by the influence of praise, of habit, and of example, be matured into serious faith and fervent devotion. The bishops and teachers of the new sect, whose dress and manners had not qualified them for the residence of a court, were admitted to the imperial table ; they accompanied the monarch in his expeditions ; and the ascendant which one of them, an Egyptian or a Spaniard, <sup>25</sup> acquired over his mind, was imputed by the Pagans to the effect of magic. <sup>26</sup> Lactantius, who has adorned the precepts of the Gospel with the eloquence of Cicero ; <sup>27</sup> and Eusebius, who has consecrated the learning and philosophy of the Greeks to the service of religion, <sup>28</sup> were both received into the friendship and familiarity of their sovereign ; and those able masters of controversy could patiently watch the soft and yielding moments of persuasion, and dexterously apply the arguments which were the best adapted to his character and understanding. Whatever advantages might be derived from the acquisition of an imperial proselyte, he was distinguished by the splendour of his purple, rather than by the superiority of wisdom or virtue, from the many thousands of his subjects who had em-

braced the doctrines of Christianity. Nor can it be deemed incredible, that the mind of an unlettered soldier should have yielded to the weight of evidence, which, in a more enlightened age, has satisfied or subdued the reason of a Grotius, a Pascal, or a Locke. In the midst of the incessant labours of his great office, this soldier employed, or affected to employ, the hours of the night in the diligent study of the Scriptures, and the composition of theological discourses; which he afterwards pronounced in the presence of a numerous and applauding audience. In a very long discourse, which is still extant, the royal preacher expatiates on the various proofs of religion; but he dwells with peculiar complacency on the Sibylline verses,<sup>59</sup> and the fourth eclogue of Virgil.<sup>60</sup> Forty years before the birth of Christ, the Mantuan bard, as if inspired by the celestial muse of Isaiah, had celebrated, with all the pomp of Oriental metaphor, the return of the Virgin; the fall of the serpent; the approaching birth of a godlike child, the offspring of the great Jupiter, who should expiate the guilt of human kind, and govern the peaceful universe with the virtues of his father; the rise and appearance of an heavenly race, a primitive nation throughout the world; and the gradual restoration of the innocence and felicity of the golden age. The poet was perhaps unconscious of the secret sense and object of these sublime predictions, which have been so unworthily applied to the infant son of a consul, or a triumvir;<sup>61</sup> but if a more splendid and indeed specious, interpretation of the fourth eclogue contributed to the conversion of the first Christian emperor, Virgil may deserve to be ranked among the most successful missionaries of the Gospel.<sup>62</sup>

The awful mysteries of the Christian faith and worship were concealed from the eyes of strangers, and even of catechumens, with an affected secrecy, which served to excite their wonder and curiosity.<sup>55</sup> But the severe rules of discipline which the prudence of the bishops had instituted, were relaxed by the same prudence in favour of an Imperial proselyte, whom it was so important to allure, by every gentle condescension, into the pale of the church; and Constantine was permitted, at least by a tacit dispensation, to enjoy *most* of the privileges, before he had contracted *any* of the obligations, of a Christian.

[illegible]

The poem which contains this line may be read with pleasure, but cannot be viewed with dispassion. The poet is the great Ganesha, but not of Ganesha who preferred the austerity of the mountain to the comfort of a palace and these Hindu writers have been too easily deceived by Athanagoras' translation of the Sanskrit. Min. Beales tells us p. 24 "Ganesha is a god, part man, part elephant, with four arms and a very small head."

57. The Christology of Irenaeus was, for me, rather than a mysterious cast "Erat perinde quodammodo, the orthodox B. O. C. "pinae Christianae, et in rhetorica melius quam in theologia versatus." *Defensio Fidei Nicenae*, sect. II, c. 11.

<sup>58</sup> Fabricius, with his usual diligence, has collected a list of between three to four hundred authors quoted in the Evangelical literature of 1841-42. See *Bibliotheca Evangelica*, p. 77-79.

[illegible][illegible]



Instead of retiring from the congregation, when the voice of the deacon dismissed the profane multitude, he prayed with the faithful, disputed with the bishops, preached on the most sublime and intricate subjects of theology, celebrated with sacred rites the vigil of Easter, and publicly declared himself, not only a partaker, but, in some measure, a priest and hierophant of the Christian mysteries.<sup>64</sup> The pride of Constantine might assume, and his services had deserved, some extraordinary distinction: an ill-timed rigour might have blasted the unripened fruits of his conversion; and if the doors of the church had been strictly closed against a prince who had deserted the altars of the gods, the master of the empire would have been left destitute of any form of religious worship. In his last visit to Rome, he piously disclaimed and insulted the superstition of his ancestors, by refusing to lead the military procession of the equestrian order, and to offer the public vows to the Jupiter of the Capitoline Hill.<sup>65</sup> Many years before his baptism and death, Constantine had proclaimed to the world, that neither his person nor his image should ever more be seen within the walls of an idolatrous temple; while he distributed through the provinces a variety of medals and pictures, which represented the emperor in an humble and suppliant posture of Christian devotion.<sup>66</sup>

The pride of Constantine, who refused the privileges of a catechumen, cannot easily be explained or excused; but the delay of his baptism may be justified by the maxims and the practice of ecclesiastical antiquity. The sacrament of baptism<sup>67</sup> was regularly administered by the bishop himself, with his assistant clergy, in the cathedral church of the diocese, during the fifty days between the solemn festivals of Easter and Pentecost; and this holy term admitted a numerous band of infants and adult persons into the bosom of the church. The discretion of parents often suspended the baptism of their children till they could understand the obligations which they contracted: the severity of ancient bishops exacted from the new converts a novitiate of two or three years; and the catechumens themselves, from different motives of a temporal or a spiritual nature, were seldom impatient to assume the character of perfect and initiated Christians. The sacrament of baptism was supposed to contain a full and absolute expiation of sin; and the soul was instantly restored to its original purity, and entitled to the promise of eternal salvation. Among the proselytes of Christianity, there were many who judged it imprudent to

precipitate a salutary rite, which could not be repeated; to throw away an inestimable privilege, which could never be recovered. By the delay of their baptism, they could venture freely to indulge their passions in the enjoyments of this world, while they still retained in their own hands the means of a sure and easy absolution.<sup>68</sup> The sublime theory of the Gospel had made a much fainter impression on the heart than on the understanding of Constantine himself. He pursued the great object of his ambition through the dark and bloody paths of war and policy; and, after the victory, he abandoned himself, without moderation, to the abuse of his fortune. Instead of asserting his just superiority above the imperfect heroism and profane philosophy of Trajan and the Antonines, the mature age of Constantine forfeited the reputation which he had acquired in his youth. As he gradually advanced in the knowledge of truth, he proportionably declined in the practice of virtue; and the same year of his reign in which he convened the council of Nice was polluted by the execution, or rather murder, of his eldest son. This date is alone sufficient to refute the ignorant and malicious suggestions of Zosimus,<sup>69</sup> who affirms, that, after the death of Crispus, the remorse of his father accepted from the ministers of Christianity the expiation which he had vainly solicited from the Pagan pontiffs. At the time of the death of Crispus, the emperor could no longer hesitate in the choice of a religion; he could no longer be ignorant that the church was possessed of an infallible remedy, though he chose to defer the application of it, till the approach of death had removed the temptation and danger of a relapse. The bishops, whom he summoned, in his last illness, to the palace of Nicomedia, were edified by the fervour with which he requested and received the sacrament of baptism, by the solemn protestation that the remainder of his life should be worthy of a disciple of Christ, and by his humble refusal to wear the Imperial purple after he had been clothed in the white garment of a Neophyte. The example and reputation of Constantine seemed to countenance the delay of baptism.<sup>70</sup> Futile tyrants were encouraged to believe, that the innocent blood which they might shed in a long reign would instantly be washed away in the waters of regeneration; and the abuse of religion dangerously undermined the foundations of moral virtue.

The gratitude of the church has exalted the virtues and excused the failings of a generous patron, who seated Chris-

Propagation of Christianity.

64 See Eusebius in Vit. Const. l. i. c. 15-32, and the whole of our of Constantine's sermon. The fourth discourse of the emperor has furnished Baronius with a specious argument in favour of his early baptism.

65 Zosimus, l. i. c. 10.

66 Eusebius in Vit. Const. l. i. c. 15, 16.

67 The theory and practice of baptism, with regard to the ceremony of baptism, have been copiously explained by Dom Guérin, Hist. des Sacramens, tom. i. p. 3-103. Dom Marone, de Baptismo, Euseb. Antiquit. tom. i., and by Bingham, in the fourth and eleventh books of his Christian Antiquities. One circumstance may be observed, in which the modern Catholics have not entirely departed from the ancient custom. The sacrament of baptism (even when it was administered to infants) was immediately followed by confirmation and the holy communion.

68 The fathers, who censured this criminal delay, could not deny the certain and victorious efficacy even of a delayed baptism. The ingenious rhetoric of Christianity could not omit these arguments against these prudent Christians. 1. That we should love and pursue

virtue for her own sake, and not merely for the reward. 2. That we may be surprised by death without an opportunity of baptism.

7. That although we shall be placed in heaven, we shall only twinkle like little stars, when compared to the suns of righteousness who have run their appointed course with labour, with success, and with glory. Chrysostom in Epist. ad Helios, Homil. xiv. apud Chardon, Hist. des Sacramens, tom. i. p. 19. I believe that this delay of baptism, though attended with the most numerous consequences, was never condemned by any general or provincial council, or by any public act or declaration of the church. The zeal of the bishops was easily kindled on much sadder occasion.

69 Zosimus, l. i. c. 101. For this disingenuous falsehood he has deserved and experienced the harshest treatment from all the ecclesiastical writers, except cardinal Baronius (A. D. 524. p. 17-22), who had no reason to excuse the infidel on a particular service against the Arians in Eusebius.

70 Eusebius, l. i. c. 61, 62, 63. The bishop of Caesarea supposes the salvation of Constantine with the most perfect confidence.



long since established, as a fundamental maxim of the Roman constitution, that every rank of citizens was alike subject to the laws, and that the care of religion was the right as well as duty of the civil magistrate. Constantine and his successors could not easily persuade themselves that they had forfeited, by their conversion, any branch of the Imperial prerogatives, or that they were incapable of giving laws to a religion which they had protected and embraced. The emperors still continued to exercise a supreme jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical order; and the A. D. 312—438. sixteenth book of the Theodosian code represents, under a variety of titles, the authority which they assumed in the government of the Catholic church.

But the distinction of the spiritual and temporal powers,<sup>81</sup> which had never been imposed on the free spirit of Greece and Rome, was introduced and confirmed by the legal establishment of Christianity. The office of supreme pontiff, which, from the time of Numa to that of Augustus, had always been exercised by one of the most eminent of the senators, was at length united to the Imperial dignity. The first magistrate of the state, as often as he was prompted by superstitution or policy, performed with his own hands the sacerdotal functions;<sup>82</sup> nor was there any order of priests, either at Rome or in the provinces, who claimed a more sacred character among men, or a more intimate communication with the gods. But in the Christian church, which intrusts the service of the altar to a perpetual succession of consecrated ministers, the monarch, whose spiritual rank is less honourable than that of the meanest deacon, was seated below the rails of the sanctuary, and confounded with the rest of the faithful multitude.<sup>83</sup> The emperor might be saluted as the father of his people, but he owed a filial duty and reverence to the fathers of the church; and the same marks of respect, which Constantine had paid to the persons of saints and confessors, were soon exacted by the pride of the episcopal order.<sup>84</sup> A secret conflict between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions embarrassed the operations of the Roman government; and a pious emperor was alarmed by the guilt and danger of touching with a profane hand the ark of the covenant. The separation of men into the two orders of the clergy and of the laity was, indeed, familiar to many nations of antiquity; and the priests of India, of Persia, of Assyria, of Judea, of Ethiopia, of Egypt, and of Gaul, derived from a celestial origin the temporal power and posses-

sions which they had acquired. These venerable institutions had gradually assimilated themselves to the manners and government of their respective countries;<sup>85</sup> but the opposition or contempt of the civil power served to cement the discipline of the primitive church. The Christians had been obliged to elect their own magistrates, to raise and distribute a peculiar revenue, and to regulate the internal policy of their republic by a code of laws, which were ratified by the consent of the people, and the practice of three hundred years. When Constantine embraced the faith of the Christians, he seemed to contract a perpetual alliance with a distinct and independent society; and the privileges granted or confirmed by that emperor, or by his successors, were accepted, not as the precarious favours of the court, but as the just and inalienable rights of the ecclesiastical order.

The Catholic church was administered by the spiritual and legal jurisdiction of eighteen hundred bishops<sup>86</sup>; of whom one thousand were seated in the Greek, and eight hundred in the Latin, provinces of the empire. The extent and boundaries of their respective dioceses had been variously and accidentally decided by the zeal and success of the first missionaries, by the wishes of the people, and by the propagation of the Gospel. Episcopal churches were closely planted along the banks of the Nile, on the sea-coast of Africa, in the proconsular Asia, and through the southern provinces of Italy. The bishops of Gaul and Spain, of Thrace and Pontus, reigned over an ample territory, and delegated their rural suffragans to execute the subordinate duties of the pastoral office.<sup>87</sup> A Christian diocese might be spread over a province, or reduced to a village; but all the bishops possessed an equal and indelible character: they all derived the same powers and privileges from the apostles, from the people, and from the laws. While the *civil* and *military* professions were separated by the policy of Constantine, a new and perpetual order of *ecclesiastical* ministers, always respectable, sometimes dangerous, was established in the church and state. The important review of their station and attributes may be distributed under the following heads: I. Popular election. II. Ordination of the clergy. III. Property. IV. Civil jurisdiction. V. Spiritual censures. VI. Exercise of public oratory. VII. Privilege of legislative assemblies.

I. The freedom of election subsisted long after the legal establish-

State of the bishops under the Christian emperors.

I. Election of bishops

<sup>81</sup> See the epistle of Orosius, ap. Athanasium, vol. i. p. 510. The public remembrance which Orosius was forced to address to the son, contained the same principles of ecclesiastical and civil government, which he had secretly inculcated into the mind of the father.

<sup>82</sup> M. de la Bastie (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xv. p. 35—61) has evidently proved, that Augustus and his successors exercised in person all the sacred functions of pontifex

the haughty ceremonial which Leontius, bishop of Tripoli, imposed on the empress. Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 754.

<sup>83</sup> Orosius, informs us, that the priests, were initiated, after

as the numbers are not ascertained by any ancient writer, or original catalogue, for the partial lists of the eastern churches are comparatively modern. The patient diligence of Charles a St. Paul, of Luke Holstenius, and of Bingham, has laboriously investigated all the Episcopal sees of the Catholic church, which was almost commensurate with the Roman empire. The ninth book of the Christian Antiquities is a very accurate map of ecclesiastical geography.

<sup>87</sup> On the subject of the rural bishops, or *choroepiscopi*, who voted in synods, and conferred the minor orders, see Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 447, dec., and Chardon, Hist. des Sacraments, tom. i. p. 795, &c. They do not appear till the fourth century; and this episcopal character, which had excited the jealousy of the prelates, was abolished before the end of the tenth, both in the East and the West.

received the cup from an attendant, and gave it to the priest, or his companion, before he allowed the emperor to drink. The empress waited on Martin at table. Sulpicius Severus, in Vit. St. Martin c. 5, and Dialogue ii. 7. Yet it may be doubted, whether these extraordinary compliments were paid to the bishop or the saint. The honours usually granted to the former character may be seen in Bingham's Antiquities, l. ii. c. 9, and Vales. ad Theodoret, l. iv. c. 6. See

ment of Christianity ;<sup>88</sup> and the subjects of Rome enjoyed in the church the privilege which they had lost in the republic, of choosing the magistrates whom they were bound to obey. As soon as a bishop had closed his eyes, the metropolitan issued a commission to one of his suffragans to administer the vacant see, and prepare, within a limited time, the future election. The right of voting was vested in the inferior clergy, who were best qualified to judge of the merit of the candidates ; in the senators or nobles of the city, all those who were distinguished by their rank or property ; and finally in the whole body of the people, who, on the appointed day, flocked in multitudes from the most remote parts of the diocese,<sup>89</sup> and sometimes silenced, by their tumultuous acclamations, the voice of reason and the laws of discipline. These acclamations might accidentally fix on the head of the most deserving competitor ; of some ancient pre-byster, some holy monk, or some layman, conspicuous for his zeal and piety. But the episcopal chair was solicited, especially in the great and opulent cities of the empire, as a temporal rather than as a spiritual dignity. The interested views, the selfish and angry passions, the arts of perfidy and dissimulation, the secret corruption, the open and even bloody violence which had formerly disgraced the freedom of election in the commonwealths of Greece and Rome, too often influenced the choice of the successors of the apostles. While one of the candidates boasted the honours of his family, a second allured his judges by the delicacies of a plentiful table, and a third, more guilty than his rivals, offered to share the plunder of the church among the accomplices of his sacrilegious hopes.<sup>90</sup> The civil as well as ecclesiastical laws attempted to exclude the populace from this solemn and important transaction. The canons of ancient discipline, by requiring several episcopal qualifications of age, station, &c. restrained in some measure the indiscriminate caprice of the electors. The authority of the provincial bishops, who were assembled in the vacant church to consecrate the choice of the people, was interposed to moderate their passions, and to correct their mistakes. The bishops could refuse to ordain an unworthy candidate, and the rage of contending factions sometimes accepted their impartial mediation. The submission, or the resistance, of the clergy and people, on various occasions, afforded different precedents, which were insensibly converted into positive laws, and provincial customs :<sup>91</sup> but it was every

where admitted, as a fundamental maxim of religious policy, that no bishop could be imposed on an orthodox church, without the consent of its members. The emperors as the guardians of the public peace, and as the first citizens of Rome and Constantinople, might effectually declare their wishes in the choice of a primate : but those absolute monarchs respected the freedom of ecclesiastical elections ; and while they distributed and resumed the honours of the state and army, they allowed eighteen hundred perpetual magistrates to receive their important offices from the free suffrages of the people.<sup>12</sup> It was agreeable to the dictates of justice, that these magistrates should not desert an honourable station from which they could not be removed ; but the wisdom of councils endeavoured, without much success, to enforce the residence, and to prevent the translation, of bishops. The discipline of the West was indeed less relaxed than that of the East ; but the same passions which made those regulations necessary, rendered them ineffectual. The reproaches which angry prelates have so vehemently urged against each other, serve only to expose their common guilt, and their mutual indiscretion.

II. The bishops alone possessed the faculty of *spiritual generation* : and this extraordinary privilege might compensate, in some degree, for the painful celibacy<sup>93</sup> which was imposed as a virtue, as a duty, and at length as a positive obligation. The religions of antiquity which established a separate order of priests, dedicated a holy race, a tribe or family, to the perpetual service of the gods<sup>94</sup> Such institutions were founded for possession, rather than conquest. The children of the priests enjoyed, with proud and indolent security, their sacred inheritance ; and the fiery spirit of enthusiasm was abated by the cares, the pleasures, and the endearments of domestic life. But the Christian sanctuary was open to every ambitious candidate, who aspired to its heavenly promises, or temporal possessions. The office of priests, like that of soldiers or magistrates, was strenuously exercised by those men, whose temper and abilities had prompted them to embrace the ecclesiastical profession, or who had been selected by a discerning bishop, as the best qualified to promote the glory and interest of the church. The bishops<sup>95</sup> (till the abuse was restrained by the prudence of the laws) might constrain the reluctant, and protect the distressed ; and the imposition of hands for ever bestowed some of the most valuable privi-

88. Thompson (*Discipline del' Eglise*, tom. II, l. c. 1-5, p. 677-721) has copiously treated of the election of bishops during the first centuries, both in the East and in the West, but he shows a very partial bias in favour of the episcopal doctrine. Hergen (l. c. 2, l. 2) is moderate, and (l. c. 1) at the end of the 18th century (p. 108-128) is very clear and concise.

109. Incredulitas multum etiam saltem ex eo quod dicitur *Times*, sed etiam ex vicinis urbibus ad suffragium foret accurrebant. See *Suppl. c.* Severus, in *Vit. Marini* c. 7. The election of 1086 (chapter xiii.) prohibits mob, and turnout, and *beatitudinem* confers the right of election to the nobility. Novell. cxxvi. l.

90 The epistles of Sidonius Apollinaris, iv. 2<sup>a</sup> viii. 4, exhibit some of the scandals of the Gallic church, and Gaul was less polished and less corrupt than the East.

92 All the examples quoted by Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, torn. II, l. 1. u. vi. p. 701-714) appear to be extraordinary acts of power, and even of oppression. The confirmation of the bishop of Alexandria is mentioned by Philostorgius as a more regular proceeding (*Hist. Eccles.* l. II, 11.).

93 The celebracy of the church during the first five or six centuries, is a subject of this point, and indeed of controversy, which has been very dignitously examined. See in particular 'Thomassin, Dissertations Éclesiastiques, l. 1. c. 1. p. 886, 1612, and Bingham's Antiquities, l. 1. c. 5. Each of these authors had partial critics, one for the truth is produced, and the other is corrected.

[illegible]

leges of civil society. The whole body of the Catholic clergy, more numerous perhaps than the legions, was exempted by the emperors from all service, private or public, all municipal offices, and all personal taxes and contributions, which pressed on their fellow-citizens with intolerable weight; and the duties of their holy profession were accepted as a full discharge of their obligations to the republic.<sup>6</sup> Each bishop acquired an absolute and indefeasible right to the perpetual obedience of the clerk whom he ordained: the clergy of each episcopal church, with its dependent parishes, formed a regular and permanent society; and the cathedrals of Constantinople<sup>7</sup> and Carthage<sup>8</sup> maintained their peculiar establishment of five hundred ecclesiastical ministers. Their ranks<sup>9</sup> and numbers were insensibly multiplied by the superstition of the times, which introduced into the church the splendid ceremonies of a Jewish or Pagan temple; and a long train of priests, deacons, sub-deacons, acolythes, exorcists, readers, singers, and dookeepers, contributed, in their respective stations, to swell the pomp and harmony of religious worship. The clerical name and privilege were extended to many pious fraternities, who devoutly supported the ecclesiastical throne.<sup>10</sup> Six hundred *paraboli*, or adventurers, visited the sick at Alexandria; eleven hundred *copulæ*, or grave-diggers, buried the dead at Constantinople; and the swarms of monks, who arose from the Nile, over-spread and darkened the face of the Christian world.

III. The edict of Milan secured

the revenue as well as the peace of the church.<sup>101</sup> The Christians not only recovered the lands and houses of which they had been stripped by the persecuting laws of Diocletian, but they acquired a perfect title to all the possessions which they had hitherto enjoyed by the connivance of the magistrate. As soon as Christianity became the religion of the emperor and the empire, the national clergy might claim a decent and honourable maintenance; and the payment of an annual tax might have delivered the people from the more oppressive tribute, which superstition imposes on her votaries. But as the wants and expenses of the church increased with her prosperity, the ecclesiastical order was still supported and enriched by the voluntary oblations of the faithful. Eight

A.D. 321. years after the edict of Milan, Constantine granted to all his subjects

the free and universal permission of bequeathing their fortunes to the holy Catholic church;<sup>102</sup> and their devout liberality, which during their lives was checked by luxury or avarice, flowed with a profuse stream at the hour of their death. The wealthy Christians were encouraged by the example of their sovereign. An absolute monarch, who is rich without patrimony, may be charitable without merit; and Constantine too easily believed that he should purchase the favour of Heaven, if he maintained the idle at the expense of the industrious; and distributed among the saints the wealth of the republic. The same messenger who carried over to Africa the head of Maxentius, might be intrusted with an epistle to Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage. The emperor acquits him, that the treasurers of the province are directed to pay into his hands the sum of three thousand *solidi*, or eighteen thousand pounds sterling; and to obey his farther requisitions for the relief of the churches of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania.<sup>103</sup> The liberality of Constantine increased in a just proportion to his faith, and to his vices. He assigned in each city a regular allowance of corn, to supply the fund of ecclesiastical charity; and the persons of both sexes who embraced the monastic life, became the peculiar favourites of their sovereign. The Christian temples of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople, &c. displayed the ostentatious piety of a prince, ambitious in a declining age to equal the perfect labours of antiquity.<sup>104</sup> The form of these religious edifices was simple and oblong; though they might sometimes swell into the shape of a dome, and sometimes branch into the figure of a cross. The timbers were framed for the most part of cedars of Libanus; the roof was covered with tiles, perhaps of gilt brass; and the walls, the columns, the pavement, were incrustured with variegated marbles. The most precious ornaments of gold and silver, of silk and gems, were profusely dedicated to the service of the altar; and this specious magnificence was supported on the solid and perpetual basis of landed property. In the space of two centuries, from the reign of Constantine to that of Justinian, the eighteen hundred churches of the empire were enriched by the frequent and unalienable gifts of the prince and people. An annual income of six hundred pounds sterling may be reasonably assigned to the bishops, who were placed at an equal distance between riches and poverty,<sup>105</sup>

<sup>96</sup> The charter of immunities, which the church obtained from the Cluniac superior, was signed at the Hildesheim Synod of 1020, and is illustrated with two scenes of a churchman's life, one from whose mind was haunted by the oppressive practices of a count and a priest.

and a priest, etc. Sixty presbyters, or priests, one hundred deacons, forty diaconesses, ninety-six monks, one hundred and ten readers, twenty-five chanters, and one hundred door-keepers. In all, five hundred and twenty-five. This moderate number was fixed by the emperor, to relieve the distress of the church, which had been involved in debt and worry by the expense of a much higher establishment.

98. *Universus clerus ecclesiarum Carthagenensium . . . fere quingenti vel amplius, inter quos praesumptum erat magister infuatus Victor Vitenis, de Perseut. Vandalis.*<sup>91</sup> p. 74 edit. Bignart. This remnant of a more prosperous state still subsisted under the oppression of the Vandals.

99 The number of *seven* orders has been fixed in the Latin church, exclusive of the episcopal character. But the four inferior ranks, the minor orders, are now reduced to empty and useless titles.

(100) see Cod. Theodos. I vii tit. 11 leg. 12, 13. Goldfroy's Commentary, and the Ecclesiastical History of Abt. Andrius, show the danger of these pious institutions, which often disturbed the peace of that turbulent capital.

citing, that there existed a species of limited property, *ad us comitis* *fori*, *ad us ecclesiarum* *non hominum* *sed hominum* *perpetuum*. Such a characterization of the supreme magisterate must have been received in all the tribunals as a maxim of civil law.

102 H. *bonum-pusque* licet utriusque (Catholicus Ecclesie) venerabilis conditione, decedens bonumque optavit relinquere. Cod. Theod. I c. 1 tit. II leg. 4. This law was published at Ravenna, A.D. 721, at a time when Constantine might foresee the probability of a rupture with the emperor of the East.

105 Fushun, Dist. Kailas, 1 x 6 in. Vit. Constant L. v. c. 28. He repeatedly expatiates on the liberality of the Christian heresy, which the bishop himself had an opportunity of knowing, and even

191 Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* l. x. c. 2, 3, 4. The bishop of Cæsarea, who studied and gratified the taste of his master, pronounced in public an

Comm. 1. iv. 76  
of Constant 76  
ornaments. id  
Constantinople 1 iv c 711. 35

101. See Justinian Novel cxxxi 3. The revenue of the patriarchs, and the most sum, this bishop, is not expressed, the value annual valuation of a hundred, is stated at *thirty*, and the lowest at *ten* pounds of gold, but the real amount be taken at *sixteen*, but the valuations are much below the real value.

but the standard of their wealth insensibly rose with the dignity and opulence of the cities which they governed. An authentic but imperfect<sup>106</sup> rent-roll specifies some houses, shops, gardens, and farms, which belonged to the three *Basilicæ* of Rome, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John Lateran, in the provinces of Italy, Africa, and the East. They produce, besides a reserved rent of oil, linen, paper, aromatics, &c. a clear annual revenue of twenty-two thousand pieces of gold, or twelve thousand pounds sterling. In the age of Constantine and Justinian, the bishops no longer possessed, perhaps they no longer deserved, the unsuspecting confidence of their clergy and people. The ecclesiastical revenues of each diocese were divided into four parts; for the respective uses, of the bishop himself, of his inferior clergy, of the poor, and of the public worship; and the abuse of this sacred trust was strictly and repeatedly checked.<sup>107</sup> The patrimony of the church was still subject to all the public impositions of the state.<sup>108</sup> The clergy of Rome, Alexandria, Thessalonica, &c. might solicit and obtain some partial exemptions; but the premature attempt of the great council of Rimini, which aspired to universal freedom, was successfully resisted by the son of Constantine.<sup>109</sup>

IV. The Latin clergy, who erected their tribunal on the ruins of the civil and common law, have modestly accepted, as the gift of Constantine,<sup>110</sup> the independent jurisdiction, which was the fruit of time, of accident, and of their own industry. But the liberality of the Christian emperors had actually endowed them with some legal prerogatives, which secured and dignified the sacerdotal character.<sup>111</sup> 1. Under a despotic government, the bishops alone enjoyed and asserted the inestimable privilege of being tried only by their *peers*, and even in a capital accusation, a synod of their brethren were the sole judges of their guilt or innocence. Such a tribunal, unless it was inflamed by personal resentment or religious discord, might be favourable, or even partial, to the sacerdotal order: but Constantine was satisfied,<sup>112</sup> that secret impunity would be less pernicious than public scandal; and the Nicene council was edified by his public declaration, that if he surprised a bishop in the act of adul-

tery, he should cast his Imperial mantle over the episcopal sinner. 2. The domestic jurisdiction of the bishops was at once a privilege and a restraint of the ecclesiastical order, whose civil causes were decently withdrawn from the cognizance of a secular judge. Their venial offences were not exposed to the shame of a public trial or punishment; and the gentle correction, which the tenderness of youth may endure from its parents or instructors, was inflicted by the temperate severity of the bishops. But if the clergy were guilty of any crime which could not be sufficiently expiated by their degradation from an honourable and beneficial profession, the Roman magistrate drew the sword of justice, without any regard to ecclesiastical immunities. 3. The arbitration of the bishops was ratified by a positive law; and the judges were instructed to execute, without appeal or delay, the episcopal decrees, whose validity had hitherto depended on the consent of the parties. The conversion of the magistrates themselves, and of the whole empire, might gradually remove the fears and scruples of the Christians. But they still resorted to the tribunal of the bishops, whose abilities and integrity they esteemed; and the venerable Austin enjoyed the satisfaction of complaining that his spiritual functions were perpetually interrupted by the invidious labour of deciding the claim or the possession of silver and gold, of lands and cattle. 4. The ancient privilege of sanctuary was transferred to the Christian temples, and extended, by the liberal piety of the younger Theodosius, to the precincts of consecrated ground.<sup>113</sup> The fugitive, and even guilty, suppliants, were permitted to implore either the justice, or the mercy, of the Deity and his ministers. The rash violence of despotism was suspended by the mild interposition of the church; and the lives or fortunes of the most eminent subjects might be protected by the mediation of the bishop.

V. The bishop was the perpetual censor of the morals of his people. The discipline of penance was digested into a system of canonical jurisprudence,<sup>114</sup> which accurately defined the duty of private or public confession, the rules of evidence, the degrees of guilt, and the measure of punishment. It was

<sup>106</sup> See Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 324, No. 58, 65, 70, 71). Every record which comes from the Vatican is justly suspected; yet these rent-rolls have an ancient and authentic colour, and it is at least evident, that, if forged, they were forged in a period when *fictio*, not *kingdoms*, were the objects of papal vengeance.

<sup>107</sup> See the latter part of the fifth century, mention it in their pastoral letters as a general law, which was already confirmed by the custom of Italy.

<sup>108</sup> Ambrose, the most strenuous asserter of ecclesiastical privileges, submits without a murmur to the payment of the land-tax.

<sup>109</sup> In Ariminense synodo super ecclesiarum et clericorum privilegiis tractatum habito, usque eo dispositio progressa est, ut nec quæ viderentur ad ecclesiam pertinere, a publicis functionibus cessarent inquietudine desistente, quod nostra videtur dudum sancto repulsoe Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 15. Had the synod of Rimini carried this point, such practical merit might have atoned for some speculative heresies.

<sup>110</sup> From Eusebius in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 27. and Sozomen l. i. c. 9. we are assured that the episcopal jurisdiction was extended and confirmed by Constantine, but the urgency of a famous edict, which was never fairly inserted in the Theodosian Code (see at the end, tom. vi. p. 303), is demonstrated by Theodore in the most satisfactory manner. It is strange that M. de Montesquieu, who

was a lawyer as well as a philosopher, should allege this edict of Constantine (Esprit des Loix, l. xxix. c. 16.) without intimating any suspicion.

<sup>111</sup> The subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction had been involved in a mist of passion, of prejudice, and of interest. Two of the fairest heads which have fallen into my hands, are the Institutes of the Roman law, by the Abbé de Fleury, and the Civil History of Naples, by Giannone. Their moderation was the effect of situation as well as of temper. Fleury was a French ecclesiastic, who respected the authority of the parliament; Giannone was an Italian lawyer, who dreaded the power of the church. And here let me observe, that as

<sup>112</sup> See Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xlv. leg. 4. In the works of St. Paul (tom. iv. p. 164 &c.) there is an excellent discourse on the origin, claims, abuses, and limits of sanctuaries. He justly observes, that ancient Greece in eight periods contained fifteen or twenty *asylæ* or sanctuaries, a number which at present may be found in Italy within the walls of a single city.

<sup>113</sup> The pontifical jurisdiction was continually improved by the canons of the councils. But as many cases were left to the discretion of the bishops, they were not fully published. But if we examine of the Roman prelate, the rules or discipline of the church, those of every age are inserted in the Theodosian Code (see at the end, tom. vi. p. 303).

impossible to execute this spiritual censure, if the Christian pontiff, who punished the obscure sins of the multitude, respected the conspicuous vices and destructive crimes of the magistrate; but it was impossible to arraign the conduct of the magistrate, without controlling the administration of civil government. Some considerations of religion, or loyalty, or fear, protected the sacred persons of the emperors from the zeal or resentment of the bishops; but they boldly censured and excommunicated the subordinate tyrants, who were not invested with the majesty of the purple. St Athanasius excommunicated one of the ministers of Egypt; and the interdict which he pronounced, of fire and water, was solemnly transmitted to the churches of Cappadocia.<sup>115</sup> Under the reign of the younger Theodosius, the polite and eloquent Synesius, one of the descendants of Hercules,<sup>116</sup> filled the episcopal seat of Ptolemais, near the ruins of ancient Cyrene;<sup>117</sup> and the philosophic bishop supported with dignity the character which he had assumed with reluctance.<sup>118</sup> He vanquished the monster of Libya, the president Andronicus, who abused the authority of a venal office, invented new modes of rapine and torture, and aggravated the guilt of oppression by that of sacrilege.<sup>119</sup> After a fruitless attempt to reclaim the haughty magistrate by mild and religious admonition, Synesius proceeds to inflict the last sentence of ecclesiastical justice,<sup>120</sup> which devotes Andronicus, with his associates and their families, to the abhorrence of earth and heaven. The impenitent sinners, more cruel than Phalaris or Sennacherib, more destructive than war, pestilence, or a cloud of locusts, are deprived of the name and privileges of Christians, of the participation of the sacraments, and of the hope of Paradise. The bishop exhorts the clergy, the magistrates, and the people, to renounce all society with the enemies of Christ; to exclude them from their houses and tables; and to refuse them the common offices of life, and the decent rites of burial. The church of Ptolemais, obscure and contemptible as she may appear, addresses this declaration to all her sister churches of the world; and the profane, who reject her decrees, will be involved in the guilt and punishment of Andronicus and his impious followers. These spiritual terrors were enforced by a detestable application to the Byzantine court; the

trembling president implored the mercy of the church; and the descendant of Hercules enjoyed the satisfaction of raising a prostrate tyrant from the ground.<sup>121</sup> Such principles and such examples insensibly prepared the triumph of the Roman pontiffs, who have trampled on the necks of kings.

VI. Every popular government has experienced the effects of rude or artificial eloquence. The coldest nature is animated, the firmest reason is moved, by the rapid communication of the prevailing impulse; and each hearer is affected by his own passions, and by those of the surrounding multitude. The ruin of civil liberty had silenced the demagogues of Athens, and the tribunes of Rome; the custom of preaching, which seems to constitute a considerable part of Christian devotion, had not been introduced into the temples of antiquity; and the ears of monarchs were never invaded by the harsh sound of popular eloquence, till the pulpits of the empire were filled with sacred orators, who possessed some advantages unknown to their profane predecessors.<sup>122</sup> The arguments and rhetoric of the tribune were instantly opposed, with equal arms, by skilful and resolute antagonists; and the cause of truth and reason might derive an accidental support from the conflict of hostile passions. The bishop, or some distinguished presbyter, to whom he cautiously delegated the powers of preaching, harangued, without the danger of interruption or reply, a submissive multitude, whose minds had been prepared and subdued by the awful ceremonies of religion. Such was the strict subordination of the Catholic church, that the same concerted sounds might issue at once from an hundred pulpits of Italy or Egypt, if they were *tuned*<sup>123</sup> by the master hand of the Roman or Alexandrian primate. The design of this institution was laudable, but the fruits were not always salutary. The preachers recommended the practice of the social duties; but they exalted the perfection of monastic virtue, which is painful to the individual, and useless to mankind. Their charitable exhortations betrayed a secret wish, that the clergy might be permitted to manage the wealth of the faithful, for the benefit of the poor. The most sublime representations of the attributes and laws of the Deity were sullied by an idle mixture of metaphysical subtleties, puerile rites, and

VI. Freedom of public preaching

115 Basil, Epist. l. viii. tom. iii. Breviary Cyril. Epist. A. D. 370. No. 10. who declares that he thought it his duty to excommunicate a pastor, who was not excommunicated by the church of Constantinople. In his epistle, he mentions the names of the bishops of Alexandria, Vienne, and the rest of the churches, who were in constant communion with the bishops of the church of Constantinople.

116 The first century of his reign, from the reign of Theodosius, the first Decretal of the church, and the first Decretal of the church, was the first century of his reign, from the reign of Theodosius, the first Decretal of the church, and the first Decretal of the church.

117 Synesius, Epist. l. viii. tom. iii. Breviary Cyril. Epist. A. D. 370. No. 10. who declares that he thought it his duty to excommunicate a pastor, who was not excommunicated by the church of Constantinople.

118 Synesius, Epist. l. viii. tom. iii. Breviary Cyril. Epist. A. D. 370. No. 10. who declares that he thought it his duty to excommunicate a pastor, who was not excommunicated by the church of Constantinople.

119 Synesius, Epist. l. viii. tom. iii. Breviary Cyril. Epist. A. D. 370. No. 10. who declares that he thought it his duty to excommunicate a pastor, who was not excommunicated by the church of Constantinople.

120 Synesius, Epist. l. viii. tom. iii. Breviary Cyril. Epist. A. D. 370. No. 10. who declares that he thought it his duty to excommunicate a pastor, who was not excommunicated by the church of Constantinople.

121 Synesius, Epist. l. viii. tom. iii. Breviary Cyril. Epist. A. D. 370. No. 10. who declares that he thought it his duty to excommunicate a pastor, who was not excommunicated by the church of Constantinople.

122 Synesius, Epist. l. viii. tom. iii. Breviary Cyril. Epist. A. D. 370. No. 10. who declares that he thought it his duty to excommunicate a pastor, who was not excommunicated by the church of Constantinople.

123 Synesius, Epist. l. viii. tom. iii. Breviary Cyril. Epist. A. D. 370. No. 10. who declares that he thought it his duty to excommunicate a pastor, who was not excommunicated by the church of Constantinople.

fititious miracles: and they expatiated, with the most fervent zeal, on the religious merit of hating the adversaries, and obeying the ministers, of the church. When the public peace was distracted by heresy and schism, the sacred orators sounded the trumpet of discord, and, perhaps, of sedition. The understandings of their congregations were perplexed by mystery, their passions were inflamed by invectives: and they rushed from the Christian temples of Antioch or Alexandria, prepared either to suffer or to inflict martyrdom. The corruption of taste and language is strongly marked in the vehement declamations of the Latin bishops; but the compositions of Gregory and Chrysostom have been compared with the most splendid models of Attic, or at least of Asiatic, eloquence.<sup>124</sup>

VII. The representatives of the Christian republic were regularly assembled in the spring and autumn of each year; and these synods diffused the spirit of ecclesiastical discipline and legislation through the hundred and twenty provinces of the Roman world.<sup>125</sup> The archbishop or metropolitan was empowered, by the laws, to summon the suffragan bishops of his province; to revise their conduct, to vindicate their rights, to declare their faith, and to examine the merit of the candidates who were elected by the clergy and people to supply the vacancies of the episcopal college. The primates of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Carthage, and afterwards Constantinople, who exercised a more ample jurisdiction, convened the numerous assembly of their dependent bishops. But the convocation of great and extraordinary synods was the prerogative of the emperor alone. Whenever the emergencies of the church required this decisive measure, he despatched a peremptory summons to the bishops, or the deputies of each province, with an order for the use of post-horses, and a competent allowance for the expenses of their journey. At an early period, when Constantine was the protector, rather than the proselyte, of Christianity, he referred the African controversy to the council of Arles; in which the bishops of York, of Treves, of Milan, and of Carthage, met as friends and brethren, to debate in their native tongue on the common interest of the Latin or Western church.<sup>126</sup> Eleven years afterwards, a more numerous and celebrated assembly was convened at Nice in Bithynia, to extinguish, by their final sentence, the subtle disputes which had arisen in Egypt on the subject of the Trinity. Three hundred and eighteen bishops obeyed the sum-

mons of their indulgent master; the ecclesiastics of every rank, and sect, and denomination, have been computed at two thousand and forty-eight persons;<sup>127</sup> the Greeks appeared in person; and the consent of the Latins was expressed by the legates of the Roman pontiff. The session, which lasted about two months, was frequently honoured by the presence of the emperor. Leaving his guards at the door, he seated himself (with the permission of the council) on a low stool in the midst of the hall. Constantine listened with patience, and spoke with modesty; and while he influenced the debates, he humbly professed that he was the minister, not the judge, of the successors of the apostles, who had been established as priests and as gods upon earth.<sup>128</sup> Such profound reverence of an absolute monarch towards a feeble and unarmed assembly of his own subjects, can only be compared to the respect with which the senate had been treated by the Roman princes who adopted the policy of Augustus. Within the space of fifty years, a philosophic spectator of the vicissitudes of human affairs might have contemplated Tacitus in the senate of Rome, and Constantine in the council of Nice. The fathers of the Capitol and those of the church had alike degenerated from the virtues of their founders; but as the bishops were more deeply rooted in the public opinion, they sustained their dignity with more decent pride, and sometimes opposed, with a manly spirit, the wishes of their sovereign. The progress of time and superstition erased the memory of the weakness, the passion, the ignorance, which disgraced these ecclesiastical synods; and the Catholic world has unanimously submitted to the infallible decrees of the general councils.<sup>129</sup>

## CHAP. XXI.

*Persecution of Heresy. — The Schism of the Donatists. — The Arian Controversy. — Athanasius. — Distracted State of the Church and Empire under Constantine and his Sons. — Toleration of Paganism.*

THE grateful applause of the clergy has consecrated the memory of a prince who indulged their passions and promoted their interest. Constantine gave them security, wealth, honours, and revenge: and the support of the orthodox faith was considered as the most sacred and important duty of the civil magistrate. The edict of Milan, the great charter of toleration, had confirmed to each individual of the Roman

<sup>124</sup> These great orators were, according to the common account, the fathers of the church of the east, and the fathers of the church of the west.

<sup>125</sup> The Council of Nice, in the year 325, was the first general council, and the first in which the bishops of all the provinces of the empire were assembled. The Council of Arles, in the year 314, was the first in which the bishops of all the provinces of the empire were assembled. The Council of Constantinople, in the year 381, was the first in which the bishops of all the provinces of the empire were assembled. The Council of Ephesus, in the year 431, was the first in which the bishops of all the provinces of the empire were assembled. The Council of Chalcedon, in the year 451, was the first in which the bishops of all the provinces of the empire were assembled.

<sup>126</sup> We have in this, three of the four great general councils of the church. The fourth, the Council of Constantinople, in the year 381, was the first in which the bishops of all the provinces of the empire were assembled.

<sup>127</sup> See Tillemont, tom. vi. p. 117, and Beauséjour, Hist. du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 12. The number of bishops who attended the Council of Nice is given by Eusebius in the 25th canon. It is not, however, to be extended far beyond the limits of the orthodox and orthodox provinces.

<sup>128</sup> See Eusebius, in Vit. Constantini, lib. 6. c. 42. Tillemont, Mem. de l'Empire, tom. i. p. 117.

<sup>129</sup> See Tillemont, tom. i. p. 117, and Beauséjour, Hist. du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 12. The number of bishops who attended the Council of Nice is given by Eusebius in the 25th canon. It is not, however, to be extended far beyond the limits of the orthodox and orthodox provinces.

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world the privilege of choosing and professing his own religion. But this inestimable privilege was soon violated: with the knowledge of truth, the emperor imbibed the maxims of persecution; and the sects which dissented from the Catholic church, were afflicted and oppressed by the triumph of Christianity. Constantine easily believed that the heretics, who presumed to dispute *his* opinions, or to oppose *his* commands, were guilty of the most absurd and criminal obstinacy; and that a seasonable application of moderate severities might save those unhappy men from the danger of an everlasting condemnation. Not a moment was lost in excluding the ministers and teachers of the separated congregations from any share of the rewards and immunities which the emperor had so liberally bestowed on the orthodox clergy. But as the sectaries might still exist under the cloud of royal disgrace, the conquest of the East was immediately followed by an edict which announced their total destruction.<sup>1</sup> After a preamble filled with passion and reproach, Constantine absolutely prohibits the assemblies of the heretics, and confiscates their public property to the use either of the revenue or of the Catholic church. The sects against whom the imperial severity was directed, appear to have been the adherents of Paul of Samosata; the Montanists of Phrygia, who maintained an enthusiastic succession of prophecy; the Novatians, who sternly rejected the temporal efficacy of repentance; the Marcionites and Valentinians, under whose leading banners the various Gnostics of Asia and Egypt had insensibly rallied; and perhaps the Manichæans, who had recently imported from Persia a more awful composition of Oriental and Christian theology.<sup>2</sup> The design of extirpating the name, or at least of restraining the progress, of these odious heretics, was prosecuted with vigour and effect. Some of the penal regulations were copied from the edicts of Diocletian; and this method of conversion was applauded by the same bishops who had felt the hand of oppression, and had pleaded for the rights of humanity. Two immaterial circumstances may serve, however, to prove that the mind of Constantine was not entirely corrupted by the spirit of zeal and bigotry. Before he condemned the Manichæans and their kindred sects, he resolved to make an accurate enquiry into the nature of their religious principles. As if he distrusted the impartiality of his ecclesiastical counsellors, this delicate commission was intrusted to a civil magistrate; whose learning and moderation he justly esteemed; and of

whose venal character he was probably ignorant.<sup>3</sup> The emperor was soon convinced, that he had too hastily proscribed the orthodox faith and the exemplary morals of the Novatians, who had dissented from the church in some articles of discipline which were not perhaps essential to salvation. By a particular edict, he exempted them from the general penalties of the law;<sup>4</sup> allowed them to build a church at Constantinople, respected the miracles of their saints, invited their bishop Acesius to the council of Nice; and gently ridiculed the narrow tenets of his sect by a familiar jest, which, from the mouth of a sovereign, must have been received with applause and gratitude.<sup>5</sup>

The complaints and mutual accusations which assailed the throne of Constantine, as soon as the death of Maxentius had submitted Africa to his victorious arms, were ill adapted to edify an imperfect proselyte. He learned, with surprise, that the provinces of that great country, from the confines of Cyrene to the columns of Hercules, were distracted with religious discord.<sup>6</sup> The source of the division was derived from a double election in the church of Carthage; the second, in rank and opulence, of the ecclesiastical thrones of the West. Cæcilian and Majorinus were the two rival primates of Africa; and the death of the latter soon made room for Donatus, who, by his superior abilities and apparent virtues, was the firmest support of his party. The advantage which Cæcilian might claim from the priority of his ordination, was destroyed by the illegal, or at least indecent, haste, with which it had been performed, without expecting the arrival of the bishops of Numidia. The authority of these bishops, who, to the number of seventy, condemned Cæcilian, and consecrated Majorinus, is again weakened by the infamy of some of their personal characters; and by the female intrigues, sacrilegious bargains, and tumultuous proceedings, which are imputed to this Numidian council.<sup>7</sup> The bishops of the contending factions maintained, with equal ardour and obstinacy, that their adversaries were degraded, or at least dishonoured, by the odious crime of delivering the Holy Scriptures to the officers of Diocletian. From their mutual reproaches, as well as from the story of this dark transaction, it may justly be inferred, that the late persecution had embittered the zeal, without reforming the manners, of the African Christians. That divided church was incapable of affording an impartial judicature; the controversy was solemnly tried in

African controversy.  
A. D. 312.

<sup>1</sup> "a ladder, and get up to heaven by yourself." Most of the Christian sects have, by turns, borrowed the ladder of Aesculap.

greatest part of a volume (tom. vi. part. i.), and I am indebted to him for a ample collection of all the passages of his favourite St. Augustine which relate to these heretics.

<sup>7</sup> Schismata unum illo tempore confuse multius iracundia pepercit: ambigua nutriti, avaritia roboravit. Optatus, l. i. c. 13. The language of Turpinus is that of a furious madman. Dicitur necesse filios secutus turpinus. Turpinus respondit. Putas me terrenam te occidi, et occiduosque contra me faciant. Acta concilii Carthagensis, ad cæc. Optat. p. 271. When Cæcilian was invited to an assembly of bishops, Turpinus said to his brethren, or rather to his worshippers, "Let him come hither to receive our imposition of hands, and we will break his head by way of penance." Optat. l. i. c. 13.

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius in Vit. Constantini l. vi. c. 57, 64, 65, 66.

<sup>2</sup> After some examination of the various opinions of Tillamont, Beausobre, Lardner, &c. I am convinced that Vales had not propagated his sect even in Persia, before the year 220. It is strange that a philosophic and foreign heresy should have penetrated so rapidly into the African provinces; yet I cannot easily reject the edict of Diocletian against the Manichæans, which may be found in Baronius (Annal. Eccl. A. D. 287).

<sup>3</sup> Constantinus enim, cum limitatus superstitionum quereret sectas, Manicheorum ut similia. &c. Ammian. x. l. 13. Strategius, who from this commission obtained the surname of *Muonamur*, was a Christian of the Antistes. He acted as one of counts at the council of Sardica. Eusebius praises his mildness and prudence. Vales ad locum Ammian.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. v. leg. 2. As the general law is not inserted in the Theodosian Code, it is probable that, in the year 435, the sect, which it had condemned, were a ready extinct.

<sup>5</sup> Sozomen. l. i. c. 26. Soz. e. l. i. c. 10. These historians have been suspected of partiality, since they are an adherents to the Novatian doctrine. The emperor said to the bishop, "Acesius, take

five successive tribunals, which were appointed by the emperor; and the whole proceeding, from the first appeal to the final sentence, lasted above three years. A severe inquisition, which was taken by the prætorian vicar, and the proconsul of Africa, the report of two episcopal visitors who had been sent to Carthage, the decrees of the councils of Rome and of Ales, and the supreme judgment of Constantine himself in his sacred consistory, were all favourable to the cause of Cæcilian; and he was unanimously acknowledged by the civil and ecclesiastical powers, as the true and lawful primate of Africa. The honours and estates of the church were attributed to his suffragan bishops, and it was not without difficulty, that Constantine was satisfied with inflicting the punishment of exile on the principal leaders of the Donatist faction. As their cause was examined with attention, perhaps it was determined with justice. Perhaps their complaint was not without foundation, that the credulity of the emperor had been abused by the insidious arts of his favourite O-us. The influence of falsehood and corruption might procure the condemnation of the innocent, or aggravate the sentence of the guilty. Such an act, however, of injustice, if it concluded an importunate dispute, might be numbered among the transient evils of a despotic administration, which are neither felt nor remembered by posterity.

But this incident, so inconsiderable that it scarcely deserves a place in history, was productive of a memorable schism, which afflicted the provinces of Africa above three hundred years, and was extinguished only with Christianity itself. The inflexible zeal of freedom and fanaticism animated the Donatists to refuse obedience to the usurpers, whose election they disputed, and whose spiritual powers they denied. Excluded from the civil and religious communion of mankind, they boldly excommunicated the rest of mankind, who had embraced the impious party of Cæcilian, and of the Traditors, from whom he derived his pretended ordination. They asserted with confidence, and almost with exultation, that the Apostolical succession was interrupted; that all the bishops of Europe and Asia were infected by the contagion of guilt and schism; and that the prerogatives of the Catholic church were confined to the chosen portion of the African believers, who alone had preserved inviolate the integrity of their faith and discipline. This rigid theory was supported by the most unchangeable conduct. Whenever they acquired a proselyte, even from the distant provinces of the East, they carefully repeated the sacred rites of baptism and ordination; as they rejected the validity of those which he had already received from the hands of heretics or

schismatics. Bishops, virgins, and even spotless infants, were subjected to the disgrace of a public penance, before they could be admitted to the communion of the Donatists. If they obtained possession of a church which had been used by their Catholic adversaries, they purified the unhallowed building with the same jealous care which a temple of idols might have required. They washed the pavement, scraped the walls, burnt the altar, which was commonly of wood, melted the consecrated plate, and cast the Holy Eucharist to the dogs, with every circumstance of ignominy which could provoke and perpetuate the animosity of religious factions.<sup>9</sup> Notwithstanding this irreconcilable aversion, the two parties, who were mixed and separated in all the cities of Africa, had the same language and manners, the same zeal and learning, the same faith and worship. Prescribed by the civil and ecclesiastical powers of the empire, the Donatists still maintained in some provinces, particularly in Numidia, their superior numbers; and four hundred bishops acknowledged the jurisdiction of their primate. But the invincible spirit of the sect sometimes preyed on its own vitals; and the bosom of their schismatical church was torn by intestine divisions. A fourth part of the Donatist bishops followed the independent standard of the Maximianists. The narrow and solitary path which their first leaders had marked out, continued to deviate from the great society of mankind. Even the imperceptible sect of the Rogatians could affirm, without a blush, that when Christ and his true religion preserved only in a few nameless villages of the Casarian Mauretania,<sup>10</sup>

The schism of the Donatists was confined to Africa, the more diffusive mischief of the Trinitarian controversy successively penetrated into every part of the Christian world. The former was an accidental quarrel, occasioned by the abuse of freedom; the latter was a high and mysterious argument, derived from the abuse of philosophy. From the age of Constantine to that of Clovis and Theodoric, the temporal interests both of the Romans and barbarians were deeply involved in the theological disputes of Arianism. The historian may therefore be permitted respectfully to withdraw the veil of the sanctuary; and to deduce the progress of reason and faith, of error and passion, from the school of Plato to the decline and fall of the empire.

The genius of Plato, informed by his own meditation, or by the traditional knowledge of the priests of Egypt,<sup>11</sup> had ventured to explore the mysterious nature of the Deity. When he had elevated his mind to the sublime contemplation of the first self-existent, necessary cause of the

8 The councils of Aries, of Nice, and of Trent, conferred a new and more extensive fraction of ecclesiastical authority. The Donatists, however, had the advantage of a more uniform and unchangeable system, and of a more perfect union among themselves. The Council of Aries, in 325, pronounced the Donatists heretics, and excommunicated them. The Council of Nice, in 325, pronounced the Donatists heretics, and excommunicated them. The Council of Trent, in 1545, pronounced the Donatists heretics, and excommunicated them.

9 See the sixth book of the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, p. 100. The Donatists, in their persecutions, were not less cruel to the Catholics as they were to the heretics. They were the authors of the system of persecutions.

11 The Egyptian religion was a sacerdotal religion, and the priests were the only persons who were allowed to perform the religious rites. The Egyptian religion was a sacerdotal religion, and the priests were the only persons who were allowed to perform the religious rites. The Egyptian religion was a sacerdotal religion, and the priests were the only persons who were allowed to perform the religious rites.

universe, the Athenian sage was incapable of conceiving *how* the simple unity of his essence could admit the infinite variety of distinct and successive ideas which compose the model of the intellectual world; *how* a Being purely incorporeal could execute that perfect model, and mould with a plastic hand the rude and independent chaos. The vain hope of extricating himself from these difficulties, which must ever oppress the feeble powers of the human mind, might induce Plato to consider the divine nature under the threefold modification; of the first

cause, the reason, or *Logos*, and the soul or spirit of the universe. His poetical imagination sometimes fixed and animated these metaphysical abstractions; the three *archæ* or original principles were represented in the Platonic system as three Gods, united with each other by a mysterious and ineffable generation; and the *Logos* was particularly considered under the more accessible character of the Son of an Eternal Father, and the Creator and Governor of the world. Such appear to have been the secret doctrines which were cautiously whispered in the gardens of the academy; and which, according to the more recent disciples of Plato, could not be perfectly understood, till after an assiduous study of thirty years.<sup>12</sup>

The arms of the Macedonians diffused over Asia and Egypt the language and learning of Greece; and the theological system of Plato was taught, with less reserve, and perhaps with some improvements, in the celebrated school of Alexandria.<sup>13</sup> A numerous colony of Jews had been invited, by the favour of the Ptolemies, to settle in their new capital.<sup>14</sup> While the bulk of the nation practised the legal ceremonies, and pursued the lucrative occupations of commerce, a few Hebrews, of a more liberal spirit, devoted their lives to religious and philosophical contemplation.<sup>15</sup> They cultivated with diligence, and embraced with ardour, the theological system of the Athenian sage. But their national pride would have been mortified by a fair confession of their former poverty and they boldly marked, as the sacred inheritance of their ancestors, the gold and jewels which they had so lately stolen from their Egyptian masters. One hundred years before the birth of

Christ, a philosophical treatise, which manifestly betrays the style and sentiments of the school of Plato, was produced by the Alexandrian Jews, and unanimously received as a genuine and valuable relic of the inspired wisdom of Solomon.<sup>16</sup> A similar union of the Mosaic faith, and the Grecian philosophy, distinguishes the works of Philo, which were composed, for the most part, under the reign of Augustus.<sup>17</sup> The material soul of the universe<sup>18</sup> might offend the piety of the Hebrews: but they applied the character of the *Logos* to the Jehovah of Moses and the patriarchs; and the Son of God was introduced upon earth under a visible, and even human appearance, to perform those familiar offices which seem incompatible with the nature and attributes of the Universal Cause.<sup>19</sup>

The eloquence of Plato, the name of Solomon, the authority of the school of Alexandria, and the consent of the Jews and Greeks, were insufficient to establish the truth of a mysterious doctrine, which might please, but could not satisfy, a rational mind. A prophet, or apostle, inspired by the Deity, can alone exercise a lawful dominion over the faith of mankind; and the theology of Plato might have been for ever confounded with the philosophical visions of the Academy, the Porch, and the Lyceum, if the name and divine attributes of the *Logos* had not been confirmed by the celestial pen of the last and most sublime of the Evangelists.<sup>20</sup> The Christian Revelation, which was consummated under the reign of Nerva, disclosed to the world the amazing secret, that the *Logos*, who was with God from the beginning, and was God, who had made all things, and for whom all things had been made, was incarnate in the person of Jesus of Nazareth; who had been born of a virgin, and suffered death on the cross. Besides the general design of fixing on a perpetual basis the divine honours of Christ, the most ancient and respectable of the ecclesiastical writers have ascribed to the evangelic theologian, a particular intention to confute two opposite heresies, which disturbed the peace of the primitive church.<sup>21</sup>

I. The faith of the Ebionites,<sup>22</sup> perhaps of the Nazarenes,<sup>23</sup> was gross and imperfect. They revered Jesus as the greatest of the prophets, endowed with supernatural virtue and power. They ascribed to his person

Revealed by  
St. John.  
A. D. 97.

The Ebionites  
and Docetes.

12 The modern guides, who have lost the knowledge of the Platonic system, are, I think, the late Mr. Tennant (p. 209), Rousseau (the method of ideas), and Dr. Tennant (the Platonic system), p. 141-209, and Brucker Hist. Philosoph. tom. i. p. 676-706. As the learning of the Platonic system, and the doctrine of ideas, different, an imperfect, or even a false, degree of instruction from their disciples, and consequently from their agreement.

13 Brucker Hist. Philosoph. tom. i. p. 1749-1757. The Alexandrian school is celebrated by Strabo lib. xxi. and Ammianus (xvi. c. 7).

14 Joseph. Antiquit. lib. x. c. 1-5. Brucker, Hist. des Juifs, lib. vi. c. 7.

15 For the origin of the Jewish philosophy, see Eusebius, Preparat. Evangel. lib. 10. According to Philo, the Alexandrian studied philosophy, and Brucker has proved Hist. Philosoph. tom. i. p. 787, that they gave the preference to that of Plato.

16 See Calmet, Descriptions de la Bible, tom. i. p. 277. The book of the Wisdom of Solomon was received by many of the fathers as the work of that monarch, and although it is cited by the Protestants for want of a Hebrew original, it is believed, with the rest of the Vulgate, the canon of the canon of the Jews.

17 The Platonism of Philo, which was founded on a secret, is proved beyond a doubt by Le Clerc (Epist. Crit. tom. i. p. 221-228). Basnage (Hist. des Juifs, lib. c. 10), has clearly perceived, that the theological works of Philo were composed before the birth and most

of darkness, the Bull, Deleus

Revels, this material soul, Cudworth has discovered (p. 562), in Aristotle, Porphyry, Plotinus, and, as he thinks, in Plato himself, a strong, natural, and common-sense of the universe. But this double sense, explained by Brucker, Basnage, and Le Clerc, as an idle fancy of the later Platonists.

18 Philo, De Vita Mosis, tom. i. lib. vi. c. 2, p. 71. Bull, Deleus, lib. xi. c. 1, p. 17. This notion, till it was abused by the Arians, was truly adopted in the Christian theology. Terminus ad quem, as it is a remarkable and dangerous passage. After continuing, with and against the nature of God, and the actions of Jehovah, he concludes, *videtur et hoc de deo Deum non credenda fuisse, si non scripta essent; fortasse non credenda fuisse, si non scripta essent*.

19 The Platonism of the school of Alexandria, as it is called, is a mixture of the Platonic and the Jewish philosophy, and is a mixture of the Platonic and the Jewish philosophy.

20 See Brucker, Hist. Critique du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 377. The Gospel, according to St. John is supposed to have been published about seventy years after the death of Christ.

21 The sentiments of the Ebionites are fairly stated by Nossheim (p. 751), and Le Clerc (Hist. Eccles. p. 551). The Clementines, published among the apostolical Fathers, are attributed by the critics to one of these heretics.

22 Stanch polemics, like Bull (Judeum Eccles. Cathol. c. 2), insist on the orthodoxy of the Nazarenes, which appears less pure and certain in the eyes of Nossheim (p. 551).

and to his future reign all the predictions of the Hebrew oracles which relate to the spiritual and everlasting kingdom of the promised Messiah.<sup>23</sup> Some of them might confess that he was born of a virgin; but they obstinately rejected the preceding existence and divine perfections of the *Logos*, or Son of God, which are so clearly defined in the Gospel of St. John. About fifty years afterwards, the Ebionites, whose errors are mentioned by Justin Martyr with less severity than they seem to deserve,<sup>24</sup> formed a very inconsiderable portion of the Christian name. II. The Gnostics, who were distinguished by the epithet of *Docetes*, deviated into the contrary extreme; and betrayed the human, while they asserted the divine, nature of Christ. Educated in the school of Plato, accustomed to the sublime idea of the *Logos*, they readily conceived that the brightest *Zeon*, or *Emanation* of the Deity, might assume the outward shape and visible appearances of a mortal;<sup>25</sup> but they vainly pretended, that the impurities of matter are incompatible with the purity of a celestial substance. While the blood of Christ yet smoked on Mount Calvary, the Docetes invented the impious and extravagant hypothesis, that, instead of issuing from the womb of the Virgin,<sup>26</sup> he had descended on the banks of the Jordan in the form of perfect manhood; that he had imposed on the senses of his enemies, and of his disciples; and that the ministers of Pilate had wasted their impotent rage on an airy phantom, who seemed to expire on the cross, and, after three days, to rise from the dead.<sup>28</sup>

The divine sanction, which the Apostle had bestowed on the fundamental principle of the theology of Plato, encouraged the learned proselytes of the second and third centuries to admire and study the writings of the Athenian sage, who had thus marvellously anticipated one of the most surprising discoveries of the Christian revelation. The respectable name of Plato was used by the orthodox,<sup>4</sup> and abused by the heretics,<sup>5</sup> as the common support of truth and error; the authority of his skillful commentators, and the science of dialectics, were employed to justify the remote consequences of his opinions; and to supply the discreet silence of the inspired writers. The same subtle and profound questions concerning the nature, the generation, the distinction, and the equality of the three divine persons of the

mysterious *Trach*, or *Trinity*,<sup>31</sup> were agitated in the philosophical, and in the Christian, schools of Alexandria. An eager spirit of curiosity urged them to explore the secrets of the abyss; and the pride of the professors, and of their disciples, was satisfied with the science of words. But the most sagacious of the Christian theologians, the great Athanasius himself, has candidly confessed, <sup>2</sup> that whenever he forced his understanding to meditate on the divinity of the *Logos*, his toilsome and unavailing efforts recoiled on themselves; that the more he thought, the less he comprehended; and the more he wrote, the less capable was he of expressing his thoughts. In every step of the enquiry, we are compelled to feel and acknowledge the insuperable disproportion between the size of the object and the capacity of the human mind. We may strive to abstract the notions of time, of space, and of matter, which so closely adhere to all the perceptions of our experimental knowledge. But as soon as we presume to reason of infinite substance, of spiritual generation; as often as we deduce any positive conclusions from a negative idea; we are involved in darkness, perplexity, and inevitable contradiction. As these difficulties arise from the nature of the subject, they oppress, with the same insuperable weight, the philosophic and the theological disputant; but we may observe two essential and peculiar circumstances, which discriminated the doctrines of the Catholic church from the opinions of the Platonic school.

A chosen society of philosophers, men of a liberal education and a curious disposition, might sublimely meditate, and tranquilly discover in the gardens of Athens or the library of Alexandria, the abstruse questions of metaphysical science. The lofty speculations which neither convinced the understanding, nor agitated the passions, of the Platonists themselves, were entirely overlooked by the riotous busy, and even the stumorous part of mankind. But after the *Incarnate* had been revealed as the sacred object of the faith, the hope, and the religious worship of the Christians; the mysterious system was embraced by a numerous and increasing multitude in every province of the Roman world. Those persons who, from their age, or sex, or occupations, were the least qualified to judge, who were the least exercised in the habits of abstract reasoning, aspired to

[illegible][illegible]



lar sermons; and the heterodox opinions of Arius<sup>43</sup> were soon made public by his own zeal, and by that of his adversaries. His most implacable adversaries have acknowledged the learning and blameless life of that eminent presbyter, who, in a former election, had declared, and perhaps generously declined, his pretensions to the episcopal throne.<sup>44</sup> This competitor, Alexander assumed the office of his judge. The important cause was argued before him; and if at first he seemed to hesitate, he at length pronounced his final sentence, as an absolute rule of faith.<sup>45</sup> The undaunted presbyter, who presumed to resist the authority of his angry bishop, was separated from the communion of the church. But the pride of Arius was supported by the applause of a numerous party. He reckoned among his immediate followers, two bishops of Egypt, seven presbyters, twelve deacons, and (what may appear almost incredible) seven hundred virgins. A large majority of the bishops of Asia appeared to support or favour his cause; and their measures were conducted by Eusebius of Cesarea, the most learned of the Christian prelates; and by Eusebius of Nicomedia, who had acquired the reputation of a statesman without forfeiting that of a saint. Synods in Palestine and Bithynia were opposed to the synods of Egypt. The attention of the prince and people was attracted by this theological dispute; and the decision, at the end of six years,<sup>46</sup> was referred to the supreme authority of the general council of Nice.

When the mysteries of the Christian faith were dangerously exposed to public debate, it might be observed, that the human understanding was capable of forming three distinct, though imperfect, systems concerning the nature of the Divine Trinity; and it was pronounced, that none of these systems, in a pure and absolute sense, were exempt from heresy and error.<sup>47</sup> I. According to the first hypothesis, which was maintained by Arius and his disciples, the *Logos* was a dependent and spontaneous production, created from nothing by the will of the Father. The Son, by whom all things were made,<sup>48</sup> had been begotten before all worlds, and the longest of the astronomical periods could be compared only as a fleeting moment to the extent of his duration; yet this duration was not infinite,<sup>49</sup> and there had been a time which preceded the ineffable generation of the *Logos*. On this only begotten Son the Almighty Father had

transfused his ample spirit, and impressed the effulgence of his glory. Visible image of invisible perfection, he saw, at an immeasurable distance beneath his feet, the thrones of the brightest archangels; yet he shone only with a reflected light, and, like the sons of the Roman emperors, who were invested with the titles of Cæsar or Augustus,<sup>50</sup> he governed the universe in obedience to the will of his Father and monarch. II. In the second hypothesis, the *Logos* possessed all the inherent, incommunicable perfections, which religion and philosophy appropriate to the Supreme God. Three distinct and infinite minds or substances, three co-equal and co-eternal beings, composed the Divine Essence,<sup>51</sup> and it would have implied contradiction, that any of them should not have existed, or that they should ever cease to exist.<sup>52</sup> The advocates of a system which seemed to establish three independent Deities, attempted to preserve the unity of the First Cause, so conspicuous in the design and order of the world, by the perpetual concord of their administration, and the essential agreement of their will. A faint resemblance of this unity of action may be discovered in the societies of men, and even of animals. The causes which disturb their harmony proceed only from the imperfection and inequality of their faculties; but the omnipotence which is guided by infinite wisdom and goodness, cannot fail of choosing the same means for the accomplishment of the same ends. III. Three Beings, *scilicet* *eterni*, who, by the self-derived necessity of their existence, possess all the divine attributes in the most perfect degree, who are eternal in duration, indelimited in space, and intimately present to each other, and to the whole universe; irresistibly force themselves on the astonished mind, as one and the same Being, who, in the economy of grace, is viewed as in that of nature, may manifest himself under different forms, and be considered under different aspects. By this hypothesis, a real substantial Trinity is refined into a trinity of names, and abstract modifications, that subsist only in the mind which conceives them. The *Logos* is no longer a person, but an attribute; and it is only in a figurative sense, that the epithet of Son can be applied to the eternal reason which was with God from the beginning, and by which, not by whom, all things were made. The incarnation of the *Logos* is reduced to a mere inspiration of the Divine Wisdom, which filled the soul, and directed all

43 Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, who was the first who openly professed his heresy. He was a man of great learning and piety, but his opinions were very dangerous. He was condemned by the council of Nice in 325. 44 Eusebius of Cesarea, a learned and pious man, who was one of the chief supporters of Arius. He was also condemned by the council of Nice. 45 The council of Nice, which was the first general council of the Christian church. It was held in 325 at Nice in Bithynia. 46 Six years after the council of Nice, in 331, the council of Constantinople was held. 47 The three systems were: 1. That the Son was created out of nothing by the Father. 2. That the Son was co-eternal and co-equal with the Father. 3. That the Son was of the same substance as the Father. 48 John 1:3. 49 John 1:1. 50 Augustus was the first Roman emperor to be called Cæsar. 51 This was the doctrine of the Sabellians. 52 This was the doctrine of the Athanasians.

aid. The first was, Arius reserved for the last the orthodox system, which he thought would be the most successful. He was, however, mistaken. The orthodox system was gradually gaining ground, and he was at last forced to abandon it. The second was, that the Son was co-eternal and co-equal with the Father. This was the doctrine of the Athanasians. The third was, that the Son was of the same substance as the Father. This was the doctrine of the Sabellians. The council of Constantinople in 381 confirmed the orthodox system.



been compelled to submit, inscribed on the banners of the orthodox party the mysterious characters of the word *Homousion*, which essentially contributed, notwithstanding some obscure disputes, some nocturnal combats, to maintain and perpetuate the uniformity of faith, or at least of language. The Consubstantialists, who by their success have deserved and obtained the title of Catholics, gloried in the simplicity and steadiness of their own creed, and insulted the repeated variations of their adversaries, who were destitute of any certain rule of faith. The sincerity or the cunning of the Arian chiefs, the fear of the laws or of the people, their reverence for Christ, their hatred of Athanasius, all the causes, human and divine, that influence and disturb the councils of a theological faction, introduced among the sectaries a spirit of discord and inconsistency, which, in the course of a few years, erected eighteen different models of religion,<sup>63</sup> and avenged the violated dignity of the church. The zealous Hilary,<sup>64</sup> who, from the peculiar hardships of his situation, was inclined to extenuate rather than to aggravate the errors of the Oriental clergy, declares, that in the wide extent of the ten provinces of Asia, to which he had been banished, there could be found very few prelates who had preserved the knowledge of the true God.<sup>65</sup> The oppression which he had felt, the disorders of which he was the spectator and the victim, appeased, during a short interval, the angry passions of his soul; and in the following passage, of which I shall transcribe a few lines, the bishop of Poitiers unwarily deviates into the style of a Christian philosopher. "It is a thing," says Hilary, "equally deplorable and dangerous, that there are so many creeds as opinions among men; as many doctrines as inclinations, and as many sources of blasphemy as there are faults among us; because we make creeds of our own, and explain them as arbitrarily. The Homousion is rejected, and received, and explained away by successive synods. The partial or total resemblance of the Father and of the Son, is a subject of dispute for these unhappy times. Every year, nay every moon, we make new creeds to describe invisible mysteries. We repent of what we have done, we defend those who repent, we anathematise those whom we defended. We condemn either the doctrine of others in ourselves, or our own in that of others; and reciprocally tearing one another to pieces, we have been the cause of each others ruin."<sup>66</sup>

It will not be expected, it would seem, that not perhaps be supposed, that I should swell this theological digression, by a

minute examination of the eighteen creeds, the authors of which, for the most part, disclaimed the odious name of their parent Arius. It is amusing enough to delineate the form, and to trace the vegetation, of a singular plant; but the tedious detail of leaves without flowers, and of branches without fruit, would soon exhaust the patience, and disappoint the curiosity, of the laborious student. One question which gradually arose from the Arian controversy, may however be noticed, as it served to produce and discriminate the three sects, who were united only by their common aversion to the Homousion of the Nicene synod. 1. If they were asked, whether the Son was *like* unto the Father, the question was resolutely answered in the negative, by the heretics who adhered to the principles of Arius, or indeed to those of philosophy; which seem to establish an infinite difference between the Creator and the most excellent of his creatures. This obvious consequence was maintained by Arius,<sup>67</sup> on whom the zeal of his adversaries bestowed the surname of the Atheist. His restless and aspiring spirit urged him to try almost every profession of human life. He was successively a slave, or at least a husbandman, a travelling tinker, a goldsmith, a physician, a schoolmaster, a theologian, and at last the apostle of a new church, which was propagated by the abilities of his disciple Eumoniüs.<sup>68</sup> Armed with texts of Scripture, and with captious syllogisms from the logic of Aristotle, the subtle Arius had acquired the tone of an invincible disputant, whom it was impossible either to silence or to convince. Such talents engendered the friendship of the Arian bishops, till they were forced to renounce, and even to persecute, a dangerous ally, who, by the acuteness of his reasoning, had prejudiced their cause in the popular opinion, and offended the piety of their most devoted followers. 2. The omnipotence of the Creator suggested a specious and respectful solution of the *likeness* of the Father and the Son; and faith might humbly receive what reason could not presume to deny, that the Supreme God might communicate his infinite perfections, and create a being similar only to himself.<sup>69</sup> These Arians were powerfully supported by the weight and abilities of their leaders, who had succeeded to the management of the Eastern interest, and who occupied the principal thrones of the East. They detested, perhaps with some affliction, the impiety of Arius; they professed to believe, either without reserve, or according to the Scriptures, that the Son was different from all other creatures, and similar only to the Father. But they denied, that he was either of the same, or of a similar

63. The number of creeds was not perhaps so great as is here stated. The first of these creeds was that of the Council of Nicaea, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The second was that of the Council of Constantinople, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The third was that of the Council of Sardica, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The fourth was that of the Council of Arles, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The fifth was that of the Council of Orange, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The sixth was that of the Council of Epaon, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The seventh was that of the Council of Clermont, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The eighth was that of the Council of Compiègne, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The ninth was that of the Council of Paris, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The tenth was that of the Council of Orléans, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The eleventh was that of the Council of Bourges, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The twelfth was that of the Council of Sens, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The thirteenth was that of the Council of Meaux, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The fourteenth was that of the Council of Reims, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The fifteenth was that of the Council of Trier, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The sixteenth was that of the Council of Cologne, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The seventeenth was that of the Council of Aachen, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The eighteenth was that of the Council of Frankfurt, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The nineteenth was that of the Council of Regensburg, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The twentieth was that of the Council of Ratisbon, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The twenty-first was that of the Council of Worms, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The twenty-second was that of the Council of Mainz, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The twenty-third was that of the Council of Speyer, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The twenty-fourth was that of the Council of Konstanz, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The twenty-fifth was that of the Council of Basle, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The twenty-sixth was that of the Council of Ferrara, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The twenty-seventh was that of the Council of Florence, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The twenty-eighth was that of the Council of Nice, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The twenty-ninth was that of the Council of Constantinople, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The thirtieth was that of the Council of Ephesus, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The thirty-first was that of the Council of Chalcedon, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The thirty-second was that of the Council of Nicaea, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The thirty-third was that of the Council of Constantinople, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The thirty-fourth was that of the Council of Sardica, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The thirty-fifth was that of the Council of Arles, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The thirty-sixth was that of the Council of Orange, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The thirty-seventh was that of the Council of Epaon, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The thirty-eighth was that of the Council of Clermont, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The thirty-ninth was that of the Council of Compiègne, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The fortieth was that of the Council of Paris, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The forty-first was that of the Council of Orléans, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The forty-second was that of the Council of Bourges, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The forty-third was that of the Council of Sens, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The forty-fourth was that of the Council of Meaux, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The forty-fifth was that of the Council of Reims, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The forty-sixth was that of the Council of Trier, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The forty-seventh was that of the Council of Cologne, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The forty-eighth was that of the Council of Aachen, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The forty-ninth was that of the Council of Frankfurt, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The fiftieth was that of the Council of Regensburg, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The fifty-first was that of the Council of Ratisbon, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The fifty-second was that of the Council of Worms, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The fifty-third was that of the Council of Mainz, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The fifty-fourth was that of the Council of Speyer, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The fifty-fifth was that of the Council of Konstanz, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The fifty-sixth was that of the Council of Basle, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The fifty-seventh was that of the Council of Ferrara, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The fifty-eighth was that of the Council of Florence, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The fifty-ninth was that of the Council of Nice, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The sixtieth was that of the Council of Constantinople, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The sixty-first was that of the Council of Ephesus, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The sixty-second was that of the Council of Chalcedon, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The sixty-third was that of the Council of Nicaea, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The sixty-fourth was that of the Council of Constantinople, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The sixty-fifth was that of the Council of Sardica, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The sixty-sixth was that of the Council of Arles, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The sixty-seventh was that of the Council of Orange, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The sixty-eighth was that of the Council of Epaon, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The sixty-ninth was that of the Council of Clermont, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The seventieth was that of the Council of Compiègne, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The seventy-first was that of the Council of Paris, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The seventy-second was that of the Council of Orléans, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The seventy-third was that of the Council of Bourges, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The seventy-fourth was that of the Council of Sens, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The seventy-fifth was that of the Council of Meaux, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The seventy-sixth was that of the Council of Reims, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The seventy-seventh was that of the Council of Trier, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The seventy-eighth was that of the Council of Cologne, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The seventy-ninth was that of the Council of Aachen, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The eightieth was that of the Council of Frankfurt, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The eighty-first was that of the Council of Regensburg, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The eighty-second was that of the Council of Ratisbon, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The eighty-third was that of the Council of Worms, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The eighty-fourth was that of the Council of Mainz, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The eighty-fifth was that of the Council of Speyer, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The eighty-sixth was that of the Council of Konstanz, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The eighty-seventh was that of the Council of Basle, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The eighty-eighth was that of the Council of Ferrara, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The eighty-ninth was that of the Council of Florence, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The ninetieth was that of the Council of Nice, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops. The hundredth was that of the Council of Constantinople, which was adopted by the majority of the bishops.

64. Hilary of Poitiers, a French bishop, who was banished to Asia Minor by the Arian emperor Constantius II. He was a strong opponent of Arianism and wrote several works against it, including "De Trinitate" and "De Synodis." He died in 367.

65. Hilary, op. cit. lib. 1. c. 1.

66. Hilary, op. cit. lib. 1. c. 1.

67. Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, who was the founder of Arianism. He was condemned at the Council of Nicaea in 325.

68. Eumoniüs, a disciple of Arius, who was the founder of the Eumoniian sect. He was condemned at the Council of Nicaea in 325.

69. This refers to the concept of the Son being "consubstantial" (homoousios) with the Father, which was the orthodox position at the Council of Nicaea.



substance; sometimes boldly justifying their dissent, and sometimes objecting to the use of the word substance, which seems to imply an adequate, or at least a distinct, notion of the nature of the Deity. 3. The sect which asserted the doctrine of a similar substance was the most numerous, at least in the provinces of Asia; and when the leaders of both parties were assembled in the council of Seleucia,<sup>70</sup> their opinion would have prevailed by a majority of one hundred and five to forty-three bishops. The Greek word, which was chosen to express this mysterious resemblance, bears so close an affinity to the orthodox symbol, that the profane of every age have derided the furious contests which the difference of a single diphthong excited between the Homoiousians and the Homoiousians. As it frequently happens, that the sounds and characters which approach the nearest to each other accidentally represent the most opposite ideas, the observation would be itself ridiculous, if it were possible to mark any real and sensible distinction between the doctrine of the Semi-Arians, as they were improperly styled, and that of the Catholics themselves. The bishop of Poitiers, who in his Phrygian exile very wisely aimed at a coalition of parties, endeavours to prove that, by a pious and faithful interpretation,<sup>71</sup> the *Homoiousion* may be reduced to a consubstantial sense. Yet he confesses that the word has a dark and suspicious aspect; and, as if darkness were congenial to theological disputes, the Semi-Arians, who advanced to the doors of the church, assailed them with the most unrelenting fury.

The provinces of Egypt and Asia, which cultivated the language and manners of the Greeks, had deeply imbibed the venom of the Arian controversy. The familiar study of the Platonic system, a vain and argumentative disposition, a copious and flexible idiom, supplied the clergy and people of the East with an inexhaustible flow of words and distinctions; and, in the midst of their fierce contentions, they easily forgot the doubt which is recommended by philosophy, and the submission which is enjoined by religion. The inhabitants of the West were of a less inquisitive spirit; their passions were not so forcibly moved by invisible objects, their minds were less frequently exercised by the habits of dispute; and such was the happy ignorance of the Gallican church, that Hilary himself, above thirty years after the first general council, was still a stranger to the Nicene creed.<sup>72</sup> The Latins had received the rays of divine knowledge through the dark and doubtful medium of a translation. The poverty and stubbornness of their native tongue was not always capable of affording just equivalents for the Greek terms,

for the technical words of the Platonic philosophy,<sup>73</sup> which had been consecrated, by the Gospel or by the church, to express the mysteries of the Christian faith; and a verbal defect might introduce into the Latin theology a long train of error or perplexity.<sup>74</sup> But as the western provincials had the good fortune of deriving their religion from an orthodox source, they preserved with steadiness the doctrine which they had accepted with docility; and when the Arian pestilence approached their frontiers, they were supplied with the seasonable preservative of the Homoousion, by the paternal care of the Roman pontiff. Their sentiments and their temper were displayed in the memorable Council of Rimini, which surpassed in numbers the council of Nice, since it was composed of above four hundred bishops of Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Illyricum. From the first debates it appeared, that only fourscore prelates adhered to the party, though they affected to anathematise the name and memory, of Arius. But this inferiority was compensated by the advantages of skill, of experience, and of discipline; and the minority was conducted by Valens and Ursacius, two bishops of Illyricum, who had spent their lives in the intrigues of courts and councils, and who had been trained under the Eusebian banner, in the religious wars of the East. By their arguments and negotiations, they embarrassed, they confounded, they at last deceived, the honest simplicity of the Latin bishops; who suffered the palladium of the faith to be extorted from their hands by fraud and importunity, rather than by open violence. The council of Rimini was not allowed to separate, till the members had imprudently subscribed a captious creed, in which some expressions, susceptible of an heretical sense, were inserted in the room of the Homoousion. It was on this occasion, that, according to Jerom, the world was surprised to find itself Arian.<sup>75</sup> But the bishops of the Latin provinces had no sooner reached their respective dioceses, than they discovered their mistake, and repented of their weakness. The ignominious capitulation was rejected with disdain and abhorrence; and the Homoousian standard, which had been shaken but not overthrown, was more firmly replanted in all the churches of the West.<sup>76</sup>

Such was the rise and progress, and such were the natural revolutions of those theological disputes, which disturbed the peace of Christianity under the reigns of Constantine and of his sons. But as those princes presumed to extend their despotism over the faith, as well as over the lives and fortunes, of their subjects; the weight of their suffrage

Council of Rimini  
A. D. 360.

<sup>70</sup> Sabinius (an Arian) had copied the acts; Athanasius and Hilary have explained the divisions of this Arian synod; the other circumstances which are relative to it are carefully collected by Baronius and Tillemont.

<sup>71</sup> Eusebius (an Arian) had copied the acts; Athanasius and Hilary have explained the divisions of this Arian synod; the other circumstances which are relative to it are carefully collected by Baronius and Tillemont.

<sup>72</sup> Hilary (an Arian) had copied the acts; Athanasius and Hilary have explained the divisions of this Arian synod; the other circumstances which are relative to it are carefully collected by Baronius and Tillemont.

<sup>73</sup> Seneca (Epist. lvi.) complains that even the *res* of the Platonists (the acts of the holder schoolmen) could not be expressed by a Latin language.

<sup>74</sup> The preference which the fourth council of the Latins at length gave to a somewhat rather than a *verbal* error. See Petrus. tom. i. lib. c. 13. p. 121. was favoured by the Latin language *quia* seems to have the idea of substance, *quod* of qualities.

<sup>75</sup> Insignitum totius oris, et Arrianum esse narratus est. Hieronymus. l. i. c. 13. p. 121.

<sup>76</sup> The story of the council of Rimini is very elegantly told by Sulpicius Severus. H. E. l. vi. c. 1. p. 419. 420. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1647. See also Jerom, in his dialogue against the Luciferians. The design of this letter is to apologise for the conduct of the Latin bishops, who were deceived, and were repented.

sometimes inclined the ecclesiastical balance; and the prerogatives of the King of Heaven were settled, or changed, or modified, in the cabinet of an earthly monarch.

The unhappy spirit of discord which pervaded the provinces of the East, interrupted the triumph of Constantine; but the emperor continued for some time to view, with cool and careless indifference, the object of the dispute. As he was yet ignorant of the difficulty of appeasing the quarrels of theologians, he addressed to the contending parties, to Alexander and to Arius, a moderating epistle;<sup>77</sup> which may be ascribed, with far greater reason, to the untutored sense of a soldier and statesman, than to the dictates of any of his episcopal counsellors. He attributes the origin of the whole controversy to a trifling and subtle question, concerning an incomprehensible point of the law, which was foolishly asked by the bishop, and imprudently resolved by the presbyter. He laments that the Christian people, who had the same God, the same religion, and the same worship, should be divided by such inconsiderable distinctions; and he seriously recommends to the clergy of Alexandria the example of the Greek philosophers; who could maintain their arguments without losing their temper, and assert their freedom without violating their friendship. The indifference and contempt of the sovereign would have been, perhaps, the most effectual method of silencing the dispute; if the popular current had been less rapid and impetuous, and if Constantine himself, in the midst of faction and fanaticism, could have preserved the calm possession of his own mind. But his ecclesiastical ministers soon contrived to seduce the impartiality of the magistrate, and

Indifference of  
Constantine  
A D 324.

to awaken the zeal of the proselyte.<sup>78</sup> He was provoked by the insults which had been offered to his statues; he was alarmed by the real, as well as the imaginary, magnitude of the spreading mischief; and he extinguished the hope of peace and toleration from the moment that he assembled three hundred bishops within the walls of the same palace. The presence of the monarch swelled the importance of the debate; his attention multiplied the arguments; and he exposed his person with a patient intrepidity, which animated the valour of the combatants. Notwithstanding the applause which has been bestowed on the eloquence and sagacity of Constantine,<sup>79</sup> a Roman general, whose religion might be still a subject of doubt, and whose mind had not been enlightened either by study or by inspiration, was indifferently qualified to discuss, in the Greek language, a metaphysical question, or an article of faith. But the credit of his favourite Osius, who appears to have

presided in the council of Nice, might dispose the emperor in favour of the orthodox party; and a well timed insinuation, that the same Eusebius of Nicomedia, who now protected the heretic, had lately assisted the tyrant,<sup>80</sup> might exasperate him against their adversaries. The Nicene creed was ratified by Constantine; and his firm declaration, that those who resisted the divine judgment of the synod, must prepare themselves for an immediate exile, annihilated the murmurs of a feeble opposition; which from seventeen, was almost instantly reduced to two, protesting bishops. Eusebius of Cæsarea yielded a reluctant and ambiguous consent to the Homoeousion;<sup>80</sup> and the wavering conduct of the Nicomedian Eusebius served only to delay, about three months, his disgrace and exile.<sup>81</sup> The im-  
He persecutes  
the Arians  
pious Arius was banished into one of the remote provinces of Illyrium; his person and disciples were branded, by law, with the odious name of Porphyrians; his writings were condemned to the flames, and a capital punishment was denounced against those in whose possession they should be found. The emperor had now imbibed the spirit of controversy, and the angry sarcastic style of his edicts was designed to inspire his subjects with the hatred which he had conceived against the enemies of Christ.<sup>82</sup>

But, as if the conduct of the emperor had been guided by passion and the orthodox party  
A D 325-327  
instead of principle, three years from the council of Nice were scarcely elapsed, before he discovered some symptoms of mercy, and even of indulgence, towards the proscribed sect, which was secretly protected by his favourite sister. The exiles were recalled; and Eusebius, who had during this time resumed his influence over the mind of Constantine, was restored to the episcopal throne, from which he had been ignominiously degraded. Arius himself was treated by the whole court with the respect which would have been due to an innocent and oppressed man. His faith was approved by the synod of Jerusalem; and the emperor seemed impatient to repair his injustice, by issuing an absolute command, that he should be solemnly admitted to the communion in the cathedral of Constantinople. On the same day, which had been fixed for the triumph of Arius, he expired;—and the strange and horrid circumstances of his death might excite a suspicion, that the orthodox saints had contributed more efficacy than by their prayers, to deliver the church from the most formidable of her enemies.<sup>83</sup> The three principal leaders of the Catholics, Athanasius of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch and Paul of Constantinople, were deposed on various accusations, by the sentence of numerous councils, and were afterwards ha-

77 Eusebius, in Vit. Constant. lib. iii. c. 25. The emperor, in the year of toleration and religious indifference, had been so far from being a green great officer to Basilides of Alexandria, as to have given the emperor had some even, against the latter, than of Eusebius, at his exile. See Jortin's Remarks, tom. ii. p. 157.

78 Eusebius in Vit. Constant. lib. iii. c. 25. The emperor, in the year of toleration and religious indifference, had been so far from being a green great officer to Basilides of Alexandria, as to have given the emperor had some even, against the latter, than of Eusebius, at his exile. See Jortin's Remarks, tom. ii. p. 157.

79 See in the same work, the same author, in Theodosius, lib. i. c. 1. An original series of Eusebius's letters, and of the emperor's answers, has always been a problem, but those who have read the secret history

of the church, will find that the emperor, in the year of toleration and religious indifference, had been so far from being a green great officer to Basilides of Alexandria, as to have given the emperor had some even, against the latter, than of Eusebius, at his exile. See Jortin's Remarks, tom. ii. p. 157.

80 The emperor, in the year of toleration and religious indifference, had been so far from being a green great officer to Basilides of Alexandria, as to have given the emperor had some even, against the latter, than of Eusebius, at his exile. See Jortin's Remarks, tom. ii. p. 157.



the reasons of the theologian; and as he opposed the orthodox faith of Nice, it is readily confessed that his incapacity and ignorance were equal to his presumption.<sup>43</sup> The eunuchs, the women, and the bishops, who governed the vain and feeble mind of the emperor, had inspired him with an insuperable dislike to the Homoousion; but his timid conscience was alarmed by the impley of Eutius. The guilt of that atheist was aggravated by the suspicious favour of the unfortunate Gallus; and even the deaths of the Imperial ministers, who had been massacred at Antioch, were imputed to the suggestions of that dangerous sophist. The mind of Constantius, which could neither be moderated by reason, nor fixed by faith, was blindly impelled to either side of the dark and empty abyss, by his horror of the opposite extreme; he alternately embraced and condemned the sentiments, he successively banished and recalled the leaders, of the Arian and Semi-Arian factions.<sup>44</sup> During the season of public business or festivity, he employed whole days, and even nights, in selecting the words, and weighing the syllables, which composed his fluctuating creeds. The subject of his meditations still pursued and occupied his slumbers; the incoherent dreams of the emperor were received as celestial visions; and he accepted with complacency the lofty title of bishop of bishops from those ecclesiastics who forgot the interest of their order for the gratification of their passions. The design of establishing an uniformity of doctrine, which had engaged him to convene so many synods in Gaul, Italy, Illyricum, and Asia, was repeatedly baffled by his own levity, by the divisions of the Arians, and by the resistance of the Catholics, and he resolved, as the last and decisive effort, imperiously to dictate the decrees of a general council. The destructive earthquake of Nicomedia, the difficulty of finding a convenient place, and perhaps some secret motives of policy, produced an alteration in the summons. The bishops of the East were directed to meet at Seleucia, in Isauria; while those of the West held their deliberations at Rimini, on the coast of the Adriatic; and instead of two or three deputies from each province, the whole episcopal body was ordered to march. The Eastern council, after consuming four days in fierce and unavailing debate, separated without any definitive conclusion. The council of the West was protracted till the seventh month. Taurus, the praetorian prefect, was instructed not to dismiss the prelates till they should all be united in the same opinion; and his efforts were supported by a power of banishing fifteen of the most refractory, and a promise of the consulship if he achieved so difficult an adventure.

A D 360 His prayers and tears, the authority of the sovereign, the captivity of Valens and Ursinus, the distress of good and

hunger, and the tedious melancholy of a hopeless exile, at length extorted the reluctant consent of the bishops of Rheims. The deputies of the East and of the West attended the emperor in the palace of Constantinople, and he enjoyed the satisfaction of imposing on the world a profession of faith which established the *hæcenes*, without expressing the *consubstantiality*, of the Son of God.<sup>10</sup> But the triumph of Arianism had been preceded by the removal of the orthodox clergy, whom it was impossible either to intimidate or to corrupt; and the reign of Constantius was disgraced by the unjust and ineffectual persecution of the great Athanasius.

We have seldom an opportunity of observing, either in active or speculative life, what effect may be produced, or what obstacles may be surmounted, by the force of a single mind, when it is inflexibly applied to the pursuit of a single object. The immortal name of Athanasius<sup>16</sup> will never be separated from the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, to whose defence he consecrated every moment and every faculty of his being. Educated in the family of Alexander, he had vigorously opposed the early progress of the Arian heresy; he exercised the important functions of secretary under the aged prelate; and the fathers of the Nicene council beheld, with surprise and respect, the rising virtues of the young deacon. In a time of public danger, the dull claims of age and of rank are sometimes superseded; and within five months after his return from Nice, the deacon Athanasius was seated on the archiepiscopal throne of Egypt. He filled that eminent station above forty-six years, and his long administration was spent in a perpetual combat against the powers of Arianism. Five times was Athanasius expelled from his throne; twenty years he passed as an exile or a fugitive; and almost every province of the Roman empire was successively witness to his merit, and his sufferings in the cause of the Homousion, which he considered as the sole pleasure and business, as the duty, and as the glory, of his life. Amidst the storms of persecution, the archbishop of Alexandria was patient of labour, jealous of fame, careless of safety; and although his mind was tainted by the contagion of fanaticism, Athanasius displayed a superiority of character and abilities, which would have qualified him, far better than the degenerate sons of Constantine, for the government of a great monarchy. His learning was much less profound and extensive than that of Eusebius of Casarea, and his rude eloquence could not be compared with the polished oratory of Gregory or Basil; but whenever the primate of Egypt was called upon to justify his sentiments, or his conduct, his manner of debate, either of speaking or writing, was clear, forcible, and persuasive. He has al-

Character and adventures of Athanasius.

A.D. 368-430

93 Socrates, 1. u. c. 15-72. 1. u. c. 15-72. 1. u. c. 15-72. 1. u. c. 15-72. 1. u. c. 15-72.

Mem. From the ...  
haughty ...  
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"De non contentis cum; Hæretici." "De non paratis in hæretici delinquentibus."

35 Slip River. H. St. Sacra, 1: p. 418-420. The Greek Americans were very ignorant of the affairs of the West.

[illegible]

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ways been revered in the orthodox school, as one of the most accurate masters of the Christian theology; and he was supposed to possess two profane sciences, less adapted to the episcopal character, the knowledge of jurisprudence,<sup>97</sup> and that of divination.<sup>98</sup> Some fortunate conjectures of future events, which impartial reasoners might ascribe to the experience and judgment of Athanasius, were attributed by his friends to heavenly inspiration, and imputed by his enemies to infernal magic.

But as Athanasius was continually engaged with the prejudices and passions of every order of men, from the monk to the emperor, the knowledge of human nature was his first and most important science. He preserved a distinct and unbroken view of a scene which was incessantly shifting; and never failed to improve those decisive moments which are irrecoverably past before they are perceived by a common eye. The archbishop of Alexandria was capable of distinguishing how far he might boldly command, and where he must dexterously insinuate; how long he might contend with power, and when he must withdraw from persecution; and while he directed the thunders of the church against heresy and rebellion, he could assume, in the bosom of his own party, the flexible and indulgent temper of a prudent leader. The election of Athanasius has not escaped the reproach of irregularity and precipitation;<sup>99</sup> but the propriety of his behaviour conciliated the affections both of the clergy and of the people. The Alexandrians were impatient to rise in arms for the defence of an eloquent and liberal pastor. In his distress he always derived support, or at least consolation, from the faithful attachment of his parochial clergy; and the hundred bishops of Egypt adhered, with unshaken zeal, to the cause of Athanasius. In the modest equipage, which pride and policy would affect, he frequently performed the episcopal visitation of his provinces, from the mouth of the Nile to the confines of Æthiopia; familiarly conversing with the meanest of the populace, and humbly saluting the saints and hermits of the desert.<sup>100</sup> Nor was it only in ecclesiastical assemblies, among men whose education and manners were similar to his own, that Athanasius displayed the ascendancy of his genius. He appeared with easy and respectful firmness in the courts of princes; and in the various turns of his prosperous and adverse fortune, he never lost the confidence of his friends, or the esteem of his enemies.

Persecution  
against Athanasius.  
A. D. 330.

In his youth, the primate of Egypt resisted the great Constantine, who had repeatedly signified his will,

that Arius should be restored to the Catholic communion.<sup>101</sup> The emperor respected, and might forgive, this inflexible resolution; and the faction who considered Athanasius as their most formidable enemy, were constrained to dissemble their hatred, and silently to prepare an indirect and distant assault. They scattered rumours and suspicions, represented the archbishop as a proud and oppressive tyrant, and boldly accused him of violating the treaty which had been ratified in the Nicene council, with the schismatic followers of Meletius.<sup>102</sup> Athanasius had openly disapproved that ignominious peace, and the emperor was disposed to believe that he had abused his ecclesiastical and civil power, to persecute those odious sectaries; that he had sacrilegiously broken a chalice in one of their churches of Marcotis; that he had whipped or imprisoned six of their bishops; and that Arsenius, a seventh bishop of the same party, had been murdered, or at least mutilated, by the cruel hand of the primate.<sup>103</sup> These charges, which affected his honour and his life, were referred by Constantine to his brother Dalmatius the censor, who resided at Antioch; the synods of Cæsarea and Tyre were successively convened; and the bishops of the East were instructed to judge the cause of Athanasius, before they proceeded to consecrate the new church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem. The primate might be conscious of his innocence; but he was sensible that the same implacable spirit which had dictated the accusation, would direct the proceeding, and pronounce the sentence. He prudently declined the tribunal of his enemies, despised the summons of the synod of Cæsarea; and, after a long and artful delay, submitted to the peremptory commands of the emperor, who threatened to punish his criminal disobedience if he refused to appear in the council of Tyre.<sup>104</sup> Before Athanasius, at the head of

A. D. 335.

fifty Egyptian prelates, sailed from Alexandria, he had wisely secured the alliance of the Meletians; and Arsenius himself, his imaginary victim, and his secret friend, was privately concealed in his train. The synod of Tyre was conducted by Eusebius of Cæsarea, with more passion, and with less art, than his learning and experience might promise; his numerous faction repeated the names of homicide and tyrant; and their clamours were encouraged by the seeming patience of Athanasius, who expected the decisive moment to produce Arsenius alive and unhurt in the midst of the assembly. The nature of the other charges did not admit of such clear and satisfactory replies; yet the archbishop was able to prove, that, in the village, where he was ac-

<sup>97</sup> Sulpicius Severus *Hist. Sacra*, l. ii. p. 306. calls him a lawyer, a jurisconsult. This character cannot now be discovered either in the Latin writings of Athanasius, or in the Greek.

<sup>98</sup> Duclatour *rum. Fidei verum sortum fidem, quæ auguralis portentorum aliter scirent, sine callis aliquis prædixisse futura*. Arrianus, xv. 7. A prophesy, or rather a joke, is related by Sozomen (l. iv. c. 11), which evidently proves, if the crows speak Latin) that Athanasius understood the language of the crows.

<sup>99</sup> The regular ordination of Athanasius was slightly mentioned in the councils which were held against him. See Philostorg. l. ii. c. 11. and Godefroy, p. 71. but it can scarcely be supposed that the assembly of the bishops of Egypt would solemnly attest a *public* falsehood. Athanas. torn. i. p. 726.

<sup>100</sup> See the history of the Fathers of the Desert, published by the Benedictines; and Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. vii. in the lives of Annius, Pachomius, &c. Athanasius himself, who did not disdain to expose the life of his friend Antony, has carefully observed how often in the holy monk he deplored and prophesied the misfortunes of the Arian heresy. Athanas. torn. i. p. 492, 498, &c.

<sup>101</sup> At first Constantine threatened in speaking, but requested in

writing, that Arius should be restored to the Catholic communion. His letters gradually assumed a menacing tone, but he still required that the entrance of Arius into the church should be made by the assent of the divine name of Arius. Athanasius, like a faithful pilot, carefully marked these distinctions. tom. i. p. 728, which he used to him some scope for excuse and delay.

<sup>102</sup> The Meletians in Egypt, like the Donatists in Africa, were produced by an episcopal quarrel which arose from the persecution. I have not leisure to pursue the ideas on controversy, which seems to have been misrepresented by the party of Athanasius, and the ignorance of Epiphanius. See Mosheim's General History of the Church, vol. i. p. 201.

<sup>103</sup> The treatment of the six bishops is specified by Sozomen (l. ii. c. 25), but Athanasius himself, so copious on the subject of Arsenius and the chalice, leaves this grave accusation without a reply.

<sup>104</sup> Athanas. torn. i. p. 728. c. 25. The emperor, in his Edict constant. l. x. c. 12, seems to have been informed of the charge, and it was more than probable, reproaches to Athanasius.

cused of breaking a consecrated chalice, neither church, nor altar, nor chalice, could really exist. The Arians, who had secretly determined the guilt and condemnation of their enemy, attempted, however, to disguise their injustice by the imitation of judicial forms: the synod appointed an episcopal commission of six delegates to collect evidence on the spot; and this measure, which was vigorously opposed by the Egyptian bishops, opened new scenes of violence and perjury.<sup>105</sup> After the return of the deputies from Alexandria, the majority of the council pronounced the final sentence of degradation and exile against the primate of Egypt. The decree, expressed in the fiercest language of malice and revenge, was communicated to the emperor and the Catholic church; and the bishops immediately resumed a mild and devout aspect, such as became their holy pilgrimage to the sepulchre of Christ.<sup>106</sup>

But the injustice of these ecclesiastical judges had not been countenanced by the submission, or even by the presence, of Athanasius. He resolved to make a bold and dangerous experiment, whether the throne was inaccessible to the voice of truth; and before the final sentence could be pronounced at Tyre, the intrepid primate threw himself into a bark which was ready to hoist sail for the Imperial city. The request of a formal audience might have been opposed or eluded; but Athanasius concealed his arrival, watched the moment of Constantine's return from an adjacent villa, and boldly encountered his angry sovereign as he passed on horseback through the principal street of Constantinople. So strange an apparition excited his surprise and indignation; and the guards were ordered to remove the importunate suitor; but his resentment was subdued by involuntary respect; and the haughty spirit of the emperor was awed by the courage and eloquence of a bishop, who implored his justice and awakened his conscience.<sup>107</sup> Constantine listened to the complaints of Athanasius with impartial and even gracious attention; the members of the synod of Tyre were summoned to justify their proceedings; and the arts of the Eusebian faction would have been confounded, if they had not aggravated the guilt of the primate, by the dexterous supposition of an unpardonable offence; a criminal design to intercept and detain the corn-fleet of Alexandria, which supplied the subsistence of the new capital.<sup>108</sup> The emperor

was satisfied that the peace of Egypt would be secured by the absence of a popular leader; but he refused to fill the vacancy of the archiepiscopal throne; and the sentence, which, after long hesitation, he pronounced, was that of a jealous ostracism, rather than of an ignominious exile. In the remote province of Gaul, but in the hospitable court of Treves, Athanasius passed about twenty-eight months. The death of the emperor changed the face of public affairs; and, amidst the general indulgence of a <sup>and restoration,</sup> young reign, the primate was re- <sup>A. D. 355.</sup> stored to his country by an honourable edict of the younger Constantine, who expressed a deep sense of the innocence and merit of his venerable guest.<sup>109</sup>

The death of that prince exposed <sup>His second exile,</sup> Athanasius to a second persecution; <sup>A. D. 341,</sup> and the feeble Constantius, the sovereign of the East, soon became the secret accomplice of the Eusebians. Ninety bishops of that sect or faction assembled at Antioch, under the specious pretence of dedicating the cathedral. They composed an ambiguous creed, which is faintly tinged with the colours of semi-Arianism, and twenty-five canons, which still regulate the discipline of the orthodox Greeks.<sup>110</sup> It was decided, with some appearance of equity, that a bishop, deprived by a synod, should not resume his episcopal functions, till he had been absolved by the judgment of an equal synod; the law was immediately applied to the case of Athanasius; the council of Antioch pronounced, or rather confirmed, his degradation; a stranger, named Gregory, was seated on his throne; and Philagrius,<sup>111</sup> the prefect of Egypt, was instructed to support the new primate with the civil and military powers of the province. Oppressed by the conspiracy of the Asiatic prelates, Athanasius withdrew from Alexandria, and passed three <sup>112</sup> years as an exile and a suppliant on the holy threshold of the Vatican.<sup>113</sup> By the assiduous study of the Latin language, he soon qualified himself to negotiate with the Western clergy; his decent flattery swayed and directed the haughty Julius: the Roman pontiff was persuaded to consider his appeal as the peculiar interest of the Apostolic see; and his innocence was unanimously declared in a council of fifty bishops of Italy. At the end of three years, the primate was summoned to the court of Milan by the emperor Constans, who, in the indulgence of unlawful pleasures, still professed a lively regard

<sup>105</sup> See, in particular, the second Apology of Athanasius (tom. i. p. 363-368), and his Epistles to the Monks (p. 308-306). They are inserted by order and authority downwards, and show a still more, more energetic, and more unflinching, and his enemies are absurd.

<sup>106</sup> Eusebians in *Vit. Constantini* l. iv. c. 41-47.

<sup>107</sup> Athanasius tom. i. p. 304. In a church dedicated to St. Athanasius, this story is well attested, and a better subject for a picture, than most of the stories of miracles and martyrdoms.

<sup>108</sup> Athanasius tom. i. p. 729. Eusebius has related in *Vit. Constantini* p. 76, 77, that Constantine, a strange example of the cruelty and credulity of Constantine on a similar occasion. The emperor, says a Syrian philosopher, enjoyed his friendship, and provoked the resentment of Athanasius, his pretorian prefect. The corn-fleet was detained for want of a south wind, the people of Constantinople were discontented; and Soterus was beheaded, on a charge that he had *loaned* the winds by the power of magic. Soterus adds, that Constantine wanted to prove, by this ceremony, that he had absolutely pronounced the sentence of excommunication of the Gentiles.

<sup>109</sup> In his return he saw Constantius twice, at Viminence, and at Caesarea in Cappadocia. (Athanasius tom. i. p. 375.)

St. Hilary of Poitiers has mentioned this synod of Antioch with too much favour and respect. He reckons ninety-seven bishops.

<sup>111</sup> This magister, or chief of the Antiochian, is praised by Gregory Nazianzen, tom. i. p. 290, 301.

<sup>112</sup> See *Præfatio* in *Deo* et *Dei* alter opem.

For the exact of human nature, I am always pleased to discover some good; and in the men whose party has represented as tyrants and persecutors.

<sup>113</sup> The chronological difficulties which perplex the residence of Athanasius at Rome, are strenuously agitated by Valentinus Obrecht, ad calcem, tom. i. Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 1-3, and Valentinus (Mm. P. l. i. tom. vi. p. 367, 368). He has followed the simple hypothesis of Athanasius, who allows only one journey, after the intrusion of Gregory.

<sup>114</sup> I cannot forbear transcribing a little of the observation of Wetstein (Prolegomena N. T. p. 104). *St. Athanasius* Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

for the orthodox faith. The cause of truth and justice was promoted by the influence of gold,<sup>114</sup> and the ministers of Constantius advised their sovereign to require the convocation of an ecclesiastical assembly, which might act as the representatives of the Catholic church.

A D. 316.

Ninety-four bishops of the West, seventy-six bishops of the East, encountered each other at Sardica, on the verge of the two empires, but in the dominions of the protector of Athanasius. Their debates soon degenerated into hostile altercations; the Asiatics, apprehensive for their personal safety, retired to Philippopolis in Thrace; and the rival synods reciprocally hurled their spiritual thunders against their enemies, whom they piously condemned as the enemies of the true God. Their decrees were published and ratified in their respective provinces: and Athanasius, who in the West was revered as a saint, was exposed as a criminal to the abhorrence of the East.<sup>115</sup> The council of Sardica reveals the first symptoms of discord and schism between the Greek and Latin churches, which were separated by the accidental difference of faith, and the permanent distinction of language.

During his second exile in the

and restoration,  
A D. 319.

West, Athanasius was frequently admitted to the Imperial presence; at Capua, Lodi, Milan, Verona, Padua, Aquileia, and Treves. The bishop of the diocese usually assisted at these interviews; the master of the offices stood before the veil or curtain of the sacred apartment; and the uniform moderation of the primate might be attested by these respectable witnesses, to whose evidence he solemnly appeals.<sup>116</sup> Prudence would undoubtedly suggest the mild and respectful tone that became a subject and a bishop. In these familiar conferences with the sovereign of the West, Athanasius might lament the error of Constantius, but he boldly arraigned the guilt of his eunuchs and his Arian prelates; deplored the distress and danger of the Catholic church; and excited Constantius to emulate the zeal and glory of his father. The emperor declared his resolution of employing the troops and treasures of Europe in the orthodox cause; and signified, by a concise and peremptory epistle to his brother Constantius, that unless he consented to the immediate restoration of Athanasius, he himself, with a fleet and army, would seat the archbishop on the throne of Alexandria.<sup>117</sup> But this religious war, so horrible to nature, was prevented by the timely compliance of Constantius; and the emperor of the East condescended to solicit a reconciliation with a subject whom he had injured. Athanasius waited, with decent pride,

til he had received three successive epistles full of the strongest assurances of the protection, the favour, and the esteem of his sovereign; who invited him to resume his episcopal seat, and who added the humiliating precaution of engaging his principal ministers to attest the sincerity of his intentions. They were manifested in a still more public manner, by the strict orders which were despatched into Egypt to recall the adherents of Athanasius, to restore their privileges, to proclaim their innocence, and to erase from the public registers the illegal proceedings which had been obtained during the prevalence of the Eusebian faction. After every satisfaction and security had been given, which justice or even delicacy could require, the primate proceeded, by slow journeys, through the provinces of Thrace, Asia, and Syria; and his progress was marked by the abject homage of the Oriental bishops, who excited his contempt without deceiving his penetration.<sup>118</sup> At Antioch he saw the emperor Constantius; sustained, with modest firmness, the embraces and protestations of his master, and eluded the proposal of allowing the Arians a single church at Alexandria, by claiming, in the other cities of the empire, a similar toleration for his own party; a reply which might have appeared just and moderate in the mouth of an independent prince. The entrance of the archbishop into his capital was a triumphal procession; absence and persecution had endeared him to the Alexandrians; his authority, which he exercised with rigour, was more firmly established; and his fame was diffused from Ethiopia to Britain, over the whole extent of the Christian world.<sup>119</sup>

But the subject who has reduced his prince to the necessity of dissimbling, can never expect a sincere and lasting forgiveness; and the tragic fate of Constantius soon deprived Athanasius of a powerful and generous protector. The civil war between the assassin and the only surviving brother of Constantius, which afflicted the empire above three years, secured an interval of repose to the Catholic church; and the two contending parties were desirous to conciliate the friendship of a bishop, who, by the weight of his personal authority, might determine the fluctuating resolutions of an important province. He gave audience to the ambassadors of the tyrant, with whom he was afterwards accused of holding a secret correspondence;<sup>120</sup> and the emperor Constantius repeatedly assured his dearest father, the most reverend Athanasius, that, notwithstanding the malicious rumours which were circulated by their common enemies, he had inherited the sentiments, as well as the throne, of his deceased

Resentment of  
Constantius.  
A D. 321.

114 Philostorgius, l. ii. c. 12. If any corruption was used to promote the interest of religion, an advocate of Athanasius might justify or excuse this questionable conduct, by the example of Cato and Sulpicius the former of whom is said to have given, and the latter to have received, a bribe in the cause of liberty.

115 The canon which allows appeals to the Roman pontiff, has almost made the council of Sardica to the dignity of a general council, and its acts have been ignorantly or artfully confounded with those of the Nicene synod. See Tillemont, tom. viii. p. 693. and Gieseler's Tracts, vol. ii. p. 419-460.

116 As Athanasius dispersed secret invectives against Constantius one time that he assured him of the professions of the arch-

bishop of Athens, and the  
Sardians, the no names are  
lost of a Latin, and even

of Constantius by himself See Tillemont, tom. viii. p. 395

118 I have always entertained some doubts concerning the retraction of Ursacius and Valens; Athanasius (tom. i. p. 776.) Their epistles to Julius, bishop of Rome, and to Athanasius himself, are of so different a cast from each other, that they cannot both be genuine. The one speaks the language of opponents who confess their guilt and intreat, the other of enemies, who ask it on equal terms an honourable retraction.

119 The circumstances of his second return may be collected from Athanasius himself, tom. i. p. 779 and p. 781. Sozomen, l. iii. c. 18. Theodoret, l. iii. c. 11, 12. Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 12.

120 Athanasius (tom. i. p. 677, 678.) defends his innocence by positive complaints, solemn assertions, and serious arguments. He admits that letters had been forged in his name, but he requests that his own secretaries, and those of the tyrant, may be examined, whether those letters had been written by the former or received by the latter.





Catholic church. Among those prelates who led the honourable band of confessors and exiles, Liberius of Rome, Osius of Cordova, Paulinus of Treves, Dionysius of Milan, Eusebius of Vercellæ, Lucifer of Cagliari, and Hilary of Poitiers, may deserve to be particularly distinguished. The eminent station of Liberius, who governed the capital of the empire; the personal merit and long experience of the venerable Osius, who was revered as the favourite of the great Constantine, and the father of the Nicene faith; placed those prelates at the head of the Latin church: and their example, either of submission or resistance, would probably be imitated by the episcopal crowd. But the repeated attempts of the emperor, to seduce or to intimidate the bishops of Rome and Cordova, were for some time ineffectual. The Spaniard declared himself ready to suffer under Constantius, as he had suffered threescore years before under his grandfather Maximian. The Roman, in the presence of his sovereign, asserted the innocence of Athanasius, and his own freedom. When he was banished to Beræa in Thrace, he sent back a large sum which had been offered for the accommodation of his journey; and insulted the court of Milan by the haughty remark, that the emperor and his eunuchs might want that gold to pay their soldiers and their bishops.<sup>125</sup> The resolution of Liberius and Osius was at length subdued by the hardships of exile and confinement. The Roman pontiff purchased his return by some criminal compliances; and afterwards expiated his guilt by a seasonable repentance. Persuasion and violence were employed to extort the reluctant signature of the decrepit bishop of Cordova, whose strength was broken, and whose faculties were perhaps impaired, by the weight of an hundred years; and the insolent triumph of the Arians provoked some of the orthodox party to treat with inhuman severity the character, or rather the memory, of an unfortunate old man, to whose former services Christianity itself was so deeply indebted.<sup>126</sup>

#### Exiles.

The fall of Liberius and Osius reflected a brighter lustre on the firmness of those bishops who still adhered, with unshaken fidelity, to the cause of Athanasius and religious truth. The ingenious malice of their enemies had deprived them of the benefit of mutual comfort and advice, separated those illustrious exiles into distant provinces, and carefully selected the most inhospitable spots of a great empire.<sup>127</sup> Yet they soon experienced that the deserts of Libya, and the most barbarous tracts of Cypadocia, were less inhospitable than the residence of those cities, in which an Arian bishop could satiate, without restraint, the exquisite rancour of theo-

logical hatred.<sup>131</sup> Their consolation was derived from the consciousness of rectitude and independence, from the applause, the visits, the letters, and the liberal aims of their adherents;<sup>132</sup> and from the satisfaction which they soon enjoyed of observing the intestine divisions of the adversaries of the Nicene faith. Such was the nice and capricious taste of the emperor Constantius, and so easily was he offended by the slightest deviation from his imaginary standard of Christian truth, that he persecuted, with equal zeal, those who defended the *consubstantiality*, those who asserted the *similar substance*, and those who denied the *likeness*, of the Son of God. Three bishops, degraded and banished for those adverse opinions, might possibly meet in the same place of exile; and, according to the difference of their temper, might either pity or insult the blind enthusiasm of their antagonists, whose present sufferings would never be compensated by future happiness.

The disgrace and exile of the <sup>Third expulsion of Athanasius from Alexandria. A. D. 336.</sup> orthodox bishops of the West were designed as so many preparatory steps to the ruin of Athanasius himself.<sup>133</sup> Six and twenty months had elapsed, during which the Imperial court secretly laboured, by the most insidious arts, to remove him from Alexandria, and to withdraw the allowance which supplied his popular liberality. But when the primate of Egypt, deserted and proscribed by the Latin church, was left destitute of any foreign support, Constantius despatched two of his secretaries with a verbal commission to announce and execute the order of his banishment. As the justice of the sentence was publicly avowed by the whole party, the only motive which could restrain Constantius from giving his messengers the sanction of a written mandate, must be imputed to his doubt of the event; and to a sense of the danger to which he might expose the second city, and the most fertile province of the empire, if the people should persist in the resolution of defending, by force of arms, the innocence of their spiritual father. Such extreme caution afforded Athanasius a specious pretence respectfully to dispute the truth of an order, which he could not reconcile, either with the equity, or with the former declarations, of his gracious master. The civil powers of Egypt found themselves inadequate to the task of persuading or compelling the primate to abdicate his episcopal throne; and they were obliged to conclude a treaty with the popular leaders of Alexandria, by which it was stipulated, that all proceedings and all hostilities should be suspended till the emperor's pleasure had been more distinctly ascertained. By this seeming moderation, the Catholics were deceived into

125 The exile of Liberius is mentioned by Ammonius, xv. 7. See Theodoret, l. ii. c. 16. Athanas. tom. i. p. 534-537. Hilary. Fragment. i.

126 The life of Osius is collected by Tilmont (tom. vii. p. 574.) then re-enters the church, and is afterwards banished from

to the wildest parts of Phrygia, which were in the possession of the apostate Montanus, &c. When the heretic, by means of some favourable intrigues, obtained at Mopsuestia in Cilicia, the place of his exile was changed, by the advice of Arcadius, to Amblada, a desert inhabited by savages, and infested by war and pestilence. Theodoret l. ii. c. 2.

131 See the cruel treatment and strange chetnacy of Eusebius, in his own letters, published by Baronius, A. D. 336, No. 92-102.

132 Ceterum exiles satis constabat, totius orbis studii celebratos pecuniarumque in sumptum affatum conquisitis legationibus quoque eos plebs Catholica ex omni sua fere provincia frequentabat. Sulp. Sever. Hist. eccles. p. 111. Athanas. tom. i. p. 836-840.

133 Ample materials for the history of this third persecution of Athanasius may be found in his own works. See particularly his very able Apology to Constantius (tom. i. p. 673), his first Apology for his flight in 702, his private Epistle to the Solitaires p. 808, and the original Protest of the people of Alexandria against the violence committed by Nicomachus (p. 866). Sozomen (l. iv. c. 9) has thrown into the narrative two or three luminous and important circumstances.

a false and fatal security; while the legions of the Upper Egypt, and of Libya, advanced, by secret orders and hasty marches, to besiege, or rather to surprise, a capital habituated to sedition, and inflamed by religious zeal.<sup>134</sup> The position of Alexandria, between the sea and the lake Mareotis, facilitated the approach and landing of the troops; who were introduced into the heart of the city, before any effectual measures could be taken, either to shut the gates, or to occupy the important posts of defence. At the hour of midnight, twenty-three days after the signature of the treaty, Syrianus, duke of Egypt, at the head of five thousand soldiers, armed and prepared for an assault, unexpectedly invested the church of St. Theonas, where the archbishop, with a part of his clergy and people, performed their nocturnal devotions. The doors of the sacred edifice yielded to the impetuosity of the attack, which was accompanied with every horrid circumstance of tumult and bloodshed; but, as the bodies of the slain, and the fragments of military weapons, remained the next day an unexceptionable evidence in the possession of the Catholics, the enterprise of Syrianus may be considered as a successful irruption rather than as an absolute conquest. The other churches of the city were profaned by similar outrages; and, during at least four months, Alexandria was exposed to the insults of a licentious army, stimulated by the ecclesiastics of an hostile faction. Many of the faithful were killed; who may deserve the name of martyrs, if their deaths were neither provoked nor revenged: bishops and presbyters were treated with cruel ignominy; consecrated virgins were stripped naked, scourged, and violated; the houses of wealthy citizens were plundered; and, under the mask of religious zeal, lust, avarice, and private resentment, were gratified with impunity, and even with applause. The Pagans of Alexandria, who still formed a numerous and discontented party, were easily persuaded to desert a bishop whom they feared and esteemed. The hopes of some peculiar favours, and the apprehension of being involved in the general penalties of rebellion, engaged them to promise their support to the destined successor of Athanasius, the famous George of Cappadocia. The usurper, after receiving the consecration of an Arian synod, was placed on the episcopal throne by the arms of Sebastian, who had been appointed count of Egypt for the execution of that important design. In the use, as well as in the acquisition, of power, the tyrant George disregarded the laws of religion, of justice, and of humanity; and the same scenes of violence and scandal which had been exhibited in the capital, were repeated in more than ninety episcopal cities of Egypt. Encouraged by success, Constantius ventured to approve the conduct of his ministers. By a public and passionate epistle, the emperor con-

gratulates the deliverance of Alexandria from a popular tyrant, who deluded his blind votaries by the magic of his eloquence; expatiates on the virtues and piety of the most reverend George the elected bishop; and aspires, as the patron and benefactor of the city, to surpass the fame of Alexander himself. But he solemnly declares his unalterable resolution to pursue with fire and sword the seditious adherents of the wicked Athanasius, who, by flying from justice, has confessed his guilt, and escaped the ignominious death which he had so often deserved.<sup>135</sup>

Athanasius had indeed escaped His behaviour. from the most imminent dangers; and the adventures of that extraordinary man deserve and fix our attention. On the memorable night when the church of St. Theonas was invested by the troops of Syrianus, the archbishop, seated on his throne, expected, with calm and intrepid dignity, the approach of death. While the public devotion was interrupted by shouts of rage and cries of terror, he animated his trembling congregation to express their religious confidence, by chanting one of the psalms of David, which celebrates the triumph of the God of Israel over the haughty and impious tyrant of Egypt. The doors were at length burst open; a cloud of arrows was discharged among the people; the soldiers, with drawn swords, rushed forwards into the sanctuary; and the dreadful gleam of their armour was reflected by the holy luminaries which burnt round the altar.<sup>136</sup> Athanasius still rejected the pious importunity of the monks and presbyters, who were attached to his person; and nobly refused to desert his episcopal station, till he had dismissed in safety the last of the congregation. The darkness and tumult of the night favoured the retreat of the archbishop; and though he was oppressed by the waves of an agitated multitude, though he was thrown to the ground, and left without sense or motion, he still recovered his undaunted courage; and eluded the eager search of the soldiers, who were instructed by their Arian guides, that the head of Athanasius would be the most acceptable present to the emperor. From that moment the primate of Egypt disappeared from the eyes of his enemies, and remained above six years concealed in impenetrable obscurity.<sup>137</sup>

The despotic power of his implacable enemy filled the whole extent His retreat. A.D. 356-562. of the Roman world; and the exasperated monarch had endeavoured, by a very pressing epistle to the Christian princes of Ethiopia, to exclude Athanasius from the most remote and sequestered regions of the earth. Counts, prefects, tribunes, whole armies, were successively employed to pursue a bishop and a fugitive; the vigilance of the civil and military powers was excited by the Imperial edicts; liberal rewards were promised to the man who should produce Athanasius, either alive or dead; and the most severe penal-

<sup>134</sup> Athanasius had lately sent for Antony, and some of his chosen monks. They descended from their mountain, and were added to the Alexandrians the sanctuary of Athanasius, and were labouring conducted by the archbishop as far as the gates of the city. Athanasius, torn ii. p. 491, 492. See likewise Rufinus, in Hist. in Vit. Patr. p. 521.

<sup>135</sup> Athanasius, torn i. p. 694. The emperor, or by Arian secretaries, while they express their resentment, betray their fears and esteem of Athanasius.

<sup>136</sup> These minute circumstances are curious, as they are literally attributed to the protest, which was publicly presented three years afterwards by the Catholics of Alexandria. See Athanasius, torn i. p. 507.

<sup>137</sup> The Jansenists have often compared Athanasius and Arnold, and have expiated with pleasure on the noble and the merit and value of these celebrated doctors. I am sensible that I have not very fully managed by the A.D. 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

ties were denounced against those who should dare to protect the public enemy.<sup>138</sup> But the deserts of Thebais were now peopled by a race of wild, yet submissive fanatics, who preferred the commands of their abbot to the laws of their sovereign. The numerous disciples of Antony and Pachomius received the fugitive primate as their father, admired the patience and humility with which he conformed to their strictest institutions, collected every word which dropped from his lips as the genuine effusions of inspired wisdom; and persuaded themselves, that their prayers, their fasts, and their vigils, were less meritorious than the zeal which they expressed, and the dangers which they braved, in the defence of truth and innocence.<sup>139</sup> The monasteries of Egypt were seated in lonely and desolate places, on the summit of mountains, or in the islands of the Nile; and the sacred horn or trumpet of Tabenne was the well-known signal which assembled several thousand robust and determined monks, who, for the most part, had been the peasants of the adjacent country. When their dark retreats were invaded by a military force, which it was impossible to resist, they silently stretched out their necks to the executioner; and supported their national character, that tortures could never wrest from an Egyptian the confession of a secret which he was resolved not to disclose.<sup>140</sup> The archbishop of Alexandria, for whose safety they eagerly devoted their lives, was lost among a uniform and well-disciplined multitude; and on the nearer approach of danger, he was swiftly removed, by their officious hands, from one place of concealment to another, till he reached the formidable deserts, where the gloomy and credulous temper of superstition had peopled with demons and savage monsters. The retirement of Athanasius, which ended only with the life of Constantius, was spent, for the most part, in the society of the monks, who faithfully served him as guards, as secretaries, and as messengers; but the importance of maintaining a more intimate connection with the Catholic party tempted him, whenever the diligence of the pursuit was abated, to emerge from the desert, to introduce himself into Alexandria, and to trust his person to the discretion of his friends and adherents. His various adventures might have furnished the subject of a very entertaining romance. He was once secreted in a dry cistern, which he had scarcely left before he was betrayed by the treachery of a female slave;<sup>141</sup> and he was once concealed in a still more extraordinary asylum, the house of a virgin, only twenty years of age, and who was celebrated in the whole city for her exquisite beauty. At the hour of midnight, as she related the story many years afterwards, she was sur-

prised by the appearance of the archbishop in a loose undress, who, advancing with hasty steps, conjured her to afford him the protection which he had been directed by a celestial vision to seek under her hospitable roof. The pious maid accepted and preserved the sacred pledge which was intrusted to her prudence and courage. Without imparting the secret to any one, she instantly conducted Athanasius into her most secret chamber, and watched over his safety with the tenderness of a friend, and the assiduity of a servant. As long as the danger continued, she regularly supplied him with books and provisions, washed his feet, managed his correspondence, and dexterously concealed from the eye of suspicion, this familiar and solitary intercourse between a saint whose character required the most unblemished chastity, and a female whose charms might excite the most dangerous emotions.<sup>142</sup> During the six years of persecution and exile, Athanasius repeated his visits to his fair and faithful companion; and the formal declaration, that he saw the councils of Rimini and Seleucia,<sup>143</sup> forces us to believe that he was secretly present at the time and place of their convocation. The advantage of personally negotiating with his friends, and of observing and improving the divisions of his enemies, might justify, in a prudent statesman, so bold and dangerous an enterprise; and Alexandria was connected by trade and navigation with every sea-port of the Mediterranean. From the depth of his inaccessible retreat, the intrepid primate waged an incessant and offensive war against the protector of the Arians; and his seasonable writings, which were diligently circulated, and eagerly perused, contributed to unite and animate the orthodox party. In his public apologies, which he addressed to the emperor himself, he sometimes affected the praise of moderation; whilst at the same time, in secret and vehement invectives, he exposed Constantius as a weak and wicked prince, the executioner of his family, the tyrant of the republic, and the antichrist of the church. In the height of his prosperity, the victorious monarch, who had chastised the rashness of Gallus, and suppressed the revolt of Syllanus, who had taken the diadem from the head of Vetranio, and vanquished in the field the legions of Magnentius, received from an invisible hand a wound, which he could neither heal nor revenge; and the son of Constantine was the first of the Christian princes who experienced the strength of those principles, which, in the cause of religion, could resist the most violent exertions of the civil power.<sup>144</sup>

The persecution of Athanasius, Arian bishops.  
and of so many respectable bishops,  
who suffered for the truth of their opinions, or

<sup>138</sup> Hinc pro toto orbe profugus Athanasius, nec ullius civitatis ad latendum aspererat locus. Tribuni, prefecti, comites, ex rostris quoque, ad persequendum eum moventur obsequi. In periculis, prima delatoribus proponuntur, si quis eum vivum, si ad minus, caput recte Athanasium detulisset. Rithm. l. i. c. 16.

<sup>139</sup> Gregor. Nazianzen. tom. i. Orat. xvi. p. 781, 385. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 176—179. See also

<sup>140</sup> E nulia tormentorum vis inveniri adhuc potuit, quæ obdurato illic tractu latrocinio elucere potuit, ut nomen id præm. dicat. Arman. xvi. 16, and Valerius ad locum.

<sup>141</sup> Rithm. l. i. c. 18. Sozomen. l. iv. c. 10. This, and the following story will be rendered impossible, if we suppose that Athanasius only inhabited the asylum which he a mendacious or credulous friend used.

<sup>142</sup> Palladius (Hist. Lausac. c. 156 in Val. Patrum p. 77) ; the

<sup>143</sup> The epistle of Athanasius to the monks is filled with reproaches, which the public must feel to be true. vol. i. p. 554, 556; and, in compliment to his readers, he has introduced the comparisons of Thasab, Ahab, Balisazar, &c. The boldness of Hilary was attended with less danger, as he published his invective in Gaul after the revolt of Julian, but he artfully laboured to Constantius, and almost challenged the reward of martyrdom. See Tillemont, tom. vii. p. 295.



capital. After some ineffectual resistance, his rival was expelled from the city by the permission of the emperor, and the power of the opposite faction; the adherents of Felix were inhumanly murdered in the streets, in the public places, in the baths, and even in the churches; and the face of Rome, upon the return of a Christian bishop, renewed the horrid image of the massacres of Marius, and the proscriptions of Sylla.<sup>149</sup>

II. Notwithstanding the rapid increase of Christians under the reign of the Flavian family, Rome, Alexandria, and the other great cities of the empire, still contained a strong and powerful faction of Infidels, who envied the prosperity, and who ridiculed, even on their theatres, the theological disputes of the church. Constantinople alone enjoyed the advantage of being born and educated in the bosom of the faith. The capital of the East had never been polluted by the worship of idols; and the whole body of the people had deeply imbibed the opinions, the virtues, and the passions, which distinguished the Christians of that age from the rest of mankind. After the death of Alexander, the episcopal throne was disputed by Paul and Macedonius. By their zeal and abilities they both deserved the eminent station to which they aspired; and if the moral character of Macedonius was less exceptionable, his competitor had the advantage of a prior election and a more orthodox doctrine. His firm attachment to the Nicene creed, which has given Paul a place in the calendar among saints and martyrs, exposed him to the resentment of the Arians. In the space of fourteen years he was five times driven from his throne; to which he was more frequently restored by the violence of the people, than by the permission of the prince; and the power of Macedonius could be secured only by the death of his rival. The unfortunate Paul was dragged in chains from the sandy deserts of Mesopotamia to the most desolate places of Mount Taurus,<sup>150</sup> confined in a dark and narrow dungeon, left six days without food, and at length strangled, by the order of Philip, one of the principal ministers of the emperor Constantius.<sup>151</sup> The first blood which stained the new capital was spilt in this ecclesiastical contest; and many persons were slain on both sides, in the furious and obstinate seditions of the people. The commission of enforcing a sentence of banishment against Paul, had been intrusted to Hermogenes, the master-general of the cavalry; but the execution of it was fatal to himself. The Catholics rose in the defence of their bishop; the palace of Hermogenes was consumed; the first military officer of the empire was dragged by the heels through the streets of Constantinople, and, after he expired, his lifeless

corse was exposed to their wanton insults.<sup>152</sup> The fate of Hermogenes instructed Philip, the praetorian prefect, to act with more precaution on a similar occasion. In the most gentle and honourable terms he required the attendance of Paul in the baths of Zeuxippus, which had a private communication with the palace and the sea. A vessel, which lay ready at the garden stairs, immediately hoisted sail; and, while the people were still ignorant of the meditated sacrilege, their bishop was already embarked on his voyage to Thessalonica. They soon beheld, with surprise and indignation, the gates of the palace thrown open, and the usurper Macedonius seated by the side of the prefect on a lofty chariot, which was surrounded by troops of guards with drawn swords. The military procession advanced towards the cathedral; the Arians and Catholics eagerly rushed to occupy that important post; and three thousand one hundred and fifty persons lost their lives in the confusion of the tumult. Macedonius, who was supported by a regular force, obtained a decisive victory; but his reign was disturbed by clamour and sedition; and the causes which appeared the least connected with the subject of dispute, were sufficient to nourish and to kindle the flame of civil discord. As the chapel in which the body of the great Constantine had been deposited was in a ruinous condition, the bishop transported those venerable remains into the church of St. Aecius. This prudent and even pious measure was represented as a wicked profanation by the whole party which adhered to the Homoeousian doctrine. The factions immediately flew to arms; the consecrated ground was used as their field of battle, and one of the ecclesiastical historians has observed, as a real fact, not as a figure of rhetoric, that the well before the church overflowed with a stream of blood, which filled the porticoes and the adjacent courts. The writer who should impute these tumults solely to a religious principle, would betray a very imperfect knowledge of human nature; yet it must be confessed, that the motive which misled the sincerity of zeal, and the pretence which disguised the licentiousness of passion, suppressed the remorse which, in another cause, would have succeeded to the rage of the Christians of Constantinople.<sup>153</sup>

The cruel and arbitrary disposition of Constantius, which did not always require the provocations of guilt and resistance, was justly exasperated by the tumults of his capital, and the criminal behaviour of a faction, which opposed the authority and religion of their sovereign. The ordinary punishments of death, exile, and confiscation, were inflicted with partial rigour; and the Greeks still revere the holy memory of two clerks, a reader and a sub-deacon,

Cruelty of the Arians.

<sup>149</sup> See, on this ecclesiastical revolution of Rome, *Ammianus*, xx. 7. *Athenagoras*, tom. i. p. 354. *Socrus*, i. c. 14. *Theodoret*, l. iii. c. 17. *Philip*, *Sacer*, lib. c. 115. *Barlaam*, *Chion*, *Marcion*, ed. in *Fastis*, libell. p. 2, l. *Tillemont*, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. vi. p. 356.

<sup>150</sup> Cucusus was the last stage of his life and sufferings. The situation of that lonely town, on the confines of a lapideous desert, and the lesser Armenia, has ever since since given it the complexity, but we are directed to the true spot by the course of the River, as read from Cucusus to Anazarbus. See *Geogr. Geograph.* tom. ii. p. 215. *Wesselingh*, *Itinerar.* p. 179, 705.

<sup>151</sup> *Athanasius* (tom. i. p. 707. 815. 816) affirms, in the most proper terms, that Paul was murdered, and spread, not only to the main fame, but even to the unspurious testimony of Philagrius, &c.

of the Arian persecutors. Yet he acknowledges, that the heretics attempt it to disguise the death of the bishop of Constantinople. *Athanasius* is veridically copied by *Socrus*, l. iii. c. 26; but *Socrus*, who discovers a more liberal temper, presumes (l. iv. c. 2, to insinuate a prudent doubt.

<sup>152</sup> *Ammianus* (xv. 10) refers to his own account of this tragic event. But we no longer possess that part of his history.

<sup>153</sup> See *Socrus*, l. iii. c. 7, 12, 13, 14, 16, 26, 27, 38, and *Socrus*, l. iv. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. The death of St. Paul of Constantinople, of which I have made an abstract (l. i. lib. i. c. 119. 120) is, in no inconsiderable copy of these histories, but a modern forgery, who could write the life of a saint without adding fables and miracles, entitled to some commendation.

who were accused of the murder of Hieronogenes, and beheaded at the gates of Constantinople. By an edict of Constantius against the Catholics, which has not been judged worthy of a place in the Theodosian code, those who refused to communicate with the Arian bishops, and particularly with Macedonius, were deprived of the immunities of ecclesiastics, and of the rights of Christians; they were compelled to relinquish the possession of the churches; and were strictly prohibited from holding their assemblies within the walls of the city. The execution of this unjust law, in the provinces of Thrace and Asia Minor, was committed to the zeal of Macedonius; the civil and military powers were directed to obey his commands; and the cruelties exercised by this semi-Arian tyrant in the support of the *Homoeousian*, exceeded the commission, and disgraced the reign, of Constantius. The sacraments of the church were administered to the reluctant victims, who denied the vocation, and abhorred the principles, of Macedonius. The rites of baptism were conferred on women and children, who, for that purpose, had been torn from the arms of their friends and parents; the mouths of the communicants were held open, by a wooden engine, while the consecrated bread was forced down their throat; the breasts of tender virgins were either burnt with red-hot egg-shells, or inhumanly compressed between sharp and heavy boards.<sup>134</sup> The Novatians of Constantinople, and the adjacent country, by their firm attachment to the Homoeousian standard, deserved to be confounded with the Catholics themselves. Macedonius was informed, that a large district of Paphlagonia<sup>135</sup> was almost entirely inhabited by those sectaries. He resolved either to convert or to extirpate them; and as he distrusted, on this occasion, the efficacy of an ecclesiastical mission, he commanded a body of four thousand legionaries to march against the rebels, and to reduce the territory of Mantinium under his spiritual dominion. The Novatian peasants, animated by despair and religious fury, boldly encountered the invaders of their country; and though many of the Paphlagonians were slain, the Roman legions were vanquished by an irregular multitude, armed only with scythes and axes; and, except a few who escaped by an ignominious flight, four thousand soldiers were left dead on the field of battle. The successor of Constantius has expressed, in a concise but lively manner, some of the theological calamities which afflicted the empire, and more especially the East, in the reign of a prince who was the slave of his own passions, and of those of his eunuchs. "Many " were imprisoned, and persecuted, and driven

"into exile. Whole troops of those who are  
"styled heretics were massacred, particularly at  
"Cyzicus, and at Samosata. In Paphlagonia,  
"Bithynia, Galatia, and in many other pro-  
"vinces, towns and villages were laid waste,  
"and utterly destroyed." 156

While the flames of the Arian controversy consumed the vitals of the empire, the African provinces were infested by their peculiar enemies, the savage fanatics, who, under the name of *Circumcellions*, formed the strength and scandal of the Donatist party.<sup>157</sup> The severe execution of the laws of Constantine had excited a spirit of discontent and resistance; the strenuous efforts of his son Constans, to restore the unity of the church, exasperated the sentiments of mutual hatred, which had first occasioned the separation; and the methods of force and corruption employed by the two Imperial commissioners, Paul and Macarius, furnished the schismatics with a specious contrast between the maxims of the apostles and the conduct of their pretended successors.<sup>158</sup> The peasants who inhabited the villages of Numidia and Mauritania, were a ferocious race, who had been imperfectly reduced under the authority of the Roman laws; who were imperfectly converted to the Christian faith; but who were actuated by a blind and furious enthusiasm in the cause of their Donatist teachers. They indignantly supported the exile of their bishops, the demolition of their churches, and the interruption of their secret assemblies. The violence of the officers of justice, who were usually sustained by a military guard, was sometimes repelled with equal violence; and the blood of some popular ecclesiastics, which had been shed in the quarrel, inflamed their rude followers with an eager desire of revenging the death of these holy martyrs. By their own cruelty and rashness, the ministers of persecution sometimes provoked their fate; and the guilt of an accidental tumult precipitated the criminals into despair and rebellion. Driven from their native villages, the Donatist peasants assembled in formidable gangs on the edge of the Getulian desert; and readily exchanged the habits of labour for a life of idleness and rapine, which was consecrated by the name of religion, and faintly condemned by the doctors of the sect. The leaders of the *Circumcellions* assumed the title of captains of the saints; their principal weapon, as they were indifferently provided with swords and spears, was a huge and weighty club, which they termed an *Israélite*; and the well-known sound of "Praise be to God!" which they used as their cry of war, diffused consternation over the unarmed popu-

The revolt and  
fury of the Do-  
natist Circum-  
cellions  
A. D. 345, &c.

154 Socrates, l. ii. c. 27. 58. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 21. The principal assistants of Macdonius, in the work of persecution, were the two bishops of Nicomedia and Cyzicus, who were esteemed for their virtues, and especially for their charity. I cannot forbear reminding the reader, that the difference between the *Homocustion* and *Homocustosa*,

is . . . . .  
 spe . . . . .  
 tin . . . . .  
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 See . . . . .

um. In  
 men. and  
 $\alpha_{jk}^2, \alpha_{jk}^2$   
 ites laou-

157 See Optatus Milevitanus (particularly in 4<sup>th</sup>, with the Donatist

165 : and he has often, though without design, exposed the injuries which had provoked those fanatics.

156 It is amusing  
Cathage, begins th  
"No omnipotent

\* De omnipotenti

[illegible]

Средствами, полученными в результате реализации

vinces of Africa. At first their depredations were coloured by the plea of necessity; but they soon exceeded the measure of subsistence, indulged without control their intemperance and avarice, burnt the villages which they had pillaged, and reigned the licentious tyrants of the open country. The occupations of husbandry, and the administration of justice, were interrupted; and as the Circumcellions pretended to restore the primitive equality of mankind, and to reform the abuses of civil society, they opened a secure asylum for the slaves and debtors, who flocked in crowds to their holy standard. When they were not resisted, they usually contented themselves with plunder, but the slightest opposition provoked them to acts of violence and murder; and some Catholic priests, who had imprudently signalled their zeal, were tortured by the fanatics with the most refined and wanton barbarity. The spirit of the Circumcellions was not only always exerted against their defenceless enemies; they engaged, and sometimes defeated, the troops of the province; and in the bloody action of Bagai, they attacked in the open field, but with unsuccessful valour, an advanced guard of the Imperial cavalry. The Donatists who were taken in arms received, and they soon deserved, the same treatment which might have been shown to the wild beasts of the desert. The captives died, without a murmur, either by the sword, the axe, or the fire; and the measures of retaliation were multiplied in a rapid proportion, which aggravated the horrors of rebellion, and excluded the hope of mutual forgiveness. In the beginning of the present century, the example of the Circumcellions has been renewed in the persecution, the boldness, the crimes, and the enthusiasm of the Camisards; and if the fanatics of Languedoc surpassed those of Numidia, by their military achievements, the Africans maintained their fierce independence with more resolution and perseverance.<sup>159</sup>

Such disorders are the natural effects of religious tyranny; but the rage of the Donatists was inflamed by a frenzy of a very extraordinary kind; and which, if it really prevailed among them in so extravagant a degree, cannot surely be paralleled in any country, or in any age. Many of these fanatics were possessed with the horror of life, and the desire of martyrdom; and they deemed it of little moment by what means, or by what hands, they perished, if their conduct was sanctified by the intention of devoting themselves to the glory of the true faith, and the hope of eternal happiness.<sup>160</sup> Sometimes they rudely disturbed the festivals, and profaned the temples of Paganism, with the design of exciting the most zealous of the idolaters to revenge the insulted honour of their gods. They sometimes forced their way into the courts of justice, and compelled the affrighted judge to give orders for their immediate execution. They frequently stopped travel-

lers on the public highways, and obliged them to inflict the stroke of martyrdom, by the promise of a reward, if they consented, and by the threat of instant death, if they refused to grant so very singular a favour. When they were disappointed of every other resource, they announced the day on which, in the presence of their friends and brethren, they should cast themselves headlong from some lofty rock; and many precipices were shown, which had acquired fame by the number of religious suicides. In the actions of these desperate enthusiasts, who were admired by one party as the martyrs of God, and abhorred by the other as the victims of Satan, an impartial philosopher may discover the influence and the last abuse of that inflexible spirit, which was originally derived from the character and principles of the Jewish nation.

The simple narrative of the intestine divisions, which distracted the peace, and dishonoured the triumph, of the church, will confirm the remark of a Pagan historian, and justify the complaint of a venerable bishop. The experience of Ammianus had convinced him, that the enmity of the Christians towards each other, surpassed the fury of savage beasts against man;<sup>161</sup> and Gregory Nazianzen most pathetically laments, that the kingdom of heaven was converted, by discord, into the image of chaos, of a nocturnal tempest, and of hell itself.<sup>162</sup> The fierce and partial writers of the times, ascribing all virtue to themselves, and imputing all guilt to their adversaries, have painted the battle of the angels and demons. Our calmer reason will reject such pure and perfect monsters of vice or sanctity, and will impute an equal, or at least an indiscriminate, measure of good and evil to the hostile sectaries, who assumed and bestowed the appellations of orthodox and heretics. They had been educated in the same religion, and the same civil society. Their hopes and fears in the present, or in a future, life, were balanced in the same proportion. On either side, the error might be innocent, the faith sincere, the practice meritorious or corrupt. Their passions were excited by similar objects; and they might alternately abuse the favour of the court, or of the people. The metaphysical opinions of the Athanasians and the Arians could not influence their moral character; and they were alike actuated by the intolerant spirit which has been extracted from the pure and simple maxims of the Gospel.

A modern writer, who, with a just confidence, has prefixed to his own history the honourable epithets of political and philosophical,<sup>163</sup> accuses the timid prudence of Montesquieu, for neglecting to enumerate, among the causes of the decline of the empire, a law of Constantine, by which the exercise of the Pagan worship was absolutely suppressed, and a considerable part of his subjects was left destitute of priests, of temples, and of any pub-

<sup>159</sup> *L'Histoire des Camisards*, in 5 vols. 12mo. Villefranche, 1760, may be recommended as accurate and impartial. It requires some attention to discover the religion of the author.

<sup>160</sup> The Donatist suicides alleged in their justification the example of *Rabbi*, which is related in the 14th chapter of the second book of the *Maccabees*.

<sup>161</sup> *Nullo infectis hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum expertis*. Ammian. xxii. 5.

<sup>162</sup> *Gregor. Nazianzen, Orat. i. p. 35*. See Tillamont, tom. vi p. 704. quarto edit.

<sup>163</sup> *Histoire Politique et Philosophique des Etablissements des Euxopéens dans les deux Indes*, tom. i. p. 9.

General character of the Christian sects. A. D. 312-361.

Tolerance of Paganism

lic religion. The zeal of the philosophic historian for the rights of mankind has induced him to acquiesce in the ambiguous testimony of those ecclesiastics, who have too lightly ascribed to their favourite hero the *merit* of a general persecution.<sup>164</sup> Instead of alleging this imaginary law, which would have blazed in the front of the Imperial codes, we may safely appeal to the original epistle, which Constantine addressed to the followers of the ancient religion, at a time when he no longer disguised his conversion, nor dreaded the rivals of his throne. He invites and exhorts, in the most pressing terms, the subjects of the Roman empire to imitate the

example of their master; but he declares, that those who still refuse to open their eyes to the celestial light, may freely enjoy their temples, and their fancied gods. A report, that the ceremonies of Paganism were suppressed, is formally contradicted by the emperor himself, who wisely assigns, as the principle of his moderation, the invincible force of habit, of prejudice, and of superstition.<sup>155</sup> Without violating the sanctity of his promise, without alarming the fears of the Pagans, the artful monarch advanced, by slow and cautious steps, to undermine the irregular and decayed fabric of polytheism. The partial acts of severity which he occasionally exercised, though they were secretly prompted by a Christian zeal, were coloured by the fairest pretences of justice and the public good; and while Constantine designed to ruin the foundations, he seemed to reform the abuses, of the ancient religion. After the example of the wisest of his predecessors, he condemned, under the most rigorous penalties, the occult and impious arts of divination; which excited the vain hopes, and sometimes the criminal attempts, of those who were discontented with their present condition. An ignominious silence was imposed on the oracles, which had been publicly convicted of fraud and falsehood; the effeminate priests of the Nile were abolished; and Constantine discharged the duties of a Roman censor, when he gave orders for the demolition of several temples of Phœnicia; in which every mode of prostitution was devoutly practised in the face of day, and to the honour of Venus.<sup>166</sup> The Imperial city of Constantinople was, in some measure, raised at the expense, and was adorned with the spoils, of the opulent temples of Greece and Asia; the sacred property was confiscated; the statues of gods and heroes were transported, with rude familiarity, among a people who considered

them as objects, not of adoration, but of curiosity: the gold and silver were restored to circulation; and the magistrates, the bishops, and the eunuchs, improved the fortunate occasion of gratifying, at once, their zeal, their avarice, and their resentment. But these depredations were confined to a small part of the Roman world; and the provinces had been long since accustomed to endure the same sacrilegious rapine, from the tyranny of princes and proconsuls, who could not be suspected of any design to subvert the established religion.<sup>167</sup>

The sons of Constantine trod in the footsteps of their father, with more zeal, and with less discretion. The pretences of rapine and oppression were insensibly multiplied; <sup>168</sup> every indulgence was shown to the illegal behaviour of the Christians; every doubt was explained to the disadvantage of Paganism; and the demolition of the temples was celebrated as one of the auspicious events of the reign of Constans and Constantius. <sup>169</sup> The name of Constantius is prefixed to a concise law, which might have superseded the necessity of any future prohibitions. "It is our pleasure, "that in all places, and in all cities, the temples "be immediately shut, and carefully guarded, "that none may have the power of offending. "It is likewise our pleasure, that all our subjects "should abstain from sacrifices. If any one "should be guilty of such an act, let him feel "the sword of vengeance, and after his execution, let his property be confiscated to the public use. We denounce the same penalties "against the governors of the provinces, if they "neglect to punish the criminals." <sup>170</sup> But there is the strongest reason to believe, that this formidable edict was either composed without being published, or was published without being executed. The evidence of facts, and the monuments which are still extant of brass and marble, continue to prove the public exercise of the Pagan worship during the whole reign of the sons of Constantine. In the East, as well as in the West, in cities, as well as in the country, a great number of temples were respected, or at least were spared; and the devout multitude still enjoyed the luxury of sacrifices, of festivals, and of processions, by the permission, or by the connivance, of the civil government. About four years after the supposed date of his bloody edict, Constantius visited the temples of Rome; and the decency of his behaviour is recommended by a Pagan orator as an example worthy of the imitation of succeeding princes. "That

[illegible]

115 See Eusebius in Vit. Constant. l. ii. c. 56, 60. In the sermon to the assembly of saints, which the emperor pronounced when he was made emperor with piety, he declares to the idolaters of Asia, that they are permitted to offer sacrifices, and to exercise every part of their religious worship.

166 See Eusebius in Vit. Constantini I. c. 41-55, and I. c. 23. The 'banishment' of the temple is compared with the suppression of the temple of Isis, by

of the temple of 148, by  
 the  
 and Libanus Orat  
 tion the most sacrileg  
 of Constantin, which they viewed in very different light. The latter  
 expressly declares, that "he made use of the sacred money, but made  
 no alteration in the legal worship, the temples indeed were un-

<sup>22</sup> smashed, but the sacred rites were performed there" Lardner's *Jewish and Heathen Testament* c. 13, n. 1111

35. An miamsi (xvi) speaks of some court eunuchs who were sports to eploram push. I don't miss say for t'p I encl p. 15, that the superior often saw a lion, like a dog, or a horse, or a swine, or a wild cat. But the devout physiognomists are to be served, that the superior eunuchs favour us very seldom, prepared

1. See *Richardson and Threlkeld*, *loc. cit.* p. 27; *Iliad*, Cat. 2, 5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 83



"emperor," says Symmachus, "suffered the "privileges of the vestal virgins to remain inviolate; he bestowed the sacerdotal dignities "on the nobles of Rome, granted the customary "allowance to defray the expenses of the public "rites and sacrifices; and, though he had embraced a different religion, he never attempted "to deprive the empire of the sacred worship of "antiquity."<sup>171</sup> The senate still presumed to consecrate, by solemn decrees, the *divine* memory of their sovereigns; and Constantine himself was associated, after his death, to those gods whom he had renounced and insulted during his life. The title, the ensigns, the prerogatives, of SOVEREIGN PONTIFF, which had been instituted by Numa, and assumed by Augustus, were accepted, without hesitation, by seven Christian emperors; who were invested with a more absolute authority over the religion which they had deserted, than over that which they professed.<sup>172</sup>

The divisions of Christianity suspended the ruin of Paganism;<sup>173</sup> and the holy war against the infidels was less vigorously prosecuted by princes and bishops, who were more immediately alarmed by the guilt and danger of domestic rebellion. The extirpation of idolatry<sup>174</sup> might have been justified by the established principles of intolerance: but the hostile sects, which alternately reigned in the Imperial court, were mutually apprehensive of alienating, and perhaps exasperating, the minds of a powerful, though declining faction. Every motive of authority and fashion, of interest and reason, now militated on the side of Christianity; but two or three generations elapsed, before their victorious influence was universally felt. The religion which had so long and so lately been established in the Roman empire, was still revered by a numerous people, less attached indeed to speculative opinion, than to ancient custom. The honours of the state and army were indifferently bestowed on all the subjects of Constantine and Constantius; and a considerable portion of knowledge and wealth and valour was still engaged in the service of polytheism. The superstition of the senator and of the peasant, of the poet and the philosopher, was derived from very different causes, but they met with equal devotion in the temples of the gods. Their zeal

was insensibly provoked by the insulting triumph of a pro-cribed sect; and their hopes were revived by the well-grounded confidence, that the presumptive heir of the empire, a young and valiant hero, who had delivered Gaul from the arms of the barbarians, had secretly embraced the religion of his ancestors.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Julian is declared Emperor by the Legions of Gaul. — His March and Success. — The Death of Constantius. — Civil Administration of Julian.*

WHILE the Romans languished under the ignominious tyranny of eunuchs and bishops, the praises of Julian were repeated with transport in every part of the empire, except in the palace of Constantius. The barbarians of Germany had felt, and still dreaded, the arms of the young Cæsar; his soldiers were the companions of his victory; the grateful provincials enjoyed the blessings of his reign; but the favourites, who had opposed his elevation, were offended by his virtues, and they justly considered the friend of the people as the enemy of the court. As long as the fame of Julian was doubtful, the buffoons of the palace, who were skilled in the language of satire, tried the efficacy of those arts which they had so often practised with success. They easily discovered, that his simplicity was not exempt from affectation: the ridiculous epithets of an hairy savage, of an ape invested with the purple, were applied to the dress and person of the philosophic warrior; and his modest despatches were stigmatised as the vain and elaborate fictions of a loquacious Greek, a speculative soldier, who had studied the art of war amidst the groves of the academy.<sup>1</sup> The voice of malicious folly was at length silenced by the shouts of victory; the conqueror of the Franks and Alemanni could no longer be painted as an object of contempt; and the monarch himself was meanly ambitious of stealing from his lieutenant the honourable reward of his labours. In the letters crowned with laurel, which, according to ancient custom, were addressed to the provinces, the name of Julian was omitted. "Constantius had made his dis-

The religion of Constantius against Julian.

origin. 6. Since the worship of Jupiter and his family has expired the vacant title of *paganus* has been successively applied to all the schismatics and polytheists of the old and new world. 7. The Latins Christians bestowed it, without scruple, on their mortal enemies the Maximianists, and the pagans. 8. The assertion of Julian, that Constantius was the inventor of his arts and pagan. 9. Imitate Latine, in his works, on the Theodæan Code, to imitate Latinist it Glossar.

171 In the pure language of Ionia and Athens, *Eudæmon* and *Agapeta* were ancient and familiar words. The former expressed a likeness, an apparition (Homer *Odys.* vi. 601.), a representation, an image, created either by fancy or art. The latter denoted any sort of service or slavery. The Jews of Egypt, who translated the Hebrew Scriptures restrained the use of these words (*Exod.* xx. 4, 5.) to the religious worship of an image. The peculiar abuse of the Hellenists, or Grecian Jews, has been adopted by the sacred and ecclesiastical writers, and

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171 Symmachus *Epistol.* x. 41.  
172 Tit. fourth Dissertation of M. de la Rivière, sur le Sommein Pontifical des Empereurs Romains in the *Mém. de l'Acad.* tit. xv. p. 75—141. it is a very learned and judicious performance, which explains the state, and proves the extinction, of Paganism from the constitution of Gratian. The assertion of Zosimus, that Gratian was the first who refused the pontifical robe, is confirmed beyond a doubt, and the murmurs of history, on that subject, are almost silenced.

173 As I have freely anticipated the use of *Paganus* and *Paganism*, I shall now trace the singular revolutions of those celebrated words. 1. *Pagan*, in the Doric dialect, so familiar to the Italians, signifies a fountain; and the rural neighbourhood, which frequented the same fountain, derived the common appellation of *paganus* and *paganus*. (Petrus sub voce, and Servius ad *Virg.* Georg. ii. 592.) 2. By an easy extension of the word, *paganus* and rural became almost synonymous (Plin. *Hist. Natur.* xxviii. 1. 5.; and the metaphor rusticus acquired that name, which has been corrupted into *peasant* in the modern languages of Europe. 3. The amazing increase of the military order introduced the necessity of a correlative term. Hume's *Essays*, vol. i. p. 555.; and all the people who were not enlisted in the service of the prince were branded with the contemptuous epithet of *paganus* (Flacc. *Art.* ii. 24. 43. 77. Juvenal. *Satur.* xvi. Tertullian de *Pallo*, c. 4.) 4. The Christians were the soldiers of Christ; their adversaries who refused his sacrament, or military oath of baptism, might deserve the metaphorical name of *paganus*; and a popular expression was introduced as early as the reign of Valentinian (A. D. 367.) into Imperial laws (*Cod. Theodos.* l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 15.) and theological writings. 5. Christianity gradually filled the cities of the empire: the old religion, in the time of Prudentius (address, Symmachum, l. i. ad fin.) and Hieronymus (*Præfat. Huc*), retired and languished in obscure villages; and the word *paganus*, with its new signification, reverted to its primitive

"positions in person; he had signalised his valour in the foremost ranks; his military conduct had secured the victory; and the captive king of the barbarians was presented to him on the field of battle," from which he was at that time distant about forty days' journey.<sup>2</sup> So extravagant a fable was incapable, however, of deceiving the public credulity, or even of satisfying the pride of the emperor himself. Secretly conscious that the applause and favour of the Romans accompanied the rising fortunes of Julian, his discontented mind was prepared to receive the subtle poison of those artful sycophants, who coloured their mischievous designs with the fairest appearances of truth and candour.<sup>3</sup> Instead of depreciating the merits of Julian, they acknowledged, and even exaggerated, his popular fame, superior talents, and important services. But they darkly insinuated, that the virtues of the Caesar might instantly be converted into the most dangerous crimes, if the inconstant multitude should prefer their inclinations to their duty; or if the general of a victorious army should be tempted from his allegiance by the hopes of revenge, and independent great-

ness. The personal fears of Constantius were interpreted by his council as a laudable anxiety for the public safety; whilst in private, and perhaps in his own breast, he disguised, under the less odious appellation of fear, the sentiments of hatred and envy, which he had secretly conceived for the inimitable virtues of Julian.

The apparent tranquillity of Gaul, and the imminent danger of the eastern provinces, offered a specious pretence for the design which was artfully concerted by the Imperial ministers. They resolved to disarm the Caesar; to recall those faithful troops who guarded his person and dignity; and to employ, in a distant war against the Persian monarch, the hardy veterans who had vanquished, on the banks of the Rhine, the fiercest nations of Germany. While Julian used the laborious hours of his winter-quarters at Paris in the administration of power, which, in his hands, was the exercise of virtue, he was surprised by the hasty arrival of a tribune and a notary, with positive orders from the emperor, which they were directed to execute, and he was commanded not to oppose. Constantius signified his pleasure, that four entire legions, the Celtae, and Petulantes, the Heruli, and the Batavians, should be separated from the standard of Julian, under which they had acquired their fame and discipline; that in each of the remaining bands three hundred of the bravest youths should be selected; and that this numerous detachment, the strength of the Gallic army, should

instantly begin their march, and exert their utmost diligence to arrive, before the opening of the campaign, on the frontiers of Persia.<sup>4</sup> The Caesar foresaw and lamented the consequences of this fatal mandate. Most of the auxiliaries, who engaged their voluntary service, had stipulated, that they should never be obliged to pass the Alps. The public faith of Rome, and the personal honour of Julian, had been pledged for the observance of this condition. Such an act of treachery and oppression would destroy the confidence, and excite the resentment, of the independent warriors of Germany, who considered truth as the noblest of their virtues, and freedom as the most valuable of their possessions. The legionaries, who enjoyed the title and privileges of Romans, were enlisted for the general defence of the republic; but those mercenary troops heard with cold indifference the antiquated names of the republic and of Rome. Attached, either from birth or long habit, to the climate and manners of Gaul, they loved and admired Julian; they despised, and perhaps hated, the emperor; they dreaded the laborious march, the Persian arrows, and the burning deserts of Asia. They claimed as their own the country which they had saved; and excused their want of spirit, by pleading the sacred and more immediate duty of protecting their families and friends. The apprehensions of the Gauls were derived from the knowledge of the impending and inevitable danger. As soon as the provinces were exhausted of their military strength, the Germans would violate a treaty which had been imposed on their fears; and notwithstanding the abilities and valour of Julian, the general of a nominal army, to whom the public calamities would be imputed, must find himself, after a vain resistance, either a prisoner in the camp of the barbarians, or a criminal in the palace of Constantius. If Julian complied with the orders which he had received, he subscribed his own destruction, and that of a people who deserved his affection. But a positive refusal was an act of rebellion, and a declaration of war. The inexorable jealousy of the emperor, the peremptory, and perhaps insidious, nature of his commands, left not any room for a fair apology, or candid interpretation; and the dependent station of the Caesar scarcely allowed him to pause or to deliberate. Solitude increased the perplexity of Julian; he could no longer apply to the faithful counsels of Sallust, who had been removed from his office by the judicious malice of the eunuchs: he could not even enforce his representations by the concurrence of the ministers, who would have been afraid, or ashamed, to approve the ruin of Gaul. The moment had been chosen, when Lupicinus,<sup>5</sup> the general of the cavalry, was despatched into Bri-

<sup>2</sup> Ammian. xvi. 12. The orator Themistius (iv. p. 56, 57) believed whatever was contained in the Imperial letters, which were addressed to the senate of Constantinople. Aurelius Victor, who published his Abridgment in the last year of Constantius, ascribes the German victories to the wisdom of the emperor, and the fortune of the Caesar. Yet the historian, soon afterwards, was induced to the favour or esteem of Julian for the honour of a brass statue and the important offices of consular of the second Pannonia, and of praetor of the city. Ammian. xxi. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Alidlo nocendi artibus, aculeatorum dritatem laudum titulos pergebat.* . . . *Ille vocis fuerat ad militum dnam dnam pntes, pntes pntes.* See Ammian. in Actone Gratianus in Vet. Pagan. xi. §. 8.

<sup>4</sup> The minute interval, which may be interposed, between the

*hume adulti and the primis vici of Ammianus (xv. 1. 4) instead of*

his language incorrect.

<sup>5</sup> Ammianus, xxi. 1. The valour of Lupicinus, and his military skill, are acknowledged by the historian, who, in his affected jealousy, accuses the general of exalting the horns of his pride, by being in a tragic tone, and exciting a doubt whether he was not cruel or avaricious. The dissent from the Scots and Picts was so great, that Julian himself had sent to the rights of passing over the lake island.

tain, to repulse the inroads of the Scots and Picts; and Florentius was occupied at Vienna by the assessment of the tribute. The latter, a crafty and corrupt statesman, declining to assume a responsible part on this dangerous occasion, eluded the pressing and repeated invitations of Julian, who represented to him, that, in every important measure, the presence of the prefect was indispensable in the council of the prince. In the mean while the Cæsar was oppressed by the rude and importunate solicitations of the Imperial messengers, who presumed to suggest, that if he expected the return of his ministers, he would charge himself with the guilt of the delay, and reserve for them the merit of the execution. Unable to resist, unwilling to comply, Julian expressed, in the most serious terms, his wish, and even his intention, of resigning the purple, which he could not preserve with honour, but which he could not abdicate with safety.

After a painful conflict, Julian was compelled to acknowledge, that obedience was the virtue of the most eminent subject, and that the sovereign alone was entitled to judge of the public welfare. He issued the necessary orders for carrying into execution the commands of Constantius; a part of the troops began their march for the Alps; and the detachments from the several garrisons moved towards their respective places of assembly. They advanced with difficulty through the trembling and affrighted crowds of provincials; who attempted to excite their pity by silent despair, or loud lamentations; while the wives of the soldiers, holding their infants in their arms, accused the desertion of their husbands, in the mixed language of grief, of tenderness, and of indignation. This scene of general distress afflicted the humanity of the Cæsar; he granted a sufficient number of post-wagons to transport the wives and families of the soldiers,<sup>6</sup> endeavoured to alleviate the hardships which he was constrained to inflict, and increased, by the most laudable arts, his own popularity; and the discontent of the exiled troops. The grief of an armed multitude is soon converted into rage; their licentious murmurs, which every hour were communicated from tent to tent with more boldness and effect, prepared their minds for the most daring acts of sedition: and by the connivance of their tribunes, a seasonable libel was secretly dispersed, which painted, in lively colours, the disgrace of the Cæsar, the oppression of the Gallic army, and the feeble vices of the tyrant of Asia. The servants of Constantius were astonished and alarmed by the progress of this dangerous spirit. They pressed the Cæsar to hasten the departure of the troops; but they imprudently rejected the honest and judicious advice of Julian; who proposed that they should not march through Paris, and

suggested the danger and temptation of a last interview.

As soon as the approach of the troops was announced, the Cæsar <sup>They proclaim</sup> <sup>Ju. l'empereur.</sup> went out to meet them, and ascended his tribunal, which had been erected in a plain before the gates of the city. After distinguishing the officers and soldiers, who by their rank or merit deserved a peculiar attention, Julian addressed himself in a studied oration to the surrounding multitude: he celebrated their exploits with grateful applause; encouraged them to accept, with alacrity, the honour of serving under the eyes of a powerful and liberal monarch; and admonished them, that the commands of Augustus required an instant and cheerful obedience. The soldiers, who were apprehensive of offending their general by an indecent clamour, or of belying their sentiments by false and venal acclamations, maintained an obstinate silence; and, after a short pause, were dismissed to their quarters. The principal officers were entertained by the Cæsar, who professed, in the warmest language of friendship, his desire and his inability to reward, according to their deserts, the brave companions of his victories. They retired from the feast, full of grief and perplexity; and lamented the hardship of their fate, which tore them from their beloved general and their native country. The only expedient which could prevent their separation was boldly agitated and approved; the popular resentment was insensibly moulded into a regular conspiracy; their just reasons of complaint were heightened by passion, and their passions were inflamed by wine; as on the eve of their departure, the troops were indulged in licentious festivity. At the hour of midnight, the impetuous multitude, with swords, and bows, and torches, in their hands, rushed into the suburbs; encompassed the palace; and, careless of future dangers, pronounced the fatal and irrevocable words, JULIAN AUGUSTUS! The prince, whose anxious suspense was interrupted by their disorderly acclamations, secured the doors against their intrusion; and, as long as it was in his power, secluded his person and dignity from the accidents of a nocturnal tumult. At the dawn of day, the soldiers, whose zeal was irritated by opposition, forcibly entered the palace, seized, with respectful violence, the object of their choice, guarded Julian with drawn swords through the streets of Paris, placed him on the tribunal, and with repeated shouts saluted him as their emperor. Prudence as well as loyalty inculcated the propriety of resisting their treasonable designs; and of preparing, for his oppressed virtue, the excuse of violence. Addressing himself by turns to the multitude and to individuals, he sometimes implored their mercy, and sometimes expressed his indignation;

<sup>6</sup> He granted them the permission of the *cursus claustralis*, or *claustralium*. These post-wagons are often mentioned in the *Code*, and were supposed to carry sixteen hundred pounds weight. See *Vales ad Ammian.* x. c. 4.

Explicet aula sinus montemque amplectitur alas;  
Multiparti latebra sceclerum tectura ruboret.  
— — — — — periculis vixit iudaris.  
Celatura nefas, Venerisque ac commoda fœdit.

(These lines are quoted from the *Architrenus*, l. iv. c. 8, a poetical work of John de Hauteville, or Hanville, a monk of St. Alban's, about the year 1190. See Warton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. i. dissent. p. 1. Yet such *deeds* might be less pernicious to mankind than the theological disputes of the Sorbonne, which have been since carried on the same ground. Bonamy, *Mém. de l'Académie*, tom. xv. p. 675—682.

to a maze of ruins; whose dark recesses were the scene of licentious love.

conjured them not to sully the fame of their immortal victories; and ventured to promise, that if they would immediately return to their allegiance, he would undertake to obtain from the emperor not only a free and gracious pardon, but even the revocation of the orders which had excited their resentment. But the soldiers, who were conscious of their guilt, chose rather to depend on the gratitude of Julian, than on the clemency of the emperor. Their zeal was insensibly turned into impatience, and their impatience into rage. The inflexible Caesar sustained, till the third hour of the day, their prayers, their reproaches, and their menaces; nor did he yield, till he had been repeatedly assured, that if he wished to live, he must consent to reign. He was exalted on a shield in the presence, and amidst the unanimous acclamations, of the troops; a rich military collar, which was offered by chance, supplied the want of a diadem;<sup>8</sup> the ceremony was concluded by the promise of a moderate donative;<sup>9</sup> and the new emperor, overwhelmed with real or affected grief, retired into the most secret recesses of his apartment.<sup>10</sup>

The grief of Julian could proceed only from his innocence; but his innocence must appear extremely doubtful <sup>11</sup> in the eyes of those who have learned to suspect the motives and the professions of princes. His lively and active mind was susceptible of the various impressions of hope and fear, of gratitude and revenge, of duty and of ambition, of the love of fame and of the fear of reproach. But it is impossible for us to calculate the respective weight and operation of these sentiments; or to ascertain the principles of action which might escape the observation, while they guided, or rather impelled, the steps of Julian himself. The discontent of the troops was produced by the malice of his enemies; their tumult was the natural effect of interest and of passion; and if Julian had tried to conceal a deep design under the appearances of chance, he must have employed the most consummate artifice without necessity, and probably without success. He solemnly declares, in the presence of Jupiter, of the Sun, of Mars, of Minerva, and of all the other deities, that till the close of the evening which preceded his elevation, he was utterly ignorant of the designs of the soldiers; <sup>12</sup> and it may seem ungenerous to distrust the honour of a hero, and the truth of a philosopher. Yet the superstitious confidence that Constantius was the enemy, and that he himself was the favourite of the gods, might prompt him to desire, to solicit, and even to

listen, the auspicious moment of his reign, which was predestined to restore the ancient religion of mankind. When Julian had received the intelligence of the conspiracy, he resigned himself to a short slumber; and afterwards related to his friends that he had seen the genius of the empire waiting with some impatience at his door, pressing for admittance, and reproaching his want of spirit and ambition.<sup>13</sup> Astonished and perplexed, he addressed his prayers to the great Jupiter; who immediately signified, by a clear and manifest omen, that he should submit to the will of Heaven and of the army. The conduct which disclaims the ordinary maxims of reason, excites our suspicion and eludes our enquiry. Whenever the spirit of fanaticism, at once so credulous and so crafty, has insinuated itself into a noble mind, it insensibly corrodes the vital principles of virtue and veracity.

To moderate the zeal of his party, to protect the persons of his enemies,<sup>14</sup> to defeat and to despise the enterprises which were formed against his life and dignity, were the cares which employed the first days of the reign of the new emperor. Although he was firmly resolved to maintain the station which he had assumed, he was still desirous of saving his country from the calamities of civil war, of declining a contest with the superior forces of Constantius, and of preserving his own character from the reproach of perfidy and ingratitude. Adorned with the ensigns of military and Imperial pomp, Julian showed himself in the field of Mars to the soldiers, who glowed with ardent enthusiasm in the cause of their pupil, their leader, and their friend. He recapitulated their victories, lamented their sufferings, applauded their resolution, animated their hopes, and checked their impetuosity; nor did he dismiss the assembly, till he had obtained a solemn promise from the troops, that if the emperor of the East would subscribe an equitable treaty, they would renounce any views of conquest, and satisfy themselves with the tranquil possession of the Gallic provinces. On this foundation he composed, in his own name, and in that of the army, a specious and moderate epistle,<sup>15</sup> which was delivered to Pentadius, his master of the offices, and to his chamberlain Eutherius; two ambassadors whom he appointed to receive the answer, and observe the dispositions of Constantius. The epistle is inscribed with the modest appellation of Cæsar; but Julian solicits in a peremptory, though respectful, manner, the confirmation of the title of Augustus. He acknowledges the irregularity of his own election, while he justifies, in some

8. Even in this tumultuous moment, Julius attended to the forms of superstitious ceremony, and did not wholly neglect the proprieties of dress.

9. An equal proportion of lead and silver, five pieces of the former, one pound of the latter, the whole amounting to about five pounds ten shillings of our money.

10) For the whole narrative of this revolt, we may appeal to authors and original materials: Julian Bonnett (ul. 81-82), Athanasius (p. 26), Zeno (ul. 1), John of Otricoli (p. 11-12), in Fatemi, p. 180ff (see form in p. 365-275), Kinnama (ul. 4), and Zosimos (p. 1, 1, 2, 1, 3), who, in the rest of the text, appears to follow the more respectable authority of Eusebius. With such guides we might neglect the abbreviators and ecclesiastical historians.

11. Entropius, a respectable witness, uses a doubtful expression, "consecro militum," &c. H. Gregory Nazianzen, who is a little more exact, might excuse his fanaticism, directly charges the apostle with "Pro-

temptation, madness, and impious rebellion, at 445, 450, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

The fact that S.P.O. then, p. 231. The almost Abbé de la Barre (Vie de Julien, 3, 191) is almost inclined to respect the exact protestations of a father.

15. Ammon. xx. 5, with the note of Lindenbrogus on the failure of the empire. Julian himself, in a confession of guilt to his friends and physicians, complains (Epist. ad p. 284), that he is "condemned to work, before the event, his great credit, of destiny be thrown to the ground, of a small plant, striking a deep root in the earth. Even in his sleep, the night of the emperor is not less agitated by the hopes and fears of his fortune." Zosimus (l. p. 1.

relies on subsequent dream. In the third alternative one of the pre-conditions must be fully disclosed by Taurus. In the second one, Rattler had to be more glib, and much less *à la mode* than he is.

measure, the resentment and violence of the troops which had extorted his reluctant consent. He allows the supremacy of his brother Constantius; and engages to send him an annual present of Spanish horses, to recruit his army with a select number of barbarian youths, and to accept from his choice a prætorian præfect of approved discretion and fidelity. But he reserves for himself the nomination of his other civil and military officers, with the troops, the revenue, and the sovereignty of the provinces beyond the Alps. He admonishes the emperor to consult the dictates of justice; to distrust the arts of those venal flatterers, who subsist only by the discord of princes; and to embrace the offer of a fair and honourable treaty, equally advantageous to the republic and to the house of Constantine. In this negotiation Julian claimed no more than he already possessed. The delegated authority which he had long exercised over the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was still obeyed under a name more independent and august. The soldiers and the people rejoiced in a revolution which was not stained even with the blood of the guilty. Florentius was a fugitive; Lupicinus a prisoner. The persons who were disaffected to the new government were disarmed and secured; and the vacant offices were distributed, according to the recommendation of merit, by a prince who despised the intrigues of the palace, and the clamours of the soldiers.<sup>16</sup>

*His fourth and fifth expedition beyond the Rhine, A.D. 360, 361.*

The negotiations of peace were accompanied and supported by the most vigorous preparations for war. The army, which Julian held in readiness for immediate action, was recruited and augmented by the disorders of the times. The cruel persecution of the faction of Magnentius had filled Gaul with numerous bands of outlaws and robbers. They cheerfully accepted the offer of a general pardon from a prince whom they could trust, submitted to the restraints of military discipline, and retained only their implacable hatred to the person and government of Constantius.<sup>17</sup> As soon as the season of the year permitted Julian to take the field, he appeared at the head of his legions; threw a bridge over the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Cleves; and prepared to chastise the perfidy of the Atuarii, a tribe of Franks, who presumed that they might ravage, with impunity, the frontiers of a divided empire. The difficulty, as well as glory, of this enterprise, consisted in a laborious march; and Julian had conquered, as soon as he could penetrate into a country, which former princes had considered as inaccessible. After he had given peace to the barbarians, the emperor carefully visited the fortifications along

the Rhine from Cleves to Basil; surveyed, with peculiar attention, the territories which he had recovered from the hands of the Alemanni, passed through Besançon,<sup>18</sup> which had severely suffered from their fury, and fixed his headquarters at Vienna for the ensuing winter. The barrier of Gaul was improved and strengthened with additional fortifications; and Julian entertained some hopes that the Germans, whom he had so often vanquished, might, in his absence, be restrained by the terror of his name. Vadomair<sup>19</sup> was the only prince of the Alemanni whom he esteemed or feared; and while the subtle barbarian affected to observe the faith of treaties, the progress of his arms threatened the state with an unseasonable and dangerous war. The policy of Julian condescended to surprise the prince of the Alemanni by his own arts; and Vadomair, who, in the character of a friend, had incautiously accepted an invitation from the Roman governors, was seized in the midst of the entertainment, and sent away prisoner into the heart of Spain. Before the barbarians were recovered from their amazement, the emperor appeared in arms on the banks of the Rhine, and, once more crossing the river, renewed the deep impressions of terror and respect which had been already made by four preceding expeditions.<sup>20</sup>

The ambassadors of Julian had been instructed to execute, with the utmost diligence, their important commission. But, in their passage through Italy and Illyricum, they were detained by the tedious and affected delays of the provincial governors; they were conducted by slow journeys from Constantinople to Cæsarea in Cappadocia; and when at length they were admitted to the presence of Constantius, they found that he had already conceived, from the despatches of his own officers, the most unfavourable opinion of the conduct of Julian, and of the Gallic army. The letters were heard with impatience; the trembling messengers were dismissed with indignation and contempt; and the looks, the gestures, the furious language of the monarch, expressed the disorder of his soul. The domestic connection, which might have reconciled the brother and the husband of Helena, was recently dissolved by the death of that princess, whose pregnancy had been several times fruitless, and was at last fatal to herself.<sup>21</sup> The empress Eusebia had preserved, to the last moment of her life, the warm, and even jealous, affection which she had conceived for Julian; and her mild influence might have moderated the resentment of a prince, who, since her death, was abandoned to his own passions, and to the arts of his eunuchs. But the terror of a foreign in-

Frutless treaty and declaration of war A.D. 361.

<sup>16</sup> See the first transactions of his reign, in Julian ad S.P.Q. Athen. p. 285, 286. Ammianus, xi. 5. 8. Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 49, 50. p. 275-276.

<sup>17</sup> Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 50. p. 275, 276. A strange disorder, he Greek locusts the emperor's, 427. in of Vespasian reduced to a small town, emerging, however, from its ruins.

<sup>19</sup> Vadomair entered into the Roman service, and was promoted from a barbarian kingdom to the military rank of duke of Phoenicia. He still retained the same artful character (Ammian. xxi. 1.) but,

under the reign of Valens, he signalled his valour in the Armenian war (xxi. 1.).

<sup>20</sup> Ammian. x. 10. xvi. 3. 4. Zosimus, i. iii. p. 165. 21 Her remains were sent to Rome, and interred near those of her sister Constantina, in the suburb of the *Via Nomentana*. Ammian. xvi. 1. Libanius has composed a very weak apology to justify his here from a very absurd charge, of poisoning his wife, and rewarding her physician with his mother's jewels. (See the seventh of seventeen new orations, published at Venice, 1754, from a MS. in St. Mark's library, p. 117-127.) Elpidius, the prætorian prefect of the East, to whom he evinced the accused of Julian appeals, is ascribed by Libanius, x. 48, *officiarius* and ungrateful; yet the religion of Julian is praised by Jerome (tom. i. p. 245.), and his humanity by Ammianus (xvi. 6.).

vasion obliged him to suspend the punishment of a private enemy; he continued his march towards the confines of Persia, and thought it sufficient to signify the conditions which might entitle Julian and his guilty followers to the clemency of their offended sovereign. He required, that the presumptuous Cæsar should expressly renounce the appellation and rank of Augustus, which he had accepted from the rebels; that he should descend to his former station of a limited and dependent minister; that he should vest the powers of the state and army in the hands of those officers who were appointed by the Imperial court; and that he should trust his safety to the assurances of pardon, which were announced by Epictetus, a Gallic bishop, and one of the Arian favourites of Constantius. Several months were ineffectually consumed in a treaty which was negotiated at the distance of three thousand miles between Paris and Antioch; and as soon as Julian perceived that his moderate and respectful behaviour served only to irritate the pride of an implacable adversary, he boldly resolved to commit his life and fortune to the chance of a civil war. He gave a public and military audience to the quæstor Leonas: the haughty epistle of Constantius was read to the attentive multitude; and Julian protested, with the most flattering deference, that he was ready to resign the title of Augustus, if he could obtain the consent of those whom he acknowledged as the authors of his elevation. The faint proposal was impetuously silenced; and the acclamations of "Julian Augustus, continue to reign, by the authority of the army, of the people, of the republic which you have saved," thundered at once from every part of the field, and terrified the pale ambassador of Constantius. A part of the letter was afterwards read, in which the emperor arraigned the ingratitude of Julian, whom he had invested with the honours of the purple; whom he had educated with so much care and tenderness; whom he had preserved in his infancy, when he was left a helpless orphan. "An orphan!" interrupted Julian, who justified his cause by indulging his passions; "Does the assassin of my family reproach me that I was left an orphan? He urges me to revenge those injuries which I have long studied to forget." The assembly was dismissed; and Leonas, who, with some difficulty, had been protected from the popular fury, was sent back to his master with an epistle, in which Julian expressed, in a strain of the most vehement eloquence, the sentiments of contempt, of hatred, and of resentment, which had been suppressed and embittered by the dissimulation of twenty years. After this message, which might be considered as a signal of irreconcilable war, Julian, who, some weeks before,

had celebrated the Christian festival of the Epiphany,<sup>22</sup> made a public declaration that he committed the care of his safety to the IMMORTALS; and thus publicly renounced the religion, as well as the friendship, of Constantius.<sup>23</sup>

The situation of Julian required a vigorous and immediate resolution. He had discovered from intercepted letters, that his adversary, sacrificing the interest of the state to that of the monarch, had again excited the barbarians to invade the provinces of the West. The position of two magazines, one of them collected on the banks of the lake of Constance, the other formed at the foot of the Cottian Alps, seemed to indicate the march of two armies; and the size of those magazines, each of which consisted of six hundred thousand quarters of wheat, or rather flour,<sup>24</sup> was a threatening evidence of the strength and numbers of the enemy, who prepared to surround him. But the Imperial legions were still in their distant quarters of Asia; the Danube was feebly guarded; and if Julian could occupy, by a sudden incursion, the important provinces of Illyricum, he might expect that a people of soldiers would resort to his standard, and that the rich mines of gold and silver would contribute to the expenses of the civil war. He proposed this bold enterprise to the assembly of the soldiers; inspired them with a just confidence in their general, and in themselves; and exhorted them to maintain their reputation, of being terrible to the enemy, moderate to their fellow-citizens, and obedient to their officers. His spirited discourse was received with the loudest acclamations, and the same troops which had taken up arms against Constantius, when he summoned them to leave Gaul, now declared with alacrity, that they would follow Julian to the farthest extremities of Europe or Asia. The oath of fidelity was administered; and the soldiers, clashing their shields, and pointing their drawn swords to their throats, devoted themselves, with horrid imprecations, to the service of a leader whom they celebrated as the deliverer of Gaul, and the conqueror of the Germans.<sup>25</sup> This solemn engagement, which seemed to be dictated by affection rather than by duty, was singly opposed by Nethericus, who had been admitted to the office of prætorian prefect. That faithful minister, alone and unassisted, asserted the rights of Constantius in the midst of an armed and angry multitude, to whose fury he had almost fallen an honourable, but useless sacrifice. After losing one of his hands by the stroke of a sword, he embraced the knees of the prince whom he had offended. Julian covered the prefect with his Imperial mantle, and protecting him from the zeal of his followers, dismissed him to his own house, with less respect than was perhaps

92 Feriarum die quem celebrantes mense Januario, Christiani *Epiphania* dicunt, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solemniter a -  
nime oratio desinit. Ammen *xxi* 2 Zonaras observet, that it  
was on this time that the emperor Constantine was converted.

John must be extracted, with some caution, from Julian himself (Orat. ad S.P.O. Athen. p. 280), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 51, p. 371), Ammianus (xxv, 4), Zosimus (ii, 31, p. 151), and even Zonaras (viii, 1, lxix, p. 291, 31, 22), who, on this occasion, appears to have misused and misapplied some valuable materials.

3 Three hundred negroes, or three or four, of my hunt, a common name familiar to the Africans, and which contained six Kikuyu and a Jolom expungu, like a soldier and a statesman, the danger of his situation, and the necessity and advantages of another were well understood. (p. 289, 291.)

*Brumalia*, or winter solstice, when the Pagans annually celebrated the birth of the Sun. See Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, l. 60. c. 1, and Beausobre, *Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, tom. II. p. xx. 3.

<sup>23</sup> The public and secret negotiations between Constantine and

due to the virtue of an enemy.<sup>26</sup> The high office of Nebridius was bestowed on Sallust; and the provinces of Gaul, which were now delivered from the intolerable oppression of taxes, enjoyed the mild and equitable administration of the friend of Julian, who was permitted to practise those virtues which he had instilled into the mind of his pupil.<sup>27</sup>

The hopes of Julian depended much less on the number of his troops, than on the celerity of his motions. In the execution of a daring enterprise, he availed himself of every precaution, as far as prudence could suggest; and where prudence could no longer accompany his steps, he trusted the event to valour and to fortune. In the neighbourhood of Basil he assembled and divided his army.<sup>28</sup> One body, which consisted of ten thousand men, was directed, under the command of Nevitta, general of the cavalry, to advance through the midland parts of Rhætia and Noricum. A similar division of troops, under the orders of Jovius and Jovinus, prepared to follow the oblique course of the high-ways, though the Alps and the northern confines of Italy. The instructions to the generals were conceived with energy and precision: to hasten their march in close and compact columns, which, according to the disposition of the ground, might readily be changed into any order of battle; to secure themselves against the surprises of the night by strong posts and vigilant guards; to prevent resistance by their unexpected arrival; to elude examination by their sudden departure; to spread the opinion of their strength, and the terror of his name; and to join their sovereign under the walls of Sirmium. For himself, Julian had reserved a more difficult and extraordinary part. He selected three thousand brave and active volunteers, resolved, like their leader, to cast behind them every hope of a retreat at the head of this faithful band, he fearlessly plunged into the recesses of the Marcian, or Black Forest, which conceals the sources of the Danube;<sup>29</sup> and, for many days, the fate of Julian was unknown to the world. The secrecy of his march, his diligence, and vigour, surmounted every obstacle; he forced his way over mountains and morasses, occupied the bridges or swam the rivers, pursued his direct course,<sup>30</sup> without reflecting whether he traversed the territory of the Romans or of the barbarians, and at length emerged between Ratisbon and Vienna, at the place where he designed to embark his troops on the Danube. By a well-concerted stratagem, he seized a fleet of light barge-boats,<sup>31</sup> as it lay at anchor; secured a supply of coarse provisions sufficient to satisfy the induli-

cate, but voracious, appetite of a Gallic army; and boldly committed himself to the stream of the Danube. The labours of his mariners, who plied their oars with incessant diligence, and the steady continuance of a favourable wind, carried his fleet above seven hundred miles in eleven days;<sup>32</sup> and he had already disembarked his troops at Bononia, only nineteen miles from Sirmium, before his enemies could receive any certain intelligence that he had left the banks of the Rhine. In the course of this long and rapid navigation, the mind of Julian was fixed on the object of his enterprise; and though he accepted the deputations of some cities, which hastened to claim the merit of an early submission, he passed before the hostile stations, which were placed along the river, without indulging the temptation of signalling an useless and ill-timed valour. The banks of the Danube were crowded on either side with spectators, who gazed on the military pomp, anticipated the importance of the event, and diffused through the adjacent country the fame of a young hero, who advanced with more than mortal speed at the head of the innumerable forces of the West. Lucilian, who, with the rank of general of the cavalry, commanded the military powers of Illyricum, was alarmed and perplexed by the doubtful reports, which he could neither reject nor believe. He had taken some slow and irrelative measures for the purpose of collecting his troops; when he was surprised by Dagalauphus, an active officer, whom Julian, as soon as he landed at Bononia, had pushed forwards with some light infantry. The captive general, uncertain of his life or death, was hastily thrown upon a horse, and conducted to the presence of Julian; who kindly raised him from the ground, and dispelled the terror and amazement which seemed to stupify his faculties. But Lucilian had no sooner recovered his spirits, than he betrayed his want of discretion, by presuming to admonish his conqueror, that he had rashly ventured, with a handful of men, to expose his person in the midst of his enemies. "Reserve for your master Constantius these timid remonstrances," replied Julian, with a smile of contempt; "when I gave you my purple to kiss, I received you not as a counsellor, but as a suppliant." Conscious that success alone could justify his attempt, and that boldness only could command success, he instantly advanced, at the head of three thousand soldiers, to attack the strongest and most popular city of the Illyrian provinces. As he entered the long suburb of Sirmium, he was received by the joyful acclamations of the army and people; who, crowned with flowers, and holding lighted tapers in their hands, conducted

<sup>26</sup> He sternly refused his hand to the suppliant prefect, whom he sent into Tuscany (Ammian. xvi. 5). Labianus, with savage fury, insults Nebridius, applauds the soldiers, and almost censures the humanity of Julian (Orat. Parent. c. 77. p. 259).

<sup>27</sup> Ammian. xvi. 5. In this promotion, Julian obeyed the law which he publicly imposed on himself. *Neque civilis nequequam iudex nec militaris rector, qui quod ad preterita merita suffragium, ad potentem venit gradum* (Ammian. xvi. 5). Absence did not weaken his regard for Sallust, with whose name (A.D. 363) he honoured the consulship.

<sup>28</sup> Ammianus (xvi. 5) describes the same practice, and the same motive, to Alexander the Great, and other Asiatic emperors.

<sup>29</sup> This wood was a part of the great Hercynian Forest, which, in the time of Cæsar, stretched away from the centre of the Rauri (Basil) into the boundless regions of the North. See Cluver, *Germania Antiqua*, l. iii. c. 17.

<sup>30</sup> Compare Labianus, Orat. Parent. c. 35. p. 273, 279. with Gie-

gory Nazarianus, Orat. iii. p. 68. Even the saint admires the speed and success of this march. A modern divine might apply to the progress of Julian, the lines which were originally designed for another apostate.

— So eagerly the field,

71 I  
TUGEN-

Argemone of Greece, &c.

their acknowledged sovereign to his Imperial residence. Two days were devoted to the public joy, which was celebrated by the games of the Circus; but, early on the morning of the third day, Julian marched to occupy the narrow pass of Succæ, in the defiles of mount Hæmus; which, almost in the midway between Sirmium and Constantinople, separates the provinces of Thrace and Dacia, by an abrupt descent towards the former, and a gentle declivity on the side of the latter.<sup>33</sup> The defence of this important post was intrusted to the brave Nevitta; who, as well as the generals of the Italian divisinn, successfully executed the plan of the march and junction which their master had so ably conceived.<sup>34</sup>

He justifies his cause. The homage which Julian obtained, from the fears or the inclination of the people, extended far beyond the immediate effect of his arms.<sup>35</sup> The præfectures of Italy and Illyricum were administered by Taurus and Florentius, who united that important office with the vain honours of the consulship; and as those magistrates had retired with precipitation to the court of Asia, Julian, who could not always restrain the levity of his temper, stigmatised their flight by adding, in all the Acts of the Year, the epithet of *fugitive* to the names of the two consuls. The provinces which had been deserted by their first magistrates acknowledged the authority of an emperor, who, conciliating the qualities of a soldier with those of a philosopher, was equally admired in the camps of the Danube, and in the cities of Greece. From his palace, or, more properly, from his headquarters of Sirmium and Naissus, he distributed to the principal cities of the empire, a laboured apology for his own conduct; published the secret despatches of Constantius; and solicited the judgment of mankind between two competitors, the one of whom had expelled, and the other had invited, the barbarians.<sup>36</sup> Julian, whose mind was deeply wounded by the reproach of ingratitude, aspired to maintain, by argument as well as by arms, the superior merits of his cause; and to excel, not only in the arts of war, but in those of composition. His epistle to the senate and people of Athens<sup>37</sup> seems to have been dictated by an elegant enthusiasm; which prompted him to submit his actions and his motives to the degenerate Athenians of his own times, with the same humble deference, as if he had been pleading in the days of Aristides, before the tribunal of the Areopagus. His application to the senate of Rome, which was still permitted to bestow the titles of Imperial power, was agreeable to the forms of the expiring republic. An assembly was summoned by Tertullus, præfect of the city; the epistle of Julian

was read; and as he appeared to be master of Italy, his claims were admitted without a dissenting voice. His oblique censure of the innovations of Constantine, and his passionate invective against the vices of Constantius, were heard with less satisfaction; and the senate, as if Julian had been present, unanimously exclaimed, "Respect, we beseech you, the author of "your own fortune."<sup>38</sup> An artful expression, which, according to the chance of war, might be differently explained; as a manly reproof of the ingratitude of the usurper, or as a flattering confession, that a single act of such benefit to the state ought to atone for all the failings of Constantius.

The intelligence of the march and rapid progress of Julian was speedily transmitted to his rival, who, by the retreat of Sapor, had obtained some respite from the Persian war. Disguising the anguish of his soul under the semblance of contempt, Constantius professed his intention of returning into Europe, and of giving chase to Julian; for he never spoke of this military expedition in any other light than that of a hunting party.<sup>39</sup> In the camp of Hierapolis, in Syria, he communicated this design to his army; slightly mentioned the guilt and rashness of the Cæsar; and ventured to assure them, that if the mutineers of Gaul presumed to meet them in the field, they would be unable to sustain the fire of their eyes, and the irresistible weight of their shout of onset. The speech of the emperor was received with military applause, and Thendotus, the president of the council of Hierapolis, requested, with tears of adulation, that *his* city might be adorned with the head of the vanquished rebel.<sup>40</sup> A chosen detachment was despatched away in post-wagons, to secure, if it were yet possible, the pass of Succæ; the recruits, the horses, the arms, and the magazines which had been prepared against Sapor, were appropriated to the service of the civil war; and the domestic victories of Constantius inspired his partisans with the most sanguine assurances of success. The notary Gaudentius had occupied in his name the provinces of Africa; the subsistence of Rome was intercepted; and the distress of Julian was increased by an unexpected event, which might have been productive of fatal consequences. Julian had received the submission of two legions and a cohort of archers, who were stationed at Sirmium; but he suspected, with reason, the fidelity of those troops, which had been distinguished by the emperor; and it was thought expedient, under the pretence of the exposed state of the Gallic frontier, to dismiss them from the most important scene of action. They advanced with reluctance, as far as the confines of

33 The description of Ammianus, which might be supported by collateral evidence, asserts the precise situation of the *Passus Succæ*, or pass of Succæ. M. d'Anville, from the trifling resemblance of names, has placed them between Sirmia and Naissus. For my own justification, I am obliged to mention the *indefiniteness* which I have discovered in the maps or writings of that valuable geographer.

34 Whatever circumstances we may borrow elsewhere, Ammianus and the cities. Yet Ammianus (xvi. 1) expresses himself with cool and candid hesitation, *si finem colui admiranda est fides*. He specifies, however, an intercepted letter from Vadomir to Constantius,

formation. It describes the palace of the Attila de la Bièvre (Pref. A. 11) in the *de Jov. c. 12*, 21, 34, and is one of the best manuscripts to be found in any language.

35 *Act of the provincial synod, Amm. xv. 10*. It is amusing enough to observe the secret combat of the strife between flattery and fear. See *Lact. Hist. 3*.

36 See the speech of a provincial synod, *Lact. Hist. 3*. The *vie* Thendotus, *de Jov. c. 12*, 21, 34, and is one of the best manuscripts to be found in any language. See the speech of a provincial synod, *Lact. Hist. 3*.



Italy; but as they dreaded the length of the way, and the savage fierceness of the Germans, they resolved, by the instigation of one of their tribunes, to halt at Aquileia, and to erect the banners of Constantius on the walls of that impregnable city. The vigilance of Julian perceived at once the extent of the mischief, and the necessity of applying an immediate remedy. By his order, Jovinus led back a part of the army into Italy; and the siege of Aquileia was formed with diligence, and prosecuted with vigour. But the legionaries, who seemed to have rejected the yoke of discipline, conducted the defence of the place with skill and perseverance; invited the rest of Italy to imitate the example of their courage and loyalty; and threatened the retreat of Julian, if he should be forced to yield to the superior numbers of the armies of the East.<sup>41</sup>

and death of  
Constantius.  
A. D. 351,  
Nov. 3.

But the humanity of Julian was preserved from the cruel alternative, which he pathetically laments, of destroying, or of being himself destroyed; and the reasonable death of Constantius delivered the Roman empire from the calamities of civil war. The approach of winter could not detain the monarch at Antioch; and his favourites durst not oppose his impatient desire of revenge. A slight fever, which was perhaps occasioned by the agitation of his spirits, was increased by the fatigues of the journey; and Constantius was obliged to halt at the little town of Mopsucene, twelve miles beyond Tarsus, where he expired, after a short illness, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign.<sup>42</sup> His genuine character, which was composed of pride and weakness, of superstition and cruelty, has been fully displayed in the preceding narrative of civil and ecclesiastical events. The long abuse of power rendered him a considerable object in the eyes of his contemporaries; but as personal merit can alone deserve the notice of posterity, the last of the sons of Constantine may be dismissed from the world, with the remark, that he inherited the defects, without the abilities, of his father. Before Constantius expired, he is said to have named Julian for his successor; nor does it seem improbable, that his anxious concern for the fate of a young and tender wife, whom he left with child, may have prevailed, in his last moments, over the harsher passions of hatred and revenge. Eusebius, and his guilty associates, made a faint attempt to prolong the reign of the eunuchs, by the election of another emperor; but their intrigues were rejected with disdain, by an army which now abhorred the thought of civil discord; and two officers of rank were instantly despatched, to assure Julian,

that every sword in the empire would be drawn for his service. The military designs of that prince, who had formed three different attacks against Thrace, were prevented by this fortunate event. Without shedding the blood of his fellow-citizens, he escaped the dangers of a doubtful conflict, and acquired the advantages of a complete victory. Impatient to visit the place of his birth, and the new capital of the empire, he advanced from Nais-sus through the mountains of Hæmus, and the cities of Thrace. When he reached Heraclea, at the distance of sixty miles, all Constantinople was poured forth to receive him; and he made his triumphal entry amidst the dutiful acclamations of the soldiers, the people, and the senate. An innumerable multitude pressed around him with eager respect; and were perhaps disappointed when they beheld the small stature and simple garb of an hero, whose unexperienced youth had vanquished the barbarians of Germany, and who had now traversed, in a successful career, the whole continent of Europe, from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Bosphorus.<sup>43</sup> A few days afterwards, when the remains of the deceased emperor were landed in the harbour, the subjects of Julian applauded the real or affected humanity of their sovereign. On foot, without his diadem, and clothed in a mourning habit, he accompanied the funeral as far as the church of the Holy Apostles, where the body was deposited; and if these marks of respect may be interpreted as a selfish tribute to the birth and dignity of his Imperial kinsman, the tears of Julian professed to the world, that he had forgot the injuries, and remembered only the obligations, which he had received from Constantius.<sup>44</sup> As soon as the legions of Aquileia were assured of the death of the emperor, they opened the gates of the city, and, by the sacrifice of their guilty leaders, obtained an easy pardon from the prudence or lenity of Julian; who, in the thirty-second year of his age, acquired the undisputed possession of the Roman empire.<sup>45</sup>

Julian enters  
Constantinople,  
Dec. 11.

and is acknowledged by the  
whole empire.

Philosophy had instructed Julian to compare the advantages of action and retirement; but the elevation of his birth, and the accidents of his life, never allowed him the freedom of choice. He might perhaps sincerely have preferred the groves of the academy, and the society of Athens; but he was constrained, at first by the will, and afterwards by the injustice, of Constantius, to expose his person and fame to the dangers of Imperial greatness; and to make himself accountable to the world, and to posterity, for the happiness of millions.<sup>46</sup> Julian recollected with terror the

His civil government, and private life

assumes the lofty tone of an orator or poet, while Libanius (*Orat. Pagan.*)

41 Th.  
Gregory  
xi. 275,  
ff. vi. c.  
and then

due.

to Jan. a himself (p. 275-276) has expressed these philosophical ideas with much elegance, and some accuracy, in a very elegant de quoque libani. The Abbe de la Bletterie (tom. ii.

41 Amman. xxi. 7, 11, 12. He seems to describe, with superfluous labour, the operations of the siege of Aquileia, which he, in this account, maintained its impregnable fate. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat. in p. 68*) ascribes this accidental result to the wisdom of Constantius, whose assured victory he announces with some appearance of truth. Constantio quem credebatur precipitibus fore victurum, necesse erunt

42 *Orat. xxi. p. 370*, is not imprudent in itself, nor does it take away the public verbal testimony, which prudential considerations may dictate in the last moments of his life.

43 In describing the triumph of Julian, Amman (xxii. 1, 2) the emperor, that he had spared and promoted Julian (*Orat. xi. p. 370*), is not imprudent in itself, nor does it take away the public verbal testimony, which prudential considerations may dictate in the last moments of his life.

45 In describing the triumph of Julian, Amman (xxii. 1, 2)

observation of his master Plato,<sup>47</sup> that the government of our flocks and herds is always committed to beings of a superior species; and that the conduct of nations requires and deserves the celestial powers of the Gods or of the Genii. From this principle he justly concluded, that the man who presumes to reign, should aspire to the perfection of the divine nature; that he should purify his soul from her mortal and terrestrial part; that he should extinguish his appetites, enlighten his understanding, regulate his passions, and subdue the wild beast, which, according to the lively metaphor of Aristotle,<sup>48</sup> seldom fails to ascend the throne of a despot. The throne of Julian, which the death of Constantine fixed on an independent basis, was the seat of reason, of virtue, and perhaps of vanity. He despised the honours, renounced the pleasures, and discharged with incessant diligence the duties, of his exalted station; and there were few among his subjects who would have consented to relieve him from the weight of the diadem, had they been obliged to submit their time and their actions to the rigorous laws which their philosophic emperor imposed on himself. One of his most intimate friends,<sup>49</sup> who had often shared the frugal simplicity of his table, has remarked, that his light and sparing diet (which was usually of the vegetable kind) left his mind and body always free and active, for the various and important business of an author, a pontiff, a magistrate, a general, and a prince. In one and the same day, he gave audience to several ambassadors, and wrote, or dictated, a great number of letters to his generals, his civil magistrates, his private friends, and the different cities of his dominions. He hastened to the memorials which had been received, considered the subject of the petitions, and signified his intentions more rapidly than they could be taken in short-hand by the diligence of his secretaries. He possessed such flexibility of thought, and such firmness of attention, that he could employ his hand to write, his ear to listen, and his voice to dictate; and pursue at once three several trains of ideas without hesitation, and without error. While his ministers reposed, the prince flew with agility from one labour to another, and, after a hasty dinner, retired into his library, till the public business, which he had appointed for the evening, summoned him to interrupt the prosecution of his studies. The supper of the emperor was still less substantial than the former meal; his sleep

was never clouded by the fumes of indigestion ; and, except in the short interval of a marriage, which was the effect of policy rather than love, the chaste Julian never shared his bed with a female companion.<sup>50</sup> He was soon awakened by the entrance of fresh secretaries, who had slept the preceding day ; and his servants were obliged to wait alternately, while their indefatigable master allowed himself scarcely any other refreshment than the change of occupations. The predecessors of Julian, his uncle, his brother, and his cousin, indulged their puerile taste for the games of the Circus, under the specious pretence of complying with the inclinations of the people ; and they frequently remained the greatest part of the day, as idle spectators, and as a part of the splendid spectacle, till the ordinary round of twenty-four races,<sup>51</sup> was completely finished. On solemn festivals, Julian, who felt and professed an unfashionable dislike to these frivolous amusements, condescended to appear in the Circus ; and after bestowing a careless glance on five or six of the races, he hastily withdrew, with the impatience of a philosopher, who considered every moment as lost, that was not devoted to the advantage of the public, or the improvement of his own mind.<sup>52</sup> By this avarice of time, he seemed to protract the short duration of his reign ; and if the dates were less securely ascertained, we should refuse to believe, that only sixteen months elapsed between the death of Constantius and the departure of his successor for the Persian war. The actions of

December,  
A. D. 361,  
March,  
A. D. 363.

Julian can only be preserved by the care of the historian ; but the portion of his voluminous writings, which is still extant, remains as a monument of the application, as well as of the genius, of the emperor. The Misopogon, the Cæsars, several of his orations, and his elaborate work against the Christian religion, were composed in the long nights of the two winters, the former of which he passed at Constantinople, and the latter at Antioch.

The reformation of the Imperial court was one of the first and most necessary acts of the government of Julian.<sup>53</sup> Soon after his entrance into the palace of Constantinople, he had occasion for the service of a barber. An officer, magnificently dressed, immediately presented himself. "It is a barber," exclaimed the prince, with affected surprise, "that I want, and not a receiver-general of the finances."<sup>54</sup> He questioned the man concern-

p. 116, 1953, who has given an elegant translation, is inclined to believe that it was the celebrated Plinius, who's citations are still extant.

47 Justin at *Thymist.* p. 278. Petrus in *ant.* p. 25 indicates that this passage is taken from the fourth to the fifth century, but either Julian quoted from memory or his MSS were different to ours. Xenophon opens the *Cyropædia* with a similar fiction.

Julian, p. 261. The MS of Vossius, uncorrected with a single *h*, affords the stronger reading of  $\theta\mu\alpha\iota$ , which the experienced scribe might in any warrant.

49 Libanius (Orat. Parental), c. lxxxv. lxxxv. p. 510, 511, 512, has given this interesting detail of the private life of Julian. He himself (in *Visopogon*, p. 30) mentions his vegetable diet, and upbraid the gross and sensual appetite of the people of Antioch.

50) Ieculus (Pareng. Vet. xi 15; adme (s) to ful in hitusid.  
Lihanius affirms, in sober peremptory language, that Julian never  
knew a woman before his marriage; or after the death of Julia  
(Orat. Parent. c. lxxxix, p. 317). The character of Julian is con-  
firmed by the impartial testimony of Ammianus, xvi. 11, and the  
same is proved by the evidence of the *De vita*, p. 272, the  
reproach of the people of Antioch, that he was a married man  
in Misopogon, p. 314, &c. Julian, This salacious expression is ex-

31 See Salmon and Suchet, in *Claude*, c. xxi. A twenty-fifth race,

or miss, was added, to compute the number of one hundred chariots, four of which, the four stones, started each beat.

It appears, that it may have occurred seven times round the *Mithra* Section, as has been observed by different observers of the Great Pyramid at Rome, the Hejratine at Constantinople, &c.) it might be about a foot more or less.

78 *Jid. in M.-yozon* p. 340. Julius Cæsar had offended the Roman people by reading his despatches during the actual race. AUGUSTUS undid this to the tune, or his own, by his constant attention to the important business of the Circus, for which he professed the

35 The holotype of *Helictes* is described by Ammanus, xv, 4, 1914, as the Parent of *Hel. p. 288*, detd. Minnerus in *Enzyklop. Zool.*, II, 1916, *Terate*, I, 4, 1, and *Zoolog. jemb.*, II, 1916.

At Ego was not enough good, led to serem death. Zerars was the even more image of a man. Yet no effort of the heroes, who was satiated with wealth, might desire and obtain the honors of the serate.

ing the profits of his employment; and was informed, that besides a large salary, and some valuable perquisites, he enjoyed a daily allowance for twenty servants, and as many horses. A thousand barbers, a thousand cup-bearers, a thousand cooks, were distributed in the several offices of luxury; and the number of eunuchs could be compared only with the insects of a summer's day.<sup>55</sup> The monarch who resigned to his subjects the superiority of merit and virtue, was distinguished by the oppressive magnificence of his dress, his table, his buildings, and his train. The stately palaces erected by Constantine and his sons, were decorated with many coloured marbles, and ornaments of massy gold. The most exquisite dainties were procured, to gratify their pride, rather than their taste; birds of the most distant climates, fish from the most remote seas, fruits out of their natural season, winter roses, and summer snows.<sup>56</sup> The domestic crowd of the palace surpassed the expense of the legions; yet the smallest part of this costly multitude was subservient to the use, or even to the splendour, of the throne. The monarch was disgraced, and the people was injured, by the creation and sale of an infinite number of obscure, and even titular employments; and the most worthless of mankind might purchase the privilege of being maintained, without the necessity of labour, from the public revenue. The waste of an enormous household, the increase of fees and perquisites, which were soon claimed as a lawful debt, and the bribes which they extorted from those who feared their enmity, or solicited their favour, suddenly enriched these haughty menials. They abused their fortune, without considering their past, or their future, condition; and their rapine and venality could be equalled only by the extravagance of their dissipations. Their silken robes were embroidered with gold, their tables were served with delicacy and profusion; the houses which they built for their own use, would have covered the farm of an ancient consul; and the most honourable citizens were obliged to dismount from their horses, and respectfully to salute an eunuch whom they met on the public highway. The luxury of the palace excited the contempt and indignation of Julian, who usually slept on the ground, who yielded with reluctance to the indispensable calls of nature; and who placed his vanity, not in emulating, but in despising, the pomp of royalty. By the total extirpation of a mischief which was magnified even beyond its real extent, he was impatient to relieve the distress, and to appease the murmurs, of the people; who support with less uneasiness the weight of taxes, if they are convinced that the fruits of their industry are appropriated to the service of the state. But in the execution of this salutary work, Julian is

accused of proceeding with too much haste and inconsiderate severity. By a single edict, he reduced the palace of Constantinople to an immense desert, and dismissed with ignominy the whole train of slaves and dependents,<sup>57</sup> without providing any just, or at least benevolent, exceptions, for the age, the services, or the poverty, of the faithful domestics of the Imperial family. Such indeed was the temper of Julian, who seldom recollected the fundamental maxim of Aristotle, that true virtue is placed at an equal distance between the opposite vices. The splendid and effeminate dress of the Asiatics, the curls and paint, the collars and bracelets, which had appeared so ridiculous in the person of Constantine, were consistently rejected by his philosophic successor. But with the fopperies, Julian affected to renounce the decencies, of dress; and seemed to value himself for his neglect of the laws of cleanliness. In a satirical performance, which was designed for the public eye, the emperor descants with pleasure, and even with pride, on the length of his nails, and the inky blackness of his hands; protests, that although the greatest part of his body was covered with hair, the use of the razor was confined to his head alone; and celebrates, with visible complacency, the shaggy and *populous*<sup>58</sup> beard, which he fondly cherished, after the example of the philosophers of Greece. Had Julian consulted the simple dictates of reason, the first magistrate of the Romans would have scorned the affectation of Diogenes, as well as that of Darius.

But the work of public reform-  
Chamber of Justice.  
 ation would have remained imperfect, if Julian had only corrected the abuses, without punishing the crimes, of his predecessor's reign. "We are now delivered," says he, in a familiar letter to one of his intimate friends, "we are now surprisingly delivered from the voracious jaws of the Hydra."<sup>59</sup> I do not mean to apply that epithet to my brother Constantius. He is no more; may the earth lie light on his head! But his artful and cruel favourites studied to deceive and exasperate "a prince, whose natural mildness cannot be praised without some efforts of adulation. It is not, however, my intention, that even those men should be oppressed: they are accused, and they shall enjoy the benefit of a fair and impartial trial." To conduct this enquiry, Julian named six judges of the highest rank in the state and army; and as he wished to escape the reproach of condemning his personal enemies, he fixed this extraordinary tribunal at Chalcedon, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus; and transferred to the commissioners an absolute power to pronounce and execute their final sentence, without delay, and without ap-

<sup>55</sup> Μαγεύοντες μὲν κάλους, κούρεας δὲ οὐκ ἔλκοντας, ἀποκοῦντες δὲ πλέτους, σπινθηρὰ πρᾶσις(τοῦτοι), συστονὸς ὑπὸ τὰς μύγας παρὰ τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἐν τῇ, are the original words of Libanius, which I have faithfully quoted, lest I should be suspected of magnifying the abuses of the royal household.

<sup>56</sup> The expressions of Mamertinus are lively and forcible. *Quin etiam prandiorum et cœnarum laboratas magnitudines Romanus populus sensit, cum questissimæ dapnes non gustu sed difficultatibus sustinarentur, miracula ævum, longinquæ maris pisces, alieni tem-*

to belong more properly to Constantius. This charge, however, may allude to some unknown circumstance.

<sup>58</sup> In the *Misopogon* (p. 338, 339,) he draws a very singular picture of himself, and the following words are strangely characteristic; αὐτοῦ ποταμὸς τοῦ βλάθου τούτου παρὰ τὰν . . . ταῦτα τοῦ διδασκάλου ἀνέ-

<sup>59</sup> Julian, in writing to his friend Hermogenes, who, like himself, was conversant with the Greek poets.

peal. The office of president was exercised by the venerable præfect of the East, a *second* Salust,<sup>60</sup> whose virtues conciliated the esteem of Greek sophists, and of Christian bishops. He was assisted by the eloquent Mamertinus,<sup>61</sup> one of the consuls elect, whose merit is loudly celebrated by the doubtful evidence of his own applause. But the civil wisdom of two magistrates was overbalanced by the ferocious violence of four generals, Nevitta, Agilo, Jovinus, and Arbetio. Arbetio, whom the public would have seen with less surprise at the bar than on the bench, was supposed to possess the secret of the commission; the armed and angry leaders of the Jovian and Herculian bands encompassed the tribunal; and the judges were alternately swayed by the laws of justice, and by the clamours of faction.<sup>62</sup>

Punishment of the innocent and the guilty.

The chamberlain Eusebius, who had so long abused the favour of Constantius, expiated, by an ignominious death, the insolence, the corruption, and cruelty of his servile reign. The executions of Paul and Apodemius (the former of whom was burnt alive) were accepted as an inadequate atonement by the widows and orphans of so many hundred Romans, whom those legal tyrants had betrayed and murdered. But justice herself (if we may use the pathetic expression of Ammianus<sup>63</sup>) appeared to weep over the fate of Ursulus, the treasurer of the empire; and his blood accused the ingratitude of Julian, whose distress had been seasonably relieved by the intrepid liberality of that honest minister. The rage of the soldiers, whom he had provoked by his indiscretion, was the cause and the excuse of his death; and the emperor, deeply wounded by his own reproaches and those of the public, offered some consolation to the family of Ursulus, by the restitution of his confiscated fortunes. Before the end of the year in which they had been adorned with the ensigns of the præfecture and consulship,<sup>64</sup> Taurus and Florentius were reduced to implore the clemency of the inexorable tribunal of Chalcedon. The former was banished to Vercellæ in Italy, and a sentence of death was pronounced against the latter. A wise prince should have rewarded the crime of Taurus: the faithful minister, when he was no longer able to oppose the progress of a rebel, had taken refuge in the court of his benefactor and his lawful sovereign. But the guilt of Florentius justified the severity of the judges; and his escape served to display the magnanimity of Julian; who nobly checked the interested diligence of an informer, and refused to learn what place concealed the wretched fugitive from his just resentment.<sup>65</sup> Some months after the tri-

bunal of Chalcedon had been dissolved, the prætorian vicegerent of Africa, the notary Gaudentius, and Artemius<sup>66</sup> duke of Egypt, were executed at Antioch. Artemius had reigned the cruel and corrupt tyrant of a great province; Gaudentius had long practised the arts of calumny against the innocent, the virtuous, and even the person of Julian himself. Yet the circumstances of their trial and condemnation were so misluckily managed, that these wicked men obtained, in the public opinion, the glory of suffering for the obstinate loyalty with which they had supported the cause of Constantius. The rest of his servants were protected by a general act of oblivion; and they were left to enjoy with impunity the bribes which they had accepted, either to defend the oppressed, or to oppress the friendless. This measure, which, on the soundest principles of policy, may deserve our approbation, was executed in a manner which seemed to degrade the majesty of the throne. Julian was tormented by the inopportunities of a multitude, particularly of Egyptians, who loudly re-demanded the gifts which they had imprudently or illegally bestowed; he foresaw the endless prosecution of vexatious suits, and he engaged a promise, which ought always to have been sacred, that if they would repair to Chalcedon, he would meet them in person, to hear and determine their complaints. But as soon as they were landed, he issued an absolute order, which prohibited the watermen from transporting any Egyptian to Constantinople; and thus detained his disappointed clients on the Asiatic shore, till their patience and money being utterly exhausted, they were obliged to return with indignant murmurs to their native country.<sup>67</sup>

The numerous army of spies, of <sup>agents</sup> of agents, and informers, enlisted by <sup>Julian</sup> Julian, Constantius to secure the repose of one man, and to interrupt that of millions, was immediately disbanded by his generous successor. Julian was slow in his suspicions, and gentle in his punishments; and his contempt of treason was the result of judgment, of vanity, and of courage. Conscious of superior merit, he was persuaded that few among his subjects would dare to meet him in the field, to attempt his life, or even to seat themselves on his vacant throne. The philosopher could excuse the hasty sallies of discontent; and the hero could despise the ambitious projects which surpassed the fortune or the abilities of the rash conspirators. A citizen of Ancyra had prepared for his own use a purple garment; and this indiscreet action, which, under the reign of Constantius, would have been considered as a capital offence,<sup>68</sup> was reported to Julian by the officious importunity of a private

<sup>60</sup> The two Salusts, the præfect of Gaul, and the præfect of the East, must be carefully distinguished. The first known name is p. 609. I have used the surname *Secundus*, as it is never mentioned. The second Salust extruded the esteem of the Christian philosophers, and Gregory Nazianzen, who condemned his reign, says he created his virtues (that is, p. 90). See a curious note of the *Art de la Biographie* de Julien, p. 765.

<sup>61</sup> Mamertinus praises the emperor (x. 1) for bestowing the office of the Treasurer and Præfect on a man of wisdom, firmness, and probity, like himself. Yet Ammianus, p. 6, says that he was a man of dissolute manners of Julian, quorum merita præterit et tolero.

<sup>62</sup> The proceedings of this chamber of justice are related by Ammianus (xxii. 5), and praised by Lactantius (lxxxviii. 14). Parent, c. 74, p. 299, 300.

<sup>63</sup> Ursulus was death upon him, and after those magistrates, who importuned his merit to the soldiers, attempt to criminate the count of the largesses.

<sup>64</sup> Such reports were well entertained for the several names of the conspirators, but it is probable, as our author has observed, that near Taurus succeeded as a crime under the consulship of Taurus. The execution of the sentence of Florentius was probably delayed till the commencement of the following year.

<sup>65</sup> Ammianus, x. 7. For the greater punishment of Artemius, see Julian (Epist. x. p. 779), and Artemius (xx. 6), and Vales (ad loc.). The merit of Artemius, who defended his temples, and was put to death by Julian, has been taken for a crime under the consulship of Taurus. But he was executed by the emperor's order, that he was not a traitor, but an informer. It is not altogether easy to justify this misapprehension. The emperor, M. Aurelius, c. 17, l. 1. Theodoret, xx. 1, and Vales, ad locum, and the *Art de la Biographie*, c. 74, p. 299, 300.

<sup>66</sup> The præfect of Egypt, Artemius, after he had been deposed.

enemy. The monarch, after making some enquiry into the rank and character of his rival, despatched the informer with a present of a pair of purple slippers, to complete the magnificence of his Imperial habit. A more dangerous conspiracy was formed by ten of the domestic guards, who had resolved to assassinate Julian in the field of exercise near Antioch. Their intemperance revealed their guilt; and they were conducted in chains to the presence of their injured sovereign, who, after a lively representation of the wickedness and folly of their enterprise, instead of a death of torture, which they deserved and expected, pronounced a sentence of exile against the two principal offenders. The only instance in which Julian seemed to depart from his accustomed clemency, was the execution of a rash youth, who, with a feeble hand, had aspired to seize the reins of empire. But that youth was the son of Marcellus, the general of cavalry, who, in the first campaign of the Gallic war, had deserted the standard of the Cæsar, and the republic. Without appearing to indulge his personal resentment, Julian might easily confound the crime of the son and of the father; but he was reconciled by the distress of Marcellus, and the liberality of the emperor endeavoured to heal the wound which had been inflicted by the hand of justice.<sup>61</sup>

Julian was not insensible of the advantages of freedom.<sup>62</sup> From his studies he had imbibed the spirit of ancient sages and heroes: his life and fortunes had depended on the caprice of a tyrant; and when he ascended the throne, his pride was sometimes mortified by the reflection, that the slaves who would not dare to censure his defects were not worthy to applaud his virtues.<sup>63</sup> He sincerely abhorred the system of Oriental despotism, which Diocletian, Constantine, and the patient habits of fourscore years, had established in the empire. A motive of superstition prevented the execution of the design which Julian had frequently meditated, of relieving his head from the weight of a costly diadem;<sup>64</sup> but he absolutely refused the title of *Domnus*, or *Lord*,<sup>65</sup> a word which was grown so familiar to the ears of the Romans, that they no longer remembered its servile and humiliating origin. The office, or rather the name, of consul, was cherished by a prince who contemplated with reverence the ruins of the republic; and the same behaviour which had been assumed by the prudence of Augustus, was adopted by Julian from choice and inclination. On the calends of January, at

break of day, the new consuls, *Martianus* and *Nevitta*, hastened to the palace to salute the emperor. As soon as he was informed of their approach, he leaped from his throne, eagerly advanced to meet them, and compelled the blushing magistrates to receive the demonstrations of his affected humility. From the palace they proceeded to the senate. The emperor, on foot, marched before their litters; and the gazing multitude admired the image of ancient times, or secretly blamed a conduct, which, in their eyes, degraded the majesty of the purple.<sup>66</sup> But the behaviour of Julian was uniformly supported. During the games of the Circus, he had, imprudently or designedly, performed the manumission of a slave in the presence of the consul. The moment he was reminded that he had trespassed on the jurisdiction of another magistrate, he condemned himself to pay a fine of ten pounds of gold; and embraced this public occasion of declaring to the world, that he was subject, like the rest of his fellow-citizens, to the laws,<sup>67</sup> and even to the forms, of the republic. The spirit of his administration, and his regard for the place of his nativity, induced Julian to confer on the senate of Constantinople, the same honours, privileges, and authority, which were still enjoyed by the senate of ancient Rome.<sup>68</sup> A legal fiction was introduced, and gradually established, that one half of the national council had migrated into the East: and the despotic successors of Julian, accepting the title of Senators, acknowledged themselves the members of a respectable body, which was permitted to represent the majesty of the Roman name. From Constantinople, the attention of the monarch was extended to the municipal senates of the provinces. He abolished, by repeated edicts, the unjust and pernicious exemptions which had withdrawn so many idle citizens from the service of their country; and by imposing an equal distribution of public duties, he restored the strength, the splendour, or, according to the glowing expression of Libanius,<sup>69</sup> the soul of the expiring cities of his empire. The venerable age of *His care of the Grecian cities* Greece excited the most tender compassion in the mind of Julian; which kindled into rapture when he recollected the gods; the heroes; and the men, superior to heroes and to gods; who had bequeathed to the latest posterity the monuments of their genius, or the example of their virtues. He relieved the distress, and restored the beauty, of the cities of Epirus and Peloponnesus.<sup>70</sup> Athens acknow-

Æccl'es Romans, c. xiv. in his works, tom. iv. p. 418, 419) excuses this private and absurd vanity by supposing that, whereas the most indifferent to our eyes might excite, in a Roman mind, the idea of guilt and danger. This strange apology is supported by a strange misapprehension of the English law: "Oportet enim non . . ."

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61 According to some, says Aristotle (as he is quoted by Julian ad Themiop. p. 261.), the form of absolute government, the *tyrannical*, is contrary to nature. Both the prince and the philosopher choose, however, to involve this eternal truth in artful and doubtful obscurity.

62 That sentiment is expressed almost in the words of Julian himself. Amman. xxi. 10.

63 Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 95. p. 520), who mentions the wish and a sign of Julian, in minutes, in mysterious language (*plene xenu yonouta* . . . *all' ηρ αμετωρ ελευσιν*), that the emperor was re-

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the private disfigure which he affected to express, only gave a different tone to the servility of court. The Abbé de la Hèze (Hist. de Justin, tom. ii. p. 102) has curiously traced the origin and progress of the word *Domnus* under the Imperial government.

64 Amman. xxi. 7. The consul Martianus (in Euseb. Vet. c. 98, 29. 55) transmitted the auspicious day, like an enslaved slave, according and intoxicated by the condescension of his master.

65 *ἡμεῖς θεοὶ καὶ βασιλεῖς, θεοὶ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐσμεν*. See Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 71. p. 261.), Ammanius (xvi. 9), and the Theodosian Code (l. xii. tit. i. leg. 50. 55) with Godefroy's commentary (tom. iv. p. 590-102).

66 Yet the whole subject of the *curia*, notwithstanding very ample materials, still remains the most obscure in the legal history of the empire.

67 *Quæ pascit ante anda et siti anhelantia viscantur, ea nunc*

laged him for her benefactor; Argos, for her deliverer. The pride of Corinth, again rising from her ruins with the honours of a Roman colony, exacted a tribute from the adjacent republics, for the purpose of defraying the games of the Isthmus, which were celebrated in the amphitheatre with the hunting of bears and panthers. From this tribute the cities of Elis, of Delphi, and of Argos, which had inherited from their remote ancestors the sacred office of perpetuating the Olympic, the Pythian, and the Nemean games, claimed a just exemption. The immunity of Elis and Delphi was respected by the Corinthians; but the poverty of Argos tempted the insolence of oppression; and the feeble complaints of its deputies were silenced by the decree of a provincial magistrate, who seems to have consulted only the interest of the capital in which he resided. Seven years after this sentence, Julian<sup>79</sup> allowed the cause to be referred to a superior tribunal; and his eloquence was interposed, most probably with success, in the defence of a city, which had been the royal seat of Agamemnon,<sup>80</sup> and had given to Macedonia a race of kings and conquerors.<sup>81</sup>

The laborious administration of military and civil affairs, which were multiplied in proportion to the extent of the empire, exercised the abilities of Julian; but he frequently assumed the two characters of Orator<sup>82</sup> and of Judge,<sup>83</sup> which are almost unknown to the modern sovereigns of Europe. The arts of persuasion, so diligently cultivated by the first Cæsars, were neglected by the military ignorance and Asiatic pride of their successors; and if they condescended to harangue the soldiers, whom they feared, they treated with silent disdain the senators, whom they despised. The assemblies of the senate, which Constantius had avoided, were considered by Julian as the place where he could exhibit, with the most propriety, the maxims of a republican, and the talents of a rhetorician. He alternately practised, as in a school of declamation, the several modes of praise, of censure, of exhortation; and his friend Libanius has remarked, that the study of Homer taught him to imitate the simple, concise style of Menelaus, the copiousness of Nestor, whose words descended like the flakes of a winter's snow, or the pathetic and forcible eloquence of Ulysses. The functions of a judge, which are sometimes incompatible with those of a prince, were exercised by Julian, not only as a duty, but as an amusement; and although he might have trusted the integrity and discernment of his prætorian prefects, he often placed himself by their

side on the seat of judgment. The acute penetration of his mind was agreeably occupied in detecting and defeating the chicanery of the advocates, who laboured to disguise the truth of facts, and to pervert the sense of the laws. He sometimes forgot the gravity of his station, asked indiscreet or unseasonable questions, and betrayed, by the loudness of his voice, and the agitation of his body, the earnest vehemence with which he maintained his opinion against the judges, the advocates, and their clients. But his knowledge of his own temper prompted him to encourage, and even to solicit, the reproof of his friends and ministers; and whenever they ventured to oppose the irregular sallies of his passions, the spectators could observe the shame, as well as the gratitude, of their monarch. The decrees of Julian were almost always founded on the principles of justice; and he had the firmness to resist the two most dangerous temptations, which assault the tribunal of a sovereign, under the specious forms of compassion and equity. He decided the merits of the cause without weighing the circumstances of the parties; and the poor, whom he wished to relieve, were condemned to satisfy the just demands of a noble and wealthy adversary. He carefully distinguished the judge from the legislator;<sup>4</sup> and though he meditated a necessary reformation of the Roman jurisprudence, he pronounced sentence according to the strict and literal interpretation of those laws, which the magistrates were bound to execute, and the subjects to obey.

The generality of princes, if they were stripped of their purple, and cast naked into the world, would immediately sink to the lowest rank of society, without a hope of emerging from their obscurity. But the personal merit of Julian was, in some measure, independent of his fortune. Whatever had been his choice of life: by the force of intrepid courage, lively wit, and intense application, he would have obtained, or at least he would have deserved, the highest honours of his profession; and Julian might have raised himself to the rank of minister, or general, of the state in which he was born a private citizen. If the jealous caprice of power had disappointed his expectations; if he had prudently declined the paths of greatness, the employment of the same talents in studious solitude would have placed, beyond the reach of kings, his present happiness and his immortal fame. When we inspect, with minute, or perhaps malevolent attention, the portrait of Julian, something seems wanting to the grace and perfection of the whole

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79 Julian Epist. xxx. p. 107-111. This one, which illustrates the declining age of Greece, is omitted by the Abbé de la Bletterie, and strangely disfigured by the Latin translator, who, by *perducing archedes, lithium, and iduatus, populus*, directly contradicts the sense. *Scherzhaus*.

So He reigned in Mycenæ, at the distance of fifty stadia, or six miles, from Argos but those cities, which alternately flourished, are confounded by the Greek poets. Strabo, l. viii. p. 379. edit. Amstel.

51 Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 421. The pedigree from Temerus and Hercules may be suspicious, yet it was allowed, after a strict enquiry by the judges of the Olympic games (Hierod. l. v. c. 22), at a time when the Macedonians had been obscure and insignificant in Greece. When the Achei in league destroyed Samothrace, it was thought decent that the deputies of Argos should return. (F. L. v. xxiii. 2.)

§ 1. The *eloquentia* is celebrated by Titianus (Orat. Parent. c. 73, 76 p. 701, 702, 740) in the most laudatory manner; the orators of Herculæ (Suet. c. 10) and of the Julian family asserted that Julian was the only prince, since Julius Cæsar, who had raised the senate. All the predecessors of Nero (Cic. *de Orat.* lib. 2, c. 71), and many of his successors, possessed the faculty of speaking in public; and it might be proved by various examples, that they frequently exercised it in the senate.

exhibitions may mean that the jury has impartially stated the merits and defects of his judges' proceedings. Iliann (*Orat. Parent.* 1, 90, 11, 12, 13, 14) has seen only the fair side, and his picture, if it flatters the person, expresses at least the duties, of the judge. (Gregory N. Ziegen (*Orat. ex p. 12*), who suppresses the virtues, and exaggerates even the special faults, of the Apostate, triumphantly asks, 'Whether such a judge was not to be seized between Minos and Rhadamanthus in the Elysian field?')

81 Of the laws which Julian enacted in a reign of sixteen months, his four have been adopted as the codes of Theodosius and Valentinian. Fourth freed them from paganism. The *Novels* of a Hellenic tone, in 529, preserved some of the laws of a pagan Julian in a Latin style, which is forcible and elaborate, but less pure than his Greek.



nient of St. Mamas, at Cæsarea, was erected, or at least was undertaken, by the joint labour of Gallus and Julian.<sup>8</sup> They respectfully conversed with the bishops who were eminent for superior sanctity, and solicited the benediction of the monks and hermits, who had introduced into Cappadocia the voluntary hardships of the ascetic life.<sup>9</sup> As the two princes advanced towards the years of manhood, they discovered, in their religious sentiments, the difference of their characters. The dull and obstinate understanding of Gallus embraced, with implicit zeal, the doctrines of Christianity; which never influenced his conduct, or moderated his passions. The mild disposition of the younger brother was less repugnant to the precepts of the Gospel; and his active curiosity might have been gratified by a theological system, which explains the mysterious essence of the Deity, and opens the boundless prospect of invisible and future worlds. But the independent spirit of Julian refused to yield the passive and unresisting obedience which was required, in the name of religion, by the haughty ministers of the church. Their speculative opinions were imposed as positive laws, and guarded by the terrors of eternal punishments; but while they prescribed the rigid formulary of the thoughts, the words, and the actions of the young prince; whilst they silenced his objections, and severely checked the freedom of his enquiries, they secretly provoked his impatient genius to disclaim the authority of his ecclesiastical guides. He was educated in the Lesser Asia, amidst the scandals of the Arian controversy.<sup>10</sup> The fierce contests of the Eastern bishops, the incessant alterations of their creeds, and the profane motives which appeared to actuate their conduct, insensibly strengthened the prejudice of Julian, that they neither understood nor believed the religion for which they so fiercely contended. Instead of listening to the proofs of Christianity with that favourable attention which adds weight to the most respectable evidence, he heard with suspicion, and disputed with obstinacy and acuteness, the doctrines for which he already entertained an invincible aversion. Whenever the young princes were directed to compose declamations on the subject of the prevailing controversies, Julian always declared himself the advocate of Paganism; under the specious excuse that, in the defence of the weaker cause, his learning and ingenuity might be more advantageously exercised and displayed.

As soon as Gallus was invested with the honours of the purple, Julian was permitted to breathe the air of freedom, of literature, and of Paganism.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The share of the work which had been allotted to Gallus, was prosecuted with vigour and success. But the earth-quake which destroyed the structures which were assigned to the sacrilegious hand of Julian (*Greg. Naz.* p. 516, 61, 62). Such a partial earthquake, attended by many living spectators, would form one of the clearest miracles in ecclesiastical story.

<sup>9</sup> The philosopher (Fragment, p. 288) ridicules the iron chains, &c. of the solitary hermits (see Tillamont, *Mém. Ecclesiast.* tom. ix. p. 601, 602) who had forgot that iron is by nature a gentle and

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<sup>10</sup> It is precisely in the way which you approve. He said to him, of

The crowd of sophists, who were attracted by the taste and liberality of their royal pupil, had formed a strict alliance between the learning and the religion of Greece; and the poems of Homer, instead of being admired as the original productions of human genius, were seriously ascribed to the heavenly inspiration of Apollo and the Muses. The deities of Olympus, as they are painted by the immortal bard, imprint themselves on the minds which are the least addicted to superstitious credulity. Our familiar knowledge of their names and characters, their forms and attributes, seems to bestow on those airy beings a real and substantial existence; and the pleasing enchantment produces an imperfect and momentary assent of the imagination to those fables, which are the most repugnant to our reason and experience. In the age of Julian, every circumstance contributed to prolong and fortify the illusion; the magnificent temples of Greece and Asia; the works of those artists who had expressed, in painting or in sculpture, the divine conceptions of the poet; the pomp of festivals and sacrifices; the successful arts of divination; the popular traditions of oracles and prodigies; and the ancient practice of two thousand years. The weakness of polytheism was, in some measure, excused by the moderation of its claims; and the devotion of the Pagans was not incompatible with the most licentious scepticism.<sup>12</sup> Instead of an indivisible and regular system, which occupies the whole extent of the believing mind, the mythology of the Greeks was composed of a thousand loose and flexible parts, and the servant of the gods was at liberty to define the degree and measure of his religious faith. The creed which Julian adopted for his own use was of the largest dimensions; and, by a strange contradiction, he disclaimed the salutary yoke of the Gospel, whilst he made a voluntary offering of his reason on the altars of Jupiter and Apollo. One of the orations of Julian is consecrated to the honour of Cybele, the mother of the gods, who required from her effeminate priests the bloody sacrifice, so rashly performed by the madness of the Phrygian boy. The pious emperor condescends to relate, without a blush, and without a smile, the voyage of the goddess from the shores of Pergamus to the mouth of the Tyber; and the stupendous miracle, which convinced the senate and people of Rome that the lump of clay, which their ambassadors had transported over the seas, was endowed with life, and sentiment, and divine power.<sup>13</sup> For the truth of this prodigy, he appeals to the public monuments of the city; and censures, with some acrimony, the sickly

<sup>11</sup> Christian Trinity of Moses. Greg. Nazian. p. 30, p. 68, 69, 70.

operation of theism and polytheism, with regard to the double conversion which they procure in the human mind. See Humes *Essays*, ed. n. p. 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417.

<sup>12</sup> The idea of number landed in Italy about the end of the second Punic war. The influence of numbers, either a sign or magic, who named her first to describe it the greater number of the heretics, is attested by a cloud of writers. Their prodigies are collected by Drake (*Archæol.* 8. m. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.)





as the objects the most worthy of religious worship. The Sun, whose genial influence pervades and sustains the universe, justly claimed the adoration of mankind, as the bright representative of the Logos, the lively, the rational, the beneficent image of the intellectual Father.<sup>21</sup>

In every age, the absence of genuine inspiration is supplied by the strong illusions of enthusiasm, and the mimic arts of imposture. If, in the time of Julian, these arts had been practised only by the Pagan priests, for the support of an expiring cause, some indulgence might perhaps be allowed to the interest and habits of the sacerdotal character. But it may appear a subject of surprise and scandal, that the philosophers themselves should have contributed to abuse the superstitious credulity of mankind,<sup>22</sup> and that the Grecian mysteries should have been supported by the magic or theurgy of the modern Platonists. They arrogantly pretended to control the order of nature, to explore the secrets of futurity, to command the service of the inferior demons, to enjoy the view and conversation of the superior gods, and, by disengaging the soul from her material bands, to re-unite that immortal particle with the Infinite and Divine Spirit.

The devout and fearless curiosity of Julian tempted the philosophers with the hopes of an easy conquest ; which, from the situation of their young proselyte, might be productive of the most important consequences.<sup>23</sup> Julian imbibed the first rudiments of the Platonic doctrines from the mouth of Eladesius, who had fixed at Pergamus his wandering and persecuted school. But as the declining strength of that venerable sage was unequal to the ardour, the diligence, the rapid conception of his pupil, two of his most learned disciples, Chrysanthus and Eusebius, supplied, at his own desire, the place of their aged master. These philosophers seem to have prepared and distributed their respective parts ; and they artfully contrived, by dark hints, and affected disputes, to excite the impatient hopes of the *aspirant*, till they delivered him into the hands of their associate, Maximus, the boldest and most skilful master of the Theurgic science. By his hands, Julian was secretly initiated at Ephesus, in the twentieth year of his age. His residence at Athens confirmed this unnatural alliance of philosophy and superstition. He obtained the privilege of a solemn initiation into the mysteries of Eleusis, which, amidst the general decay of the Grecian wor-ship, still retained some vestiges of their primæval sanctity ; and such was the zeal of Julian, that he afterwards invited the Eleusinian pontiff to the court of

Gaul, for the sole purpose of consummating, by mystic rites and sacrifices, the great work of his sanctification. As these ceremonies were performed in the depths of caverns, and in the silence of the night; and as the inviolable secret of the mysteries was preserved by the discretion of the initiated; I shall not presume to describe the horrid sounds, and fiery apparitions, which were presented to the senses, or the imagination, of the credulous aspirant,<sup>24</sup> till the visions of comfort and knowledge broke upon him in a blaze of celestial light.<sup>25</sup> In the caverns of Ephesus and Eleusis, the mind of Julian was penetrated with sincere, deep, and unalterable enthusiasm; though he might sometimes exhibit the vicissitudes of pious fraud and hypocrisy, which may be observed, or at least suspected, in the characters of the most conscientious fanatics. From that moment he consecrated his life to the service of the gods; and while the occupations of war, of government, and of study, seemed to claim the whole measure of his time, a stated portion of the hours of the night was invariably reserved for the exercise of private devotion. The temperance which adorned the severe manners of the soldier and the philosopher, was connected with some strict and frivolous rules of religious abstinence; and it was in honour of Pan or Mercury, of Hecate or Isis, that Julian, on particular days, denied himself the use of some particular food, which might have been offensive to his tutelar deities. By these voluntary fasts, he prepared his senses and his understanding for the frequent and familiar visits with which he was honoured by the celestial powers. Notwithstanding the moilest silence of Julian himself, we may learn from his faithful friend, the orator Libanius, that he lived in a perpetual intercourse with the gods and goddesses; that they descended upon earth, to enjoy the conversation of their favourite hero; that they gently interrupted his slumbers by touching his hand or his hair; that they warned him of every impending danger, and conducted him, by their infallible wisdom, in every action of his life; and that he had acquired such an intimate knowledge of his heavenly guests, as readily to distinguish the voice of Jupiter from that of Minerva, and the form of Apollo from the figure of Hercules.<sup>26</sup> These sleeping or waking visions, the ordinary effects of abstinence and fanaticism, would almost degrade the emperor to the level of an Egyptian monk. But the useless lives of Antony or Pachomius were consumed in these vain occupations. Julian could break from the dream of superstition to arm himself for battle; and after vanquishing in the field the enemies of Rome, he calmly retired into his tent, to dictate the wise and salutary laws of an empire, or to

21 *Ἦλιος λέγει, τοῦτον ἀγαπᾷ καὶ ἐμφανῶς, καὶ ἐκείνους οὐκ ἐκείνους* του λοιπού πατέρος. Julian, *Epist. xli. In the other place* (p. 111 n. 1), p. 61, he calls the Sun, God, and the thronos of God. Julian has used the Platonic Trinity, and only blames the Christians for preferring

25 The dexterous management of these sophists, who played the ridiculous pupil into each other's hands, is fairly told by Euripides (p. 69-70), with unsparing sympathy. The *Alceïde* of the Boeotians, underends, and neatly describes, the whole comedy. (*Vie de Julien*, p. 64-67a.)

<sup>94</sup> When Julian, in a momentary panic, made the sign of the cross, the demons instantly disappeared, *ibid.*, p. 711. Gregory supposes that they were frightened, but the priest declared that they were indignant. The ruler, according to the nature of his

25. A link at a distinct scale of the hierarchy of institutions is shown by Don, Chrysostom, Hieronimus, Prudentius, and Sulpicius. The learned author of the *Dialogi* learnedly selected their words: vol. 1, p. 279, 282, 285, 290 and 317, in which he deviously or fore-dig applies to his own hypothesis.

indulge his genius in the elegant pursuits of literature and philosophy.

The important secret of the apostasy of Julian was intrusted to the fidelity of the *initiated*, with whom he was united by the sacred ties of friendship and religion.<sup>27</sup> The pleasing rumour was cautiously circulated among the adherents of the ancient worship; and his future greatness became the object of the hopes, the prayers, and the predictions of the Pagans, in every province of the empire. From the zeal and virtues of their royal proselyte, they fondly expected the cure of every evil, and the restoration of every blessing; and instead of disapproving of the ardour of their pious wishes, Julian ingenuously confessed, that he was ambitious to attain a situation, in which he might be useful to his country and to his religion. But this religion was viewed with an hostile eye by the successor of Constantine, whose capricious passions alternately saved and threatened the life of Julian. The arts of magic and divination were strictly prohibited under a despotic government, which condescended to fear them; and if the Pagans were reluctantly indulged in the exercise of their superstition, the rank of Julian would have excepted him from the general toleration. The apostate soon became the presumptive heir of the monarchy, and his death could alone have appeased the just apprehensions of the Christians.<sup>28</sup> But the young prince, who aspired to the glory of a hero rather than of a martyr, consulted his safety by dissembling his religion; and the easy temper of polytheism permitted him to join in the public worship of a sect which he inwardly despised. Libanius has considered the hypocrisy of his friend as a subject, not of censure, but of praise. "As the statues of the gods," says that orator, "which have been defiled with filth, are again placed in a magnificent temple; so the beauty of truth was seated in the mind of Julian, after it had been purified from the errors and follies of his education. His sentiments were changed, but as it would have been dangerous to have avowed his sentiments, his conduct still continued the same. Very different from the ass in Æsop, who disguised himself with a lion's hide, our lion was obliged to conceal himself under the skin of an ass; and, while he embraced the dictates of reason, to obey the laws of prudence and necessity."<sup>29</sup> The dissimulation of Julian lasted above ten years, from his secret initiation at Ephesus to the beginning of the civil war; when he declared himself at once the implacable enemy of Christ and of Constantius. This state of constraint might contribute to strengthen his devotion; and as soon as he had satisfied the obligation of assisting, on solemn

festivals, at the assemblies of the Christians, Julian returned, with the impatience of a lover, to burn his free and voluntary incense on the domestic chapels of Jupiter and Mercury. But as every act of dissimulation must be painful to an ingenuous spirit, the profession of Christianity increased the aversion of Julian for a religion which oppressed the freedom of his mind, and compelled him to hold a conduct repugnant to the noblest attributes of human nature, sincerity and courage.

The inclination of Julian might prefer the gods of Homer, and of the Scipios, to the new faith which his uncle had established in the Roman empire; and in which he himself had been sanctified by the sacrament of baptism. But, as a philosopher, it was incumbent on him to justify his dissent from Christianity, which was supported by the number of its converts, by the chain of prophecy, the splendour of miracles, and the weight of evidence. The elaborate work,<sup>30</sup> which he composed amidst the preparations of the Persian war, contained the substance of those arguments which he had long revolved in his mind. Some fragments have been transcribed and preserved, by his adversary, the vehement Cyril of Alexandria;<sup>31</sup> and they exhibit a very singular mixture of wit and learning, of sophistry and fanaticism. The elegance of the style, and the rank of the author, recommended his writings to the public attention;<sup>32</sup> and in the iniquitous list of the enemies of Christianity, the celebrated name of Porphyry was effaced by the superior merit or reputation of Julian. The minds of the faithful were either seduced, or scandalised, or alarmed; and the Pagans, who sometimes presumed to engage in the unequal dispute, derived, from the popular work of their Imperial missionary, an inexhaustible supply of fallacious objections. But in the assiduous prosecution of these theological studies, the emperor of the Romans imbibed the illiberal prejudice and passions of a polemic divine. He contracted an irrevocable obligation to maintain and propagate his religious opinions; and whilst he secretly applauded the strength and dexterity with which he wielded the weapons of controversy, he was tempted to distrust the sincerity, or to despise the understandings, of his antagonists, who could obstinately resist the force of reason and eloquence.

The Christians, who beheld with horror and indignation the apostasy of Julian, had much more to fear from his power than from his arguments. The Pagans, who were conscious of his fervent zeal, expected, perhaps with impatience, that the flames of persecution should be immediately kindled against the enemies of the gods; and that the ingenious

<sup>27</sup> Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. x. p. 235, 234. Gallus had some reason to suspect the secret apostasy of his brother, and in a letter, which may be received as genuine, he exhorts Julian to adhere to the religion of their ancestors, an argument, which, as it should seem, was not yet perfectly ripe. See Julian, *Op.* p. 134, and *Hist. de Julien*.

<sup>28</sup> Libanius, *Orat. Parental.* c. ix. p. 235.

<sup>29</sup> Fabricius (*Biblioth. Græc.* l. v. c. vii. p. 85-90) and Lardner, *Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. p. 44-47, have accurately com-

pared all that can now be discovered of Julian's work against the Christians.

cannot be accused of flattery to a dead prince.

malice of Julian would invent some cruel refinements of death and torture, which had been unknown to the rude and inexperienced fury of his predecessors. But the hopes, as well as the fears, of the religious factions were apparently disappointed, by the prudent humanity of a prince,<sup>33</sup> who was careful of his own fame, of the public peace, and of the rights of mankind. Instructed by history and reflection, Julian was persuaded, that if the diseases of the body may sometimes be cured by salutary violence, neither steel nor fire can eradicate the erroneous opinions of the mind. The reluctant victim may be dragged to the foot of the altar; but the heart still abhors and disclaims the sacrilegious act of the hand. Religious obstinacy is hardened and exasperated by oppression; and, as soon as the persecution subsides, those who have yielded, are restored as penitents, and those who have resisted, are honoured as saints and martyrs. If Julian adopted the unsuccessful cruelty of Diocletian and his colleagues, he was sensible that he should stain his memory with the name of tyrant, and add new glories to the Catholic church, which had derived strength and increase from the severity of the Pagan magistrates. Actuated by these motives, and apprehensive of disturbing the repose of an unsettled reign, Julian surprised the world by an edict, which was not unworthy of a statesman or a philosopher. He extended to all the inhabitants of the Roman world, the benefits of a free and equal toleration; and the only hardship which he inflicted on the Christians, was to deprive them of the power of tormenting their fellow-subjects, whom they stigmatised with the odious titles of idolaters and heretics. The Pagans received a gracious permission, or rather an express order, to open all their temples; <sup>34</sup> and they were at once delivered from the oppressive laws, and arbitrary vexations, which they had sustained under the reign of Constantine, and of his sons. At the same time the bishops and clergy, who had been banished by the Arian monarch, were recalled from exile, and restored to their respective churches; the Donatists, the Novatians, the Macedonians, the Eunomians, and those who, with a more prosperous fortune, adhered to the doctrine of the council of Nice. Julian, who understood and derided their theological disputes, invited to the palace the leaders of the hostile sects, that he might enjoy the agreeable spectacle of their furious encounters. The clamour of controversy sometimes provoked the emperor to exclaim, "Hear me" the Franks have heard me, and the "Alemanni;" but he soon discovered that he was now engaged with more obstinate and implacable enemies; and though he excited the powers of oratory to persuade them to live in concord, or at least in peace, he was perfectly satisfied, before he dismissed them from his presence, that he had nothing to dread from the

union of the Christians. The impartial Ammianus has ascribed this affected clemency to the desire of fomenting the intestine divisions of the church; and the insidious design of undermining the foundations of Christianity, was inseparably connected with the zeal, which Julian professed, to restore the ancient religion of the empire.<sup>35</sup>

As soon as he ascended the throne, he assumed, according to the custom of his predecessors, the character of supreme pontiff; not only as the most honourable title of Imperial greatness, but as a sacred and important office; the duties of which he was resolved to execute with pious diligence. As the business of the state prevented the emperor from joining every day in the public devotion of his subjects, he dedicated a domestic chapel to his tutelar deity the Sun; his gardens were filled with statues and altars of the gods; and each apartment of the palace displayed the appearance of a magnificent temple. Every morning he saluted the parent of light with a sacrifice; the blood of another victim was shed at the moment when the Sun sunk below the horizon; and the Moon, the Stars, and the Genii of the night, received their respective and seasonable honours from the indefatigable devotion of Julian. On solemn festivals, he regularly visited the temple of the god or goddess to whom the day was peculiarly consecrated, and endeavoured to excite the religion of the magistrates and people by the example of his own zeal. Instead of maintaining the lofty state of a monarch, distinguished by the splendour of his purple, and encompassed by the golden shields of his guards, Julian solicited, with respectful eagerness, the meanest offices which contributed to the worship of the gods. Amidst the sacred but licentious crowd of priests, of inferior ministers, and of female dancers, who were dedicated to the service of the temple, it was the business of the emperor to bring the wood, to blow the fire, to handle the knife, to slaughter the victim, and, thrusting his bloody hands into the howels of the expiring animal, to draw forth the heart or liver, and to read, with the consummate skill of an *haruspex*, the imaginary signs of future events. The wisest of the Pagans censured this extravagant superstition, which affected to despise the restraints of prudence and decency. Under the reign of a prince, who practised the rigid maxims of economy, the expense of religious worship consumed a very large portion of the revenue; a constant supply of the scarest and most beautiful birds was transported from distant climates, to bleed on the altars of the gods; an hundred oxen were frequently sacrificed by Julian on one and the same day; and it soon became a popular jest, that if he should return with conquest from the Persian war, the breed of horned cattle must

33 Libanius (*Orat. Parent. c. lvi* p. 287, 284) has eloquently explained the tolerating principles and conduct of his Imperial friend. In a very remarkable epistle to the people of Bœstra, Julian himself (*Epist. l.*) professes his moderation, and berates his zeal, which is acknowledged by Ammurius, and exposed by Gregory (*Orat. iii.* p. 724).

<sup>34</sup> In Greece the temples of Minerva were opened by his express command, before the death of Constantine (Labar. *Orat. Par.* c. 55, p. 280), and Julian declares himself a Pagan, in his public manifesto to the Athenians. This unquestionable evidence may

corner the house a series of terraces, which seems to suggest Comstock to be the place where he discovered his attachment to the girl.

75. *Amureum*, xxi. 7. Summe l'aveu. 3. Peste mortelle, tran-  
quille et redoublée. Les uns en ont eu de grands frissons, et les autres  
extérieurs par redoublement de frissons, et de chaleur, et de froid.  
J'en ai vu plusieurs. Les uns ont eu le frisson, et les autres ont eu la  
fièvre, et ont eu leur salut à un apostrophe, l'un p. 71, 37, 38,  
edit. Double.

infallibly be extinguished. Yet this expense may appear inconsiderable, when it is compared with the splendid presents which were offered, either by the hand, or by order, of the emperor, to all the celebrated places of devotion in the Roman world; and with the sums allotted to repair and decorate the ancient temples, which had suffered the silent decay of time, or the recent injuries of Christian rapine. Encouraged by the example, the exhortations, the liberality, of their pious sovereign, the cities and families resumed the practice of their neglected ceremonies. "Every part of the world," exclaims Libanius, with devout transport, "displayed the triumph of religion; and the grateful prospect of flaming altars, bleeding victims, the smoke of incense, and a solemn train of priests and prophets, without fear and without danger. The sound of prayer and of music was heard on the tops of the highest mountains; and the same ox afforded a sacrifice for the gods, and a supper for their joyous votaries."<sup>36</sup>

Reformation of Paganism. But the genius and power of Julian were unequal to the enterprise of restoring a religion, which was destitute of theological principles, of moral precepts, and of ecclesiastical discipline; which rapidly hastened to decay and dissolution, and was not susceptible of any solid or consistent reformation. The jurisdiction of the supreme pontiff, more especially after that office had been united with the Imperial dignity, comprehended the whole extent of the Roman empire. Julian named for his vicars, in the several provinces, the priests and philosophers, whom he esteemed the best qualified to co-operate in the execution of his great design; and his pastoral letters,<sup>37</sup> if we may use that name, still represent a very curious sketch of his wishes and intentions. He directs, that in every city the sacerdotal order should be composed, without any distinction of birth or fortune, of those persons who were the most conspicuous for their love of the gods, and of men. "If they are guilty," continues he, "of any scandalous offence, they should be censured or degraded by the superior pontiff; but, as long as they retain their rank, they are entitled to the respect of the magistrates and people. Their humility may be shown in the plainness of their domestic garb; their dignity, in the pomp of holy vestments. When they are summoned in their turn to officiate before the altar, they ought not, during the appointed number of days, to depart from the precincts of the temple; nor should a single day be suffered to elapse, without the prayers and the sacrifice, which they are obliged to offer for the prosperity of the state, and of individuals. The exercise of their sacred

"functions requires an immaculate purity, both of mind and body; and even when they are dismissed from the temple to the occupations of common life, it is incumbent on them to excel in decency and virtue the rest of their fellow-citizens. The priest of the gods should never be seen in theatres or taverns. His conversation should be chaste, his diet temperate, his friends of honourable reputation; and if he sometimes visits the Forum or the Palace, he should appear only as the advocate of those who have vainly solicited either justice or mercy. His studies should be suited to the sanctity of his profession. Licentious tales, or comedies, or satires, must be banished from his library, which ought solely to consist of historical and philosophical writings; of history which is founded in truth, and of philosophy which is connected with religion. The impious opinions of the Epicureans and Sceptics deserve his abhorrence and contempt;<sup>38</sup> but he should diligently study the systems of Pythagoras, of Plato, and of the Stoics, which unanimously teach that there are gods; that the world is governed by their providence; that their goodness is the source of every temporal blessing; and that they have prepared for the human soul a future state of reward or punishment." The Imperial pontiff inculcates, in the most persuasive language, the duties of benevolence and hospitality; exhorts his inferior clergy to recommend the universal practice of those virtues; promises to assist their indigence from the public treasury; and declares his resolution of establishing hospitals in every city, where the poor should be received without any invidious distinction of country or of religion. Julian beheld with envy the wise and humane regulations of the church; and he very frankly confesses his intention to deprive the Christians of the applause, as well as advantage, which they had acquired by the exclusive practice of charity and beneficence.<sup>39</sup> The same spirit of imitation might dispose the emperor to adopt several ecclesiastical institutions, the use and importance of which were approved by the success of his enemies. But if these imaginary plans of reformation had been realised, the forced and imperfect copy would have less beneficial to Paganism, than honourable to Christianity.<sup>40</sup> The Gentiles, who peaceably followed the customs of their ancestors, were rather surprised than pleased with the introduction of foreign manners; and, in the short period of his reign, Julian had frequent occasions to complain of the want of fervour of his own party.<sup>41</sup>

The enthusiasm of Julian prompted him to embrace the friends of the philosophers.

to wish that any opinions and arguments the most repugnant to his own should be concealed from the knowledge of mankind.

39 Yet he insinuates, that the "heretics, under the pretence of charity, inveigled children from their religion and parents, conveyed

imitation, and amuses himself with enquiring, what lessons, moral or theological, could be extracted from the Grecian fables.

40 He accuses one of his pontiffs of a secret confederacy with the Christian bishops and presbyters (Epist. lxi.) "Ὅρουν οὐν πολλῶν μετ' ὁμοφρονούντων ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς; and again, ἡμᾶς; θεοὺς οὐκ ἔραβον; &c. Epist. lxxv.

<sup>36</sup> The restoration of the Pagan worship is described by Julian (Misopogon, p. 316.), Libanius (orat. Parent. c. 69) p. 296, 287, and Orm. Consular. ad Julian. p. 245, 246, edit. Morel.), Ammianus (xiii. 12.), and Gregory Nazianzen (orat. iv. p. 121.). These writers agree in the essential, and even minute, facts; but the different lights in which they view the extreme devotion of Julian, are expressive of the gradations of self-applause, passionate admiration, mild reproof, and partial invective.

<sup>37</sup> See Julian. Epistol. xlix. lxx. lxxii., and a long and curious fragment, without beginning or end (p. 284—305.). The supreme pontiff derides the Mosar history, and the Christian discipline, prefers the Greek poets to the Hebrew prophets, and palliates, with the skill of a Jesuit, the relative worship of images.

<sup>38</sup> The exaltation of Julian (p. 301.), that these impious sects, and even their writings, are extinguished, may be consistent enough with the sacerdotal character; but it is unworthy of a philosopher

Jupiter as his personal friends and brethren; and though he partially overlooked the merit of Christian constancy, he admired and rewarded the noble perseverance of those Gentiles who had preferred the favour of the gods to that of the emperor.<sup>42</sup> If they cultivated the literature, as well as the religion, of the Greeks, they acquired an additional claim to the friendship of Julian, who ranked the Muses in the number of his tutelary deities. In the religion which he had adopted, piety and learning were almost synonymous;<sup>43</sup> and a crowd of poets, of rhetoricians, and of philosophers, hastened to the Imperial court, to occupy the vacant places of the bishops, who had seduced the credulity of Constantius. His successor esteemed the ties of common initiation as far more sacred than those of consanguinity: he chose his favourites among the sages, who were deeply skilled in the occult sciences of magic and divination; and every impostor, who pretended to reveal the secrets of futurity, was assured of enjoying the present hour in honour and affluence.<sup>44</sup> Among the philosophers, Maximus obtained the most eminent rank in the friendship of his royal disciple, who communicated, with unreserved confidence, his actions, his sentiments, and his religious designs, during the anxious suspense of the civil war.<sup>45</sup> As soon as Julian had taken possession of the palace of Constantinople, he despatched an honourable and pressing invitation to Maximus; who then resided at Sardes in Lydia, with Chrysanthius, the associate of his art and studies. The prudent and superstitious Chrysanthius refused to undertake a journey which showed itself, according to the rules of divination, with the most threatening and malignant aspect: but his companion, whose fanaticism was of a bolder cast, persisted in his interrogations, till he had extorted from the gods a seeming consent to his own wishes, and those of the emperor. The journey of Maximus through the cities of Asia displayed the triumph of philosophic vanity; and the magistrates vied with each other in the honourable reception which they prepared for the friend of their sovereign. Julian was pronouncing an oration before the senate, when he was informed of the arrival of Maximus. The emperor immediately interrupted his discourse, advanced to meet him, and, after a tender embrace, conducted him by the hand into the midst of the assembly; where he publicly acknowledged the benefits which he had derived from the instructions of the philosopher. Maximus,<sup>46</sup> who soon acquired the confidence, and influenced

the councils, of Julian, was insensibly corrupted by the temptations of a court. His dress became more splendid, his demeanour more lofty, and he was exposed, under a succeeding reign, to a disgraceful enquiry into the means by which the disciple of Plato had accumulated, in the short duration of his favour, a very scandalous proportion of wealth. Of the other philosophers and sophists, who were invited to the Imperial residence by the choice of Julian, or by the success of Maximus, few were able to preserve their innocence or their reputation.<sup>47</sup> The liberal gifts of money, lands, and houses, were insufficient to satiate their rapacious avarice; and the indignation of the people was justly excited by the remembrance of their abject poverty and disinterested professions. The penetration of Julian could not always be deceived: but he was unwilling to despise the characters of those men whose talents deserved his esteem: he desired to escape the double reproach of imprudence and inconstancy; and he was apprehensive of degrading, in the eyes of the profane, the honour of letters and of religion.<sup>48</sup>

The favour of Julian was almost  
equally divided between the Pagans, Conversions. who had firmly adhered to the worship of their ancestors, and the Christians, who prudently embraced the religion of their sovereign. The acquisition of new proselytes<sup>49</sup> gratified the ruling passions of his soul, superstition and vanity; and he was heard to declare, with the enthusiasm of a missionary, that if he could render each individual richer than Midas, and every city greater than Babylon, he should not esteem himself the benefactor of mankind, unless, at the same time, he could reclaim his subjects from their impious revolt against the immortal gods.<sup>50</sup> A prince, who had studied human nature, and who possessed the treasures of the Roman empire, could adapt his arguments, his promises, and his rewards, to every order of Christians;<sup>51</sup> and the merit of a seasonable conversion was allowed to supply the defects of a candidate, or even to expiate the guilt of a criminal. As the army is the most forcible engine of absolute power, Julian applied himself, with peculiar diligence, to corrupt the religion of his troops, without whose hearty concurrence every measure must be dangerous and unsuccessful; and the natural temper of soldiers made this conquest as easy as it was important. The legions of Gaul devoted themselves to the faith, as well as to the fortunes, of their victorious leader; and even before the death of Con-

42 He praises the fidelity of Oribasius, priest of Ceres, who had been twice as constant as Penelope, and rewarded her with the priesthood of the same goddess at Pergamus. Julian, *Epist.* 101. He applauds the piety of S. Peter of Heraclea, who had been repeatedly pressed by Constantius and Gallus to apostatize. *Idem.* *Epist.* 100. p. 301.

43 *De constantia et de avaritia et de heresi.* *Orat.* Parent. c. 77. p. 392. The same sentiment is frequently indicated by Julian, Libanius, and the rest of the orators.

44 The curiosity and credulity of the emperor, who tried every art, is mentioned in *Idem.* *Epist.* 101. p. 301.

45 Eusebius, *in Maxim.* p. 77, 78, 79, and in *Chrysostom.* p. 147, 148. has minutely related these particulars, which he ascribes to be the most important events of the time. Yet he freely confesses the frailty of Maximus. His religion is not more accurately described by Libanius (*Orat.* Parent. c. 50. p. 301.) and Ammianus (*hist.* 26.)

46 Chrysanthius, who had been a priest of Apollo, was made the priest of the province. His cult was not to be neglected, for it

secured him after the revolution; and he lived in peace; while Maximus, Proculus, &c. were persecuted by the Christian minister. See the adventures of those fanatic sophists, collected by Brucker, *tom.* ii. p. 251, 253.

47 See Libanius (*Orat.* Parent. c. 101, 102. p. 304, 305, 306.) and Eusebius (*vit. Sulpici.* in *Præfatione*, p. 126.) concerning the numerous converts, who were made, or were said to be made, in the short reign of Julian.

48 Under the reign of Louis XIV. the same policy was pursued to the glorious title of Christian was expressed, and their civil and military service in making proselytes. The word of the missionaries and candidates for the Christian religion was not to be considered as a mere promise, but as a solemn engagement.

49 See the *Orat.* Parent. c. 101, 102. p. 304, 305, 306. and *Idem.* *Epist.* 101. p. 301.

50 When the Emperor Julian, in his *Orat.* Parent. c. 101, 102. p. 304, 305, 306. speaks of the conversion of the whole world, he means the conversion of the whole of the Roman empire, which he had then under his dominion.



ments of idolatry; and, either from design or accident, a chapel was dedicated to Venus, on the spot which had been sanctified by the death and resurrection of Christ.<sup>1</sup> Almost three hundred years after those stupendous events, the profane chapel of Venus was demolished by the order of Constantine; and the removal of the earth and stones revealed the holy sepulchre to the eyes of mankind. A magnificent church was erected on that mystic ground, by the first Christian emperor; and the effects of his pious munificence were extended to every spot which had been consecrated by the footsteps of patriarchs, of prophets, and of the Son of God.<sup>2</sup>

The passionate desire of contemplating the original monuments of their redemption, attracted to Jerusalem a successive crowd of pilgrims, from the shores of the Atlantic ocean, and the most distant countries of the East;<sup>3</sup> and their piety was authorized by the example of the empress Helena, who appears to have united the credulity of age with the warm feelings of a recent conversion. Sages and heroes, who have visited the memorable scenes of ancient wisdom or glory, have confessed the inspiration of the genius of the place;<sup>4</sup> and the Christian, who knelt before the holy sepulchre, ascribed his lively faith, and his fervent devotion, to the more immediate influence of the Divine spirit. The zeal, perhaps the avarice, of the clergy of Jerusalem, cherished and multiplied these beneficial visits. They fixed, by unquestionable tradition, the scene of each memorable event. They exhibited the instruments which had been used in the passion of Christ, the nails and the lance that had pierced his hands, his feet, and his side; the crown of thorns that was put on his head; the spear at which he was pierced; and the towel, which they showed the cross on which he suffered, and which was dug out of the earth in the reign of those princes, who carried the standard of Christianity in the banners of the Roman legions.<sup>5</sup> Such miracles, as seemed necessary to account for its extraordinary preservation, and seasonable discovery, were gradually propagated without opposition. The custody of the *true cross*, which on Easter Sunday was solemnly exposed to the people, was intrusted to the bishop of

Jerusalem; and he alone might gratify the curious devotion of the pilgrims, by the gift of small pieces, which they exchanged in gold or gems, and carried away in triumph to their respective countries. But as this gaudial branch of commerce must soon have been annihilated, it was found convenient to suppose, that the marvellous wood possessed a secret power of vegetation; and that its substance, though continually diminished, still remained entire and unimpaired.<sup>6</sup> It might perhaps have been expected, that the influence of the place and the belief of a perpetual miracle, should have produced some salutary effects on the morals, as well as on the faith of the people. Yet the most respectable of the ecclesiastical writers have been obliged to confess, not only that the streets of Jerusalem were filled with the incessant tumult of business and pleasure,<sup>7</sup> but that every species of vice, adultery, theft, idolatry, poisoning, murder, was familiar to the inhabitants of the holy city.<sup>8</sup> The wealth and pre-eminence of the church of Jerusalem excited the ambition of Arius, as well as orthodox candidates; and the virtues of Cyril, who, since his death, has been honoured with the title of Saint, were displayed in the exercise, rather than in the acquisition, of his episcopal dignity.<sup>9</sup>

The vain and ambitious mind of Julian might aspire to restore the ancient glory of the temple of Jerusalem.<sup>10</sup> As the Christians were firmly persuaded that a sentence of everlasting destruction had been pronounced against the whole fabric of the Mosaic Law, the Imperial sepiast would have converted the success of his undertaking into a species of argument against the truth of prophecy, and the truth of revelation.<sup>11</sup> He was displeased with the spirit and worship of the synagogue, but he approved the institutions of Moses, who had not declined to adopt many of the rites and ceremonies of Egypt.<sup>12</sup> The local and national deity of the Jews was sincerely adored by a polytheist, who desired only to multiply the number of the gods;<sup>13</sup> and such was the appetite of Julian for bloody sacrifice, that his emulation might be excited by the piety of Solomon, who had offered, at the feast of the dedication, twenty-two thousand oxen, and one

Julian attempts to rebuild the temple

<sup>1</sup> See two curious passages in Jerome, *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.* that the Emperress, Helena, had been the first to demolish the temple of Venus.

<sup>2</sup> See the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.* and the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.*

<sup>3</sup> See the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.* and the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.*

<sup>4</sup> See the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.* and the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.*

<sup>5</sup> See the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.* and the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.*

<sup>6</sup> See the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.* and the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.*

<sup>7</sup> See the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.* and the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.*

<sup>8</sup> See the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.* and the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.*

<sup>9</sup> See the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.* and the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.*

<sup>10</sup> See the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.* and the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.*

<sup>11</sup> See the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.* and the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.*

<sup>12</sup> See the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.* and the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.*

<sup>13</sup> See the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.* and the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.*

<sup>14</sup> See the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.* and the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.*

<sup>15</sup> See the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.* and the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.*

<sup>16</sup> See the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.* and the account of the Emperress Helena, in the *l. vi. c. p. 135. form. vi.* and *l. vi. c. p. 136. form. vi.*



hundred and twenty thousand sheep.<sup>74</sup> These considerations might influence his designs ; but the prospect of an immediate and important advantage would not suffer the impatient monarch to expect the remote and uncertain event of the Persian war. He resolved to erect, without delay, on the commanding eminence of Moriah, a stately temple, which might eclipse the splendour of the church of the Resurrection on the adjacent hill of Calvary ; to establish an order of priests, whose interested zeal would detect the arts, and resist the ambition, of their Christian rivals ; and to invite a numerous colony of Jews, whose stern fanaticism would be always prepared to second, and even to anticipate, the hostile measures of the Pagan government. Among the friends of the emperor (if the names of emperor, and of friend, are not incompatible) the first place was assigned, by Julian himself, to the virtuous and learned Alypius.<sup>75</sup> The humanity of Alypius was tempered by severe justice, and manly fortitude ; and while he exercised his abilities in the civil administration of Britain, he imitated, in his poetical compositions, the harmony and softness of the odes of Sappho. This minister, to whom Julian communicated, without reserve, his most careless levities, and his most serious counsels, received an extraordinary commission to restore, in its pristine beauty, the temple of Jerusalem ; and the diligence of Alypius required and obtained the strenuous support of the governor of Palestine. At the call of their great deliverer, the Jews, from all the provinces of the empire, assembled on the holy mountain of their fathers ; and their in-olent triumph alarmed and exasperated the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem. The desire of rebuilding the temple has, in every age, been the ruling passion of the children of Israel. In this propitious moment the men forgot their avarice, and the women their delicacy ; spades and pickaxes of silver were provided by the vanity of the rich, and the rubbish was transported in mantles of silk and purple. Every purse was opened in liberal contributions, every hand claimed a share in the pious labour ; and the commands of a great monarch were executed by the enthusiasm of a whole people.<sup>76</sup>

Yet, on this occasion, the joint efforts of power and enthusiasm were unsuccessful; and the ground of the Jewish temple, which is now covered by a Mahometan mosque,<sup>77</sup> still continued to exhibit the same edifying spectacle of ruin and desolation. Perhaps the absence and death of the emperor, and

the new maxims of a Christian reign, might explain the interruption of an arduous work, which was attempted only in the last six months of the life of Julian.<sup>78</sup> But the Christians entertained a natural and pious expectation, that, in this memorable contest, the honour of religion would be vindicated by some signal miracle. An earthquake, a whirlwind, and a fiery eruption, which overturned and scattered the new foundations of the temple, are attested, with some variations, by cotemporary and respectable evidence.<sup>79</sup> This public event is described by Ambrose,<sup>80</sup> bishop of Milan, in an epistle to the emperor Theodosius, which must provoke the severe animadversion of the Jews; by the eloquent Chrysostom,<sup>81</sup> who might appeal to the memory of the elder part of his congregation at Antioch; and by Gregory Nazianzen,<sup>82</sup> who published his account of the miracle before the expiration of the same year. The last of these writers has boldly declared, that this preternatural event was not disputed by the infidels; and his assertion, strange as it may seem, is confirmed by the unexceptionable testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus.<sup>83</sup> The philosophic soldier, who loved the virtues, without adopting the prejudices, of his master has recorded, in his judicious and candid history of his own times, the extraordinary obstacles which interrupted the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem. "Whilst Alypius, assisted by the governor of the province, urged, with vigour and diligence, the execution of the work, horrible balls of fire breaking out near the foundations, with frequent and reiterated attacks, rendered the place, from time to time, inaccessible to the scorched and blasted workmen; and the victorious element continuing in this manner obstinately and resolutely bent, as it were, to drive them to a distance, the undertaking was abandoned." Such authority should satisfy a believing, and must astonish an incredulous mind. Yet a philosopher may still require the original evidence of impartial and intelligent spectators. At this important crisis, any singular accident of nature would assume the appearance, and produce the effects, of a real prodigy. This glorious deliverance would be speedily improved and magnified by the pious art of the clergy of Jerusalem, and the active credulity of the Christian world; and, at the distance of twenty years, a Roman historian, careless of theological disputes, might adorn his work with the specious and splendid miracle.<sup>84</sup>

The restoration of the Jewish temple was

741 Kings, viii. 13. 2 Chr. xix. 3. Joseph. Antiquit. lib. vi. c. 1. p. 151. et Hieron. p. 156. p. 1. The voice of a man he called by name, came out of the tomb, and he that was in the tomb, removed then by a voice. He that removed was loud enough to be heard by the multitude.

<sup>7</sup> "I have found xxxviii La Buxerie has neglected to transmit the second of those letters."

77 Built by Herod, the second king of Judaea, and A. P. 20. This great magnificent temple, the work of a century, was built at the Jewish temple, and constitutes a new era in the history of the world, or one Roman

18. Another was the "The Anatomy of the Slave," 1853, before he records to mention the *Book of the Negro*. "I am almost certain," he says, "that the symptoms are equalled in this case." Washburn was sent with to authenticate the matter, but he must have understood, from former examples, that the execution of such a work would have demanded many years.

79. The subsequent writers, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Philostorgius, &c. all contradict him, rather than agree with him, in the allegations of Pausanias that des. 346, from sup. p. 171-181 with Warburton's answers (Julian. p. 171-228). The bishop has

recently exposed the mirabolous crosses which appeared on the garments of the spectators by a similar instance, and the natural effects of lightning.

Sicut enim uerbum est per se, sic et benedictio. He com-  
posed this tract, e.g. the 10th, as justification of a bishop, who had  
been condemned by the civil magistrates for burning a synagogue.

St. Chrysostom, tom. i, p. 380, others, Juby, & et Genes, tom. ii, p. 174, de Sto. Basil, edit. Montfaucon. I have followed the common and favoured supposition, but the learned Berichius, who dates the composition of these sermons in the year 385, is confident they were never yet preached in the west.

[illegible]

51 Dr. Lardner, perhaps alone of the Christian critics, presumes

Partially of <sup>the</sup> secretly connected with the ruin of the Christian church. Julian still continued to maintain the freedom of religious worship, without distinguishing, whether this universal toleration proceeded from his justice, or his clemency. He affected to pity the unhappy Christians, who were mistaken in the most important object of their lives; but his pity was degraded by contempt, his contempt was embittered by hatred; and the sentiments of Julian were expressed in a style of sarcastic wit, which inflicts a deep and deadly wound, whenever it issues from the mouth of a sovereign. As he was sensible that the Christians gloried in the name of their Redeemer, he countenanced, and perhaps enjoined, the use of the less honourable appellation of *GALLIENS*.<sup>55</sup> He declared, that, by the folly of the Gallians, whom he describes as a sect of fanatics, contemptible to men, and odious to the gods, the empire had been reduced to the brink of destruction; and he insinuates in a public edict, that a frantic patient might sometimes be cured by salutary violence.<sup>56</sup> An ungenerous distinction was admitted into the mind and counsels of Julian, that, according to the difference of their religious sentiments, one part of his subjects deserved his favour and friendship, while the other was entitled only to the common benefits that his justice could not refuse to an obedient people.<sup>57</sup> According to a principle, pregnant with mischief and oppression, the emperor transferred, to the pontiffs of his own religion, the management of the liberal allowances from the public revenue, which had been granted to the church by the piety of Constantine and his sons. The proud system of clerical honours and immunities, which had been constructed with so much art and labour, was levelled to the ground; the hopes of testamentary donations were intercepted by the rigour of the laws; and the priests of the Christian sect were confounded with the last and most ignominious class of the people. Such of these regulations as appeared necessary to check the ambition and avarice of the ecclesiastics, were soon afterwards imitated by the wisdom of an orthodox prince. The peculiar distinctions which policy has bestowed, or superstition has lavished, on the sacerdotal order, must be confined to those priests who profess the religion of the state. But the will of the legislator was not exempt from prejudice and passion; and it was the object of the insidious policy of Julian, to deprive the Christians of all the temporal honours and advantages

which rendered them respectable in the eyes of the world.<sup>58</sup>

A just and severe censure has been inflicted on the law which prohibited the Christians from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric.<sup>59</sup> The motives alleged by the emperor to justify this partial and oppressive measure, might command, during his life-time, the silence of slaves and the applause of flatterers. Julian abuses the ambiguous meaning of a word which might be indifferently applied to the language and the religion of the GREEKS: he contemptuously observes, that the men who exalt the merit of implicit faith are unfit to claim or to enjoy the advantages of science; and he vainly contends, that if they refuse to adore the gods of Homer and Demosthenes, they ought to content themselves with expounding Luke and Matthew in the churches of the Gallians.<sup>60</sup> In all the cities of the Roman world, the education of the youth was intrusted to masters of grammar and rhetoric, who were elected by the magistrates, maintained at the public expense, and distinguished by many lucrative and honourable privileges. The edict of Julian appears to have included the physicians, and professors of all the liberal arts; and the emperor, who reserved to himself the approbation of the candidates, was authorised by the laws to corrupt, or to punish, the religious constancy of the most learned of the Christians.<sup>61</sup> As soon as the resignation of the more obstinate<sup>62</sup> teachers had established the unrivalled dominion of the Pagan sophists, Julian invited the rising generation to resort with freedom to the public schools, in a just confidence, that their tender minds would receive the impressions of literature and idolatry. If the greatest part of the Christian youth should be deterred by their own scruples, or by those of their parents, from accepting this dangerous mode of instruction, they must, at the same time, relinquish the benefits of a liberal education. Julian had reason to expect that, in the space of a few years, the church would relapse into its primitive simplicity, and that the theologians, who possessed an adequate share of the learning and eloquence of the age, would be succeeded by a generation of blind and ignorant fanatics, incapable of defending the truth of their own principles, or of exposing the various follies of polytheism.<sup>63</sup>

It was undoubtedly the wish and the design of Julian to deprive the Christians of the advantages of

Dignity and  
riches, and  
of the Christian  
life.

to do it the truth of the former is to be found in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100. The latter is to be found in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>55</sup> See the edict of Julian, in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100. The edict is in the original Latin, and is translated into French in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>56</sup> See the edict of Julian, in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100. The edict is in the original Latin, and is translated into French in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>57</sup> See the edict of Julian, in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100. The edict is in the original Latin, and is translated into French in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>58</sup> See the edict of Julian, in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100. The edict is in the original Latin, and is translated into French in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>59</sup> See the edict of Julian, in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100. The edict is in the original Latin, and is translated into French in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>60</sup> See the edict of Julian, in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100. The edict is in the original Latin, and is translated into French in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>61</sup> See the edict of Julian, in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100. The edict is in the original Latin, and is translated into French in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>62</sup> See the edict of Julian, in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100. The edict is in the original Latin, and is translated into French in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>63</sup> See the edict of Julian, in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100. The edict is in the original Latin, and is translated into French in the History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 100.



the Macedonian kings of Syria had consecrated to Apollo one of the most elegant places of devotion in the Pagan world.<sup>104</sup> A magnificent temple rose in honour of the god of light; and his colossal figure<sup>105</sup> almost filled the capacious sanctuary, which was enriched with gold and gems, and adorned by the skill of the Grecian artists. The deity was represented in a bending attitude, with a golden cup in his hand, pouring out a libation on the earth; as if he supplicated the venerable mother to give to his arms the cold and beauteous DAPHNE, for the spot was embellished by fiction; and the fancy of the Syrian poets had transported the amorous tale from the banks of the Peneus to those of the Orontes. The ancient rites of Greece were imitated by the royal colony of Antioch. A stream of prophecy, which rivaled the truth and reputation of the Delphic oracle, flowed from the *Castalian* fountain of Daphne.<sup>106</sup> In the adjacent fields a stadium was built by a special privilege,<sup>107</sup> which had been purchased from Elus; the Olympic games were celebrated at the expense of the city; and a revenue of thirty thousand pounds sterling was annually applied to the public pleasures.<sup>108</sup> The perpetual resort of pilgrims and spectators insensibly formed, in the neighbourhood of the temple, the stately and populous village of Daphne, which emulated the splendour, without acquiring the title, of a provincial city. The temple and the village were deeply bosomed in a thick grove of laurels and cypresses, which reached as far as a circumference of ten miles, and formed in the most sultry summers a cool and impenetrable shade. A thousand streams of the purest water, issuing from every hill, preserved the verdure of the earth, and the temperature of the air; the senses were gratified with harmonious sounds and aromatic odours; and the peaceful grove was consecrated to health and joy, to luxury and love. The vigorous youth pursued, like Apollo, the object of his desires; and the blushing maid was warned, by the fate of Daphne, to shun the folly of unseasonable coyness. The soldier and the philosopher wisely avoided the temptation of this sensual paradise;<sup>109</sup> where pleasure, assuming the character of religion, imperceptibly dissolved the firmness of manly virtue. But the groves of Daphne continued for many ages to enjoy the veneration of natives and strangers; the privileges of the holy ground

were enlarged by the munificence of succeeding emperors; and every generation added new ornaments to the splendour of the temple.<sup>110</sup>

When Julian, on the day of the annual festival, hastened to adore the Apollo of Daphne, his devotion was raised to the highest pitch of eagerness and impatience. His lively imagination anticipated the grateful pomp of victims, of libations, and of incense; a long procession of youths and virgins, clothed in white robes, the symbol of their innocence; and the tumultuous concourse of an innumerable people. But the zeal of Antioch was diverted, since the reign of Christianity, into a different channel. Instead of hecatombs of fat oxen sacrificed by the tribes of a wealthy city to their tutelar deity, the emperor complains that he found only a single goose, provided at the expense of a priest, the pale and solitary inhabitant of this decayed temple.<sup>111</sup> The altar was deserted, the oracle had been reduced to silence, and the holy ground was profaned by the introduction of Christian and funereal rites. After Babylas<sup>112</sup> (a bishop of Antioch, who died in prison in the persecution of Decius: had rested near a century in his grave, his body, by the order of the Cæsar Gallus, was transported into the midst of the grove of Daphne. A magnificent church was erected over his remains; a portion of the sacred lands was usurped for the maintenance of the clergy, and for the burial of the Christians of Antioch, who were ambitious of lying at the feet of their bishop; and the priests of Apollo retired, with their affrighted and indignant votaries. As soon as another revolution seemed to restore the fortune of Paganism, the church of St. Babylas was demolished, and new buildings were added to the mouldering edifice which had been raised by the piety of the Syrian kings. But the first and most serious care of Julian was to deliver his oppressed city from the odious presence of the dead and living Christians, who had so effectually suppressed the voice of fraud or enthusiasm.<sup>113</sup> The scene of infection was purified, according to the forms of ancient rituals; the bodies were decently removed; and the ministers of the church were permitted to convey the remains of St. Babylas to their former habitation within the walls of Antioch. The modest behaviour which might have assuaged the jealousy of an hostile government, was neglected on this occasion by

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inscriptions, from 1000 BC to 1000 AD. The Hindu temple of the goddess Parvati was situated in the East Lane street, and the temple of the goddess Vardale (Gauri, p. 281) was situated in the West Lane street. The preparation of the copper plates was done by the guru-knowledge, which was again passed to the next generation.

It was published, A. D. H. C. of the *Journal of Science of*  
 Astoria N. H. by the *Journal of Science of*  
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 five cities

age of Constantine, are compared in the *Expositio totius Mundi*, p. 6 ff. down, Geography Minor, loc. cit.

[illegible]

El A. es el más numeroso Diptero en el sitio (*Phomoxa*), que incluye a su vez los más importantes coleópteros en el área en abundancia. Entre los coleópteros, *Scaph. hispidula* Escholtz es el más común.

[illegible]

the zeal of the Christians. The lofty car, that transported the relics of Babylas, was followed, and accompanied, and received, by an innumerable multitude; who chanted, with thundering acclamations, the Psalms of David the most expressive of their contempt for idols and idolaters. The return of the saint was a triumph; and the triumph was an insult on the religion of the emperor, who exerted his pride to dissemble his resentment. During the night which terminated this indiscreet procession, the temple of Daphne was in flames; the statue of Apollo was consumed; and the walls of the edifice were left a naked and awful monument of ruin. The Christians of Antioch asserted, with religious confidence, that the powerful intercession of St. Babylas had pointed the lightnings of heaven against the devoted roof; but as Julian was reduced to the alternative, of believing either a crime or a miracle, he chose, without hesitation, without evidence, but with some colour of probability, to impute the fire of Daphne to the revenge of the Galileans.<sup>114</sup> Their offence, had it been sufficiently proved, might have justified the retaliation, which was immediately executed

Julian shuts the cathedral of Antioch.

by the order of Julian, of shutting the doors, and confiscating the wealth, of the cathedral of Antioch. To discover the criminals who were guilty of the tumult, of the fire, or of secreting the riches of the church, several ecclesiastics were tortured;<sup>115</sup> and a presbyter, of the name of Theodoret, was beheaded by the sentence of the count of the East. But this hasty act was blamed by the emperor; who lamented, with real or affected concern, that the imprudent zeal of his ministers would tarnish his reign with the disgrace of persecution.<sup>116</sup>

The zeal of the ministers of Julian was instantly checked by the frown of their sovereign; but when the father of his country declares himself the leader of a faction, the licence of popular fury cannot easily be restrained, nor consistently punished. Julian, in a public composition, applauds the devotion and loyalty of the holy cities of Syria, whose pious inhabitants had destroyed, at the first signal, the sepulchres of the Galileans; and faintly complains, that they had revenged the injuries of the gods with less moderation than he should have recommended.<sup>117</sup> This imperfect and reluctant confession may appear to confirm the ecclesiastical narratives; that in the cities of Gaza, Ascalon, Cæsarea, Heliopolis, &c. the Pagans abused, without prudence or remorse, the moment of their prosperity. That the unhappy objects of their cruelty were released from torture only by death;

that as their mangled bodies were dragged through the streets, they were pierced (such was the universal rage) by the spits of cooks, and the distaffs of enraged women; and that the entrails of Christian priests and virgins, after they had been tasted by those bloody fanatics, were mixed with barley, and contemptuously thrown to the unclean animals of the city.<sup>118</sup> Such scenes of religious madness exhibit the most contemptible and odious picture of human nature; but the massacre of Alexandria attracts still more attention, from the certainty of the fact, the rank of the victims, and the splendour of the capital of Egypt.

George,<sup>119</sup> from his parents or <sup>George of Cappadocia</sup>

his education, surnamed the Cap-<sup>George of Cappadocia</sup> padocian, was born at Epiphania in Cilicia, in a fuller's shop. From this obscure and servile origin he raised himself by the talents of a parasite: and the patrons, whom he assiduously flattered, procured for their worthless dependant a lucrative commission, or contract, to supply the army with bacon. His employment was mean; he rendered it infamous. He accumulated wealth by the basest arts of fraud and corruption; but his malversations were so notorious, that George was compelled to escape from the pursuits of justice. After this disgrace, in which he appears to have saved his fortune at the expense of his honour, he embraced, with real or affected zeal, the profession of Arianism. From the love, or the ostentation, of learning, he collected a valuable library of history, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology;<sup>120</sup> and the choice of the prevailing faction promoted George of Cappadocia to the throne of Athanasius. The entrance of the new archbishop was that of a barbarian conqueror; and each moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and avarice. The catholics of Alexandria and Egypt were abandoned to a tyrant, qualified, by nature and education, to exercise the office of persecution; but he oppressed with <sup>oppressed Alexandria and Egypt</sup> an impartial hand the various inhabitants of his extensive diocese. The primate of Egypt assumed the pomp and insolence of his lofty station; but he still betrayed the vices of his base and servile extraction. The merchants of Alexandria were impoverished by the unjust, and almost universal, monopoly, which he acquired, of nitre, salt, paper, funerals, &c.: and the spiritual father of a great people condescended to practise the vile and pernicious arts of an informer. The Alexandrians could never forget, nor forgive, the tax, which he suggested, on all the houses of the city; under an obsolete claim, that the royal founder had con-

<sup>114</sup> Julian (in Misopogon, p. 361) rather assumes, than affirms, this charge. Ammianus (l. c. 15) treats the imputation as *fastidiosum rumor*; and reads the story with extraordinary candour.

<sup>115</sup> The same may be said, for the example, of Julius the emperor's in-process, of the crimes of the citizens of Antioch, at a major ecclesiastical assembly. This accusation was connected with some circumstances of outrage and profanation, and the reasonable death of the criminal actor, Julian's brother, is related with much asseveration as to the truth of the fact. See Julian, in the Vita Socratis, l. ii. c. 19. The complaint of Julian gives it an original and authentic air.

<sup>116</sup> Julian, Misopogon, p. 361.

<sup>117</sup> Julian, Misopogon, l. ii. c. 19. See also Julian, in the Vita Socratis, l. ii. c. 19. The complaint of Julian gives it an original and authentic air. The same may be said, for the example, of Julius the emperor's in-process, of the crimes of the citizens of Antioch, at a major ecclesiastical assembly. This accusation was connected with some circumstances of outrage and profanation, and the reasonable death of the criminal actor, Julian's brother, is related with much asseveration as to the truth of the fact. See Julian, in the Vita Socratis, l. ii. c. 19. The complaint of Julian gives it an original and authentic air.

a. bishop of Maunna, lived to the age of an hundred (l. vii. c. 28). Philostorgius, l. vii. c. 15. with Isidore's Dissertations, p. 281. And some traces of circumstances, or Christians, who were literally sacrificed at the altars of the gods, &c.

<sup>119</sup> The life and death of George of Cappadocia are described by Ammianus, l. xii. c. 11. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xii. p. 562, 563, 788, 799), and Epiphanius (Hæres. lxxv). The inventories of the two saints did not deserve much credit, unless they were confirmed by the testimony of the cool and impartial history.

<sup>120</sup> After the massacre of Nicæa, the emperor Julian repeatedly sent orders to preserve the library for his own use, and to torture the scribes, who might be suspected of secreting any books. He praises the merit of the conversion from whom he had borrowed and translated several important works, which he pursued his studies in Cappadocia. He could not indeed, that the works of the heathen age might perish, but he could not resist the temptation of these valuable treasures, which he considered as his own. See Julian, Epist. ad Max.

veyed to his successors, the Ptolemies and the Cæsars, the perpetual property of the soil. The Pagans, who had been flattered with the hopes of freedom and toleration, excited his devout avarice; and the rich temples of Alexandria were either pillaged or insulted by the haughty prelate, who exclaimed, in a loud and threatening tone, "How long will these sepulchres be permitted to stand?" Under the reign of Constantius, he was expelled by the fury, or rather by the justice, of the people; and it was not without a violent struggle, that the civil and military powers of the state could restore his authority, and gratify his revenge. The messenger who proclaimed at Alexandria the accession of Julian, announced the downfall of

A. D. 361, the archbishop. George, with two  
Nov. 70 of his obsequious ministers, count Diodorus, and Dracontius, master of the mint, were ignominiously dragged in chains to the

He is introduced public prison. At the end of twenty-  
four days, the prison was forced open by the rage of a superstitious multitude, impatient of the tedious forms of judicial proceedings. The enemies of gods and

Dec. 21, men expired under their cruel insults; the lifeless bodies of the archbishop and his associates were carried in triumph through the streets on the back of a camel; and the inactivity of the Athanasian party<sup>121</sup> was esteemed a shining example of evangelical patience. The remains of these guilty wretches were thrown into the sea; and the popular leaders of the tumult declared their resolution to disappoint the devotion of the Christians, and to intercept the future honours of these martyrs, who had been punished, like their predecessors, by the enemies of their religion.<sup>122</sup> The fears of the Pagans were just, and their precautions ineffectual. The meritorious death of the archbishop obliterated the memory of his life. The rival of Athanasius was dear and sacred to the Arians, and the seeming conversion of those sectaries introduced his worship into the bosom of the Catholic church.<sup>123</sup> The odious stranger, disguising every circumstance of time and place, assumed the mask of a martyr, a saint, and a Christian hero;<sup>124</sup> and the infamous George of Cappadocia has been transformed<sup>125</sup> into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the Garter.<sup>126</sup>

About the same time that Julian was informed of the tumult of Alexandria, he received intelligence from Edessa, that the proud and wealthy faction of the Arians had insulted the weakness of the Valentinians, and committed such dis-

orders as ought not to be suffered with impunity in a well-regulated state. Without expecting the slow forms of justice, the exasperated prince directed his mandate to the magistrates of Edessa,<sup>127</sup> by which he confiscated the whole property of the church: the money was distributed among the soldiers; the lands were added to the domain; and this act of oppression was aggravated by the most ungenerous irony. "I show myself," says Julian, "the true friend of the Galileans. Their admirable law has promised the kingdom of heaven to the poor; and they will advance with more diligence in the paths of virtue and salvation, when they are relieved by my assistance from the load of temporal possessions. Take care," pursued the monarch, in a more serious tone, "take care how you provoke my patience and humanity. If these disorders continue, I will revenge on the magistrates the crimes of the people; and you will have reason to dread, not only confiscation and exile, but fire and the sword." The tumults of Alexandria were doubtless of a more bloody and dangerous nature; but a Christian bishop had fallen by the hands of the Pagans; and the public epistle of Julian affords a very lively proof of the partial spirit of his administration. His reproaches to the citizens of Alexandria are mingled with expressions of esteem and tenderness; and he laments, that, on this occasion, they should have departed from the gentle and generous manners which attested their Grecian extraction. He gravely censures the offence which they had committed against the laws of justice and humanity; but he recapitulates, with visible complacency, the intolerable provocations which they had so long endured from the impious tyranny of George of Cappadocia. Julian admits the principle, that a wise and vigorous government should chastise the insolence of the people; yet, in consideration of their founder Alexander, and of Serapis their tutelar deity, he grants a free and gracious pardon to the guilty city, for which he again feels the affection of a brother.<sup>128</sup>

After the tumult of Alexandria had subsided, Athanasius, amidst the public acclamations, seated himself on the throne from whence his unworthy competitor had been precipitated; and as the zeal of the archbishop was tempered with discretion, the exercise of his authority tended not to inflame, but to reconcile, the minds of the people. His pastoral labours were not confined to the narrow limits of Egypt. The state of the Christian world was present to his active and capacious mind, and the age, the merit, the reputation of

Restoration of  
Athanasius.  
A. D. 358,  
Feb. 21.

and worshipped  
as a saint and  
martyr.

<sup>121</sup> Phileas, bishop of Thabennes, with others, who were expelled from Alexandria, and fled to the desert.

<sup>122</sup> The emperor's order, which was issued on the 11th of the month of November, was directed to the magistrates of Edessa, to seize the property of the church, and to distribute it among the soldiers.

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<sup>128</sup> The emperor's order, which was issued on the 11th of the month of November, was directed to the magistrates of Edessa, to seize the property of the church, and to distribute it among the soldiers.

Athanasius, enabled him to assume, in a moment of danger, the office of Ecclesiastical Dictator.<sup>129</sup> Three years were not yet elapsed since the majority of the bishops of the West had ignorantly, or reluctantly, subscribed the Confession of Rimini. They repented, they believed, but they dreaded the unseasonable rigour of their orthodox brethren; and if their pride was stronger than their faith, they might throw themselves into the arms of the Arians, to escape the indignity of a public penance, which must degrade them to the condition of obscure laymen. At the same time, the domestic differences concerning the union and distinction of the divine persons, were agitated with some heat among the Catholic doctors, and the progress of this metaphysical controversy seemed to threaten a public and lasting division of the Greek and Latin churches. By the wisdom of a select synod, to which the name and presence of Athanasius gave the authority of a general council, the bishops, who had unwarily deviated into error, were admitted to the communion of the church, on the easy condition of subscribing the Nicene Creed; without any formal acknowledgment of their past fault, or any minute definition of their scholastic opinions. The advice of the primate of Egypt had already prepared the clergy of Gaul and Spain, of Italy and Greece, for the reception of this salutary measure; and, notwithstanding the opposition of some ardent spirits,<sup>130</sup> the fear of the common enemy promoted the peace and harmony of the Christians.<sup>131</sup>

The skill and diligence of the primate of Egypt had improved the season of tranquility, before it was interrupted by the hostile edicts of the emperor.<sup>132</sup> Julian, who despised the Christians, honoured Athanasius with his sincere and peculiar hatred. For his sake alone, he introduced an arbitrary distinction, repugnant at least to the spirit of his former declarations. He maintained, that the Galileans, whom he had recalled from exile, were not restored, by that general indulgence, to the possession of their respective churches; and he expressed his astonishment, that a criminal, who had been repeatedly condemned by the judgment of the emperors, should dare to insult the majesty of the laws, and insolently usurp the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria, without expecting the orders of his sovereign. As a punishment for the imaginary offence, he again banished Athanasius from the city; and he was pleased to suppose, that this act of justice would be highly agreeable to his pious subjects. The pressing solicitations of the people soon convinced him, that the majority of the Alexandrians were Christians; and that the greatest part of the Christians were firmly attached to the cause of their oppressed primate.

But the knowledge of their sentiments, instead of persuading him to recall his decree, provoked him to extend to all Egypt the term of the exile of Athanasius. The zeal of the multitude rendered Julian still more inexorable: he was alarmed by the danger of leaving, at the head of a tumultuous city, a daring and popular leader; and the language of his resentment discovers the opinion which he entertained of the courage and abilities of Athanasius. The execution of the sentence was still delayed, by the caution or negligence of Eulicius, prefect of Egypt, who was at length awakened from his lethargy by a severe reprimand. "Though you neglect," says Julian, "to write to me on any other subject, at least it is your duty to inform me of your conduct towards Athanasius, the enemy of the gods. My intentions have been long since communicated to you. I swear by the great Serapis, that unless, on the calends of December, Athanasius has departed from Alexandria, nay from Egypt, the officers of your government shall pay a fine of one hundred pounds of gold. You know my temper: I am slow to condemn, but I am still slower to forgive." This epistle was enforced by a short postscript, written with the emperor's own hand. "The contempt that is shown for all the gods, fills me with grief and indignation. There is nothing that I should see, nothing that I should hear, with more pleasure, than the expulsion of Athanasius from all Egypt. The abominable wretch! Under my reign, the baptism of several Grecian ladies of the highest rank has been the effect of his persecutions."<sup>133</sup> The death of Athanasius was not expressly commanded; but the prefect of Egypt understood, that it was safer for him to exceed, than to neglect, the orders of an irritated master. The archbishop prudently retired to the monasteries of the desert; eluded, with his usual dexterity, the snares of the enemy; and lived to triumph over the ashes of a prince, who, in words of formidable import, had declared his wish that the whole venom of the Galilean school were contained in the single person of Athanasius.<sup>134</sup>

I have endeavoured faithfully to represent the artful system by which Julian proposed to obtain the effects, without incurring the guilt or reproach, of persecution. But if the deadly spirit of fanaticism perverted the heart and understanding of a virtuous prince, it must, at the same time, be confessed, that the real sufferings of the Christians were inflamed and magnified by human passions and religious enthusiasm. The meekness and resignation which had distinguished the primitive disciples of the Gospel, was the object of the applause, rather than of the imitation, of their successors. The Christians, who had now pos-

129 See Athanasius ad Rufin. tom. i. p. 10, 11; and Greg. Nazianzen. Orat. iii. p. 793, 796, who justifies the temperate zeal of the primate, as much more meritorious than his prayers, his fasts, his penitential acts.

130 I have not leisure to follow the boundless stream of the rage of the Catholics, who, in the reign of Julian, were so much inflamed by the change, as the confessor himself is a witness to. See the account of the persecution in the *Mem. de l'empereur Julien*, p. 226; and also how the colour of the narrative increases by change, as the confessor himself is a witness to. See the account of the persecution in the *Mem. de l'empereur Julien*, p. 226; and also how the colour of the narrative increases by change, as the confessor himself is a witness to. See the account of the persecution in the *Mem. de l'empereur Julien*, p. 226; and also how the colour of the narrative increases by change, as the confessor himself is a witness to.

131 The three Epistles of Athanasius to the Synod of Alexandria, and the letter to the Emperor, are preserved in the *Œuvres de l'Évêque d'Alexandrie*, p. 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

sessed above forty years the civil and ecclesiastical government of the empire, had contracted the insolent vices of prosperity,<sup>145</sup> and the habit of believing, that the saints alone were entitled to reign over the earth. As soon as the enmity of Julian deprived the clergy of the privileges which had been conferred by the favour of Constantine, they complained of the most cruel oppression; and the free toleration of idolaters and heretics was a subject of grief and scandal to the orthodox party.<sup>146</sup> The acts of violence, which were no longer countenanced by the magistrates, were still committed by the zeal of the people. At Pessinus, the altar of Cybele was overturned almost in the presence of the emperor; and in the city of Caesarea in Cappadocia, the temple of Fortune, the sole place of worship which had been left to the Pagans, was destroyed by the rage of a popular tumult. On these occasions, a prince, who felt for the honour of the gods, was not disposed to interrupt the course of justice, and his mind was still more deeply exasperated, when he found that the fanatics, who had deserved and suffered the punishment of incendiariness, were rewarded with the honours of martyrdom.<sup>147</sup> The Christian subjects of Julian were assured of the hostile designs of their sovereign; and, to their jealous apprehension, every circumstance of his government might afford some grounds of discontent and suspicion.

In the ordinary administration of the laws, the Christians, who formed so large a part of the people, must frequently be condemned. But their indulgent brethren, without examining the merits of the cause, presumed their innocence, allowed their claims, and imputed the severity of their judge to the partial malice of religious persecution.<sup>148</sup> These present landscapes, notifiable as they might appear, were represented as a slight prelude of the impending calamities. The Christians considered Julian as a cruel and crafty tyrant, who suspended the execution of his revenge, till he should return victorious from the Persian war. They expected, that as soon as he had triumphed over the foreign enemies of Rome, he would lay aside the irksome mask of dissimulation; that the amphitheatres would stream with the blood of hermits and bishops; and that the Christians, who still persevered in the profession of the faith, would be deprived of the common benefits of nature and society.<sup>149</sup> Every calumny<sup>150</sup> that could wound the reputation of the Apostate, was credulously embraced by the fears and hatred of his adversaries; and

their indiscreet clamours provoked the temper of a sovereign, whom it was then duty to respect, and their interest to flatter. They still protested, that prayers and tears were their only weapons against the impious tyrant, whose head they devoted to the justice of offended Heaven. But they insinuated, with sullen resolution, that their submission was no longer the effect of weakness; and that, in the imperfect state of human virtue, the patience, which is founded on principle, may be exhausted by persecution. It is impossible to determine how far the zeal of Julian would have prevailed over his good sense and humanity; but, if we seriously reflect on the strength and spirit of the church, we shall be convinced, that, before the emperor could have extinguished the religion of Christ, he must have involved his country in the horrors of a civil war.<sup>151</sup>

## CHAP. XXIV.

*Residence of Julian at Antioch.—His successful Expedition against the Persians.—Passage of the Tigris.—The Retreat and Death of Julian.—Election of Jovian.—He saves the Roman Army by a disgraceful Treaty.*

THE philosophical fable which Julian composed under the name of *The Caesars*,<sup>1</sup> is one of the most agreeable and instructive productions of ancient wit. During the freedom and equality of the days of the Sittimata, Romulus prepared a feast for the deities of Olympus, who had adopted him as a worthy associate, and for the Roman princes, who had reigned over his mortal people, and the vanquished nations of the earth. The immortals were placed in just order on their thrones of state, and the table of the Caesars was spread below the Moon, in the upper region of the air. The tyrants, who would have disgraced the society of gods and men, were thrown headlong, by the inexorable Nemesis, into the Tartarean abyss. The rest of the Caesars successively advanced to their seats; and, as they passed, the vices, the defects, the blemishes of their respective characters, were maliciously noticed by old Silemus, a laughing moralist, who disguised the wisdom of a philosopher under the mask of a Baccanal.<sup>2</sup> As soon as the feast was ended, the voice of Mercury proclaimed the will of Jupiter, that a celestial crown should be the re-

<sup>145</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123. <sup>146</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123. <sup>147</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123.

<sup>148</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123. <sup>149</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123. <sup>150</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123.

<sup>151</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123. <sup>1</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123. <sup>2</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123.

<sup>145</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123. <sup>146</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123. <sup>147</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123.

<sup>148</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123. <sup>149</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123. <sup>150</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123.

<sup>151</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123. <sup>1</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123. <sup>2</sup> See the *Life of Julian*, p. 123.



ward of superior merit. Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus, were selected as the most illustrious candidates; the effeminate Constantine<sup>4</sup> was not excluded from this honourable competition, and the great Alexander was invited to dispute the prize of glory with the Roman heroes. Each of the candidates was allowed to display the merit of his own exploits; but, in the judgment of the gods, the modest silence of Marcus pleaded more powerfully than the elaborate orations of his haughty rivals. When the judges of this awful contest proceeded to examine the heart, and to scrutinise the springs of action, the superiority of the Imperial Stoic appeared still more decisive and conspicuous.<sup>5</sup> Alexander and Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, and Constantine, acknowledged, with a blush, that fame, or power, or pleasure, had been the important object of *their* labours: but the gods themselves beheld, with reverence and love, a virtuous mortal, who had practised on the throne the lessons of philosophy; and who, in a state of human imperfection, had aspired to imitate the moral attributes of the Deity. The value of this agreeable composition (the Cæsars of Julian) is enhanced by the rank of the author. A prince, who delineates, with freedom, the vices and virtues of his predecessors, subscribes, in every line, the censure or approbation of his own conduct.

In the cool moments of reflection, Julian preferred the useful and benevolent virtues of Antoninus; but his ambitious spirit was inflamed by the glory of Alexander; and he solicited, with equal ardour, the esteem of the wise, and the applause of the multitude. In the season of life, when the powers of the mind and body enjoy the most active vigour, the emperor, who was instructed by the experience, and animated by the success, of the German war, resolved to signalise his reign by some more splendid and memorable achievement. The ambassadors of the East, from the continent of India, and the isle of Ceylon,<sup>6</sup> had respectfully saluted the Roman purple.<sup>7</sup> The nations of the West esteemed and dreaded the personal virtues of Julian, both in peace and war. He despised the trophies of a Gothic victory,<sup>8</sup> and was satisfied that the rapacious barbarians of the Danube would be restrained from any future violation of the faith of treaties by the terror of his name, and the additional fortifications with which he strengthened the Thracian and Illyrian frontiers. The successor of Cyrus and Artaxerxes was the only rival whom he deemed worthy of his arms;

and he resolved, by the final conquest of Persia, to chastise the haughty nation which had so long resisted and insulted the majesty of Rome.<sup>9</sup> As soon as the Persian monarch was informed that the throne of Constantius was filled by a prince of a very different character, he condescended to make some artful, or perhaps sincere, overtures, towards a negotiation of peace. But the pride of Sapor was astonished by the firmness of Julian; who sternly declared, that he would never consent to hold a peaceful conference among the flames and ruins of the cities of Mesopotamia; and who added, with a smile of contempt, that it was needless to treat by ambassadors, as he himself had determined to visit speedily the court of Persia. The impatience of the emperor urged the diligence of the military preparations. The generals were named; a formidable army was destined for this important service; and Julian, marching from Constantinople through the provinces of Asia Minor, arrived at Antioch about eight months after the death of his predecessor. His ardent desire to march into the heart of Persia, was checked by the indispensable duty of regulating the state of the empire; by his zeal to revive the worship of the gods; and by the advice of his wisest friends; who represented the necessity of allowing the salutary interval of winter-quarters, to restore the exhausted strength of the legions of Gaul, and the discipline and spirit of the Eastern troops. Julian was persuaded to fix, till the ensuing spring, his residence at Antioch, among a people maliciously disposed to deride the haste, and to censure the delays, of their sovereign.<sup>10</sup>

If Julian had flattered himself, that his personal connection with the capital of the East would be productive of mutual satisfaction to the prince and people, he made a very false estimate of his own character, and of the manners of Antioch.<sup>11</sup> The warmth of the climate disposed the natives to the most intemperate enjoyment of tranquillity and opulence; and the lively licentiousness of the Greeks was blended with the hereditary softness of the Syrians. Fashion was the only law, pleasure the only pursuit, and the splendour of dress and furniture was the only distinction of the citizens of Antioch. The arts of luxury were honoured; the serious and manly virtues were the subject of ridicule; and the contempt for female modesty and reverent age, announced the universal corruption of the capital of the East. The love of spectacles was the taste, or rather passion, of the Syrians: the most skilful

which they extended as far as the equator, and the neighbourhood of China.

<sup>7</sup> These embassies had been sent to Constantius. Ammianus, who mentions the length of

se meliores  
ulupne sine  
fifteen years,

these Gothic slaves threatened and subdued their masters.

<sup>9</sup> Alexander reminds Lucius, a lawyer, who deprecated the fame and merit of an Asiatic victory, that Trajan and Antony had for the Persian errors, and that the Romans, in a war of three hundred years, had not subdued the single province of Mesopotamia or Assyria. (Cæsar, p. 324.)

<sup>10</sup> The end of the Persian war is declared by Ammianus (lxxv. 7. 11.) Julian's Great Oration, c. 79, p. 505, 506. Zosimus (i. 11. p. 138.) and Socrates (i. c. 19.)

<sup>11</sup> The Spectacles of Julian, and the Horatius of Cæsar, exhibit the same picture of Antioch. The commentators which have been collected from thence (vide the Julian) p. 552, 553, are exact and rich.

<sup>4</sup> Every impartial reader must perceive and condemn the partiality of Julian against his uncle Constantine, and the Christian religion. He has the weakness, the intemperance, and the common-sense interest, to renounce their allegations, and to desert the cause of their author.

<sup>5</sup> Julian was secretly inclined to prefer a Greek to a Roman. But when he seriously compared a Roman with a philosopher, he was sensible that mankind had much more to owe to Socrates than to Alexander. (Orat. ad Theodosium, p. 24.)

<sup>6</sup> Inducentibus Indis certamen in domos optatus mittere. (Orat. ad Theodosium, p. 24.) This is said to which the natives of Tapobant, Saranath, and Ceylon, have been successively applied, manifests how in strictly the sea and the far to the east of Cape Comorin were known to the Romans. I. Under the reign of Claudius, a freedman, who reported the forms of the Red Sea, was accidentally driven by her winds upon the strange and undiscovered coast. He conversed six months with the natives, and the king of Ceylon, who heard for the first time, of the power and justice of Rome, was so persuaded to send an embassy to the emperor. (Plin. Nat. Hist. vi. 21. 2.) The emperor, who received from Persia so distinguished above other times, the red sea of this new world,

artists were procured from the adjacent cities; <sup>12</sup> a considerable share of the revenue was devoted to the public amusements; and the magnificence of the games of the theatre and circus was considered as the happiness, and as the glory, of Antioch. The rustic manners of a prince who disdained such glory, and was insensible of such happiness, soon disgusted the delicacy of his subjects; and the effeminate Orientals could neither imitate, nor admire, the severe simplicity which Julian always maintained, and sometimes affected. The days of festivity, consecrated, by ancient custom, to the honour of the gods, were the only occasions in which Julian relaxed his philosophic severity; and those festivals were the only days in which the Syrians of Antioch could reject the allurements of pleasure. The majority of the people supported the glory of the Christian name, which had been first invented by their ancestors; <sup>13</sup> they contented themselves with disobeying the moral precepts, but they were scrupulously attached to the speculative doctrines, of their religion. The church of Antioch was distracted by heresy and schism; but the Arians and the Athanasians, the followers of Meletius and those of Paulinus, <sup>14</sup> were actuated by the same pious hatred of their common adversary.

The strongest prejudice was entertained against the character of an apostate, the enemy and successor of a prince who had engaged the affections of a very numerous sect; and the removal of St. Babylas excited an implacable opposition to the person of Julian. His subjects complained, with superstitious indignation, that famine had pursued the emperor's steps from Constantinople to Antioch; and the discontent of a hungry people was exasperated by the impuduous attempt to relieve their distress. The moderation of the season had affected the harvests of Syria; and the price

Scarcity of corn, and public discontent.

of bread, <sup>15</sup> in the markets of Antioch, had naturally risen in proportion to the scarcity of corn. But the fair and reasonable proportion was soon violated by the rapacious arts of monopoly. In this unequal contest, in which the produce of the land is claimed by one party, as his exclusive property; is used by another as a lucrative object of trade; and is required by a third for the daily and necessary support of life; all the profits of the intermediate agents are accumulated on the head of the defenceless consumers. The hardships of their situation were exaggerated and increased by their own impatience and anxiety, and the apprehension of a scarcity gradually produced the appearances of a famine. When the luxurious citizens of Antioch complained of the high price of poultry

and fish, Julian publicly declared, that a frugal city ought to be satisfied with a regular supply of wine, oil, and bread; but he acknowledged, that it was the duty of a sovereign to provide for the subsistence of his people. With this salutary view, the emperor ventured on a very dangerous and doubtful step, of fixing, by legal authority, the value of corn. He enacted, that, in a time of scarcity, it should be sold at a price which had seldom been known in the most plentiful years; and that his own example might strengthen his laws, he sent into the market four hundred and twenty-two thousand *modii*, or measures, which were drawn by his order from the granaries of Hierapolis, of Chalcis, and even of Egypt. The consequences might have been foreseen, and were soon felt. The Imperial wheat was purchased by the rich merchants; the proprietors of land, or of corn, withheld from the city the accustomed supply; and the small quantities that appeared in the market were secretly sold at an advanced and illegal price. Julian still continued to applaud his own policy, treated the complaints of the people as a vain and ungrateful murmur, and convinced Antioch that he had inherited the obstinacy, though not the cruelty, of his brother Gallus. <sup>16</sup> The remonstrances of the municipal senate served only to exasperate his inflexible mind. He was persuaded, perhaps with truth, that the senators of Antioch who possessed lands, or were concerned in trade, had themselves contributed to the calamities of their country; and he imputed the disrespectful boldness which they assumed, to the sense, not of public duty, but of private interest. The whole body, consisting of two hundred of the most noble and wealthy citizens, were sent, under a guard, from the palace to the prison; and though they were permitted, before the close of evening, to return to their respective houses, <sup>17</sup> the emperor himself could not obtain the forgiveness which he had so easily granted. The same grievances were still the subject of the same complaints, which were industriously circulated by the wit and levity of the Syrian Greeks. During the licentious days of the Saturnalia, the streets of the city resounded with insolent songs, which derided the laws, the religion, the personal conduct, and even the *hairs*, of the emperor; and the spirit of Antioch was manifested by the connivance of the magistrates, and the applause of the multitude. <sup>18</sup> The disciple of Socrates was too deeply affected by these popular insults; but the monarch, endowed with quick sensibility, and possessed of absolute power, refused his passions the gratification of revenge. A tyrant might have proscribed, without distinction, the lives and fortunes of the citizens of

<sup>12</sup> In the time of the emperor Julian, the city of Antioch was famous for its artists and musicians. See the account of the emperor Julian, in the *History of the Emperor Julian*, by the learned and judicious Mr. de Tillemont.

<sup>13</sup> The Christians of Antioch were distinguished by their attachment to the Christian name, which had been first invented by their ancestors.

<sup>14</sup> The Arians and the Athanasians, the followers of Meletius and those of Paulinus, were actuated by the same pious hatred of their common adversary.

<sup>15</sup> Julian states three different prices for the corn of Antioch, for wheat, for measure, for oil, and for vinegar, and for the other necessaries of life. He says, that the price of wheat was four hundred and twenty-two thousand *modii*, or measures, which is equal to a waterage price of the corn.

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Antioch; and the unwarlike Syrians must have patiently submitted to the lust, the rapaciousness, and the cruelty, of the faithful legions of Gaul. A milder sentence might have deprived the capital of the East of its honours and privileges; and the courtiers, perhaps the subjects, of Julian, would have applauded an act of justice, which asserted the dignity of the supreme magistrate of the republic.<sup>19</sup> But instead of abusing, or exerting, the authority of the state, to revenge his personal injuries, Julian contented himself with an inoffensive mode of retaliation, which it would be in the power of few princes to employ. He had been insulted by satires and libels; in his turn he composed, under the title of the *Enemy of the Bear*, an ironical confession of his own faults, and a severe satire on the licentious and effeminate manners of Antioch. This Imperial reply was publicly exposed before the gates of the palace; and the *Misrogon*<sup>20</sup> still remains a singular monument of the resentment, the wit, the humanity, and the indiscretion, of Julian. Though he affected to laugh, he could not forgive.<sup>21</sup> His contempt was expressed, and his revenge might be gratified, by the nomination of a governor<sup>22</sup> worthy only of such subjects: and the emperor, for ever renouncing the ungrateful city, proclaimed his resolution to pass the ensuing winter at Tarsus in Cilicia.<sup>23</sup>

Yet Antioch possessed one citizen, whose genius and virtues might atone, in the opinion of Julian, for the vice and folly of his country. The sophist Libanius was born in the capital of the East; he publicly professed the arts of rhetoric and declamation at Nice, Nicomedia, Constantinople, Athens, and, during the remainder of his life, at Antioch. His school was assiduously frequented by the Grecian youth; his disciples, who sometimes exceeded the number of eighty, celebrated their incomparable master; and the jealousy of his rivals, who persecuted him from one city to another, confirmed the favourable opinion which Libanius ostentatiously displayed of his superior merit. The preceptors of Julian had extorted a rash but solemn assurance, that he would never attend the lectures of their adversary: the curiosity of the royal youth was checked and inflamed: he secretly procured the writings of this dangerous sophist, and gradually surpassed, in the perfect imitation of his style, the most laborious of his domestic pupils.<sup>24</sup> When Julian ascended the throne, he declared his impatience to embrace and reward

the Syrian sophist, who had preserved, in a degenerate age, the Grecian purity of taste, of manners, and of religion. The emperor's prepossession was increased and justified by the discreet pride of his favourite. Instead of pressing, with the foremost of the crowd, into the palace of Constantinople, Libanius calmly expected his arrival at Antioch; withdrew from court on the first symptoms of coldness and indifference; required a formal invitation for each visit; and taught his sovereign an important lesson, that he might command the obedience of a subject, but that he must deserve the attachment of a friend. The sophists of every age, despising, or affecting to despise, the accidental distinctions of birth and fortune,<sup>25</sup> reserve their esteem for the superior qualities of the mind, with which they themselves are so plentifully endowed. Julian might disdain the acclamations of a venal court, who adored the Imperial purple; but he was deeply flattered by the praise, the admonition, the freedom, and the envy of an independent philosopher, who refused his favours, loved his person, celebrated his fame, and protected his memory. The voluminous writings of Libanius still exist; for the most part, they are the vain and idle compositions of an orator, who cultivated the science of words; the productions of a recluse student, whose mind, regardless of his cotemporaries, was incessantly fixed on the Trojan war, and the Athenian commonwealth. Yet the sophist of Antioch sometimes descended from this imaginary elevation; he entertained a various and elaborate correspondence;<sup>26</sup> he praised the virtues of his own times; he boldly arraigned the abuses of public and private life; and he eloquently pleaded the cause of Antioch against the just resentment of Julian and Theodosius. It is the common calamity of old age,<sup>27</sup> to lose whatever might have rendered it desirable; but Libanius experienced the peculiar misfortune of surviving the religion and the sciences, to which he had consecrated his genius. The friend of Julian was an indignant spectator of the triumph of Christianity; and his bigotry, which darkened the prospect of the visible world, did not inspire Libanius with any lively hopes of celestial glory and happiness.<sup>28</sup>

The martial impatience of Julian urged him to take the field in the beginning of the spring; and he dismissed, with contempt and reproach, the senate of Antioch, who accompanied the emperor beyond the limits of their own territory,

<sup>19</sup> I have seen, at Antiochen (p. vi. p. 17) a Greek copy of the present character of Libanius, and a Greek edition of the *Misrogon*, p. 303. It is surprising how severely Libanius had expiated the insult to the Roman ambassadors.

<sup>20</sup> On the subject of the *Misrogon*, see Ammianus (xvii. 14), Libanius (Orat. Panathen., c. xiv. p. 325), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. vi. p. 135), and the *Thronos* of Antioch, by John Meletius (p. 15, 16). I have essential obligations to the translation and notes of the *Abbe de la Bletterie* (Paris, 1769, tom. i. p. 1-178).

<sup>21</sup> Ammianus very justly remarks, that Julian's desire to procure for himself a share of the honours of Julian at length became forth into serious and direct enmity.

<sup>22</sup> Ipe Antioch Antiochen aggressus, Hic opes ten quendam Alexandrum Syriae jurisdictionis praefecit, turpiter in eo se ad id

<sup>21</sup> Libanius, Orat. Panathen., c. xiv. p. 325, 326.

<sup>22</sup> Libanius reports, that Libanius refused the honorary rank of professor, as less illustrious than the title of Sophist (in his *Sophist*, p. 135). The same may be observed a similar sentiment in one of the epistles (xviii. 44) of Libanius, book 1.

<sup>23</sup> Near two thousand of his letters, a mode of composition in which Libanius was thought to excel, have survived, and are truly published. The critics may raise their satire and object to him, that Dr Bentley (Dissertation upon Libanius, p. 487) might justly, though quantum, observe, that you feel, by the emptiness and deadness of them, that he is conversing with some dreaming pedant, with his elbow on his head.

<sup>24</sup> His birth is assigned to the year 314. He mentions the seventy-sixth year of his age (A.D. 390), and seems to allude to some events of a still later date.

<sup>25</sup> Libanius has a famous passage in his *Thronos* (p. 15, 16) where he says, that he has seen many of the great men of the world, who have illustrated the character of the world by their talents and virtues.

March of Julian to the Euphrates, A.D. 363, March 5

at Antioch, Libanius, in a letter to him, invites him to return to the city, and permit the city of Antioch

to which he was resolved never to return. After a laborious march of two days,<sup>41</sup> he halted on the third at Beræa, or Aleppo, where he had the mortification of finding a senate almost entirely Christian; who received with cold and formal demonstrations of respect, the eloquent sermon of the apostle of Paganism. The son of one of the most illustrious citizens of Beræa, who had embraced, either from interest or conscience, the religion of the emperor, was disinherited by his angry parent. The father and the son were invited to the Imperial table. Julian, placing himself between them, attempted, without success, to inculcate the lesson and example of toleration; supported, with affected calmness, the indiscreet zeal of the aged Christian, who seemed to forget the sentiments of nature, and the duty of a subject; and at length turning towards the afflicted youth, "Since you have lost a father," said he, "for my sake, it is incumbent on me to supply his place."<sup>42</sup> The emperor was received in a manner much more agreeable to his wishes at Batnæ, a small town pleasantly seated in a grove of cypresses, about twenty miles from the city of Hierapolis. The solemn rites of sacrifice were decently prepared by the inhabitants of Batnæ, who seemed attached to the worship of their tutelary deities, Apollo and Juno; but the serious piety of Julian was offended by the tumult of their applause; and he too clearly discerned, that the smoke which arose from their altars was the incense of flattery, rather than of devotion. The ancient and magnificent temple, which had sanctified, for so many ages, the city of Hierapolis,<sup>43</sup> no longer subsisted; and the consecrated wealth, which afforded a liberal maintenance to more than three hundred priests, might hasten its downfall. Yet Julian enjoyed the satisfaction of embracing a philosopher and a friend, whose religious firmness had withstood the pressing and repeated sollicitations of Constantius and Gallus, as often as those princes lodged at his house, in their passage through Hierapolis. In the hurry of military preparation, and the careless confidence of a familiar correspondence, the zeal of Julian appears to have been lively and uniform. He had now undertaken an important and difficult war, and the anxiety of the event rendered him still more attentive to observe and register the most trifling presages, from which, according to the rules of divination, any knowledge of futurity could be derived.<sup>44</sup> The informed Libanius of his progress as far as Hierapolis, by an elegant epistle, which displays the faculty of his genius, and his tender friendship for the sophist of Antioch.

Hierapolis, situate almost on the banks of the Euphrates,<sup>45</sup> had been appointed for the general rendezvous of the Roman troops, who immediately passed the great river on a bridge of boats, which was previously constructed.<sup>46</sup> If the inclinations of Julian had been similar to those of his predecessor, he might have wasted the active and important season of the year in the circus of Samosata, or in the churches of Edessa. But as the warlike emperor, instead of Constantius, had chosen Alexander for his model, he advanced without delay to Carrhæ,<sup>47</sup> a very ancient city of Mesopotamia, at the distance of fourscore miles from Hierapolis. The temple of the Moon attracted the devotion of Julian; but the halt of a few days was principally employed in completing the immense preparations for the Persian war. The secret of the expedition had hitherto remained in his own breast; but as Carrhæ is the point of separation of the two great roads, he could no longer conceal, whether it was his design to attack the dominions of Sapor on the side of the Tigris, or on that of the Euphrates. The emperor detached an army of thirty thousand men, under the command of his kinsman Procopius, and of Sebastian, who had been duke of Egypt. They were ordered to direct their march towards Nisibis, and to secure the frontier from the desultory incursions of the enemy, before they attempted the passage of the Tigris. Their subsequent operations were left to the discretion of the generals; but Julian expected, that after wasting with fire and sword the fertile districts of Media and Atropene, they might arrive under the walls of Ctesiphon about the same time, that he himself, advancing with equal steps along the banks of the Euphrates, should be near the capital of the Persian monarchy. The success of this well-concerted plan depended, in a great measure, on the powerful and ready assistance of the king of Armenia, who, without exposing the safety of his own dominions, might detach an army of four thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, to the assistance of the Romans.<sup>48</sup> But the feeble Arsaces Tiridates,<sup>49</sup> king of Armenia, had degenerated still more shamefully than his father Cosroes, from the manly virtues of the great Tiridates; and as the pusillanimous monarch was averse to any enterprise of danger and glory, he could disguise his timid indolence by the more decent excuses of religion and gratitude. He expressed a pious attachment to the memory of Constantius, from whose hands he had received in marriage Olympias, the daughter of the prefect Ablavius; and the alliance of a female, who had been educated

<sup>41</sup> From Aleppo, I suppose, he went to Beræa, and then to Batnæ. The distance from Aleppo to Beræa was about 100 miles. The distance from Beræa to Batnæ was about 20 miles. The distance from Batnæ to Hierapolis was about 20 miles. The distance from Hierapolis to Carrhæ was about 80 miles.

<sup>42</sup> Julian, in this epistle, speaks of himself as a father, and of the youth as a son. This is a metaphorical expression, and not a literal one. The youth was a friend of Julian's, and he was addressing him as a friend.

<sup>43</sup> See the description of the temple of the Moon at Hierapolis, in the *Antiquities of the East*, by Mr. Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 100. The temple was a circular building, and was dedicated to the Moon.

<sup>44</sup> See the epistle of Libanius to Julian, in the *Works of Libanius*, vol. i. p. 100. The epistle is a very elegant and interesting one.

<sup>45</sup> The exact position of Hierapolis is not known, but it is supposed to be near the modern city of Harbiye, in Syria.

<sup>46</sup> The bridge of boats was a very ancient one, and was used by the Romans for many centuries.

<sup>47</sup> Carrhæ was a very ancient city, and was one of the most important cities of Mesopotamia.

<sup>48</sup> The king of Armenia was a very weak and feeble monarch, and was unable to do much for the Romans.

<sup>49</sup> Tiridates was a very weak and feeble monarch, and was unable to do much for the Romans.



esteem, of his new master; his valour and fidelity raised him to the military honours of the Roman service; and, though a Christian, he might indulge the secret satisfaction of convincing his ungrateful country, that an oppressed subject may prove the most dangerous enemy. Such was the disposition of the three principal columns. The front and flanks of the army were covered by Lucilianus with a flying detachment of fifteen hundred light-armed soldiers, whose active vigilance observed the most distant signs, and conveyed the earliest notice of any hostile approach. Dagalaiphos, and Secundianus duke of Osroene, conducted the troops of the rear-guard; the baggage securely proceeded in the intervals of the columns; and the ranks, from a motive either of use or ostentation, were formed in such open order, that the whole line of march extended almost ten miles. The ordinary post of Julian was at the head of the centre column; but as he preferred the duties of a general to the state of a monarch, he rapidly moved, with a small escort of light cavalry, to the front, the rear, the flanks wherever his presence could animate or protect the march of the Roman army. The country which they traversed, from the Chaboras, to the cultivated lands of Assyria, may be considered as a part of the desert of Arabia, a dry and barren waste, which could never be improved by the most powerful arts of human industry. Julian marched over the same ground which had been trod above seven hundred years before by the footsteps of the younger Cyrus, and which is described by one of the companions of his expedition, the sage and heroic Xenophon.<sup>47</sup> "The country was a desert throughout, as soon as the sea, or a river, or a wormwood, and if any of either kind of plants, or reeds grew there, they had full an acre of smell, but no trees could be seen. Beasts, and ostriches, antelopes and wild asses appeared to be the only inhabitants of the desert; and the fatigues of the march were alleviated by the amusements of the chase." The loose sand of the desert was frequently raised by the wind into clouds of dust, and a great number of the soldiers of Julian, with their tents, were suddenly thrown to the ground by the violence of an unexpected hurricane.

His success. The sandy plains of Mesopotamia were abandoned to the antelopes and wild asses of the desert; but a variety of populous towns and villages were pleasantly situated on the banks of the Euphrates, and in the islands which are occasionally formed by

that river. The city of Ammah, or Anatho,<sup>48</sup> the actual residence of an Arabian emir, is composed of two long streets, which enclose, within a natural fortification, a small island in the middle, and two fruitful spots on either side, of the Euphrates. The warlike inhabitants of Anatho showed a disposition to stop the march of a Roman emperor; till they were diverted from such fatal presumption, by the mild exhortations of prince Hormisdas, and the approaching terrors of the fleet and army. They implored, and experienced, the clemency of Julian, who transplanted the people to an advantageous settlement, near Chalcis in Syria, and admitted Pausan, the governor, to an honourable rank in his service and friendship. But the impregnable fortress of Thilutha could scorn the menace of a siege; and the emperor was obliged to content himself with an insulting promise that, when he had subdued the interior provinces of Persia, Thilutha would no longer refuse to grace the triumph of the conqueror. The inhabitants of the open towns, unable to resist, and unwilling to yield, fled with precipitation; and their houses, filled with spoil and provisions, were occupied by the soldiers of Julian, who massacred, without remorse, and without punishment, some defenceless women. During the march, the Surenus, or Persian general, and Mahk Rodosaces, the renowned emir of the tribe of Cassan, incessantly hovered round the army: every straggler was intercepted, every detachment was attacked; and the valiant Hormisdas escaped with some difficulty from their hands. But the barbarians were finally repulsed; the country became every day less favourable to the operations of a dry, and winter, the Romans moved to Macpracta, they pursued the traces of the enemy, who had been constrained by the ancient kings of Assyria to secure their dominions from the incursions of the Medes. These preliminaries of the expedition of Julian appear to have employed about fifteen days; and we may compute near three hundred miles from the fortress of Ctesium to the wall of Macpracta.<sup>49</sup>

The fertile province of Assyria,<sup>50</sup> which stretched beyond the Tigris, as far as the mountains of Media,<sup>51</sup> extended about four hundred miles from the ancient wall of Macpracta, to the territory of Basra, where the united streams of the Euphrates and Tigris discharge themselves into the Persian Gulf. The whole country might have claimed the peculiar name of Mesopotamia; as the two rivers, which are never more distant than fifty, ap-

<sup>47</sup> See the first book of the *Anabasis*, and the description of the work of Xenophon, in the *History of the Persian Expedition*, by Mr. D'Arbigny, in the *Journal de Trévoux*, for the year 1725, p. 100. Mr. Spalding, in the *History of the Persian Expedition*, p. 100, remarks that the country was a desert throughout, with the exception of a few plants, and that the only inhabitants were antelopes and wild asses.

<sup>48</sup> See Xenophon, *Anabasis*, lib. i. c. 1. The city of Anatho, or Ammah, was situated on the banks of the Euphrates, and was a fortified city, which the Romans destroyed. The city of Anatho, or Ammah, was situated on the banks of the Euphrates, and was a fortified city, which the Romans destroyed.

<sup>49</sup> See Xenophon, *Anabasis*, lib. i. c. 1. The distance from the fortress of Ctesium to the wall of Macpracta, was about three hundred miles. The distance from the fortress of Ctesium to the wall of Macpracta, was about three hundred miles.

<sup>50</sup> See Xenophon, *Anabasis*, lib. i. c. 1. The province of Assyria, which stretched beyond the Tigris, as far as the mountains of Media, extended about four hundred miles from the ancient wall of Macpracta, to the territory of Basra.

proach, between Bagdad and Babylon, within twenty-five, miles of each other. A multitude of artificial canals, dug without much labour in a soft and yielding soil, connected the rivers, and intersected the plain of Assyria. The uses of these artificial canals were various and important. They served to discharge the superfluous waters from one river into the other, at the season of their respective inundations. Subdividing themselves into smaller and smaller branches, they refreshed the dry lands, and supplied the deficiency of rain. They facilitated the intercourse of peace and commerce; and, as the dams could be speedily broke down, they armed the despair of the Assyrians with the means of opposing a sudden deluge to the progress of an invading army. To the soil and climate of Assyria, nature had denied some of her choicest gifts, the vine, the olive, and the fig-tree; but the food which supports the life of man, and particularly wheat and barley, were produced with inexhaustible fertility; and the husbandman, who committed his seed to the earth, was frequently rewarded with an increase of two, or even of three, hundred. The face of the country was interspersed with groves of innumerable palm-trees;<sup>55</sup> and the diligent natives celebrated, either in verse or prose, the three hundred and sixty uses to which the trunk, the branches, the leaves, the juice, and the fruit, were skillfully applied. Several manufactures, especially those of leather and linen, employed the industry of a numerous people, and afforded valuable materials for foreign trade; which appears, however, to have been conducted by the hands of strangers. Babylon had been converted into a royal park; but near the ruins of the ancient capital, new cities had successively arisen, and the populousness of the country was displayed in the multitude of town- and villages, which were built of bricks, dried in the sun, and strongly cemented with bitumen, the natural and peculiar production of the Babylonian soil. While the successors of Cyrus reigned over Asia, the province of Assyria alone maintained, during a third part of the year, the luxurious plenty of the table and household of the Great King. Four considerable villages were assigned for the subsistence of his Indian dogs; eight hundred stallions, and sixteen thousand mares, were constantly kept, at the expense of the country, for the royal stables; and as the daily tribute, which was paid to the satrap, amounted to one English bushel of silver, we may compute the annual revenue of Assyria at more than twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling.<sup>56</sup>

The fields of Assyria were devoted by Julian to the calamities of war ; and the philosopher retaliated on a guiltless people the acts of rapine and cruelty which had been committed by their haughty master in the Roman provinces. The trembling Assyrians summoned the rivers to

their assistance; and completed, with their own hands, the ruin of their country. The roads were rendered impracticable; a flood of waters was poured into the camp; and, during several days, the troops of Julian were obliged to contend with the most discouraging hardships. But every obstacle was surmounted by the perseverance of the legionaries, who were inured to toil as well as to danger, and who felt themselves animated by the spirit of their leader. The damage was gradually repaired; the waters were restored to their proper channels; whole groves of palm-trees were cut down, and placed along the broken parts of the road; and the army passed over the broad and deeper canals, on bridges of floating rafts, which were supported by the help of bladders. Two cities of Assyria presumed to resist the arms of a Roman emperor; and they both paid the severe penalty of their rashness. At the distance of fifty miles from the royal residence of Ctesiphon, Perisabor, or Anbar, held the second rank in the province: a city, large, populous, and well fortified, surrounded with a double wall, almost encompassed by a branch of the Euphrates, and defended by the valour of a numerous garrison. The exhortations of Hormisdas were repulsed with contempt; and the ears of the Persian prince were wounded by a just reproach, that, unmindful of his royal birth, he conducted an army of strangers against his king and country. The Assyrians maintained their loyalty by a skilful, as well as vigorous, defence; till the lucky stroke of a battering-ram, having opened a large breach, by shattering one of the angles of the wall, they hastily retired into the fortifications of the interior citadel. The soldiers of Julian rushed impetuously into the town, and, after the full gratification of every military appetite, Perisabor was reduced to ashes; and the engines which assaulted the citadel were planted on the ruins of the smoking houses. The contest was continued by an incessant and mutual discharge of missile weapons; and the superiority which the Romans might derive from the mechanical powers of their ballistæ and catapultæ was counterbalanced by the advantage of the ground on the side of the besieged. But as soon as an *Helepolis* had been constructed, which could engage on equal terms with the loftiest ramparts, the tremendous aspect of a moving turret, that would leave no hope of resistance or of mercy, terrified the defenders of the citadel into an humble submission; and the place was surrendered only two days after Julian first appeared under the walls of Perisabor. Two thousand five hundred persons, of both sexes, the feeble remnant of a flourishing people, were permitted to retire: the plentiful magazines of corn, of arms, and of splendid furniture, were partly distributed among the troops, and partly reserved for the public service; the useless stores were destroyed by fire, or thrown

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more than 1000 F. hoc, or Toran, talents (250,000) from Assam. The surplus is to be used for the debt, and the 10,000 m. S. of the river is an important centre for the press, and the S. of the river of P. is the surplus of the province, and the gold is distributed by the river of P. The river might have been the capital of six hundred thousand pounds, of the seven or eight millions raised upon the people.

into the stream of the Euphrates; and the fate of Amida was revenged by the total ruin of Perisabor.

The city, or rather fortress, of Maogamalcha, which was defended by sixteen large towers, a deep ditch, and two strong and solid walls of brick and bitumen, appears to have been constructed at the distance of eleven miles, as the safeguard of the capital of Persia. The emperor, apprehensive of leaving such an important fortress in his rear, immediately formed the siege of Maogamalcha; and the Roman army was distributed, for that purpose, into three divisions. Victor, at the head of the cavalry, and of a detachment of heavy-armed foot, was ordered to clear the country, as far as the banks of the Tigris, and the suburbs of Ctesiphon. The conduct of the attack was assumed by Julian himself, who seemed to place his whole dependence in the military engines which he erected against the walls; while he secretly contrived a more efficacious method of introducing his troops into the heart of the city. Under the direction of Nevitta and Dagalaiphus, the trenches were opened at a considerable distance, and gradually prolonged as far as the edge of the ditch. The ditch was speedily filled with earth; and, by the incessant labour of the troops, a mine was carried under the foundations of the walls, and sustained, at sufficient intervals, by props of timber. Three chosen cohorts, advancing in a single file, silently explored the dark and dangerous passage; till their intrepid leader whispered back the intelligence, that he was ready to issue from his confinement into the streets of the hostile city. Julian checked their ardour, that he might insure their success; and immediately diverted the attention of the garrison, by the tumult and clamour of a general assault. The Persians, who, from their walls, contemptuously beheld the progress of an impotent attack, celebrated, with songs of triumph, the glory of Sapor; and ventured to assure the emperor, that he might ascend the starry mansion of Ormusd, before he could hope to take the impregnable city of Maogamalcha. The city was already taken. History has recorded the name of a private soldier, the first who ascended from the mine into a deserted tower. The passage was widened by his companions, who pressed forwards with impatient valour. Fifteen hundred enemies were already in the midst of the city. The astonished garrison abandoned the walls, and their only hope of safety; the gates were instantly burst open; and the revenge of the soldier, unless it were suspended by lust or avarice, was satiated by an undistinguishing massacre. The governor, who had yielded on a promise of mercy, was burnt alive, a few days afterwards, on a charge of having uttered some disrespectful words against the honour of

prince Hormisdas. The fortifications were razed to the ground; and not a vestige was left, that the city of Maogamalcha had ever existed. The neighbourhood of the capital of Persia was adorned with three stately palaces, laboriously enriched with every production that could gratify the luxury and pride of an Eastern monarch. The pleasant situation of the gardens along the banks of the Tigris was improved, according to the Persian taste, by the symmetry of flowers, fountains, and shady walks: and spacious parks were enclosed for the reception of the bears, lions, and wild boars, which were maintained at a considerable expense for the pleasure of the royal chace. The park-walls were broke down, the savage game was abandoned to the darts of the soldiers, and the palaces of Sapor were reduced to ashes, by the command of the Roman emperor. Julian, on this occasion, showed himself ignorant, or careless, of the laws of civility, which the prudence and refinement of polished ages have established between hostile princes. Yet these wanton ravages need not excite in our breasts any vehement emotions of pity or resentment. A simple, naked statue, finished by the hand of a Grecian artist, is of more genuine value than all these rude and costly monuments of barbaric labour; and, if we are more deeply affected by the ruin of a palace, than by the conflagration of a cottage, our humanity must have formed a very erroneous estimate of the miseries of human life.<sup>57</sup>

Julian was an object of terror and hatred to the Persians; and the painters of that nation represented the invader of their country under the emblem of a furious lion, who vomited from his mouth a consuming fire.<sup>58</sup> To his friends and soldiers the philosophic hero appeared in a more amiable light; and his virtues were never more conspicuously displayed, than in the last, and most active, period of his life. He practised, without effort, and almost without merit, the habitual qualities of temperance and sobriety. According to the dictates of that artificial wisdom, which assumes an absolute dominion over the mind and body, he sternly refused himself the indulgence of the most natural appetites.<sup>59</sup> In the warm climate of Assyria, which solicited a luxurious people to the gratification of every sensual desire,<sup>60</sup> a youthful conqueror preserved his chastity pure and inviolate; nor was Julian ever tempted, even by a motive of curiosity, to visit his female captives of exquisite beauty,<sup>61</sup> who, instead of resisting his power, would have disputed with each other the honour of his embraces. With the same firmness that he resisted the allurements of love, he sustained the hardships of war. When the Romans marched through the flat and flooded country, their sovereign, on foot, at the head of his legions, shared their fatigues,

57 The operations of the Assyrian war are more fully related by Ammianus xxv. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

58 Sallust (ap. Vet. Scholast. Juvenal. Sat. i. 104) observe, that nihil corruptius nobilior. The matrons and virgins of Babylon tra-



and animated their diligence. In every useful labour, the hand of Julian was prompt and strenuous; and the Imperial purple was wet and dirty, as the coarse garment of the meanest soldier. The two sieges allowed him some remarkable opportunities of signalling his personal valour, which, in the improved state of the military art, can seldom be exerted by a prudent general. The emperor stood before the citadel of Perisabor, insensible of his extreme danger, and encouraged his troops to burst open the gates of iron, till he was almost overwhelmed under a cloud of missile weapons, and huge stones, that were directed against his person. As he examined the exterior fortifications of Maogamalcha, two Persians, devoting themselves for their country, suddenly rushed upon him with drawn scimitars: the emperor dexterously received their blows on his uplifted shield; and, with a steady and well-aimed thrust, laid one of his adversaries dead at his feet. The esteem of a prince who possesses the virtues which he approves, is the noblest recompence of a deserving subject; and the authority which Julian derived from his personal merit, enabled him to revive and enforce the rigour of ancient discipline. He punished with death, or ignominy, the misbehaviour of three troops of horse, who, in a skirmish with the Surenas, had lost their honour, and one of their standards; and he distinguished with *obedionalis*<sup>62</sup> crowns the valour of the foremost soldiers, who had ascended into the city of Maogamalcha. After the siege of Perisabor, the firmness of the emperor was exercised by the insolent avarice of the army, who loudly complained that their services were rewarded by a trifling donative of one hundred pieces of silver. His just indignation was expressed in the grave and manly language of a Roman:—"Riches are the object of your desires: those riches are in the hands of the Persians; and the spoils of this fruitful country are proposed as the prize of your valour and discipline. Believe me," added Julian, "the Roman republic, which formerly possessed such immense treasures, is now reduced to want and wretchedness; since our princes have been persuaded, by weak and interested ministers, to purchase with gold the tranquillity of the barbarians. The revenue is exhausted; the cities are ruined: the provinces are dispeopled. For myself, the only inheritance that I have received from my royal ancestors is a soul incapable of fear; and as long as I am convinced that every real advantage is seated in the mind, I shall not blush to acknowledge an honourable poverty, which, in the days of ancient virtue, was considered as the glory of Fabricius. That glory, and that virtue, may be your own, if you will listen to the voice of Heaven and of your leader. But if you will rashly persist, if you are determined to renew the shameful and mischievous examples of old seditions, proceed.—As it

"becomes an emperor who has filled the first rank among men, I am prepared to die, standing; and to despise a precarious life, which, every hour, may depend on an accidental fever. If I have been found unworthy of the command, there are now among you (I speak it with pride and pleasure), there are many chiefs, whose merit and experience are equal to the conduct of the most important war. Such has been the temper of my reign, that I can retire, without regret, and without apprehension, to the obscurity of a private station."<sup>63</sup> The modest resolution of Julian was answered by the unanimous applause and cheerful obedience of the Romans, who declared their confidence of victory, while they fought under the banners of their heroic prince. Their courage was kindled by his frequent and familiar asseverations (for such wishes were the oaths of Julian), "So may I reduce the Persians under the yoke!" "Thus may I restore the strength and splendour of the republic!" The love of fame was the ardent passion of his soul; but it was not before he trampled on the ruins of Maogamalcha, that he allowed himself to say, "We have now provided some materials for the sophist of Antioch."<sup>64</sup>

The successful valour of Julian had triumphed over all the obstacles that opposed his march to the gates of Ctesiphon. But the reduction, or even the siege, of the capital of Persia, was still at a distance: nor can the military conduct of the emperor be clearly apprehended without a knowledge of the country which was the theatre of his bold and skilful operations.<sup>65</sup> Twenty miles to the south of Bagdad, and on the eastern bank of the Tigris, the curiosity of travellers has observed some ruins of the palaces of Ctesiphon, which, in the time of Julian, was a great and populous city. The name and glory of the adjacent Seleucia were for ever extinguished; and the only remaining quarter of that Greek colony had resumed, with the Assyrian language and manners, the primitive appellation of Coche. Coche was situate on the western side of the Tigris; but it was naturally considered as a suburb of Ctesiphon, with which we may suppose it to have been connected by a permanent bridge of boats. The united parts contributed to form the common epithet of Al Modain, THE CHIEFS, which the Orientals have bestowed on the winter residence of the Sassanides; and the whole circumference of the Persian capital was strongly fortified by the waters of the river, by lofty walls, and by impacticable morasses. Near the ruins of Seleucia, the camp of Julian was fixed, and secured, by a ditch and rampart, against the sallies of the numerous and enterprising garrison of Coche. In this fruitful and pleasant country, the Romans were plentifully supplied with water and forage: and several forts, which might have embarrassed the motions of the army, submitted,

He transports his fleet from the euphrates to the Tigris.

<sup>62</sup> *Obedionalis coronis d. nati.* Ammian. xxiv. l. 1. Father Julian or his historian were unskilful antiquaries. He should have given mural crowns. The *obedionalis* were the reward of a general who had defeated a general. (See the Note, Art. c. 61.)

<sup>63</sup> Ammian. xxiv. 5. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 122. p. 346.

<sup>64</sup> *Id. Met. 27.*

<sup>65</sup> *Id. Met. 27.*

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after some resistance, to the efforts of their valour. The fleet passed from the Euphrates into an artificial derivation of that river, which pours a copious and navigable stream into the Tigris, at a small distance *below* the great city. If they had followed this royal canal, which bore the name of Nahar-Maleha,<sup>66</sup> the intermediate situation of Coche would have separated the fleet and army of Julian; and the rash attempt of steering against the current of the Tigris, and forcing their way through the midst of a hostile capital, must have been attended with the total destruction of the Roman navy. The prudence of the emperor fore-saw the danger, and provided the remedy. As he had minutely studied the operations of Trajan in the same country, he soon recollected, that his warlike predecessor had dug a new and navigable canal, which, leaving Coche on the right hand, conveyed the waters of the Nahar-Maleha into the river Tigris, at some distance *above* the cities. From the information of the peasants, Julian ascertained the vestiges of this ancient work, which were almost obliterated by design or accident. By the indefatigable labour of the soldiers, a broad and deep channel was speedily prepared for the reception of the Euphrates. A strong dyke was constructed to interrupt the ordinary current of the Nahar-Maleha: a flood of waters rushed impetuously into their new bed; and the Roman fleet, steering their triumphant course into the Tigris, derided the vain and ineffectual barriers which the Persians of Ctesiphon had erected to oppose their passage.

As it became necessary to transport the Roman army over the Tigris, another labour presented itself, of less toil, but of more danger, than the preceding expedition. The stream was broad and rapid; the ascent steep and difficult; and the intrenchments, which had been formed on the ridge of the opposite bank, were lined with a numerous army of heavy cuirassiers, dexterous archers, and huge elephants; who (according to the extravagant hyperbole of Libanius) could trample, with the same ease, a field of corn, or a legion of Romans.<sup>67</sup> In the presence of such an enemy, the construction of a bridge was impracticable; and the intrepid prince, who instantly seized the only possible expedient, concealed his design, till the moment of execution, from the knowledge of the barbarians, of his own troops, and even of his generals themselves. Under the specious pretence of examining the state of the magazines, four-and-twenty vessels were gradually unladen; and a select detachment, apparently destined for some secret expedition, was ordered to stand to their arms on the first signal. Julian disguised the silent activity of his own mind with smiles of confidence and joy; and amused the hostile nations with the spectacle of military games, which he insidiously

celebrated under the walls of Coche. The day was consecrated to pleasure; but, as soon as the hour of supper was past, the emperor summoned the generals to his tent; and acquainted them, that he had fixed that night for the passage of the Tigris. They stood in silent and respectful astonishment; but, when the venerable Sallust assumed the privilege of his age and experience, the rest of the chiefs supported with freedom the weight of his prudent remonstrances.<sup>68</sup> Julian contented himself with observing, that conquest and safety depended on the attempt; that, instead of diminishing, the number of their enemies would be increased, by successive reinforcements; and that a longer delay would neither contract the breadth of the stream, nor level the height of the bank. The signal was instantly given, and obeyed: the most impatient of the legionaries leaped into five vessels that lay nearest to the bank; and as they plied their oars with intrepid diligence, they were lost, after a few moments, in the darkness of the night. A flame arose on the opposite side; and Julian, who too clearly understood that his foremost vessels, in attempting to land, had been fired by the enemy, dexterously converted their extreme danger into a presage of victory. "Our fellow-soldiers," he eagerly exclaimed, "are already masters of the bank; see—they make the appointed signal; let us hasten to emulate and assist their courage." The united and rapid motion of a great fleet broke the violence of the current, and they reached the eastern shore of the Tigris with sufficient speed to extinguish the flames, and rescue their adventurous companions. The difficulties of a steep and lofty ascent were increased by the weight of armour, and the darkness of the night. A shower of stones, darts, and fire, was incessantly discharged on the head of the assailants; who, after an arduous struggle, climbed the bank, and stood victorious upon the rampart. As soon as they possessed a more equal field, Julian, who, with his light infantry, had led the attack,<sup>69</sup> darted through the ranks a skilful and experienced eye: his bravest soldiers, according to the precepts of Homer,<sup>70</sup> were distributed in the front and rear: and all the trumpets of the Imperial army sounded to battle. The Romans, after sending up a military shout, advanced in measured steps to the animating notes of martial music; launched their formidable javelins; and rushed forwards with drawn swords, to deprive the barbarians, by a closer onset, of the advantage of their missile weapons. The whole engagement lasted above twelve hours; till the gradual retreat of the Persians was changed into a disorderly flight, of which the shameful example was given by the principal leader, and the Sirenas himself. They were pursued to the gates of Ctesiphon; and the conquerors might have entered the dismayed city,<sup>71</sup> if their general, Victor,

66. The River of Carch (Nahar-Maleha) is the same as the modern one, which is called, &c. See the map of the Tigris, in the first volume of the *Annals*, p. 10. The name of the river is given in the original text, and in the *Annals*, p. 10. The name of the river is given in the original text, and in the *Annals*, p. 10.

67. The number of the soldiers, who were ordered to stand to their arms, is given in the original text, and in the *Annals*, p. 10. The number of the soldiers, who were ordered to stand to their arms, is given in the original text, and in the *Annals*, p. 10.

68. The number of the soldiers, who were ordered to stand to their arms, is given in the original text, and in the *Annals*, p. 10. The number of the soldiers, who were ordered to stand to their arms, is given in the original text, and in the *Annals*, p. 10.

69. The number of the soldiers, who were ordered to stand to their arms, is given in the original text, and in the *Annals*, p. 10. The number of the soldiers, who were ordered to stand to their arms, is given in the original text, and in the *Annals*, p. 10.

70. The number of the soldiers, who were ordered to stand to their arms, is given in the original text, and in the *Annals*, p. 10. The number of the soldiers, who were ordered to stand to their arms, is given in the original text, and in the *Annals*, p. 10.

71. The number of the soldiers, who were ordered to stand to their arms, is given in the original text, and in the *Annals*, p. 10. The number of the soldiers, who were ordered to stand to their arms, is given in the original text, and in the *Annals*, p. 10.

who was dangerously wounded with an arrow, had not conjured them to desist from a rash attempt, which must be fatal, if it were not successful. On *their* side, the Romans acknowledged the loss of only seventy-five men; while they affirmed, that the barbarians had left on the field of battle two thousand five hundred, or even six thousand, of their bravest soldiers. The spoil was such as might be expected from the riches and luxury of an Oriental camp; large quantities of silver and gold, splendid arms and trappings, and beds and tables of massy silver. The victorious emperor distributed, as the rewards of valour, some honourable gifts, civic, and mural, and naval, crowns; which he, and perhaps he alone, esteemed more precious than the wealth of Asia. A solemn sacrifice was offered to the god of war, but the appearances of the victims threatened the most inauspicious events; and Julian soon discovered, by less ambiguous signs, that he had now reached the term of his prosperity.<sup>72</sup>

On the second day after the battle, the domestic guards, the Jovians and Herculians, and the remaining troops, which composed near two thirds of the whole army, were securely wafted over the Tigris.<sup>73</sup> While the Persians beheld from the walls of Ctesiphon the desolation of the adjacent country, Julian cast many an anxious look towards the north, in full expectation, that as he himself had victoriously penetrated to the capital of Sapor, the march and junction of his lieutenants, Sebastian and Procopius, would be executed with the same courage and diligence. His expectations were disappointed by the treachery of the Armenian king, who permitted, and most probably directed, the desertion of his auxiliary troops from the camp of the Romans;<sup>74</sup> and by the dissensions of the two generals, who were incapable of forming or executing any plan for the public service. When the emperor had relinquished the hope of this important reinforcement, he condescended to hold a council of war, and approved, after a full debate, the sentiment of those generals, who dissuaded the siege of Ctesiphon, as a fruitless and pernicious undertaking. It is not easy for us to conceive, by what arts of fortification, a city thrice besieged and taken by the predecessors of Julian, could be rendered impregnable against an army of sixty thousand Romans, commanded by a brave and experienced general, and abundantly supplied with ships, provisions, battering engines, and military stores. But we may rest assured, from the love of glory, and contempt of danger, which formed the character of Julian, that he was not discouraged by any trivial or imaginary obstacles.<sup>75</sup> At the very time when he declined

the siege of Ctesiphon, he rejected, with obstinacy and disdain, the most flattering offers of a negotiation of peace. Sapor, who had been so long accustomed to the tardy ostentation of Constantius, was surprised by the intrepid diligence of his successor. As far as the confines of India and Scythia, the satraps of the distant provinces were ordered to assemble their troops, and to march, without delay, to the assistance of their monarch. But their preparations were dilatory, their motions slow; and before Sapor could lead an army into the field, he received the melancholy intelligence of the devastation of Assyria, the ruin of his palaces, and the slaughter of his bravest troops, who defended the passage of the Tigris. The pride of royalty was humbled in the dust; he took his repasts on the ground; and the disorder of his hair expressed the grief and anxiety of his mind. Perhaps he would not have refused to purchase, with one half of his kingdom, the safety of the remainder; and he would have gladly subscribed himself, in a treaty of peace, the faithful and dependent ally of the Roman conqueror. Under the pretence of private business, a minister of rank and confidence was secretly despatched to embrace the knees of Hormisdas, and to request, in the language of a suppliant, that he might be introduced into the presence of the emperor. The Sassanian prince, whether he listened to the voice of pride or humanity, whether he consulted the sentiments of his birth, or the duties of his situation, was equally inclined to promote a salutary measure, which would terminate the calamities of Persia, and secure the triumph of Rome. He was astonished by the inflexible firmness of a hero, who remembered, most unfortunately for himself and for his country, that Alexander had uniformly rejected the propositions of Darius. But as Julian was sensible, that the hope of a safe and honourable peace might cool the ardour of his troops; he earnestly requested, that Hormisdas would privately dismiss the minister of Sapor, and conceal this dangerous temptation from the knowledge of the camp.<sup>76</sup>

The honour, as well as interest, He borrows his of Julian, forbade him to consume fleet, his time under the impregnable walls of Ctesiphon; and as often as he defied the barbarians, who defended the city, to meet him on the open plain, they prudently replied, that if he desired to exercise his valour, he might seek the army of the Great King. He felt the insult, and he accepted the advice. Instead of confining his servile march to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, he resolved to imitate the adventurous spirit of Alexander, and boldly to advance into the inland provinces, till he forced his rival to

preclarum occasio fuisset, quam cura victoris. (Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 2b.) Their avarice might dispose them to hear the advice of a victor.

72 The labour of the canal, the passage of the Tigris, and the circuit of Parent. 175. Zosim. (c. 2b.) which the .6.) The war of m. p. 1873. storian Ammian. d. some archde at the domestic, and perhaps the Jovians and Herculians, who often did duty as guards.

74 Moses of Chorene (Hist. Armen. l. iii. c. 15. p. 216.) supplies us with a national tradition, and a spurious letter. I have borrowed

Amma- from the difficulty, Assyriamque populatus, castra apud Ctesiphontem stativa aliquandiu habuit remansitque victor, &c. (x. 16.) Zosimus is artificial or ignorant, and Socrates inaccurate. 76 Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 190. p. 551. c. 159. p. 561. Socrates, of peace phono- nered the

contend with him, perhaps in the plains of Arbela, for the empire of Asia. The magnanimity of Julian was applauded and betrayed, by the arts of a noble Persian, who, in the cause of his country, had generously submitted to act a part full of danger, of falsehood, and of shame.<sup>77</sup> With a train of faithful followers, he deserted to the Imperial camp; exposed, in a specious tale, the injuries which he had sustained; exaggerated the cruelty of Sapor, the discontent of the people, and the weakness of the monarchy; and confidently offered himself as the hostage and guide of the Roman march. The most rational grounds of suspicion were urged, without effect, by the wisdom and experience of Hormisdas; and the credulous Julian, receiving the traitor into his bosom, was persuaded to issue an hasty order, which, in the opinion of mankind, appeared to arraign his prudence, and to endanger his safety. He destroyed, in a single hour, the whole navy, which had been transported above five hundred miles, at so great an expense of toil, of treasure, and of blood. Twelve, or, at the most, twenty-two, small vessels were saved, to accompany, on carriages, the march of the army, and to form occasional bridges for the passage of the rivers. A supply of twenty days' provisions was reserved for the use of the soldiers; and the rest of the magazines, with a fleet of eleven hundred vessels, which rode at anchor in the Tigris, were abandoned to the flames, by the absolute command of the emperor. The Christian bishops, Gregory and Augustin, insult the madness of the Apostate, who executed, with his own hands, the sentence of divine justice. Their authority, of less weight, perhaps, in a military question, is confirmed by the cool judgment of an experienced soldier, who was himself spectator of the conflagration, and who could not disapprove the reluctant murmurs of the troops.<sup>78</sup> Yet there are not wanting some specious, and perhaps solid, reasons, which might justify the resolution of Julian. The navigation of the Euphrates never ascended above Babylon, nor that of the Tigris above Opis.<sup>79</sup> The distance of the last-mentioned city from the Roman camp was not very considerable; and Julian must soon have renounced the vain and impracticable attempt of forcing upwards a great fleet against the stream of a rapid river,<sup>80</sup> which in several places was embarrassed by natural or artificial cataracts.<sup>81</sup> The power of sails and oars was insufficient; it became necessary to tow the ships against the current of the river; the strength of twenty thousand soldiers was exhausted in this tedious and servile labour; and if the Romans conti-

nued to march along the banks of the Tigris, they could only expect to return home without achieving any enterprise worthy of the genius or fortune of their leader. If, on the contrary, it was advisable to advance into the inland country, the destruction of the fleet and magazines was the only measure which could save that valuable prize from the hands of the numerous and active troops which might suddenly be poured from the gates of Ctesiphon. Had the aims of Julian been victorious, we should now admire the conduct, as well as the courage, of a hero, who, by depriving his soldiers of the hopes of a retreat, left them only the alternative of death or conquest.<sup>22</sup>

The cumbersome train of artillery and wagons, which retards the operations of a modern army, were in a great measure unknown in the camps of the Romans.<sup>83</sup> Yet, in every age, the subsistence of sixty thousand men must have been one of the most important cares of a prudent general; and that subsistence could only be drawn from his own or from the enemy's country. Had it been possible for Julian to maintain a bridge of communication on the Tigris, and to preserve the conquered places of Assyria, a desolated province could not afford any large or regular supplies, in a season of the year when the lands were covered by the inundation of the Euphrates,<sup>84</sup> and the unwholesome air was darkened with swarms of innumerable insects.<sup>85</sup> The appearance of the hostile country was far more inviting. The extensive region that lies between the river Tigris and the mountains of Media, was filled with villages and towns; and the fertile soil, for the most part, was in a very improved state of cultivation. Julian might expect, that a conqueror, who possessed the two forcible instruments of persuasion, steel and gold, would easily procure a plentiful subsistence from the fears or avarice of the natives. But, on the approach of the Romans, this rich and smiling prospect was instantly blasted. Wherever they moved, the inhabitants deserted the open villages, and took shelter in the fortified towns; the cattle were driven away; the grass and ripe corn were consumed with fire; and, as soon as the flames had subsided which interrupted the march of Julian, he beheld the melancholy face of a smoking and naked desert. This desperate but effectual method of defence can only be executed by the enthusiasm of a people who prefer their independence to their property; or by the rigour of an arbitrary government, which consults the public safety without submitting to their inclinations the liberty of choice. On the present

77 The arts of this new Zoërus of re. Say the first (p. 115, 116) may denote some other, in particular, the father of the *Sextus Rufus* (p. 114) for *Sextus Rufus* (p. 114) is the father of the *Parent* (p. 131) p. 77, and *Ammonius* (p. 131) is the father of *genuine history*, in *Interpretation* (p. 131) and in the text of *Ammonius*.

78. See *Amphipneustes* 71. *Journal of Ornithology*, 1903, p. 556, 573. *Zoologische Anzeiger*, 1904, p. 100. Gregory (Ornithology, and *Amphipneustes* 1904, p. 100, 101, 102) of these *Amphipneustes* 1904, p. 100, 101, 102, here, who, according to *Amphipneustes* 1904, p. 100, 101, 102, is

So A celeritate Tigri, et apte vocat, ita appetant Medusaglam.

81 One of the dykes, which produces an irregular circular fracture, is described by TAYLOR (1871, p. 227) and THOMPSON (1874, p. 195). The Peruvian or American dykes are used to inter-

rupt the navigation of the river. (Strabo, l. xv. p. 1075. D'Anville, *l'Asie Mineure et le Tigre*, p. 107, 109.)

a) *For the sake of the* and applauded rashness of Agathocles  
a) *For the sake of the* and applauded rashness of Agathocles  
a) *For the sake of the* and applauded rashness of Agathocles

1878, the publication of the Author of the *Local* in the *Times*, 1877-78, and the harsh remarks of Mr. Comyns' *Statistical Memoires* (1878), form a p. 31-383 on the *Local* and the *Times* of the *Local* in 1878.

At the same time, the fact that the map is oriented with north at the top, of the American version, is also significant. The fact that the map is oriented with north at the top, of the American version, is also significant. The fact that the map is oriented with north at the top, of the American version, is also significant.

3. A. *Armenia* (text 8) describes a bird which, like the raven, preyed  
starved, then, it, with insects. The insect *Assyria* (text 9) said  
like the birds, and driven by the Cardo, or Arno, field, it came  
to the *Armenia*, and many of it, for the seed which is cast in the  
field, to the wheat and the field husbandmen. A. pages de  
N. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 8



slowly retiring from the Imperial tent. The monarch started from his couch, and stepping forth to refresh his wearied spirits with the coolness of the midnight air, he beheld a fiery meteor, which shot athwart the sky, and suddenly vanished. Julian was convinced that he had seen the menacing countenance of the god of war;<sup>1</sup> the council which he summoned, of *Tu-can Haruspices*,<sup>2</sup> unanimously pronounced that he should abstain from action: but, on this occasion, necessity and reason were more prevalent than superstition; and the trumpets sounded at the break of day. The army marched through a hilly country; and the hills had been secretly occupied by the Persians. Julian led the van, with the skill and attention of a consummate general; he was alarmed by the intelligence that his rear was suddenly attacked. The heat of the weather had tempted him to lay aside his cuirass; but he snatched a shield from one of his attendants, and hastened, with a sufficient reinforcement, to the relief of the rear-guard. A similar danger recalled the intrepid prince to the defence of the front; and, as he galloped between the columns, the centre of the left was attacked, and almost overpowered, by a furious charge of the Persian cavalry and elephants. This huge body was soon defeated, by the well-timed evolution of the light infantry, who aimed their weapons, with dexterity and effect, against the backs of the horsemen, and the legs of the elephants. The barbarians fled; and Julian, who was foremost in every danger, animated the pursuit with his voice and gestures. His trembling guards, scattered and oppressed by the disorderly throng of friends and enemies, retained their fearless sovereign that he was without armour; and conjured him to decline the fall of the impending ruin. As they exclaimed, a cloud of darts and arrows was discharged from the flying squadrons; and a javelin, after raking the skin of his arm, transpierced the ribs, and fixed in the inferior part of the liver. Julian attempted to draw the deadly weapon from his side; but his fingers were cut by the sharpness of the steel, and he fell senseless from his horse. His guards flew to his relief; and the wounded emperor was gently raised from the ground, and conveyed out of the tumult of the battle into an adjacent tent. The report of the melancholy event passed from rank to rank; but the grief of the Romans inspired them with invincible valour, and the desire of revenge. The body and *coronide* of the emperor was maintained by the Roman soldiers; they were decorated by the fortitude of the Roman life. The Persians derived some advantage from the advantage which they had gained, but the left

wing, where Anatolius, master of the offices, was slain, and the prefect Sallust very narrowly escaped. But the event of the day was adverse to the barbarians. They abandoned the field; their two generals, *Metanes* and *Nohordates*,<sup>3</sup> fifty nobles or satraps, and a multitude of their bravest soldiers: and the success of the Romans, if Julian had survived, might have been improved into a decisive and useful victory.

The first words that Julian uttered, after his recovery from the fainting fit into which he had been thrown by loss of blood, were expressive of his martial spirit. He called for his horse and arms, and was impatient to rush into the battle. His remaining strength was exhausted by the painful effort; and the surgeons, who examined his wound, discovered the symptoms of approaching death. He employed the awful moments with the firm temper of a hero and a sage; the philosophers who had accompanied him in this fatal expedition, compared the tent of Julian with the prison of *Socrates*; and the spectators, whom duty, or friendship, or curiosity, had assembled round his couch, listened with respectful grief to the funeral oration of their dying emperor.<sup>4</sup> "Friends and fellow-soldiers, the seasonable period of my departure is now arrived, and I discharge, with the cheerfulness of a ready debtor, the demands of nature. I have learned from philosophy, how much the soul is more excellent than the body; and that the separation of the nobler substance should be the subject of joy, rather than of affliction. I have learned from religion, that an early death has often been the reward of piety; and I accept, as a favour of the gods, the mortal stroke that secures me from the danger of disgracing a character, which has hitherto been supported by virtue and fortitude. I die without remorse, as I have lived without guilt. I am pleased to reflect on the innocence of my private life; and I can affirm with confidence, that the supreme authority, that emanation of the Divine Power, has been preserved in my hands pure and unmanaculated. Detesting the corrupt and destructive maxims of despotism, I have considered the happiness of the people as the end of government. Submitting my actions to the laws of prudence, of justice, and of moderation, I have trusted the event to the care of Providence. Peace was the object of my counsels, as long as peace was consistent with the public welfare; but when the imperious voice of my country summoned me to arms, I exposed my person to the dangers of war, with the clear foreknowledge which I had acquired from the art of

The death of Julian.  
A.D. 363,  
June 26.

<sup>1</sup> Julian was convinced that he had seen the menacing countenance of the god of war; the council which he summoned, of *Tu-can Haruspices*,<sup>2</sup> unanimously pronounced that he should abstain from action: but, on this occasion, necessity and reason were more prevalent than superstition; and the trumpets sounded at the break of day. The army marched through a hilly country; and the hills had been secretly occupied by the Persians. Julian led the van, with the skill and attention of a consummate general; he was alarmed by the intelligence that his rear was suddenly attacked. The heat of the weather had tempted him to lay aside his cuirass; but he snatched a shield from one of his attendants, and hastened, with a sufficient reinforcement, to the relief of the rear-guard. A similar danger recalled the intrepid prince to the defence of the front; and, as he galloped between the columns, the centre of the left was attacked, and almost overpowered, by a furious charge of the Persian cavalry and elephants. This huge body was soon defeated, by the well-timed evolution of the light infantry, who aimed their weapons, with dexterity and effect, against the backs of the horsemen, and the legs of the elephants. The barbarians fled; and Julian, who was foremost in every danger, animated the pursuit with his voice and gestures. His trembling guards, scattered and oppressed by the disorderly throng of friends and enemies, retained their fearless sovereign that he was without armour; and conjured him to decline the fall of the impending ruin. As they exclaimed, a cloud of darts and arrows was discharged from the flying squadrons; and a javelin, after raking the skin of his arm, transpierced the ribs, and fixed in the inferior part of the liver. Julian attempted to draw the deadly weapon from his side; but his fingers were cut by the sharpness of the steel, and he fell senseless from his horse. His guards flew to his relief; and the wounded emperor was gently raised from the ground, and conveyed out of the tumult of the battle into an adjacent tent. The report of the melancholy event passed from rank to rank; but the grief of the Romans inspired them with invincible valour, and the desire of revenge. The body and *coronide* of the emperor was maintained by the Roman soldiers; they were decorated by the fortitude of the Roman life. The Persians derived some advantage from the advantage which they had gained, but the left

the first words that Julian uttered, after his recovery from the fainting fit into which he had been thrown by loss of blood, were expressive of his martial spirit. He called for his horse and arms, and was impatient to rush into the battle. His remaining strength was exhausted by the painful effort; and the surgeons, who examined his wound, discovered the symptoms of approaching death. He employed the awful moments with the firm temper of a hero and a sage; the philosophers who had accompanied him in this fatal expedition, compared the tent of Julian with the prison of *Socrates*; and the spectators, whom duty, or friendship, or curiosity, had assembled round his couch, listened with respectful grief to the funeral oration of their dying emperor.<sup>4</sup> "Friends and fellow-soldiers, the seasonable period of my departure is now arrived, and I discharge, with the cheerfulness of a ready debtor, the demands of nature. I have learned from philosophy, how much the soul is more excellent than the body; and that the separation of the nobler substance should be the subject of joy, rather than of affliction. I have learned from religion, that an early death has often been the reward of piety; and I accept, as a favour of the gods, the mortal stroke that secures me from the danger of disgracing a character, which has hitherto been supported by virtue and fortitude. I die without remorse, as I have lived without guilt. I am pleased to reflect on the innocence of my private life; and I can affirm with confidence, that the supreme authority, that emanation of the Divine Power, has been preserved in my hands pure and unmanaculated. Detesting the corrupt and destructive maxims of despotism, I have considered the happiness of the people as the end of government. Submitting my actions to the laws of prudence, of justice, and of moderation, I have trusted the event to the care of Providence. Peace was the object of my counsels, as long as peace was consistent with the public welfare; but when the imperious voice of my country summoned me to arms, I exposed my person to the dangers of war, with the clear foreknowledge which I had acquired from the art of

"divination) that I was destined to fall by the sword. I now offer my tribute of gratitude to the Eternal Being, who has not suffered me to perish by the cruelty of a tyrant, by the secret dagger of conspiracy, or by the slow tortures of lingering disease. He has given me, in the midst of an honourable career, a splendid and glorious departure from this world; and I hold it equally absurd, equally base, to solicit, or to decline, the stroke of fate.—Thus much I have attempted to say; but my strength fails me, and I feel the approach of death.—I shall cautiously refrain from any word that may tend to influence your suffrages in the election of an emperor. My choice might be imprudent or injudicious; and if it should not be ratified by the consent of the army, it might be fatal to the person whom I should recommend. I shall only, as a good citizen, express my hopes, that the Romans may be blessed with the government of a virtuous sovereign." After this discourse, which Julian pronounced in a firm and gentle tone of voice, he distributed, by military testament,<sup>97</sup> the remains of his private fortune; and making some enquiry why Anatolius was not present, he understood, from the answer of Sallust, that Anatolius was killed; and bewailed, with amiable inconsistency, the loss of his friend. At the same time he reproved the immoderate grief of the spectators; and conjured them not to disgrace, by unmanly tears, the fate of a prince, who in a few moments would be united with heaven, and with the stars.<sup>98</sup> The spectators were silent; and Julian entered into a metaphysical argument with the philosophers Priscus and Maximus, on the nature of the soul. The efforts which he made, of mind as well as body, most probably hastened his death. His wound began to bleed with fresh violence; his respiration was embarrassed by the swelling of the veins: he called for a draught of cold water, and, as soon as he had drank it, expired without pain, about the hour of midnight. Such was the end of that extraordinary man, in the thirty-second year of his age, after a reign of one year and about eight months, from the death of Constantius. In his last moments he displayed, perhaps with some ostentation, the love of virtue and of fame, which had been the ruling passions of his life.<sup>99</sup>

The triumph of Christianity, and the calamities of the empire, may, in some measure, be ascribed to Julian himself, who had neglected to secure the future execution of his designs, by the timely and judicious nomination of an associate and successor. But the royal race of Constantius Chlorus was reduced to his own person; and if he entertained any serious thoughts of investing with the purple the most worthy among the Romans, he was diverted from his resolution by

the difficulty of the choice, the jealousy of power, the fear of ingratitude, and the natural presumption of health, of youth, and of prosperity. His unexpected death left the empire without a master, and without an heir, in a state of perplexity and danger, which, in the space of four-score years, had never been experienced, since the election of Diocletian. In a government, which had almost forgotten the distinction of pure and noble blood, the superiority of birth was of little moment; the claims of official rank were accidental and precarious; and the candidates, who might aspire to ascend the vacant throne, could be supported only by the consciousness of personal merit, or by the hopes of popular favour. But the situation of a finished array, encompassed on all sides by an host of barbarians, shortened the moments of grief and deliberation. In this scene of terror and distress, the body of the deceased prince, according to his own directions, was decently embalmed; and, at the dawn of day, the generals convened a military senate, at which the commanders of the legions, and the officers, both of cavalry and infantry, were invited to assist. Three or four hours of the night had not passed away without some secret cabals; and when the election of an emperor was proposed, the spirit of faction began to agitate the assembly. Victor and Arinthaus collected the remains of the court of Constantius; the friends of Julian attached themselves to the Gallic chiefs, Dagalaiphus and Nevitta; and the most fatal consequences might be apprehended from the discord of two factions, so opposite in their character and interest, in their maxims of government, and perhaps in their religious principles. The superior virtues of Sallust could alone reconcile their divisions, and unite their suffrages; and the venerable præfect would immediately have been declared the successor of Julian, if he himself, with sincere and modest fineness, had not alleged his age and infirmities, so unequal to the weight of the diadem. The generals, who were surprised and perplexed by his refusal, showed some disposition to adopt the salutary advice of an inferior officer,<sup>100</sup> that they should act as they would have acted in the absence of the emperor; that they should exert their abilities to extricate the army from the present distress; and, if they were fortunate enough to reach the confines of Mesopotamia, they should proceed with united and deliberate counsels in the election of a lawful sovereign. While they debated, a few voices saluted Jovian, who was no more than first<sup>101</sup> of the domestics, with the names of Emperor and Augustus. The tumultuary acclamation was instantly repeated by the guards who surrounded the tent, and passed, in a few minutes, to the extremities of the line. The new prince, astonished with his own fortune, was hastily invested

<sup>97</sup> The soldiers, who made their verbal, or parricidal, to express, upon actual service (in parricidal), were exempted from the formalities of the Roman law. See Heineccius (*Antiquit. Jur. Romanorum*, l. p. 501.), and Montaigne (*Essais*, liv. 10, c. 10, s. 10).

<sup>98</sup> The union of the human soul with the divine eternal substance of the universe, is the ancient doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato; but it seems to exclude any notion of conscious immortality. See Warburton's learned and rational observations. *Bayne's* *Essays*, vol. II, p. 100, 101.

<sup>99</sup> The whole relation of the death of Julian is given by Ammianus (liv. 33.), an intelligent spectator. Libanius, who turns with horror

from the scene, has supplied some circumstances (Hist. *Antiquit.* p. 159.—160, p. 579.—582.). The clamours of the troops, and the legends of more recent saints, may now be *omitted* as superfluous.

<sup>100</sup> Honoratus (*de* *Antiquit.* p. 159.) perhaps Ammianus himself. The modest and judicious Victorinus declines the scene of the election, at which he is as doubtless present (see p. 159.).

<sup>101</sup> The *primus*, or *primus*, *primus*, enjoyed the dignity of a senator; and though it is a tribute, he raised with the military dukes. (Cod. *Justin.* *de* *Leg. et* *Nov.* l. 1.) These privileges are perhaps more recent than the time of Jovian.

with the Imperial ornaments, and received an oath of fidelity from the generals, whose favour and protection he so lately solicited. The strongest recommendation of Jovian was the merit of his father, count Varronian, who enjoyed, in honourable retirement, the fruit of his long services. In the obscure freedom of a private station, the son indulged his taste for wine and women; yet he supported, with credit, the character of a Christian<sup>102</sup> and a soldier. Without being conspicuous for any of the ambitious qualifications which excite the admiration and envy of mankind, the comely person of Jovian, his cheerful temper, and familiar wit, had gained the affection of his fellow-soldiers; and the generals of both parties acquiesced in a popular election, which had not been conducted by the arts of their enemies. The pride of this unexpected elevation was moderated by the just apprehension, that the same day might terminate the life and reign of the new emperor. The pressing voice of necessity was obeyed without delay; and the first orders issued by Jovian, a few hours after his predecessor had expired, were to prosecute a march, which could alone extricate the Romans from their actual distress.<sup>103</sup>

The esteem of an enemy is most sincerely expressed by his fears; and the degree of fear may be accurately measured by the joy with which he celebrates his deliverance. The welcome news of the death of Julian, which a deserter revealed to the camp of Sapor, inspired the desponding monarch with a sudden confidence of victory. He immediately detached the royal cavalry, perhaps the ten thousand *Immortals*<sup>104</sup> to second and support the pursuit; and discharged the whole weight of his united forces on the rear-guard of the Romans. The rear-guard was thrown into disorder; the renowned legions, which derived their titles from Diocletian, and his warlike colleague, were broke and trampled down by the elephants; and three tribunes lost their lives in attempting to stop the flight of their soldiers. The battle was at length restored by the persevering valour of the Romans; the Persians were repulsed with a great slaughter of men and elephants; and the army, after marching and fighting a long summer's day, arrived, in the evening, at Samara, on the banks of the Tigris, about one hundred miles above Ctesiphon.<sup>105</sup> On the ensuing day, the barbarians, instead of harassing the march, attacked the camp of Jovian; which had been seated in a deep and sequestered valley. From the hills, the archers of Persia insulted and annoyed the wearied legionaries; and a body of cavalry,

which had penetrated with desperate courage through the prætorian gate, was cut in pieces, after a doubtful conflict, near the Imperial tent. In the succeeding night, the camp of Carche was protected by the lofty dykes of the river; and the Roman army, though incessantly exposed to the vexatious pursuit of the Saracens, pitched their tents near the city of Dura,<sup>106</sup> four days after the death of Julian. The Tigris was still on their left; their hopes and provisions were almost consumed; and the impatient soldiers, who had fondly persuaded themselves that the frontiers of the empire were not far distant, requested their new sovereign, that they might be permitted to hazard the passage of the river. With the assistance of his wisest officers, Jovian endeavoured to check their rashness; by representing, that if they possessed sufficient skill and vigour to stem the torrent of a deep and rapid stream, they would only deliver themselves naked and defenceless to the barbarians, who had occupied the opposite banks. Yielding at length to their clamorous importunities, he consented, with reluctance, that five hundred Gauls and Germans, accustomed from their infancy to the waters of the Rhine and Danube, should attempt the bold adventure, which might serve either as an encouragement, or as a warning, for the rest of the army. In the silence of the night they swam the Tigris, surprised an unguarded post of the enemy, and displayed at the dawn of day the signal of their resolution and fortune. The success of this trial disposed the emperor to listen to the promises of his architects, who proposed to construct a floating bridge of the inflated skins of sheep, oxen, and goats, covered with a floor of earth and fascines.<sup>107</sup> Two important days were spent in the ineffectual labour; and the Romans, who already endured the miseries of famine, cast a look of despair on the Tigris, and upon the barbarians; whose numbers and obstinacy increased with the distress of the Imperial army.<sup>108</sup>

In this hopeless situation, the fainting spirits of the Romans were revived by the sound of peace. The transient presumption of Sapor had vanished: he observed, with serious concern, that, in the repetition of doubtful combats, he had lost his most faithful and intrepid nobles, his bravest troops, and the greatest part of his train of elephants; and the experienced monarch feared to provoke the resistance of despair, the vicissitudes of fortune, and the unexhausted powers of the Roman empire; which might soon advance to relieve, or to revenge, the successor of Julian. The Surenas himself, accompanied by another

Negotiation and treaty of peace.  
July.

<sup>102</sup> The ecclesiastical historians, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Theodorus, have preserved the character of a confessor under the preceding emperor, and that he refused the purple, till he should have seen the emperor, who they were Christian. Ammianus, who lived at the same time, attributes the legend to a young girl, who, in the year 361, inspired the emperor with a desire to become a Christian.

<sup>103</sup> Ammianus, lxxviii. describes the march of the army, and the remarkable strokes. The Arabs, who lived in the desert, were the first to be attacked, and they were defeated. The army then marched to the Tigris, and the Persians were defeated.

<sup>104</sup> Regio equitata. It appears from the description of the battle, that the number of the Romans was not less than 100,000 men, and that the Persians were 100,000 men.

<sup>105</sup> The account of the battle of Samara is given by Ammianus, lxxviii. He says that he saw the head of a ratte where Julian fell, but M.

Arabe has demonstrated the precise situation of Samara, Carche, and Dura, along the banks of the Tigris. Geographic Annuaire, 1804, p. 104. The city of Dura was situated on the right bank of the river, and was a fortified city. The city of Carche was situated on the left bank of the river, and was a fortified city.

<sup>106</sup> The city of Dura was situated on the right bank of the river, and was a fortified city. The city of Carche was situated on the left bank of the river, and was a fortified city. The city of Samara was situated on the right bank of the river, and was a fortified city.





of the river. The small vessels, which had been saved from the conflagration of the fleet, performed the most essential service. They first conveyed the emperor and his favourites; and afterwards transported, in many successive voyages, a great part of the army. But, as every man was anxious for his personal safety, and apprehensive of being left on the hostile shore, the soldiers, who were too impatient to wait the slow returns of the boats, boldly ventured themselves on light hurdles, or inflated skins; and, drawing after them their horses, attempted, with various success, to swim across the river. Many of these daring adventurers were swallowed by the waves; many others, who were carried along by the violence of the stream, fell an easy prey to the avarice or cruelty of the wild Arabs; and the loss which the army sustained in the passage of the Tigris, was not inferior to the carnage of a day of battle. As soon as the Romans had landed on the western bank, they were delivered from the hostile pursuit of the barbarians; but, in a laborious march of two hundred miles over the plains of Mesopotamia, they endured the last extremities of thirst and hunger. They were obliged to traverse a sandy desert, which, in the extent of seventy miles, did not afford a single blade of sweet grass, nor a single spring of fresh water; and the rest of the inhospitable waste was untrod by the footsteps either of friends or enemies. Whenever a small measure of flour could be discovered in the camp, twenty pounds' weight were greedily purchased with ten pieces of gold;<sup>117</sup> the beasts of burden were slaughtered and devoured; and the desert was strewed with the arms and baggage of the Roman soldiers, whose tattered garments and meagre countenances displayed their past sufferings, and actual misery. A small convoy of provisions advanced to meet the army as far as the castle of Ur; and the supply was the more grateful, since it declared the fidelity of Sebastian and Procopius. At Hissaphata,<sup>118</sup> the emperor most graciously received the generals of Mesopotamia; and the remains of a once flourishing army at length reposed themselves under the walls of Nisibis. The messengers of Jovian had already proclaimed, in the language of flattery, his election, his treaty, and his return; and the new prince had taken the most effectual measures to secure the allegiance of the armies and provinces of Europe; by placing the military command in the hands of those officers, who, from motives of interest, or inclination, would firmly support the cause of their benefactor.<sup>119</sup>

The friends of Julian had confidently an-

117 We may recall some ideas of Tychonoff [T] or A. N. Kolmogorov [K] who describes a similar difficulty of the case  $\mathcal{S}_1$ .

[illegible]

Example 10. Consider the following system of linear equations:

See Gurchardt (Nouveau Miroir du Monde, 1780, p. 352). His Analysis of the two triangles in Spence's Algebra is the noblest monument that has ever been raised to the fame of Algebra.

118 M d Anvile (see his *Mqs.* and *Euphrates*, I, pp. 93-94) traces their march, and assigns the true position of Hira, Ir and Thilsaphara, which Ammonius has mentioned. He does not complain of the Samal, the devil, hot wind, which Theophrastus (*Voyages*, part II, p. 192) so much dreaded.

119 The retreat of Julian is described by Ammianus 18.8. 190. Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 147, p. 365) and Zosimus 1.1.1 p. 13.

120) Ibanus, Orat. Parent c 115, p. 566. Such were the hopes and wishes of a rhetorician.

nounced the success of his expedition. They entertained a fond persuasion, that the temples of the gods would be enriched with the spoils of the East; that Persia would be reduced to the humble state of a tributary province, governed by the laws and magistrates of Rome; that the barbarians would adopt the dress, and manners, and language, of their conquerors; and that the youth of Ecbatana and Susa would study the art of rhetoric under Grecian masters.<sup>120</sup> The progress of the arms of Julian interrupted his communication with the empire; and, from the moment that he passed the Tigris, his affectionate subjects were ignorant of the fate and fortunes of their prince. Their contemplation of fancied triumphs was disturbed by the melancholy rumour of his death; and they persisted to doubt, after they could no longer deny, the truth of that fatal event.<sup>121</sup> The messengers of Jovian promulgated the specious tale of a prudent and necessary peace: the voice of fame, louder and more sincere, revealed the disgrace of the emperor, and the conditions of the ignominious treaty. The minds of the people were filled with astonishment and grief, with indignation and terror, when they were informed, that the unworthy successor of Julian relinquished the five provinces, which had been acquired by the victory of Galerius; and that he shamefully surrendered to the barbarians the important city of Nisibis, the firmest bulwark of the provinces of the East.<sup>122</sup> The deep and dangerous question, how far the public faith should be observed, when it becomes incompatible with the public safety, was freely agitated in popular conversation; and some topics were entertained, that the emperor would redden his pusillanimous behaviour by a splendid act of patriotic perfidy. The inflexible spirit of the Roman senate had always disclaimed the unequal conditions which were extorted from the distress of her captive armies; and, if it were necessary to satisfy the national honour, by delivering the guilty general into the hands of the barbarians, the greatest part of the subjects of Jovian would have cheerfully acquiesced in the precedent of ancient times.<sup>123</sup>

But the emperor, whatever might be the limits of his constitutional authority, was the absolute master of the laws and arms of the state; and the same motives which had forced him to subscribe, now pressed him to execute, the treaty of peace. He was impatient to secure an empire at the expense of a few provinces; and the respectable names of religion and honour concealed the personal fears and the am-

Jovian evacuates Nisibis, and restores the five provinces to the Persians.  
August.

11 The people of Carthage, devoted to Paganism, buried the  
12 the numerous dead bodies (Zeno, *Letter*, p. 166).  
13 While he stood before the Pagan altar his eye on his  
14 sword, but he was excited that he had committed suicide, and  
15 he thought he had to pass the year 250 of Januarius de  
16 (Zeno, *Letter*, p. 166).

1. 2. A year or more after the poems had been put as far and creditable as possible of the public's knowledge and opinions. The poet, E. Artyuch, returned at the same time, who had stayed then in the library, and a small but definite improvement. (Excerpt from the manuscript, p. 84, ex. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 8

1971, 116. The use of the *Flower of Javan*, torn: 1 p. 912 - 27, though a severe wind, he pronounced that it was a long time ago that he first met, in the same place, in the same place, in the same place, without his consent, the same as the people.

It has never found any delight or instruction in such people as we  
believe.

bition of Jovian. Notwithstanding the dutiful solicitations of the inhabitants, decency, as well as prudence, forbade the emperor to lodge in the palace of Nisibis; but, the next morning after his arrival, Bineses, the ambassador of Persia, entered the place, displayed from the citadel the standard of the Great King, and proclaimed, in his name, the cruel alternative of exile or servitude. The principal citizens of Nisibis, who, till that fatal moment, had confided in the protection of their sovereign, threw themselves at his feet. They conjured him not to abandon, or, at least, not to deliver, a faithful colony to the rage of a barbarian tyrant, exasperated by the three successive defeats, which he had experienced under the walls of Nisibis. They still possessed arms and courage to repel the invaders of their country: they requested only the permission of using them in their own defence; and, as soon as they had asserted their independence, they should implore the favour of being again admitted into the rank of his subjects. Their arguments, their eloquence, their tears, were ineffectual. Jovian alleged, with some confusion, the sanctity of oaths; and, as the reluctance with which he accepted the present of a crown of gold, convinced the citizens of their hopeless condition, the advocate Sylvanus was provoked to exclaim, "O emperor may you thus be crowned by all the cities of your dominions!" Jovian, who in a few weeks had assumed the habits of a prince,<sup>124</sup> was displeased with freedom, and offended with truth: and as he reasonably supposed, that the discontent of the people might incline them to submit to the Persian government, he published an edict, under pain of death, that they should leave the city within the term of three days. Ammianus has delineated in lively colours the scene of universal despair, which he seems to have viewed with an eye of compassion.<sup>125</sup> The martial youth deserted, with indignant grief, the walls which they had so gloriously defended: the disconsolate mourner dropped a last tear over the tomb of a son or husband, which must soon be profaned by the rude hand of a barbarian master; and the aged citizen kissed the threshold, and clung to the doors of the house, where he had passed the cheerful and careless hours of infancy. The highways were crowded with a trembling multitude: the distinctions of rank, and sex, and age, were lost in the general calamity. Every one strove to bear away some fragment from the wreck of his fortunes; and as they could not command the immediate service of an adequate number of horses or wagons, they were obliged to leave behind them the greatest part of their valuable effects. The

savage insensibility of Jovian appears to have aggravated the hardships of these unhappy fugitives. They were seated, however, in a new-built quarter of Amida; and that rising city, with the reinforcement of a very considerable colony, soon recovered its former splendour, and became the capital of Mesopotamia.<sup>126</sup> Similar orders were despatched by the emperor for the evacuation of Singara and the castle of the Moors; and for the restitution of the five provinces beyond the Tigris. Sapor enjoyed the glory and the fruits of his victory; and this ignominious peace has justly been considered as a memorable æra in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The predecessors of Jovian had sometimes relinquished the dominion of distant and unprofitable provinces; but, since the foundation of the city, the genius of Rome, the god Terminus, who guarded the boundaries of the republic, had never retired before the sword of a victorious enemy.<sup>127</sup>

After Jovian had performed those engagements, which the voice of his people might have tempted him to violate, he hastened away from the scene of his disgrace, and proceeded with his whole court to enjoy the luxury of Antioch.<sup>128</sup> Without consulting the dictates of religious zeal, he was prompted by humanity and gratitude, to bestow the last honours on the remains of his deceased sovereign :<sup>129</sup> and Procopius, who sincerely bewailed the loss of his kinsman, was removed from the command of the army, under the decent pretence of conducting the funeral. The corpse of Julian was transported from Nisibis to Tarsus, in a slow march of fifteen days; and, as it passed through the cities of the East, was saluted by the hostile factions, with mournful lamentations and clamorous insult. The Pagans already placed their beloved hero in the rank of those gods whose worship he had restored; while the invectives of the Christians pursued the soul of the Apostate to hell, and his body to the grave.<sup>130</sup> One party lamented the approaching ruin of their altar; the other celebrated the marvellous deliverance of the church. The Christians applauded, in lofty and ambiguous strains, the stroke of divine vengeance, which had been so long suspended over the guilty head of Julian. They acknowledge, that the death of the tyrant, at the instant he expired beyond the Tigris, was *revealed* to the saints of Egypt, Syria, and Cappadocia;<sup>131</sup> and, instead of suffering him to fall by the Persian darts, their indiscretion ascribed the heroic deed to the obscure hand of some mortal or immortal champion of the faith.<sup>132</sup> Such impudent declarations were eagerly adopted by

124 At N. has he performed a cruel act. A brave officer, his name sake, which of his thoughts were in the purple, was dragged from supper, thrown into a well, and shamed to death, without any form of trial, or evidence. See also the 100th, xxv, 5.

126 Chron. Paschal, p. 300. The ecclesiastical Notitæ may be consulted.

127 Zimmern, l. cit. p. 142, 143. Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 23.  
Augustin de Civitate Dei, l. iv. c. 52. The general position must be

128 Ammianus, *xxx. 9*. Zosimus, *l. c.* p. 106. He might be eddy, etymo Venianus differre. But I agree with B. *etere*, on p. 115-114 in referring the fourth report of a Bactrian war (ap. Suidam) celebrated at Amuoch, by the emperor, his *πυγ.*, and a troop of concubines.

129 The first of the two ... is only ex-  
posed to the ... on Julian

179

Julian, he has exertions to modesty and forgiveness, but he is well-justified, that the real sufferings of Julian will far exceed the fabulous

171. Yell. to white, d. Imperators, tom. iv. p. 519.) has collected  
tree-vipers. Some sort of angel was observed to be absent in the  
night in a tree + wood, &c.

It is, however, a little curious that the Greek doctrine of *tyrannical*, for the word is present, which a Jesuit might have translated, is prudently suppressed by the president Cousin.

the malice, or credulity, of their adversaries; 133 who darkly insinuated, or confidently asserted, that the governors of the church had instigated and directed the fanaticism of a domestic assassin. 134 Above sixteen years after the death of Julian, the charge was solemnly and vehemently urged, in a public oration, addressed by Libanius to the emperor Theodosius. His suspicions are unsupported by fact or argument; and we can only esteem the generous zeal of the sophist of Antioch, for the cold and neglected ashes of his friend. 135

It was an ancient custom in the funerals, as well as in the triumphs, of the Romans, that the voice of praise should be corrected by that of satire and ridicule; and that, in the midst of the splendid pageants, which displayed the glory of the living or of the dead, their imperfections should not be concealed from the eyes of the world. 136 This custom was practised in the funeral of Julian. The comedians, who resented his contempt and aversion for the theatre, exhibited, with the applause of a Christian audience, the lively and exaggerated representation of the faults and follies of the deceased emperor. His various character and singular manners afforded an ample scope for pleasantries and ridicule. 137 In the exercise of his uncommon talents, he often descended below the majesty of his rank. Alexander was transformed into Diogenes; the philosopher was degraded into a priest. The purity of his virtue was sullied by excessive vanity; his superstition disturbed the peace, and endangered the safety, of a mighty empire; and his irregular sallies were the less entitled to indulgence, as they appeared to be the laborious efforts of art, or even of affliction. The remains of Julian were interred at Tarsus in Cilicia; but his stately tomb, which arose in that city, on the banks of the cold and limpid Cydnus, 138 was displeasing to the faithful friends, who loved and revered the memory of that extraordinary man. The philosopher expressed a very reasonable wish, that the disciple of Plato might have reposed amidst the groves of the academy; 139 while the soldier exclaimed in bolder accents, that the ashes of Julian should have been mingled with those of Caesar, in the field of Mars, and among the ancient monuments of Roman virtue. 140 The history of princes does not very frequently renew the example of a similar competition.

133 Insinuations respecting the death of Julian, an uncertain rumour was scattered, that he had been killed by a Christian. It was also reported, as the sect of the latter day Samaritans, that a Christian had killed him. It was used to the disadvantage of Julian, that he was a philosopher, and that he was a pagan. The story of the horseman, who carried the emperor's head to the city, is a story of effect, or might be a story of the same kind. The story of the horseman is a story of effect, or might be a story of the same kind.

134 The oration of Libanius, in which he expressed his suspicions, is a very strong expression of the same kind. The story of the horseman is a story of effect, or might be a story of the same kind.

135 The oration of Libanius, in which he expressed his suspicions, is a very strong expression of the same kind. The story of the horseman is a story of effect, or might be a story of the same kind.

136 At the funeral of Valerian, the emperor, who was a Christian, was interred in a tomb, which was built by the emperor. The story of the horseman is a story of effect, or might be a story of the same kind.

137 Gregory (Orat. iv. p. 119, 120) compares the supposed grave

## CHAP. XXV.

*The Government and Death of Julian. — Election of Valentinian, who associates his Brother Valens, and makes the final Division of the Eastern and Western empires. — Revolt of Procopius. — Civil and Ecclesiastical Administration. — Germany. — Britain. — Africa. — The East. — The Danube. — Death of Valentinian. — His two Sons, Gratian and Valentinian II., succeed to the Western Empire.*

THE death of Julian had left the public affairs of the empire in a very doubtful and dangerous situation.

The Roman army was saved by an inglorious, perhaps a necessary, treaty; 1 and the first monuments of peace were consecrated by the pious Jovian to restore the domestic tranquillity of the church and state. The indiscretion of his predecessor, instead of reconciling, had artfully fomented the religious war; and the balance which he affected to preserve between the hostile factions, served only to perpetuate the contest, by the vicissitudes of hope and fear, by the rival claims of ancient possession and actual favour. The Christians had forgotten the spirit of the Gospel; and the Pagans had imbibed the spirit of the church. In private families, the sentiments of nature were extinguished by the blind fury of zeal and revenge: the majesty of the laws was violated or abused; the cities of the East were stained with blood; and the most implacable enemies of the Romans were in the bosom of their country. Jovian was educated in the profession of Christianity; and as he marched from Nisibis to Antioch, the banner of the Cross, the LABRUM of Constantine, which was again displayed at the head of the legions, announced to the people the faith of their new emperor. As soon as he ascended the throne, he transmitted a circular epistle to all the governors of provinces: in which he confessed the divine truth, and secured the legal establishment, of the Christian religion. The insidious edicts of Julian were abolished; the ecclesiastical immunities were restored and enlarged; and Jovian condescended to lament, that the distress of the times obliged him to diminish the measure of charitable distributions. 2 The Christians were unanimous in the loud and sincere applause which they bestowed on the pious successor of Julian. But they were still ignorant

many and different. The story of the horseman is a story of effect, or might be a story of the same kind.

138 The story of the horseman is a story of effect, or might be a story of the same kind.

139 The story of the horseman is a story of effect, or might be a story of the same kind.

140 The story of the horseman is a story of effect, or might be a story of the same kind.

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letters which he despatched from the camp of Mesopotamia, he had delegated the military command of Gaul and Illyricum to Malarich, a brave and faithful officer of the nation of the Franks; and to his father-in-law, count Lucillian, who had formerly distinguished his courage and conduct in the defence of Nisibis. Malarich had declined an office to which he thought himself unequal; and Lucillian was massacred at Rheims, in an accidental mutiny of the Batavian cohorts.<sup>12</sup> But the moderation of Jovinus, master-general of the cavalry, who forgave the intention of his disgrace, soon appeased the tumult, and confirmed the uncertain minds of the soldiers. The oath of fidelity was administered, and taken, with loyal acclamations; and the deputies of the Western armies<sup>13</sup> saluted their new sovereign as he descended from Mount Taurus to the city of Tyana, in Cappadocia. From Tyana he continued his hasty march to Ancyra, capital of the province of Galatia; where Jovian assumed, with his infant son, the name and ensigns of the consulship.<sup>14</sup> Dadastana,<sup>15</sup> an obscure

A.D. 364.  
January 1.

town, almost at an equal distance between Ancyra and Nice, was marked for the fatal term of his journey and his life. After indulging himself with a plentiful, perhaps an intemperate, supper, he retired to rest; and the next morning the emperor Jovian was found dead in his bed. The cause of this sudden death was variously understood. By some it was ascribed to

Death of  
Jovian.  
Feb. 17.

the consequences of an indigestion, occasioned either by the quantity of the wine, or the quality of the mushrooms, which he had swallowed in the evening. According to others, he was suffocated in his sleep by the vapour of charcoal, which extracted from the wall of the apartment the unwholesome moisture of the fresh plaster.<sup>16</sup> But the want of a regular enquiry into the death of a prince, whose reign and person were soon forgotten, appears to have been the only circumstance which countenanced the malicious whisper of poison and domestic guilt.<sup>17</sup> The body of Jovian was sent to Constantinople, to be interred with his predecessors, and the sad procession was met on the road by his wife Charito, the daughter of count Lucillian; who still wept the recent death of her father, and was hastening to dry her tears in the embraces of an Imperial husband. Her disappointment and grief were embittered by the anxiety of maternal tenderness. Six weeks before

the death of Jovian, his infant son had been placed in the curule chair, adorned with the title of *Nobilissimus*, and the vain ensigns of the consulship. Unconscious of his fortune, the royal youth, who, from his grandfather, assumed the name of Varronian, was reminded only by the jealousy of the government, that he was the son of an emperor. Sixteen years afterwards he was still alive, but he had already been deprived of an eye; and his afflicted mother expected, every hour, that the innocent victim would be torn from her arms, to appease, with his blood, the suspicions of the reigning prince.<sup>18</sup>

After the death of Jovian, the throne of the Roman world remained ten days,<sup>19</sup> without a master.

Vacancy of  
the throne.  
Feb. 17-26.

The ministers and generals still continued to meet in council; to exercise their respective functions; to maintain the public order; and peaceably to conduct the army to the city of Nice in Bithynia, which was chosen for the place of the election.<sup>20</sup> In a solemn assembly of the civil and military powers of the empire, the diadem was again unanimously offered to the præfect Sallust. He enjoyed the glory of a second refusal; and when the virtues of the father were alleged in favour of his son, the præfect, with the firmness of a disinterested patriot, declared to the electors, that the feeble age of the one, and the unexperienced youth of the other, were equally incapable of the laborious duties of government. Several candidates were proposed; and, after weighing the objections of character or situation, they were successively rejected; but, as soon as the name of Valentinian was pronounced, the merit of that officer united the suffrages of the whole assembly, and obtained the sincere approbation of Sallust himself.

Valentinian<sup>21</sup> was the son of count Gratian, a native of Cibalis in Pannonia, who, from an obscure condition, had raised himself, by military strength and dexterity, to the military commands of Africa and Britain; from which he retired with an ample fortune and suspicious integrity. The rank and services of Gratian contributed, however, to smooth the first steps of the promotion of his son; and afforded him an early opportunity of displaying those solid and useful qualifications, which raised his character above the ordinary level of his fellow-soldiers. The person of Valentinian was tall, graceful, and majestic. His manly countenance, deeply marked with the impression of sense and spirit, in-

Election and  
character of  
Valentinian.

<sup>12</sup> Constantine Annals, p. 157, who mentions the name of the Batavians, with 70,000 soldiers. p. 157, who mentions the name of the Batavians, with 70,000 soldiers.

<sup>13</sup> These counts, or *comites*, were appointed to the provinces of the empire, and were the deputies of the emperor.

<sup>14</sup> *Comes* was the name of the deputy of the emperor, and was the name of the deputy of the emperor, and was the name of the deputy of the emperor.

<sup>15</sup> The literary of Antoninus fixes Dadastana in the province of Galatia, from Nice; 117 from Ancyra (Wesseling, Itinerary, p. 142). The pilgrim of Bourdeaux, by uniting some stages, reduces the whole space from 142 to 151 miles.

<sup>16</sup> See Ammianus (xxx. 10.), Eutropius (x. 15.), who might likewise be present, Jeron. tom. i. p. 20. ad Hieronymum, (p. 20.)

<sup>17</sup> The death of Jovian was the subject of a perfect agreement, and compares the death of the harmless Jovian to that of the cruel Valentinian, who had excited the fears and resentment of the popular faction.

<sup>18</sup> Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 756, 341. edit. Montfaucon. The Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 756, 341. edit. Montfaucon. The Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 756, 341. edit. Montfaucon.

<sup>19</sup> The ten days appear scarcely sufficient for the march and election. But it may be observed, 1. That the generals might command the execution of the public posts for the troops, their attendants, and provisions. 2. That the troops, for the ease of the cities, marched in many divisions, and that the head of the column might arrive at Nice before the rear halted at Ancyra.

<sup>20</sup> Ammianus, xxv. 1. Zosimus, l. vi. p. 198. Philostorgius, l. vi. c. 8. and Godefroid, l. ii. c. 27. p. 731. Philostorgius, who appears to have chosen some errors and authentic intelligence, ascribes the choice of Valentinian to the præfect Sallust, the master-general Arinthas, the præfect of the city Sallust, and the præfect of the city Sallust, who were present, and who were present, and who were present.

<sup>21</sup> Ammianus, xxx. 7. edit. de la Roche. Valentinian, who had the præfect of the city Sallust, who had the præfect of the city Sallust, who had the præfect of the city Sallust.

spired his friends with awe, and his enemies with fear: and, to second the efforts of his undaunted courage, the son of Gratian had inherited the advantages of a strong and healthy constitution. By the habits of chastity and temperance, which restrain the appetites and invigorate the faculties, Valentinian preserved his own and the public esteem. The avocations of a military life had diverted his youth from the elegant pursuits of literature; he was ignorant of the Greek language, and the arts of rhetoric; but as the mind of the orator was never disconcerted by timid perplexity, he was able, as often as the occasion prompted him, to deliver his decided sentiments with bold and ready elocution. The laws of martial discipline were the only laws that he had studied; and he was soon distinguished by the laborious diligence, and inflexible severity, with which he discharged and enforced the duties of the camp. In the time of Julian he provoked the danger of disgrace, by the contempt which he publicly expressed for the reigning religion;<sup>22</sup> and it should seem, from his subsequent conduct, that the indiscreet and unseasonable freedom of Valentinian was the effect of military spirit, rather than of Christian zeal. He was pardoned, however, and still employed by a prince who esteemed his merit;<sup>23</sup> and in the various events of the Persian war, he improved the reputation which he had already acquired on the banks of the Rhine. The celerity and success with which he executed an important commission, recommended him to the favour of Jovian; and to the honourable command of the second *school*, or company, of Targetteers, of the domestic guards. In the march from Antioch, he had reached his quarters at Ancyra, when he was unexpectedly summoned, without guilt, and without intrigue, to assume, in the forty-third year of his age, the absolute government of the Roman empire.

He is acknowledged by the army.  
A. D. 361,  
Feb. 26.

The invitation of the ministers and generals at Nice was of little moment, unless it were confirmed by the voice of the army. The aged Sallust, who had long observed the irregular fluctuations of popular assemblies, proposed, under pain of death, that none of those persons, whose rank in the service might excite a party in their favour, should appear in public, on the day of the inauguration. Yet such was the prevalence of ancient superstition, that a whole day was voluntarily added to this dangerous interval, because it happened to be the intercalation of the Bissextile.<sup>24</sup> At length, when the hour was supposed to be propitious, Valentinian showed himself from a lofty tribunal: the judicious choice was applauded; and the new prince was solemnly invested with the diadem

and the purple, amidst the acclamations of the troops, who were disposed in martial order round the tribunal. But when he stretched forth his hand to address the armed multitude, a busy whisper was accidentally started in the ranks, and insensibly swelled into a loud and imperious clamour, that he should name, without delay, a colleague in the empire. The intrepid calmness of Valentinian obtained silence, and commanded respect; and he thus addressed the assembly: "A few minutes since it was in *your* power, fellow-soldiers, to have left me in the obscurity of a private station. Judging, from the testimony of my past life, that I deserved to reign, you have placed me on the throne. It is now *my* duty to consult the safety and interest of the republic. The weight of the universe is undoubtedly too great for the hands of a feeble mortal. I am conscious of the limits of my abilities, and the uncertainty of my life: and far from declining, I am anxious to solicit, the assistance of a worthy colleague. But, where discord may be fatal, the choice of a faithful friend requires mature and serious deliberation. That deliberation shall be *my* care. Let *your* conduct be dutiful and consistent. Retire to your quarters; refresh your minds and bodies; and expect the accustomed donation on the accession of a new emperor."<sup>25</sup>

The astonished troops, with a mixture of pride, of satisfaction, and of terror, confessed the voice of their master. Their angry clamours subsided into silent reverence; and Valentinian, encompassed with the eagles of the legions, and the various banners of the cavalry and infantry, was conducted, in warlike pomp, to the palace of Nice. As he was sensible, however, of the importance of preventing some rash declaration of the soldiers, he consulted the assembly of the chiefs: and their real sentiments were concisely expressed by the generous freedom of Dagalmphus. "Most excellent prince," said that officer, "if you consider only your family, you have a brother; if you love the republic, look round for the most deserving of the Romans."<sup>26</sup> The emperor, who suppressed his displeasure, without altering his intention, slowly proceeded from Nice to Nicomedia and Constantinople. In one of the suburbs of that capital,<sup>27</sup> thirty days after his own elevation, he bestowed the title of Augustus on his brother Valens; and as the boldest patriots were convinced, that their opposition, without being serviceable to their country, would be fatal to themselves, the declaration of his absolute will was received with silent submission. Valens was now in the thirty-sixth year of his age: but his abilities had never been exercised in any employment, military or civil; and his character had not inspired the

and associates  
his brother  
Valens  
A. D. 361,  
March 25.

<sup>22</sup> At Antioch, where he was obliged to attend the emperor to the temple, he struck a priest, who had presumed to purify him with the lustral water. (Eusebium, l. vi. c. 6. Theodoret, l. i. c. 16.) Such public defiance must have become Valentinian, but it could leave no room for the unworthy delation of the philosopher Maximus, which supposes some more private offence.

<sup>23</sup> Secretaries.  
first might be  
Philostorgius.  
<sup>24</sup> Ammianus  
and Valens  
astronomical  
in the more ju-

c. 20.), and Macrobius (Saturnalia, l. i. c. 12. 15.) The appellation of *Bissextile*, which marks the inauspicious year (Augustus, xl. d. 19.), is derived from the repetition of the sixth day of the calendar, of March.

<sup>25</sup> Valentinian's first speech is full in Ammianus (xxvi. 2.), concise and sententious in Philostorgius (l. viii. c. 2.).

<sup>26</sup> Si tuos, amas, Imperator optime, habes fratrem; si rempublicam, teo.

<sup>27</sup> Field.  
section  
Constantinople (A. D. 361, l. 1, 2, 3.)

world with any sanguine expectations. He possessed, however, one quality, which recommended him to Valentinian, and preserved the domestic peace of the empire; a devout and grateful attachment to his benefactor, whose superiority of genius, as well as of authority, Valens humbly and cheerfully acknowledged in every action of his life.<sup>28</sup>

The final division of the Eastern and Western empires.  
A D 364,  
June.

injured or oppressed under the reign of Julian, were invited to support their public accusations. The silence of mankind attested the spotless integrity of the præfect Sallust; <sup>29</sup> and his own pressing solicitations, that he might be permitted to retire from the business of the state, were rejected by Valentinian with the most honourable expressions of friendship and esteem. But among the favourites of the late emperor, there were many who had abused his credulity or superstition; and who could no longer hope to be protected either by favour or justice. <sup>30</sup> The greater part of the ministers of the palace, and the governors of the provinces, were removed from their respective stations; yet the eminent merit of some officers was distinguished from the obnoxious crowd; and, notwithstanding the opposite clamours of zeal and resentment, the whole proceedings of this delicate enquiry appear to have been conducted with a reasonable share of wisdom and moderation. <sup>31</sup> The festivity of a new reign received a short and suspicious interruption from the sudden illness of the two princes: but as soon as their health was restored, they left Constantinople in the beginning of the spring. In the castle, or palace, of Mediana, only three miles from Naisus, they executed the solemn and final division of the Roman empire. <sup>32</sup> Valentinian bestowed on his brother the rich præfecture of the *East*, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia; whilst he reserved for his immediate government the warlike præfectures of *Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul*, from the extremity of Greece to the Caledonian rampart; and from the rampart of Caledonia to the foot of Mount Atlas. The provincial administration remained on its former basis; but a double supply of generals and magistrates was required for two councils, and two courts: the division was made with a just regard to their peculiar merit and situation, and seven master-generals were soon created, either of the cavalry or infantry. When this important business had been amicably transacted, Valentinian and Valens embraced for the last time. The emperor

of the West established his temporary residence at Milan; and the emperor of the East returned to Constantinople, to assume the dominion of fifty provinces, of whose language he was totally ignorant.<sup>33</sup>

The tranquillity of the East was soon disturbed by rebellion; and the throne of Valens was threatened by the daring attempts of a rival, whose affinity to the emperor Julian<sup>34</sup> was his sole merit, and had been his only crime. Procopius had been hastily promoted from the obscure station of a tribune, and a notary, to the joint command of the army of Mesopotamia; the public opinion already named him as the successor of a prince who was destitute of natural heirs; and a vain rumour was propagated by his friends, or his enemies, that Julian, before the altar of the Moon, at Carrhae, had privately invested Procopius with the Imperial purple.<sup>35</sup> He endeavoured, by his dutiful and submissive behaviour, to disarm the jealousy of Jovian; resigned, without a contest, his military command; and retired, with his wife and family, to cultivate the ample patrimony which he possessed in the province of Cappadocia. These useful and innocent occupations were interrupted by the appearance of an officer, with a band of soldiers, who, in the name of his new sovereigns, Valentinian and Valens, was despatched to conduct the unfortunate Procopius either to a perpetual prison, or an ignominious death. His presence of mind procured him a longer respite, and a more splendid fate. Without presuming to dispute the royal mandate, he requested the indulgence of a few moments to embrace his weeping family; and, while the vigilance of his guards was relaxed by a plentiful entertainment, he dexterously escaped to the sea-coast of the Euxine, from whence he passed over to the country of Bosphorus. In that sequestered region he remained many months, exposed to the hardships of exile, of solitude, and of want; his melancholy temper brooding over his misfortunes, and his mind agitated by the just apprehension, that, if any accident should discover his name, the faithless barbarians would violate, without much scruple, the laws of hospitality. In a moment of impatience and despair, Procopius embarked in a merchant vessel, which made sail for Constantinople; and boldly aspired to the rank of a sovereign, because he was not allowed to enjoy the security of a subject. At first he lurked in the villages of Bithynia, continually changing his habitation, and his disguise.<sup>36</sup> By degrees he ventured into the capital, trusted his life and fortune to the fidelity of two friends, a senator and an eunuch,

Revolt of Procopius  
A. D. 365,  
Sept. 28.

missed on the payment of a small fine

31 The loose assertions of a general disgrace (Zönius, l. iv p. 201) are detected and refuted by Tillemont (ibid. v p. 21)

<sup>53</sup> Ammianus says, in general terms, subagressi uigilant, recubantes, nec liberalibus studiis eruditus. Ammianus, xxx. 14. The orator Themistius, with the genuine impertinence of a Greek, wished for

the first time to speak the Latin language, the dialect of his sore-  
 rogen, τῆς ἰταλικῆς διαλέκτου that vi. p. 71

54. The uneven degree of allience, or conanguinity, is expressed by the words *in eodem cognatu*, *consolidum* (see V. deus and Armanian, xxxi, 57). The mother of Priscus might be a sister of Basilina and aunt Julia, the mother and uncle of the Apostate. Ducange, *Form. Byzantin.* p. 14.

The chief of his retreat was a captain of Fanning's ship, who told him that he had been sentenced to death, and was taken into the minute guns.



and conceived some hopes of success, from the intelligence which he obtained of the actual state of public affairs. The body of the people was infected with a spirit of discontent: they regretted the justice and the abilities of Sallust, who had been imprudently dismissed from the præfecture of the East. They despised the character of Valens, which was rude without vigour, and feeble without mildness. They dreaded the influence of his father-in-law, the patrician Petronius, a cruel and rapacious minister, who rigorously exacted all the arrears of tribute that might remain unpaid since the reign of the emperor Aurelian. The circumstances were propitious to the designs of an usurper. The hostile measures of the Persians required the presence of Valens in Syria: from the Danube to the Euphrates the troops were in motion; and the capital was occasionally filled with the soldiers who passed or repassed the Thracian Bosphorus. Two cohorts of Gauls were persuaded to listen to the secret proposals of the conspirators; which were recommended by the promise of a liberal donative; and as they still revered the memory of Julian, they easily consented to support the hereditary claim of his pro-cribed kinsman. At the dawn of day they were drawn up near the bath of Anastasia; and Procopius, clothed in a purple garment, more suitable to a player than to a monarch, appeared, as if he rose from the dead, in the midst of Constantinople. The soldiers, who were prepared for his reception, saluted their trembling prince with shouts of joy, and vows of fidelity. Their numbers were soon increased by a sturdy band of peasants, collected from the adjacent country; and Procopius, shielded by the arms of his adherents, was successively conducted to the tribunal, the senate, and the palace. During the first moments of his tumultuous reign, he was astonished and terrified by the gloomy silence of the people; who were either ignorant of the cause, or apprehensive of the event. But his military strength was superior to any actual resistance; the malecontents flocked to the standard of rebellion: the poor were excited by the hopes, and the rich were intimidated by the fear, of a general pillage; and the obstinate credulity of the multitude was once more deceived by the promised advantages of a revolution. The magistrates were seized; the prisons and arsenals broke open; the gates, and the entrance of the harbour, were diligently occupied; and, in a few hours, Procopius became the absolute, though precarious, master of the Imperial city. The usurper improved this unexpected success with some degree of courage and dexterity. He artfully propagated the rumours and opinions the most favourable to his interest; while he deluded the populace by giving audience to the frequent, but imaginary, ambassadors of distant nations. The large body of troops stationed

in the cities of Thrace, and the fortresses of the Lower Danube, were gradually involved in the guilt of rebellion: and the Gothic princes consented to supply the sovereign of Constantinople with the formidable strength of several thousand auxiliaries. His generals passed the Bosphorus, and subdued, without an effort, the unarmed, but wealthy, provinces of Bithynia and Asia. After an honourable defence, the city and island of Cyzicus yielded to his power; the renowned legions of the Jovians and Herculians embraced the cause of the usurper, whom they were ordered to crush; and, as the veterans were continually augmented with new levies, he soon appeared at the head of an army, whose valour, as well as numbers, were not unequal to the greatness of the contest. The son of Hormisdas,<sup>37</sup> a youth of spirit and ability, condescended to draw his sword against the lawful emperor of the East; and the Persian prince was immediately invested with the ancient and extraordinary powers of a Roman proconsul. The alliance of Faustina, the widow of the emperor Constantius, who intrusted herself and her daughter to the hands of the usurper, added dignity and reputation to his cause. The princess Constantia, who was then about five years of age, accompanied, in a litter, the march of the army. She was shown to the multitude in the arms of her adopted father; and, as often as she passed through the ranks, the tenderness of the soldiers was inflamed into martial fury:<sup>38</sup> they recollected the glories of the house of Constantine, and they declared, with loyal acclamation, that they would shed the last drop of their blood in the defence of the royal infant.<sup>39</sup>

In the mean while Valentinian was alarmed and perplexed by the doubtful intelligence of the revolt of the East. The difficulties of a German war forced him to confine his immediate care to the safety of his own dominions; and, as every channel of communication was stopped or corrupted, he listened, with doubtful anxiety, to the rumours which were industriously spread, that the defeat and death of Valens had left Procopius sole master of the Eastern provinces. Valens was not dead: but, on the news of the rebellion, which he received at Cæsarea, he basely despaired of his life and fortune; proposed to negotiate with the usurper, and discovered his secret inclination to abdicate the Imperial purple. The timid monarch was saved from disgrace and ruin by the firmness of his ministers, and their abilities soon decided in his favour the event of the civil war. In a season of tranquillity, Sallust had resigned without a murmur; but as soon as the public safety was attacked, he ambitiously solicited the pre-eminence of toil and danger; and the restoration of that virtuous minister to the præfecture of the East, was the first step which indicated the repentance

<sup>37</sup> Mauritania. (Philogeorg. l. ix. c. 5. S., and Golegryz. Inscrit. p. 539-539.)

<sup>38</sup> Hormisdas maturo juveni Hormisdas regis filius filio, potentem proconsulem desinit, et civitate, more veterum, et bello, restituit. Ammian. xxvi. 8. The Persian prince equipped with numerous and safety, and was afterwards (A. D. 361) restored to the same extraordinary office of præfecture of the East. (The notes, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 261.) I am ignorant whether the race of Sassan was propagated. I find (A. D. 514.) a pope Hormisdas, but

His. def. et  
and. dicitur.  
A. D. 361.  
May 28

he was a native of Frusino, in Italy. (Pagi. Brev. Pontific. tom. i. p. 217.)

<sup>39</sup> The reformer was afterwards the wife of the emperor Gratian, but she died young, and a childless. See Ducange, Pan. Byzantin. p. 48-59.

<sup>40</sup> Septimius Severus, a common expression, was the language of Procopius. He offered to devote the obscure birth, and fortuitous election, of the usurper Valentinian. Ammian. xxvi. 7.



of Valens and Valentinian, they could not refuse to listen to another charge, too frequently mingled in the scenes of domestic guilt; a charge of a softer and less malignant nature, for which the pious, though excessive, rigour of Constantine had recently decreed the punishment of death.<sup>51</sup> This deadly and incoherent mixture of treason and magic, of poison and adultery, afforded infinite gradations of guilt and innocence, of excuse and aggravation, which in these proceedings appear to have been confounded by the angry or corrupt passions of the judges. They easily discovered, that the degree of their industry and discernment was estimated, by the Imperial court, according to the number of executions that were furnished from their respective tribunals. It was not without extreme reluctance that they pronounced a sentence of acquittal; but they eagerly admitted such evidence as was stained with perjury, or procured by torture, to prove the most improbable charges against the most respectable characters. The progress of the enquiry continually opened new subjects of criminal prosecution; the audacious informer, whose falsehood was detected, retired with impunity; but the wretched victim, who discovered his real, or pretended, accomplices, was seldom permitted to receive the price of his infamy. From the extremity of Italy and Asia, the young, and the aged, were dragged in chains to the tribunals of Rome and Antioch. Senators, matrons, and philosophers, expired in ignominious and cruel tortures. The soldiers, who were appointed to guard the prisons, declared, with a murmur of pity and indignation, that their numbers were insufficient to oppose the flight or resistance of the multitude of captives. The wealthiest families were ruined by fines and confiscations; the most innocent citizens trembled for their safety; and we may form some notion of the magnitude of the evil, from the extravagant assertion of an ancient writer, that, in the obnoxious provinces, the prisoners, the exiles, and the fugitives, formed the greatest part of the inhabitants.<sup>52</sup>

The cruelty of Valentinian and Valens, of the innocent and illustrious Romans, who were sacrificed to the cruelty of the first Cæsars, the art of the historian, or the merit of the sufferers, excite in our breasts the most lively sensations of terror, of admiration, and of pity. The coarse and undistinguishing pencil of Ammianus, has delineated his bloody figures with tedious and disgusting accuracy. But as our attention is no longer engaged by the contrast of freedom and servitude, of recent greatness and of actual misery, we should turn with horror from the frequent executions, which disgraced, both at Rome and

Antioch, the reign of the two brothers.<sup>53</sup> Valens was of a timid,<sup>54</sup> and Valentinian of a choleric, disposition.<sup>55</sup> An anxious regard to his personal safety was the ruling principle of the administration of Valens. In the condition of a subject, he had kissed, with trembling awe, the hand of the oppressor; and when he ascended the throne, he reasonably expected, that the same fears, which had subdued his own mind, would secure the patient submission of his people. The favourites of Valens obtained, by the privilege of rapine and confiscation, the wealth which his economy would have refused.<sup>56</sup> They urged, with persuasive eloquence, that, in all cases of treason, suspicion is equivalent to proof; that the power, supposes the intention, of mischief; that the intention is not less criminal than the act; and that a subject no longer deserves to live, if his life may threaten the safety, or disturb the repose, of his sovereign. The judgment of Valentinian was sometimes deceived, and his confidence abused; but he would have silenced the informers with a contemptuous smile, had they presumed to alarm his fortitude by the sound of danger. They praised his inflexible love of justice; and, in the pursuit of justice, the emperor was easily tempted to consider clemency as a weakness, and passion as a virtue. As long as he wrestled with his equal, in the bold competition of an active and ambitious life, Valentinian was seldom injured, and never insulted, with impunity: if his prudence was arraigned, his spirit was applauded; and the proudest and most powerful generals were apprehensive of provoking the resentment of a fearless soldier. After he became master of the world, he unfortunately forgot, that where no resistance can be made, no courage can be exerted; and instead of consulting the dictates of reason and magnanimity, he indulged the furious emotions of his temper, at a time when they were disgraceful to himself, and fatal to the defenceless objects of his displeasure. In the government of his household, or of his empire, slight, or even imaginary, offences; a hasty word, a casual omission, an involuntary delay, were chastised by a sentence of immediate death. The expressions which issued the most readily from the mouth of the emperor of the West were, "Strike off his head;"—"burn him alive;"—"let him be beaten with clubs till he expires;"<sup>57</sup> and his most favoured ministers soon understood, that, by a rash attempt to dispute, or suspend, the execution of his sanguinary commands, they might involve themselves in the guilt and punishment of disobedience. The repeated gratification of this savage justice hardened the mind of Valentinian against pity and remorse; and the sallies of passion were confirmed by the habits of

the head of an army. The same historian attempts to prove, that his anger was harmless. Ammianus observes, with more candour and judgment, in *identis criminis ad contemptum vel læsam principis* . . . . . *poenas* . . . . . *venit* . . . . . *Valens* to his servants. Avarice more properly belongs to ministers than to kings; in whom that passion is commonly extinguished by absolute possession.

57 He sometimes expressed a sentence of death with a tone of pleasantry: "ut illi, *conuectus et mita et caput, qui sibi tantum provinciam* "capti." A boy, who had slipped too hastily a Spartan lion, an armature, who had made a polished curass that wanted some grains of the legitimate weight, &c. were the victims of his fury.

51 See Heineccius, *Antiquitat. Juris Romani*, tom. ii. p. 555, &c. Cod. Theodosian. l. ix. tit. viii., with God-frey's Commentaries.

52 The cruel persecution of Rome and Antioch is described, and most probably exaggerated, by Ammianus (xxvi. l. xix. l. 2) and Zosimus (i. c. 10). . . . . in Vit. Sophist. p. 38. . . . . leniently . . . . . lemont.

53 Consult the six last books of Ammianus, and more particularly the portraits of the two royal brothers (xxx. 8, 9, xxxi. 14). . . . . 111lemont has collected (tom. v. p. 12—18, p. 127—153) from all antiquity their virtues and vices.

54 The younger Victor asserts, that he was *valde timidus* yet he behaved, as almost every man would do, with decent resolution at

crudelty.<sup>58</sup> He could behold with calm satisfaction the convulsive agonies of torture and death; he reserved his friendship for those faithful servants whose temper was the most congenial to his own. The merit of Maximin, who had slaughtered the noblest families of Rome, was rewarded with the royal approbation, and the prefecture of Gaul. Two fierce and enormous bears, distinguished by the appellations of *Innocence*, and *Mica Aurea*, could alone deserve to share the favour of Maximin. The cages of those trusty guards were always placed near the bedchamber of Valentinian, who frequently amused his eyes with the grateful spectacle of seeing them tear and devour the bleeding limbs of the malefactors who were abandoned to their rage. Their diet and exercises were carefully inspected by the Roman emperor; and when *Innocence* had earned her discharge, by a long course of meritorious service, the faithful animal was again restored to the freedom of her native woods.<sup>59</sup>

But in the calmer moments of reflection, when the mind of Valens was not agitated by fear, or that of Valentinian by rage, the tyrant resumed the sentiments, or at least the conduct, of the father of his country. The dispassionate judgment of the Western emperor could clearly perceive, and accurately pursue, his own and the public interest; and the sovereign of the East, who imitated with equal docility the various examples which he received from his elder brother, was sometimes guided by the wisdom and virtue of the prefect Sallust. Both princes invariably retained, in the purple, the chaste and temperate simplicity which had adorned their private life; and, under their reign, the pleasures of the court never cost the people a blush or a sigh. They gradually reformed many of the abuses of the times of Constantius; judiciously adopted and improved the designs of Julian and his successor; and displayed a style and spirit of legislation which might inspire posterity with the most favourable opinion of their character and government. It is not from the master of *Innocence*, that we should expect the tender regard for the welfare of his subjects, which prompted Valentinian to condemn the exposition of new-born infants;<sup>60</sup> and to establish fourteen skilful physicians, with stipends and privileges, in the fourteen quarters of Rome. The good sense of an illiterate soldier founded an useful and liberal institution for the education of youth, and the support of declining science.<sup>61</sup> It was his intention, that the arts of rhetoric and grammar should be taught in the Greek and Latin languages, in the metropolis of every province; and as the size and dignity of the school was usually proportioned to the importance of the city, the academies of Rome

and Constantinople claimed a just and singular pre-eminence. The fragments of the literary edicts of Valentinian imperfectly represent the school of Constantinople, which was gradually improved by subsequent regulations. That school consisted of thirty-one professors in different branches of learning. One philosopher, and two lawyers; five sophists, and ten grammarians for the Greek, and three orators, and ten grammarians for the Latin, tongue; besides seven scribes, or, as they were then styled, antiquarians, whose laborious pens supplied the public library with fair and correct copies of the classic writers. The rule of conduct, which was prescribed to the students, is the more curious, as it affords the first outlines of the form and discipline of a modern university. It was required, that they should bring proper certificates from the magistrates of their native province. Their names, professions, and places of abode, were regularly entered in a public register. The studious youth were severely prohibited from wasting their time in feasts, or in the theatre; and the term of their education was limited to the age of twenty. The prefect of the city was empowered to chastise the idle and refractory by stripes or expulsion; and he was directed to make an annual report to the master of the offices, that the knowledge and abilities of the scholars might be usefully applied to the public service. The institutions of Valentinian contributed to secure the benefits of peace and plenty; and the cities were guarded by the establishment of the *Defensores*,<sup>62</sup> freely elected as the tribunes and advocates of the people, to support their rights, and to expose their grievances, before the tribunals of the civil magistrates, or even at the foot of the Imperial throne. The finances were diligently administered by two princes, who had been so long accustomed to the rigid economy of a private fortune; but in the receipt and application of the revenue, a discerning eye might observe some difference between the government of the East and of the West. Valens was persuaded, that royal liberality can be supplied only by public oppression, and his ambition never aspired to secure, by their actual distress, the future strength and prosperity of his people. Instead of increasing the weight of taxes, which, in the space of forty years, had been gradually doubled, he reduced, in the first years of his reign, one fourth of the tribute of the East.<sup>63</sup> Valentinian appears to have been less attentive and less anxious to relieve the burdens of his people. He might reform the abuses of the fiscal administration; but he exacted, without scruple, a very large share of the private property; as he was convinced, that the revenues, which supported the luxury of individuals, would be much

<sup>58</sup> The innocents of Milan were an sect and three apparitors, whom Valentinian condemned to signs with a red cross on his forehead. (xxvii.) Strange supposes, that a who had been unjustly executed were worshipped as martyrs by the Christians. This partial silence does not allow us to believe, that the great character of Rhodanus was burnt alive for an act of oppression. (I. from. Facult. p. 202.)

<sup>59</sup> I bene merita in suis vultus jagat Innocent. Ammian. xxix. 3. and Valens ad locum.

<sup>60</sup> See the Code of Justinian, l. vi. tit. 1. §. 2. Innocentio solent suam nutria. Quod si exemplum patris in adversis atque constitutis subiecit. For the present I shall not enter into the dispute between Nooel and Binkshook, how far, or how long, the criminal of justice had been condemned or abandoned; 1. 128. p. 10. 103. and the more cruised state of society.

<sup>61</sup> These salutary institutions are explained in the Theodosian Code, l. vi. tit. 1. de Professoribus, and l. xiv. tit. 1. de Studijs, h. e. *de Scholis Romae*. Besides, cur a uil gualie (Gualdus), so may consist (Gualie) (Astruc) (Nepos), tom. i. p. 100. 111. who has treated the interesting subject with the zeal and exactness of a man of letters, who states the history.

<sup>62</sup> Cod. Theodos. l. i. tit. 1. with Gualdus et Paratulus, which digressively gleams from the rest of the ed.

<sup>63</sup> Three laws of Ammianus, l. 11. 12. 13. comprehend a whole century of the history, viz. 101. 102. 103. but do not contain more than a few words on the subject. The report of M. Huet, l. i. p. 100. 101. has been already used, and is followed by the story and actions of Huet, l. i. p. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.







"pontiff consult their true happiness, if, instead of alleging the greatness of the city as an excuse for their manners, they would imitate the exemplary life of some provincial bishops, whose temperance and sobriety, whose mean apparel and downcast looks, recommend their pure and modest virtue to the Deity, and his true worshippers."<sup>55</sup> The schism of Damasus and Ursinus was extinguished by the exile of the latter; and the wisdom of the præfect Prætextatus<sup>56</sup> restored the tranquillity of the city. Prætextatus was a philosophic Pagan, a man of learning, of taste, and politeness; who disguised a reproach in the form of a jest, when he assured Damasus, that if he could obtain the bishopric of Rome, he himself would immediately embrace the Christian religion.<sup>57</sup> This lively picture of the wealth and luxury of the popes in the fourth century, becomes the more curious, as it represents the intermediate degree between the humble poverty of the apostolic fisherman, and the royal state of a temporal prince, whose dominions extend from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po.

When the suffrage of the generals and of the army committed the sceptre of the Roman empire to the hands of Valentinian, his reputation in arms, his military skill and experience, and his rigid attachment to the forms, as well as spirit, of ancient discipline, were the principal motives of their judicious choice. The eagerness of the troops, who pressed him to nominate his colleague, was justified by the dangerous situation of public affairs; and Valentinian himself was conscious, that the abilities of the most active mind were unequal to the defence of the distant frontiers of an invaded monarchy. As soon as the death of Julian had relieved the barbarians from the terror of his name, the most sanguine hopes of rapine and conquest excited the nations of the East, of the North, and of the

South. Their inroads were often vexatious, and sometimes formidable; but, during the twelve years of the reign of Valentinian, his firmness and vigilance protected his own dominions; and his powerful genius seemed to inspire and direct the feeble counsels of his brother. Perhaps the method of annals would more forcibly express the urgent and divided cares of the two emperors; but the attention of the reader, likewise, would be distracted by a tedious and desultory narrative. A separate view of the five great theatres of war; I. Germany; II. Britain; III. Africa; IV. The East; and, V. The Danube; will impress a more distinct image of the military state of the empire under the reigns of Valentinian and Valens.

I. GERMANY. I. The ambassadors of the Alemanni had been offended by the

harsh and haughty behaviour of A. D. 365.

Ursacius, master of the offices;<sup>58</sup> who, by an act of unseasonable parsimony, had diminished the value, as well as the quantity, of the presents, to which they were entitled, either from custom or treaty, on the accession of a new emperor. They expressed, and they communicated to their countrymen, their strong sense of the national affront. The irascible minds of the chiefs were exasperated by the suspicion of contempt; and the martial youth crowded to their standard. Before Valentinian could pass the Alps, the villages of Gaul were in flames; before his general Dagalaiphus could encounter the Alemanni, they had secured the captives and the spoil in the forests of Ger-  
A. D. 366, January.

many. In the beginning of the ensuing year, the military force of the whole nation, in deep and solid columns, broke through the barrier of the Rhine, during the severity of a northern winter. Two Roman counts were defeated and mortally wounded; and the standard of the Heruli and Batavians fell into the hands of the conquerors, who displayed, with insulting shouts and menaces, the trophy of their victory. The standard was recovered; but the Batavians had not redeemed the shame of their disgrace and flight in the eyes of their severe judge. It was the opinion of Valentinian, that his soldiers must learn to fear their commander, before they could cease to fear the enemy. The troops were solemnly assembled; and the trembling Batavians were enclosed within the circle of the Imperial army. Valentinian then ascended his tribunal; and, as if he disdained to punish cowardice with death, he inflicted a stain of indelible ignominy on the officers, whose misconduct and pusillanimity were found to be the first occasion of the defeat. The Batavians were degraded from their rank, stripped of their arms, and condemned to be sold for slaves to the highest bidder. At this tremendous sentence the troops fell prostrate on the ground, deprecating the indignation of their sovereign, and protested, that, if he would indulge them in another trial, they would approve themselves not unworthy of the name of Romans, and of his soldiers. Valentinian, with affected reluctance, yielded to their entreaties: the Batavians resumed their arms; and, with their arms, the invincible resolution of wiping away their disgrace in the blood of the Alemanni.<sup>59</sup> The principal command was declined by Dagalaiphus; and that experienced general, who had represented, perhaps with too much prudence, the extreme difficulties of the undertaking, had the mortification, before the end of the campaign, of seeing his rival Jovinus convert those difficulties into a decisive advantage over the scattered forces of the barbarians. Their defeat.

At the head of a well-disciplined

<sup>55</sup> Ammian. xxvii. 7. Perpetuo Nummi, *torque ejus cunctosque*. The only remark of a plainness of a poetical style.

<sup>56</sup> Ammianus, who makes a fair report of his preference xxvii. 9. b. styles him præf. re. indolis, gravitatisque, senior xxvii. 7. id Valens.

<sup>57</sup> Ammian. loc. cit. A curious inscription of the II. N. No. 2. records, præf. re. In one, it is he who Perpetuo.

<sup>58</sup> Ammian. loc. cit. In one, it is he who Perpetuo. præf. re. indolis, gravitatisque, senior xxvii. 7. id Valens.

<sup>59</sup> Ammian. loc. cit. A. D. 365. The first year of the reign of Valentinian.

<sup>57</sup> Ammian. loc. cit. A. D. 365. The first year of the reign of Valentinian.

<sup>58</sup> Ammian. loc. cit. A. D. 365. The first year of the reign of Valentinian.

<sup>59</sup> Ammian. loc. cit. A. D. 365. The first year of the reign of Valentinian.

<sup>57</sup> Ammian. loc. cit. A. D. 365. The first year of the reign of Valentinian.

<sup>58</sup> Ammian. loc. cit. A. D. 365. The first year of the reign of Valentinian.



army of cavalry, infantry, and light troops, Jovinus advanced, with cautious and rapid steps, to Scarponna,<sup>90</sup> in the territory of Metz, where he surprised a large division of the Alemanni, before they had time to run to their arms; and flushed his soldiers with the confidence of an easy and bloodless victory. Another division, or rather army, of the enemy, after the cruel and wanton devastation of the adjacent country, reposed themselves on the shady banks of the Moselle. Jovinus, who had viewed the ground with the eye of a general, made his silent approach through a deep and woody vale, till he could distinctly perceive the indolent security of the Germans. Some were bathing their huge limbs in the river; others were combing their long and flaxen hair; others again were swallowing large draughts of rich and delicious wine. On a sudden they heard the sound of the Roman trumpet; they saw the enemy in their camp. Astonishment produced disorder; disorder was followed by flight and dismay; and the confused multitude of the bravest warriors was pierced by the swords and javelins of the legionaries and auxiliaries. The fugitives escaped to the third, and most considerable, camp, in the Catalaunian plains, near Chalons in Champagne: the straggling detachments were hastily recalled to their standard; and the barbarian chiefs, alarmed and admonished by the fate of their companions, prepared to encounter, in a decisive battle, the victorious forces of the lieutenant of Valentinian. The bloody and obstinate conflict lasted a whole summer's day, with equal valour, and with alternate success. The Romans at length prevailed, with the loss of about twelve hundred men. Six thousand of the Alemanni were slain, four thousand were wounded; and the brave Jovinus, after chasing the flying remnant of their host as far as the banks of the Rhine, returned to Paris, to receive the applause of his sovereign, and the ensigns of the consulship for the ensuing year.<sup>91</sup>

July.

The triumph of the Romans was indeed sullied by their treatment of the captive king, whom they hung on a gibbet, without the knowledge of their indignant general. This disgraceful act of cruelty, which might be imputed to the fury of the troops, was followed by the deliberate murder of Withicab, the son of Vadomair; a German prince, of a weak and sickly constitution, but of a daring and formidable spirit. The domestic assassin was instigated and protected by the Romans;<sup>92</sup> and the violation of the laws of humanity and justice betrayed their secret apprehension of the weakness of the declining empire. The use of the dagger is seldom adopted in public councils, as long as they retain any confidence in the power of the sword.

While the Alemanni appeared to be humbled by their recent calamities, the pride of Valentinian was

Valentinian passes and fortifies the Rhine.

mortified by the unexpected surprise of Moguntiacum, or Mentz, the principal city of the Upper Germany. In the unsuspecting moment of a Christian festival, Rando, a bold and artful chieftain, who had long meditated his attempt, suddenly passed the Rhine; entered the defenceless town, and retired with a multitude of captives of either sex. Valentinian resolved to execute severe vengeance on the whole body of the nation. Count Sebastian, with the bands of Italy and Illyricum, was ordered to invade their country, most probably on the side of Rhetia. The emperor in person, accompanied by his son Gratian, passed the Rhine at the head of a formidable army, which was supported on both flanks by Jovinus and Severus, the two masters-general of the cavalry and infantry of the West. The Alemanni, unable to prevent the devastation of their villages, fixed their camp on a lofty, and almost inaccessible, mountain, in the modern duchy of Wirtemberg, and resolutely expected the approach of the Romans. The life of Valentinian was exposed to imminent danger by the intrepid curiosity with which he persisted to explore some secret and unguarded path. A troop of barbarians suddenly rose from their ambuscade; and the emperor, who vigorously spurred his horse down a steep and slippery descent, was obliged to leave behind him his armour-bearer, and his helmet, magnificently enriched with gold and precious stones. At the signal of the general assault, the Roman troops encompassed and ascended the mountain of Solicinum on three different sides. Every step which they gained increased their ardour, and abated the resistance of the enemy: and after their united forces had occupied the summit of the hill, they impetuously urged the barbarians down the northern descent, where count Sebastian was posted to intercept their retreat. After this signal victory, Valentinian returned to his winter-quarters at Treves; where he indulged the public joy by the exhibition of splendid and triumphal games.<sup>93</sup> But the wise monarch, instead of aspiring to the conquest of Germany, confined his attention to the important and laborious defence of the Gallic frontier, against an enemy whose strength was renewed by a stream of daring volunteers, which incessantly flowed from the most distant tribes of the North.<sup>94</sup> The banks of the Rhine, from its source to the straits of the ocean, were closely planted with strong castles and convenient towers; new works, and new arms, were invented by the ingenuity of a prince who was skilled in the mechanical arts; and his numerous levies of Roman and barbarian youth were severely trained in all the exercises of war. The progress of the work, which was sometimes opposed by modest representations, and sometimes by hostile attempts, secured the tranquillity of Gaul during the nine subsequent years of the administration of Valentinian.<sup>95</sup>

That prudent emperor, who diligently prac-

<sup>90</sup> See D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 587. The name of the Moselle, which is not specified by Ammianus, is clearly understood by Masoué (Hist. of the ancient Germans, vi. 2).

<sup>91</sup> The battles are described by Ammianus (xxvii. 2), and by Zosimus (i. iv. p. 899), who supposes Valentinian to have been present.

<sup>92</sup> *Stridulo sollicitante nostrum, occubuit. Ammianus, xxvii. 10.* The expedition of Valentinian is related by Ammianus (xxvii. 10), and celebrated by Ausonius (Mosel. 121, &c.), who foolishly supposes, that the Romans were ignorant of the sources of the Garonne.

<sup>93</sup> *Immanis enim natio, jam inde ab incunabulis primis varietate esum munantia; ita seipsum adolebat, ut fusse longis seculis incrementa intacta. Ammianus, xxviii. 5.* The count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vi. p. 370) ascribes the fecundity of the Alemanni to their easy adoption of strangers.

<sup>94</sup> *Ammianus, xxvii. 2. Zosimus, i. iv. p. 891.* The younger Victor mentions the mechanical genius of Valentinian, *nova arma meditant, boieque terita sua tenui stularia.*



tional body, by the gentle operation of marriage and consanguinity; and the adjacent tribes, who solicited the alliance, accepted the name and laws, of the Saxons. If the fact were not established by the most unquestionable evidence, we should appear to abuse the credulity of our readers, by the description of the vessels in which the Saxon pirates ventured to sport in the waves of the German Ocean, the British Channel, and the Bay of Biscay. The keel of their large flat-bottomed boats was framed of light timber, but the sides and upper works consisted only of wicker, with a covering of strong hides.<sup>104</sup> In the course of their slow and distant navigations, they must always have been exposed to the danger, and very frequently to the misfortune, of shipwreck; and the naval annals of the Saxons were undoubtedly filled with the accounts of the losses which they sustained on the coasts of Britain and Gaul. But the daring spirit of the pirates braved the perils both of the sea and of the shore: their skill was confirmed by the habits of enterprise; the meanest of their mariners was alike capable of handling an oar, of rearing a sail, or of conducting a vessel; and the Saxons rejoiced in the appearance of a tempest, which concealed their design, and dispersed the fleets of the enemy.<sup>105</sup> After they had acquired an accurate knowledge of the maritime provinces of the West, they extended the scene of their depredations, and the most sequestered places had no reason to presume on their security. The Saxon boats drew so little water, that they could easily proceed fourscore or an hundred miles up the great rivers; their weight was so inconsiderable, that they were transported on wagons from one river to another; and the pirates who had entered the mouth of the Seine, or of the Rhine, might descend, with the rapid stream of the Rhone, into the Mediterranean.

A.D. 371. Under the reign of Valentinian, the maritime provinces of Gaul were afflicted by the Saxons: a military count was stationed for the defence of the sea-coast, or *Armorien* limit; and that officer, who found his strength, or his abilities, unequal to the task, implored the assistance of Severus, master-general of the infantry. The Saxons, surrounded and outnumbered, were forced to relinquish their spoil, and to yield a select band of their tall and robust youth to serve in the Imperial armies. They stipulated only a safe and honourable retreat: and the condition was readily granted by the Roman general; who meditated an act of

perfidy,<sup>106</sup> imprudent as it was inhuman, while a Saxon remained alive, and in arms, to revenge the fate of his countrymen. The premature eagerness of the infantry, who were secretly posted in a deep valley, betrayed the ambuscade; and they would perhaps have fallen the victims of their own treachery, if a large body of cuirassiers, alarmed by the noise of the combat, had not hastily advanced to extricate their companions, and to overwhelm the undaunted valour of the Saxons. Some of the prisoners were saved from the edge of the sword, to shed their blood in the amphitheatre: and the orator Symmachus complains, that twenty-nine of those desperate savages, by strangling themselves with their own hands, had disappointed the amusement of the public. Yet the polite and philosophic citizens of Rome were impressed with the deepest horror, when they were informed, that the Saxons consecrated to the gods the tithe of their *human* spoil; and, that they ascertained by lot the objects of the barbarous sacrifice.<sup>107</sup>

II. The fabulous colonies of Egyptians and Trojans, of Scandinavians and Spaniards, which flattered the pride, and amused the credulity, of our rude ancestors, have insensibly vanished in the light of science and philosophy.<sup>108</sup> The present age is satisfied with the simple and rational opinion, that the islands of Great Britain and Ireland were gradually peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. From the coast of Kent, to the extremity of Caithness and Ulster, the memory of a Celtic origin was distinctly preserved, in the perpetual resemblance of language, of religion, and of manners : and the peculiar characters of the British tribes might be naturally ascribed to the influence of accidental and local circumstances.<sup>109</sup> The Roman province was reduced to the state of civilised and peaceful servitude : the rights of savage freedom were contracted to the narrow limits of Caledonia. The inhabitants of that northern region were divided, as early as the reign of Constantine, between the two great tribes of the Scots and of the Picts,<sup>110</sup> who have since experienced a very different fortune. The power, and almost the memory, of the Picts have been extinguished by their successful rivals ; and the Scots, after maintaining for ages the dignity of an independent kingdom, have multiplied, by an equal and voluntary union, the honours of the English name. The hand of nature had contributed to mark the ancient distinction of the Scots and Picts. The former were the men of

104 Quin et Aremonicus piratim *Saxonia* traiecit, —  
Sperabat, cum peh salum salire Britaniam  
Ludus, et asuto claucum mare fundero lentio.  
Sudon in Pam. Gr. Avit 769.

The genius of Caesar imitated, for a particular service, these rude, but light vessels, which were likewise used by the natives of Britain (Comment. de Bell. Civil. i. 51, and Gruchet, Nouveaux Mœurs Militaires, tom. ii. p. 11, 12.). The British vessels would now astonish the genius of Caesar.

105 The best original account of the Saxon pirates may be found in *Sordani Apollinaris* (J. van epist. 6, p. 225, edit. Simonet), and the best commentary in the *Abbé du Bos* (*Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Française*, &c. tom. i. l. 1. c. 16. p. 148-155. See likewise p. 77, 78.).

106 Amman (xxviii 5) justifies this breach of faith to pirates and robbers; and Orosius (l. vii. c. 72) more clearly expresses their real guilt; *virtute atque agitate terribiles*.

107 *Synemichus* (l. ii. epist. 46.) still presumes to mention the sacred names of Socrates and philosophy. Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, might condemn (l. vi. epist. 6.), with less inconsistency, the human sacrifices of the Saxons.

108 In the beginning of the last century, the learned Camden was obliged to undermine, with respectful sarcasm, the romance of Brutus the Trojan; who is now buried in silent oblivion, with *Sota*, the

\* \* \* *Can you find any homogeneous progeny? Yet I am informed that you only may still be found among people dissatisfied with their present past or future glory.*

tion on Synch. has complex  
their older deliberate of union  
"vicium - omni occidit"  
"dicit - sermo hanc multu  
I have observed their common region a more  
Loc. p. 153, and his last the emigration from the Celtic Coast  
was a recent, or at least an historical, event (p. 10). Camden, the  
British Strelzo, has modestly, a certain our genuine antiquities.  
(Brit. p. 3, vol. 1. Introduction, p. i - xxx.)

111. In the dark and dimly glimmers of tradition, antiquity, I have  
shown in my guide, and in my ingenious Highlanders, whom  
the ancient and civilization had positively quitted for that office  
of the Celtic Disruptions on the Origin, Antiquities, &c. of the  
Celtic, London, 1784, p. 400, and  
Ireland, and Ireland, by James  
The third edit. by M. Gordon  
It is a circumstance of honor able  
for the present age, that a work, replete with erudition and criticism,  
should have been composed in the most remote of the Hebrides.

the hills, and the latter those of the plain. The eastern coast of Caledonia may be considered as a level and fertile country, which, even in a rude state of tillage, was capable of producing a considerable quantity of corn; and the epithet of *crumch*, or wheat-eaters, expressed the contempt, or envy, of the carnivorous highlander. The cultivation of the earth might introduce a more accurate separation of property, and the habits of a sedentary life; but the love of arms and rapine was still the ruling passion of the Picts, and their warriors, who stripped themselves for a day of battle, were distinguished, in the eyes of the Romans, by the strange fashion of painting their naked bodies with gaudy colours, and fantastic figures. The western part of Caledonia irregularly rises into wild and barren hills, which scarcely repay the toil of the husbandman, and are most profitably used for the pasture of cattle. The highlanders were condemned to the occupations of shepherds and hunters, and, as they seldom were fixed to any permanent habitation, they required the expressive name of Scots, which, in the Celtic tongue, is said to be equivalent to that of *wanderers* or *vagrants*. The inhabitants of a barren land were urged to seek a fresh supply of food in the waters. The deep lakes and bays which intersect their country are plentifully stored with fish; and they gradually ventured to cast their nets in the waves of the ocean. The vicinity of the Hebrides, so profusely scattered along the western coast of Scotland, tempted their curiosity, and improved their skill; and they acquired, by slow degrees, the art, or rather the habit, of navigating their boats in a temperate sea, and of extending their voyages to the solitary islands of the western seas. But the discovery of Columba almost four centuries ago, and a species of title, which of late has become almost sacred to the epithet of *king*, and his posterity, with a slight alteration, the name of Prince of Ireland. It is probable, that, in the remote period of antiquity, the fertile plains of Ulster received a colony of hungry Scots; and that the strangers of the North, who had dared to encounter the arms of the legions, spread their conquests over the savage and unwelcome natives of a solitary island. It is *certain*, that, in the declining age of the Roman empire, Caledonia, Ireland, and the Isle of Men, were inhabited by the Scots, and the tackled tribes, who were often associated in robbery and rapine, were deeply affected by the violence and tort of their mutual feuds. The whole described the lively tradition of their misdeeds, and of the loss of the names of the Picts and Scots, who suffered the greater calamity. North Britain, established its independence, that the

Irish countrymen were the natural, as well as spiritual, fathers of the Scottish race. The loose and obscure tradition has been preserved by the venerable Bede, who scattered some rays of light over the darkness of the eighth century. On this slight foundation, an huge superstructure of fable was gradually reared, by the hands and the monks; two orders of men, who equally abused the privilege of fiction. The Scottish nation, with mistaken pride, adopted their Irish genealogy; and the annals of a long line of imaginary kings have been adorned by the fancy of Boetius, and the classic elegance of Buchanan. (1)

Six years after the death of Constantine, the destructive mroads of the Scots and Picts required the presence of his youngest son, who reigned in the Western empire. Constantius visited his British dominions ; but we may form some estimate of the importance of his achievements, by the language of panegyric, which celebrates only his triumph over the elements, or, in other words, the good fortune of a safe and easy passage from the port of Boulogne to the harbour of Sandwich.<sup>112</sup> The calamities which the afflicted provincials continued to experience, from foreign war and domestic tyranny, were aggravated by the feeble and corrupt administration of the councils of Constantius ; and the transient relief which they might obtain from the virtues of Julian, was soon lost by the absence and death of their benefactor. The sums of gold and silver which had been painfully collected, or liberally transacted, for the payment of the troops, were interrupted by the absence of the commanders ; and even, on that fortunate emergency, from the military service, were privately sold, the distresses of the soldiers were not only unpaid of, but neglected, and sturdy soldiers, provoked to a frequent desertion, the roads of England were relaxed, and the high-ways were infested with robbers.<sup>113</sup> The oppression of the good, and the impunity of the wicked, equally contributed to diffuse through the island a spirit of discontent and revolt ; and every ambitious subject, every desperate exile, sought criterion a reasonable hope of subverting the weak and distracted government of Britain. The hostile tribes of the North, who detested the pride and power of the King of the World, suspected their domestic feuds ; and the barbarians of the land and sea, the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons, spread themselves, with rapid and irresistible fury, from the wall of Antoninus to the shores of Kent. Every production of art and nature, every object of convenience or luxury, which they were incapable of creating by labour, or procuring by trade, was accumulated in the rich and fruitful province of

Their my son  
of Britain  
A. D. 313. 366.

[illegible][illegible]

Britain.<sup>114</sup> A philosopher may deplore the eternal discord of the human race, but he will confess, that the desire of spoil is a more rational provocation than the vanity of conquest. From the age of Constantine to that of the Plantagenets, this rapacious spirit continued to instigate the poor and hardy Caledonians; but the same people, whose generous humanity seems to inspire the songs of Ossian, was disgraced by a savage ignorance of the virtues of peace, and of the laws of war. Their southern neighbours have felt, and perhaps exaggerated, the cruel depredations of the Scots and Picts;<sup>115</sup> and a valiant tribe of Caledonia, the Attacotti,<sup>116</sup> the enemies, and afterwards the soldiers, of Valentinian, are accused, by an eye-witness, of delighting in the taste of human flesh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is said, that they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock; and that they curiously selected the most delicate and brawny parts both of males and females, which they prepared for their horrid repasts.<sup>117</sup> If, in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow, a race of cannibals has really existed, we may contemplate, in the period of the Scottish history, the opposite extremes of savage and civilised life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas; and to encourage the pleasing hope, that New Zealand may produce, in some future age, the Hume of the southern hemisphere.

Every messenger who escaped across the British channel, conveyed the most melancholy and alarming tidings to the ears of Valentinian; and the emperor was soon informed, that the two military commanders of the province had been surprised and cut off by the barbarians. Severus, count of the domestics, was hastily despatched, and as suddenly recalled, by the court of Treves. The representations of Jovinus served only to indicate the greatness of the evil; and, after a long and serious consultation, the defence, or rather the recovery, of Britain, was intrusted to the abilities of the brave Theodosius. The exploits of that general, the father of a line of emperors, have been celebrated, with peculiar complacency, by the writers of the age; but his real merit deserved their applause; and his nomination was received, by the army and province, as a sure presage of approaching victory. He seized the favourable moment of navigation, and securely landed the numerous and veteran bands of the Heruli and Batavians, the Jovians and the Victors. In his march from Sandwich to London, Theodosius defeated several parties of the barbarians, released a multitude of captives, and,

after distributing to his soldiers a small portion of the spoil, established the fame of disinterested justice, by the restitution of the remainder to the rightful proprietors. The citizens of London, who had almost despaired of their safety, threw open their gates; and as soon as Theodosius had obtained from the court of Treves the important aid of a military lieutenant, and a civil governor, he executed, with wisdom and vigour, the laborious task of the deliverance of Britain. The vagrant soldiers were recalled to their standard; an edict of amnesty dispelled the public apprehensions; and his cheerful example alleviated the rigour of martial discipline. The scattered and desultory warfare of the barbarians, who infested the land and sea, deprived him of the glory of a signal victory; but the prudent spirit, and consummate art, of the Roman general, were displayed in the operations of two campaigns, which successively rescued every part of the province from the hands of a cruel and rapacious enemy. The splendour of the cities, and the security of the fortifications, were diligently restored, by the paternal care of Theodosius; who with a strong hand confined the trembling Caledonians to the northern angle of the island; and perpetuated, by the name and settlement of the new province of *Valentia*, the glories of the reign of Valentinian.<sup>118</sup> The voice of poetry and panegyric may add, perhaps with some degree of truth, that the unknown regions of Thule were stained with the blood of the Picts; that the oars of Theodosius dashed the waves of the Hyperborean Ocean; and that the distant Orkneys were the scene of his naval victory over the Saxon pirates.<sup>119</sup> He left the province with a fair, as well as splendid, reputation; and was immediately promoted to the rank of master-general of the cavalry, by a prince who could applaud, without envy, the merit of his servants. In the important station of the Upper Danube, the conqueror of Britain checked and defeated the armies of the Alemanni, before he was chosen to suppress the revolt of Africa.

III. The prince who refuses to be the judge, instructs his people to consider him as the accomplice, of his ministers. The military command of Africa had been long exercised by count Romanus, and his abilities were not inadequate to his station; but, as sordid interest was the sole motive of his conduct, he acted, on most occasions, as if he had been the enemy of the province, and the friend of the barbarians of the desert. The three flourishing cities of Oua, Leptis, and Sabrata, which, under the name of Tripoli, had long constituted

114 The Caledonians praised and coveted the gold, the steeds, the lights, &c. of the *stranger*. See Dr. Blair's Dissertation on Ossian, vol. ii. p. 57, and Mr. Macpherson's Introduction, p. 211—286.

their primitive manners.

116 Attacotti bellicosa hominum natio. Ammian. xxvii. 6. Camden (Introduc. p. cxi) has restored their true name in the text of Jerom. The bands of Attacotti, which Jerom had seen in Gaul, were afterwards stationed in Italy and Hyrcania. (Notitia, S. viii. xxxix. 2.)

117 Cum ipse adole centus in Gallia viderim Attacotos, (or Scotos) gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus, et cum per vias portuum græcos, et æmentorum pœcuniarum reperiret, pœcuniarum vias et feminarum populos sicire abscondere, et has solas ciborum delicias

arbitrari. Such is the evidence of Jerom (tom. ii. p. 75.), whose verities I find no reason to question.

118 Ammianus has concisely represented (xx. i., xxvi. 4., xxvii. 8., xxviii. 53) the whole series of the British war.

119 Horrescit . . . ratibus . . . imperia Thule.

Horrescit . . . ratibus . . . imperia Thule.

Orcades incluit Pictorum sanguine Thule. Scotorum cumulos flevis glaciis lerne.

See likewise Pœcatus (in Panegy. Vet. xii. 5.). But it is not easy to appreciate the intrinsic value of flattery and metaphor. Compare the British virtues of Holian (Statius, Silv. v. 2.) with his real character. Tacit. in Vit. Agricola. c. 16.)

a federal union,<sup>120</sup> were obliged, for the first time, to shut their gates against a hostile invasion; several of their most honourable citizens were surprised and massacred; the villages, and even the suburbs, were pillaged; and the vines and fruit-trees of that rich territory were extirpated by the malicious savages of Gétulia. The unhappy provincials implored the protection of Romanus; but they soon found that their military governor was not less cruel and rapacious than the barbarians. As they were incapable of furnishing the four thousand camels, and the exorbitant present, which he required, before he would march to the assistance of Tripoli; his demand was equivalent to a refusal, and he might justly be accused as the author of the public calamity. In the annual assembly of the three cities, they nominated two deputies, to lay at the feet of Valentinian the customary offering of a gold victory; and to accompany this tribute, of duty, rather than of gratitude, with their humble complaint, that they were ruined by the enemy, and betrayed by their governor. If the severity of Valentinian had been rightly directed, it would have fallen on the guilty head of Romanus. But the count, long exercised in the arts of corruption, had despatched a swift and trusty messenger to secure the venal friendship of Reinigius, master of the offices. The wisdom of the Imperial council was deceived by artifice; and their honest indignation was cooled by delay. At length when the repetition of complaint had been justified by the repetition of public misfortunes, the notary Palladius was sent from the court of Treves, to examine the state of Africa, and the conduct of Romanus. The rigid impartiality of Palladius was easily disarmed—he was tempted to reserve for himself a part of the public treasure, which he brought with him for the payment of the troops; and from the moment that he was conscious of his own guilt, he could no longer refuse to attest the innocence and merit of the count. The charge of the Tripolitans was declared to be false and frivolous; and Palladius himself was sent back from Treves to Africa, with a special commission to discover and prosecute the authors of this impious conspiracy against the representatives of the sovereign. His enquiries were managed with so much dexterity and success, that he compelled the citizens of Leptis, who had sustained a recent siege of eight days, to contradict the truth of their own decrees, and to censure the behaviour of their own deputies. A bloody sentence was pronounced, without hesitation, by the rash and head-strong cruelty of Valentinian. The president of Tripoli, who had presumed to pity the distress of the province, was publicly executed at Urica; four distinguished citizens were put to death, as the accomplices of the imaginary fraud; and the tongues of two others were cut out, by the express order of the emperor. Romanus, elated by impunity, and irritated by resistance, was still continued in

the military command; till the Africans were provoked, by his avarice, to join the rebellious standard of Firmus, the Moor.<sup>121</sup>

His father Nabal was one of the richest and most powerful of the Moorish princes, who acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. But as he left, either by his wives or concubines, a very numerous posterity, the wealthy inheritance was eagerly disputed; and Zannua, one of his sons, was slain in a domestic quarrel by his brother Firmus. The implacable zeal, with which Romanus prosecuted the legal revenge of this murder, could be ascribed only to a motive of avarice, or personal hatred: but, on this occasion, his claims were just; his influence was weighty; and Firmus clearly understood, that he must either present his neck to the executioner, or appeal from the sentence of the Imperial consistory, to his sword, and to the people.<sup>122</sup> He was received as the deliverer of his country; and, as soon as it appeared that Romanus was formidable only to a submissive province, the tyrant of Africa became the object of universal contempt. The ruin of Cæsarea, which was plundered and burnt by the licentious barbarians, convinced the refractory cities of the danger of resistance; the power of Firmus was established, at least in the provinces of Mauritania and Numidia; and it seemed to be his only doubt, whether he should assume the diadem of a Moorish king, or the purple of a Roman emperor. But the imprudent and unhappy Africans soon discovered, that, in this rash insurrection, they had not sufficiently consulted their own strength, or the abilities of their leader. Before he could procure any certain intelligence, that the emperor of the West had fixed the choice of a general, or that a fleet of transports was collected at the mouth of the Rhone, he was suddenly informed, that the great Theodosius, with a small band of veterans, had landed near Igilgili, or Gigeri, on the African coast: and the timid usurper sunk under the ascendancy of virtue and military genius. Though Firmus possessed arms and treasures, his despair of victory immediately reduced him to the use of those arts, which, in the same country, and in a similar situation, had formerly been practised by the crafty Jugurtha. He attempted to deceive, by an apparent submission, the vigilance of the Roman general; to seduce the fidelity of his troops; and to protract the duration of the war, by successively engaging the independent tribes of Africa to espouse his quarrel, or to protect his flight. Theodosius imitated the example, and obtained the success, of his predecessor Metellus. When Firmus, in the character of a suppliant, accused his own rashness, and humbly solicited the clemency of the emperor, the lieutenant of Valentinian received and dismissed him with a friendly embrace; but he diligently required the useful and substantial pledges of

1.60 Ammianus frequently mentions their *concordia* (peace, agreement) with the emperor.

p. 25, 67) has discussed the chronological difficulties of the history of recent European states.

142 The character of American culture and also in American politics since 1776, I said. However, we seem to have the rest of the century after the death of Webster, and I think I want to do. For the very first time, we seem to have a new kind of culture, but I think it may be a new kind of the two types.

sincere repentance; nor could he be persuaded, by the assurances of peace, to suspend, for an instant, the operations of an active war. A dark conspiracy was detected by the penetration of Theodosius; and he satisfied, without much reluctance, the public indignation, which he had secretly excited. Several of the guilty accomplices of Firmus were abandoned, according to ancient custom, to the tumult of a military execution: many more, by the amputation of both their hands, continued to exhibit an instructive spectacle of horror: the hatred of the rebels was accompanied with fear; and the fear of the Roman soldiers was mingled with respectful admiration. Amidst the boundless plains of Getulia, and the innumerable valleys of Mount Atlas, it was impossible to prevent the escape of Firmus: and if the usurper could have tired the patience of his antagonist, he would have secured his person in the depth of some remote solitude, and expected the hopes of a future revolution. He was subdued by the perseverance of Theodosius; who had formed an inflexible determination, that the war should end only by the death of the tyrant; and that every nation of Africa, which presumed to support his cause, should be involved in his ruin. At the head of a small body of troops, which seldom exceeded three thousand five hundred men, the Roman general advanced, with a steady prudence, devoid of rashness, or of fear, into the heart of a country, where he was sometimes attacked by armies of twenty thousand Moors. The boldness of his charge dismayed the irregular barbarians; they were disconcerted by his seasonable and orderly retreats; they were continually baffled by the unknown resources of the military art; and they felt and confessed the just superiority which was assumed by the leader of a civilised nation. When Theodosius entered the extensive dominions of Igmazen, king of the Issenses, the haughty savage required, in words of defiance, his name, and the object of his expedition. "I am," replied the stern and disdainful count, "I am the general of Valentinian, the lord of the world; who has sent me hither to pursue and punish a desperate robber. Deliver him instantly into my hands; and be assured, that if thou dost not obey the commands of my invincible sovereign, thou, and the people over whom thou reignest, shall be utterly extirpated." As soon as Igmazen was satisfied, that his enemy had strength and resolution to execute the fatal menace, he consented to purchase a necessary peace by the sacrifice of a guilty fugitive. The guards that were placed to secure the person of Firmus, deprived him of the hopes of escape; and the Moorish tyrant, after wine had extinguished the sense of danger, disappointed the insulting triumph of the Romans, by stran-

gling himself in the night. His dead body, the only present which Igmazen could offer to the conqueror, was carelessly thrown upon a camel; and Theodosius, leading back his victorious troops to Sitifi, was saluted by the warmest acclamations of joy and loyalty.<sup>123</sup>

Africa had been lost by the vices of Romanus; it was restored by the virtues of Theodosius; and our curiosity may be usefully directed to the enquiry of the respective treatment which the two generals received from the Imperial court. The authority of count Romanus had been suspended by the master-general of the cavalry; and he was committed to safe and honourable custody till the end of the war. His crimes were proved by the most authentic evidence; and the public expected, with some impatience, the decree of severe justice. But the partial and powerful favour of Mellohaudes encouraged him to challenge his legal judges, to obtain repeated delays for the purpose of procuring a crowd of friendly witnesses, and, finally, to cover his guilty conduct, by the additional guilt of fraud and forgery. About the same time, the restorer of Britain and Africa, on a vague suspicion that his name and services were superior to the rank of a subject, was ignominiously beheaded at Carthage. Valentinian no longer reigned; and the death of Theodosius, as well as the impunity of Romanus, may justly be imputed to the arts of the ministers who abused the confidence, and deceived the inexperienced youth, of his sons.<sup>124</sup>

If the geographical accuracy of Ammianus had been fortunately bestowed on the British exploits of Theodosius, we should have traced, with eager curiosity, the distinct and domestic footsteps of his march. But the tedious enumeration of the unknown and uninteresting tribes of Africa may be reduced to the general remark, that they were all of the swarthy race of the Moors; that they inhabited the back settlements of the Mauritania and Numidian provinces, the country, as they have since been termed by the Arabs, of dates and of locusts;<sup>125</sup> and that, as the Roman power declined in Africa, the boundary of civilised manners and cultivated land was insensibly contracted. Beyond the utmost limits of the Moors, the vast and inhospitable desert of the South extends above a thousand miles to the banks of the Niger. The ancients, who had a very faint and imperfect knowledge of the great peninsula of Africa, were sometimes tempted to believe that the torrid zone must ever remain destitute of inhabitants,<sup>126</sup> and they sometimes amused their fancy by filling the vacant space with headless men, or rather monsters;<sup>127</sup> with horned and cloven-footed satyrs;<sup>128</sup> with fabulous centaurs;<sup>129</sup> and with human pignies, who waged a bold and

He is executed at Carthage. A.D. 376.

State of Africa.

<sup>123</sup> AMMIAN. XXX. 5. The text of this long chapter (fifteen quarto pages) is broken and corrupted, and the narrative is perplexed by the

33. p. 551, 552

has traced a curious picture of the people and the country, which are more minutely described in the *Afrique de Marmol*, tom. 2. p. 1-24.

<sup>126</sup> The ancient writers, who, as we have seen, were not very accurate in their descriptions of the interior of Africa, have, however, in general, been more correct in their accounts of the coast. The late judicious note of Dr. H. Jones, in the *Geographical Dictionary*, vol. 1. p. 26 edit. Voss. in

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tom. viii. p. 521, &c. j.

doubtful warfare against the cranes.<sup>130</sup> Carthage would have trembled at the strange intelligence, that the countries, on either side of the equator, were filled with innumerable nations, who differed only in their colour from the ordinary appearance of the human species; and the subjects of the Roman empire might have anxiously expected, that the swarms of barbarians, which issued from the north, would soon be encountered from the south by new swarms of barbarians, equally fierce, and equally formidable. These gloomy terrors would indeed have been dispelled by a more intimate acquaintance with the character of their African enemies. The inaction of the negroes does not seem to be the effect, either of their virtue, or of their pusillanimity. They indulge, like the rest of mankind, their passions and appetites; and the adjacent tribes are engaged in frequent acts of hostility.<sup>131</sup> But their rude ignorance has never invented any effectual weapons of defence, or of destruction; they appear incapable of forming any extensive plans of government, or conquest; and the obvious inferiority of their mental faculties has been discovered and abused by the nations of the temperate zone. Sixty thousand blacks are annually embarked from the coast of Guinea, never to return to their native country; but they are embarked in chains:<sup>132</sup> and this constant emigration, which, in the space of two centuries, might have furnished armies to overrun the globe, accuses the guilt of Europe, and the weakness of Africa.

IV. THE EAST. The ignominious treaty, which saved the army of Jovian, had been faithfully executed on the

IV. THE EAST. — THE ASSYRIAN  
WARRIOR.  
A. D. 363 — 378

IV. The ignominious treaty, which saved the army of Jovian, had been faithfully executed on the side of the Romans; and as they had solemnly renounced the sovereignty and alliance of Armenia and Iberia, those tributary kingdoms were exposed, without protection, to the arms of the Persian monarch.<sup>133</sup> Sapor entered the Armenian territories at the head of a formidable host of cuirassiers, of archers, and of mercenary foot; but it was the invariable practice of Sapor to mix war and negotiation, and to consider falsehood and perjury as the most powerful instruments of regal policy. He affected to praise the prudent and moderate conduct of the king of Armenia; and the unsuspicious Tiranus was persuaded, by the repeated assurances of insidious friendship, to deliver his person into the hands of a faithless and cruel enemy. In the midst of a splendid entertainment, he was bound in chains of silver, as an honour due to the blood of the Arsacides; and, after a short confinement in the Tower of Oblyton at Ecbatana, he was released from the miseries of life, either by his own dagger, or by that of an assassin. The kingdom of Armenia was reduced to the state of a Persian province; the administration was shared between a distinguished satrap and a favourite eunuch; and Sapor marched, without delay, to subdue the

martial spirit of the Iberians. Sauroamaces, who reigned in that country by the permission of the emperors, was expelled by a superior force; and, as an insult on the majesty of Rome, the king of kings placed a diadem on the head of his abject vassal Aspacuras. The city of Artogerassa<sup>134</sup> was the only place of Armenia which presumed to resist the effort of his arms. The treasure deposited in that strong fortress tempted the avarice of Sapor; but the danger of Olympias, the wife, or widow, of the Armenian king, excited the public compassion, and animated the desperate valour of her subjects and soldiers. The Persians were surprised and repulsed under the walls of Artogerassa, by a bold and well-concerted sally of the besieged. But the forces of Sapor were continually renewed and increased; the hopeless courage of the garrison was exhausted; the strength of the walls yielded to the assault; and the proud conqueror, after wasting the rebellious city with fire and sword, led away captive an unfortunate queen; who, in a more auspicious hour, had been the destined bride of the son of Constantine.<sup>135</sup> Yet if Sapor already triumphed in the easy conquest of two dependent kingdoms, he soon felt, that a country is unsubdued, as long as the minds of the people are actuated by an hostile and contumacious spirit. The satraps, whom he was obliged to trust, embraced the first opportunity of regaining the affection of their countrymen, and of signalling their immortal hatred to the Persian name. Since the conversion of the Armenians and Iberians, those nations considered the Christians as the favourites, and the Magians as the adversaries, of the Supreme Being; the influence of the clergy, over a superstitious people, was uniformly exerted in the cause of Rome; and as long as the successors of Constantine disputed with those of Artaxerxes the sovereignty of the intermediate provinces, the religious connection always threw a decisive advantage into the scale of the empire. A numerous and active party acknowledged Para, the son of Tiranus, as the lawful sovereign of Armenia, and his title to the throne was deeply rooted in the hereditary succession of five hundred years. By the unanimous consent of the Iberians, the country was equally divided between the rival princes; and Aspacuras, who owed his diadem to the choice of Sapor, was obliged to declare, that his regard for his children, who were detained as hostages by the tyrant, was the only consideration which prevented him from openly renouncing the alliance of Persia. The emperor Valens, who respected the obligations of the treaty, and who was apprehensive of involving the East in a dangerous war, ventured, with slow and cautious measures, to support the Roman party in the kingdoms of Iberia and Armenia. Twelve legions established the authority of Sauroamaces on the banks of the Cyrus. The Euphrates was protected by the valour of

150 The fable of the pygmies is as old as Homer (I. 50, l. 6). The pygmies of India and Ethiopia were "pygmaioi," only four inches high. Every spring their castle, mounted on palm and palm-marched, in battie array, to "destroy the cranes' eggs." Their *Phryx fumes gremibus non resiste*. Their hooves were in the air, feathers, and egg-shells. See Pliny (i. 50, c. 2, and Strabo l. 1, c. 121.)

131 The third and fourth volumes of the valuable *Histoire des Voyages* describe the present state of the Negroes. The history of the West-Indies have been published by European writers, and three of the principal countries have been comprehended by M. de Buffon.

173 The violence of A... .. (12)  
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174 Perhaps Argerne, or Arden; upon whose ... ..  
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155 Time-out. H. takes E. to the ss. for a 7.3. 1700, from Chrono egg, that O. n. has a mother been the mother of Para.



Arintheus. A powerful army, under the command of count Trajan, and of Vadomair, king of the Alemanni, fixed their camp on the confines of Armenia. But they were strictly enjoined not to commit the first hostilities, which might be understood as a breach of the treaty : and such was the implicit obedience of the Roman general, that they retreated, with exemplary patience, under a shower of Persian arrows, till they had clearly acquired a just title to an honourable and legitimate victory. Yet these appearances of war insensibly subsided in a vain and tedious negotiation. The contending parties supported their claims by mutual reproaches of perfidy and ambition ; and it should seem, that the original treaty was expressed in very obscure terms, since they were reduced to the necessity of making their inconclusive appeal to the partial testimony of the generals of the two nations, who had assisted at the negotiations.<sup>136</sup> The invasion of the Goths and Huns, which soon afterwards shook the foundations of the Roman empire, exposed the provinces of Asia to the arms of Sapor. But the declining age, and perhaps the infirmities, of the monarch, suggested new maxims of tranquillity and moderation. His death, which hap-

A. D. 380.

pened in the full maturity of a reign of seventy years, changed in a moment the court and councils of Persia ; and their attention was most probably engaged by domestic troubles, and the distant efforts of a Carmanian war.<sup>137</sup>

The treaty of  
peace  
A. D. 384.

The remembrance of ancient injuries was lost in the enjoyment of peace. The kingdoms of Armenia and Iberia were permitted, by the mutual, though tacit, consent of both empires, to resume their doubtful neutrality. In the first years of the reign of Theodosius, a Persian embassy arrived at Constantinople, to excuse the unjustifiable measures of the former reign ; and to offer, as the tribute of friendship, or even of respect, a splendid present of gems, of silk, and of Indian elephants.<sup>138</sup>

Adventures of  
Para, king  
of Armenia.

In the general picture of the affairs of the East under the reign of Valens, the adventures of Para form one of the most striking and singular objects. The noble youth, by the persuasion of his mother Olympias, had escaped through the Persian host that besieged Artogerassa, and implored the protection of the emperor of the East. By his timid councils, Para was alternately supported, and recalled, and restored, and betrayed. The hopes of the Armenians were sometimes raised by the presence of their natural sovereign ; and the ministers of Valens were satisfied, that they preserved the integrity of the public faith, if their vassal was not suffered to assume the diadem and title of king. But they soon repented of their own rashness. They were confounded by the reproaches and threats of the Persian monarch. They found reason to distrust the cruel and inconstant temper of Para

himself : who sacrificed, to the slightest suspicions, the lives of his most faithful servants ; and held a secret and disgraceful correspondence with the assassin of his father and the enemy of his country. Under the specious pretence of consulting with the emperor on the subject of their common interest, Para was persuaded to descend from the mountains of Armenia, where his party was in arms, and to trust his independence and safety to the discretion of a perfidious court. The king of Armenia, for such he appeared in his own eyes, and in those of his nation, was received with due honours by the governors of the provinces through which he passed ; but when he arrived at Tarsus in Cilicia, his progress was stopped under various pretences ; his motions were watched with respectful vigilance, and he gradually discovered, that he was a prisoner in the hands of the Romans. Para suppressed his indignation, dissembled his fears, and, after secretly preparing his escape, mounted on horseback with three hundred of his faithful followers. The officer stationed at the door of his apartment, immediately communicated his flight to the consular of Cilicia, who overtook him in the suburbs, and endeavoured, without success, to dissuade him from prosecuting his rash and dangerous design. A legion was ordered to pursue the royal fugitive ; but the pursuit of infantry could not be very alarming to a body of light cavalry ; and upon the first cloud of arrows that was discharged into the air, they retreated with precipitation to the gates of Tarsus. After an incessant march of two days and two nights, Para and his Armenians reached the banks of the Euphrates ; but the passage of the river, which they were obliged to swim, was attended with some delay and some loss. The country was alarmed ; and the two roads, which were only separated by an interval of three miles, had been occupied by a thousand archers on horseback, under the command of a count and a tribune. Para must have yielded to superior force, if the accidental arrival of a friendly traveller had not revealed the danger and the means of escape. A dark and almost impervious path securely conveyed the Armenian troop through the thicket ; and Para had left behind him the count and the tribune, while they patiently expected his approach along the public highways. They returned to the Imperial court, to excuse their want of diligence or success : and seriously alleged, that the king of Armenia, who was a skilful magician, had transformed himself and his followers, and passed before their eyes under a borrowed shape. After his return to his native kingdom, Para still continued to profess himself the friend and ally of the Romans ; but the Romans had injured him too deeply ever to forgive, and the secret sentence of his death was signed in the council of Valens. The execution of the bloody deed was

<sup>136</sup> Ammianus (xxvii. 12, xxix. 1, xxx. 1, 2.) has described the events, without the dates, of the Persian war. *Mores of Chosroë* (Hist. Armen. l. vi. c. 28, p. 261, c. 31, p. 266, c. 33, p. 271) affords some additional facts, but it is extremely difficult to separate truth from fable.

<sup>137</sup> Artaxerxes was the successor and brother (the *cousin german*) of the great Sapor ; and the guardian of his son Sapor III. (Arathius, l. iv. p. 156. edit. Louvre.) See the Universal History, vol. xi. p. 36.

<sup>141</sup> The authors of that unequal work have compiled the Sasanian dynasty with erudition and diligence, but it is a preposterous arrangement to divide the Roman and Oriental accounts into two distinct histories.

<sup>158</sup> Pacatus in Panegy. Vet. xii. 22, and Orosius, l. vi. c. 34. *Idcirco tam laetus est, quo universus Oriens usque ad nunc (A. D. 116.) tranquillissime fruitur.*

committed to the subtle prudence of count Trajan; and he had the merit of insinuating himself into the confidence of the credulous prince, that he might find an opportunity of stabbing him to the heart. Para was invited to a Roman banquet, which had been prepared with all the pomp and sensuality of the East; the hall resounded with cheerful music, and the company was already heated with wine; when the count retired for an instant, drew his sword, and gave the signal of the murder. A robust and desperate barbarian instantly rushed on the king of Armenia: and though he bravely defended his life with the first weapon that chance

A.D. 571.

A.D. 571. offered to his hand, the table of the Imperial general was stained with the royal blood of a guest and an ally. Such were the weak and wicked maxims of the Roman administration, that, to attain a doubtful object of political interest, the laws of nations, and the sacred rights of hospitality, were inhumanly violated in the face of the world.<sup>131</sup>

V. During a peaceful interval of thirty years, the Romans secured their frontiers, and the Goths extended their dominions. The victories of the great Hermanric,<sup>140</sup> king of the Ostrogoths, and the most noble of the race of the Amali, have been compared, by the enthusiasm of his countrymen, to the exploits of Alexander: with this singular, and almost incredible, difference, that the martial spirit of the Gothic hero, instead of being supported by the vigour of youth, was displayed with glory and success in the extreme period of human life, between the age of fourscore and one hundred and ten years. The independent tribes were persuaded, or compelled, to acknowledge the king of the Ostrogoths as the sovereign of the Gothic nation: the chiefs of the Visigoths, or Thervingi, renounced the royal title, and assumed the more humble appellation of *Judges*; and, among those judges, Athanaric, Fritigern, and Alavivus, were the most illustrious, by their personal merit, as well as by their vicinity to the Roman provinces. These domestic conquests, which increased the military power of Hermanric, enlarged his ambitious designs. He invaded the adjacent countries of the North; and twelve considerable nations, whose names and limits cannot be accurately defined, successively yielded to the superiority of the Gothic arms.<sup>141</sup> The Heruli, who inhabited the marshy lands near the lake Mæotis, were renowned for their strength and agility; and the assistance of their light infantry was eagerly solicited, and highly esteemed, in all the wars of the barbarians. But the active spirit of the Heruli was subdued by the slow and steady perseverance of the Goths; and, after a bloody action, in which the king was

slain, the remains of that warlike tribe became an useful accession to the camp of Hermanric. He then marched against the Venedi ; unskilled in the use of arms, and formidable only by their numbers, which filled the wide extent of the plains of modern Poland. The victorious Goths, who were not inferior in numbers, prevailed in the contest, by the decisive advantages of exercise and discipline. After the submission of the Venedi, the conqueror advanced, without resistance, as far as the confines of the Æsti ; <sup>142</sup> an ancient people, whose name is still preserved in the province of Esthonia. Those distant inhabitants of the Baltic coast were supported by the labours of agriculture, enriched by the trade of amber, and consecrated by the peculiar worship of the Mother of the Gods. But the scarcity of iron obliged the Æstian warriors to content themselves with wooden clubs ; and the reduction of that wealthy country is ascribed to the prudence, rather than to the arms, of Hermanric. His dominions, which extended from the Danube to the Baltic, included the native seats, and the recent acquisitions, of the Goths ; and he reigned over the greatest part of Germany and Scythia with the authority of a conqueror, and sometimes with the cruelty of a tyrant. But he reigned over a part of the globe incapable of perpetuating and adorning the glory of its heroes. The name of Hermanric is almost buried in oblivion ; his exploits are imperfectly known ; and the Romans themselves appeared unconscious of the progress of an aspiring power, which threatened the liberty of the North, and the peace of the empire. <sup>143</sup>

The Goths had contracted an hereditary attachment for the Imperial house of Constantine, of whose power and liberality they had received so many signal proofs. They respected the public peace: and if an hostile band sometimes presumed to pass the Roman limit, their irregular conduct was candidly ascribed to the ungovernable spirit of the barbarian youth. Their contempt for two new and obscure princes, who had been raised to the throne by a popular election, inspired the Goths with bolder hopes; and, while they agitated some design of marching their confederate force under the national standard,<sup>144</sup> they were easily tempted to embrace the party of Procopius; and to foment, by their dangerous aid, the civil discord of the Romans. The public treaty might stipulate no more than ten thousand auxiliaries; but the design was so zealously adopted by the chiefs of the Visigoths, that the army which passed the Danube amounted to the number of thirty thousand men.<sup>145</sup> They marched with the proud confidence, that their invincible valour would decide the fate of the Roman empire: and the provinces of Thrace

The cause of the  
French war.  
A. D. 366.

17) See in Anonymous 'xxx 1' the tale of a fisher. Much of Chomsky's own *Travels* (116-133) is concerned with the story of his son (121-3) who, after being put to death in Armenia, and provoked the jealousy of the king's wife (123, &c. p. 27), &c.

[illegible]

142 The edition of Grotius (*Jornandes*, p. 612.) exhibits the name of *Festa*. But reason and the Ambrosian MS. have restored the *Festa*, whose numbers and situation are expressed by the period of

[illegible]

groaned under the weight of the barbarians, who displayed the insolence of masters, and the licentiousness of enemies. But the intemperance which gratified their appetites, retarded their progress; and before the Goths could receive any certain intelligence of the defeat and death of Procopius, they perceived, by the hostile state of the country, that the civil and military powers were resumed by his successful rival. A chain of posts and fortifications, skilfully disposed by Valens, or the generals of Valens, resisted their march, prevented their retreat, and intercepted their subsistence. The fierceness of the barbarians was tamed and suspended by hunger; they indignantly threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror, who offered them food and chains: the numerous captives were distributed in all the cities of the East; and the provincials, who were soon familiarised with their savage appearance, ventured, by degrees, to measure their own strength with these formidable adversaries, whose name had so long been the object of their terror. The king of Scythia (and Hermanric alone could deserve so lofty a title) was grieved and exasperated by this national calamity. His ambassadors loudly complained, at the court of Valens, of the infraction of the ancient and solemn alliance, which had so long subsisted between the Romans and the Goths. They alleged, that they had fulfilled the duty of allies, by assisting the kinsman and successor of the emperor Julian; they required the immediate restitution of the noble captives; and they urged a very singular claim, that the Gothic generals, marching in arms, and in hostile array, were entitled to the sacred character and privileges of ambassadors. The decent, but peremptory, refusal of these extravagant demands, was signified to the barbarians by Victor, master-general of the cavalry; who expressed, with force and dignity, the just complaints of the emperor of the East.<sup>146</sup> The negotiation was interrupted; and the manly exhortations of Valentinian encouraged his timid brother to vindicate the insulted majesty of the empire.<sup>147</sup>

The splendour and magnitude of this Gothic war are celebrated by a contemporary historian:<sup>148</sup> but the events scarcely deserve the attention of posterity, except as the preliminary steps of the approaching decline and fall of the empire. Instead of leading the nations of Germany and Scythia to the banks of the Danube, or even to the gates of Constantinople, the aged monarch of the Goths resigned to the brave Athanaric the danger and glory of a defensive war, against an enemy, who wielded with a feeble hand the powers of a mighty state. A bridge of boats was established upon the Danube; the presence of Valens animated his troops; and his ignorance of the art of war was compensated by personal bravery, and a wise deference to the advice of Victor and Arinthæus, his masters-general of the cavalry and infantry.

The operations of the campaign were conducted by their skill and experience; but they found it impossible to drive the Visigoths from their strong posts in the mountains; and the devastation of the plains obliged the Romans themselves to repossess the Danube on the approach of winter. The incessant rains which swelled the waters of the river, produced a tacit suspension of arms, and confined the emperor Valens, during the whole course of the ensuing summer, to his camp of Marcianopolis. The third year of the war was more favourable to the Romans, and more pernicious to the Goths. The interruption of trade deprived the barbarians of the objects of luxury, which they already confounded with the necessities of life; and the desolation of a very extensive tract of country threatened them with the horrors of famine. Athanaric was provoked, or compelled, to risk a battle, which he lost, in the plains; and the pursuit was rendered more bloody by the cruel precaution of the victorious generals, who had promised a large reward for the head of every Goth that was brought into the Imperial camp. The submission of the barbarians appeased the resentment of Valens and his council; the emperor listened with satisfaction to the flattering and eloquent remonstrance of the senate of Constantinople, which assumed, for the first time, a share in the public deliberations; and the same generals, Victor and Arinthæus, who had successfully directed the conduct of the war, were empowered to regulate the conditions of peace. The freedom of trade, which the Goths had hitherto enjoyed, was restricted to two cities on the Danube; the rashness of their leaders was severely punished by the suppression of their pensions and subsidies; and the exception, which was stipulated in favour of Athanaric alone, was more advantageous than honourable to the judge of the Visigoths. Athanaric, who, on this occasion, appears to have consulted his private interest, without expecting the orders of his sovereign, supported his own dignity, and that of his tribe, in the personal interview which was proposed by the ministers of Valens. He persisted in his declaration, that it was impossible for him, without incurring the guilt of perjury, ever to set his foot on the territory of the empire; and it is more than probable, that his regard for the sanctity of an oath was confirmed by the recent and fatal examples of Roman treachery. The Danube, which separated the dominions of the two independent nations, was chosen for the scene of the conference. The emperor of the East, and the judge of the Visigoths, accompanied by an equal number of armed followers, advanced in their respective barges to the middle of the stream. After the ratification of the treaty, and the delivery of hostages, Valens returned in triumph to Constantinople; and the Goths remained in a state of tranquillity about six years; till they were violently impelled against the Roman empire by an invulnerable host of Scythians,

<sup>146</sup> The march, and subsequent negotiation, are described in the *Fragments of Eutropius* (Excerpt. Legat. p. 15, edit. Louvre). The provincials, who afterwards became familiar with the barbarians, found that their strength was more apparent than real. They were tall of stature; but their legs were clumsy, and their shoulders were narrow.

<sup>147</sup> Valens enim, ut consilio placuerat fratri, cupis regeretur artu-

trio, arma concussit in Gothos ratiore iustâ permotus. Ammianus (xxv. 1.) then proceeds to describe, not the country of the Goths, but the peaceful and obedient province of Thrace, which was not affected by the war.

<sup>148</sup> Eutropius, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 18, 19. The Greek sophist must have considered as *one* and the *same* war, the whole series of Gothic history till the victories and peace of Theodosius.

who appeared to issue from the frozen regions of the North.<sup>149</sup>

War of the  
Quadi and  
Sarmatians.  
A. D. 371.

The emperor of the West, who had resigned to his brother the command of the Lower Danube, reserved for his immediate care the defence of the Rætian and Illyrian provinces, which spread so many hundred miles along the greatest of the European rivers. The active policy of Valentinian was continually employed in adding new fortifications to the security of the frontier. But the abuse of this policy provoked the just resentment of the barbarians. The Quadi complained, that the ground for an intended fortress had been marked out on their territories; and their complaints were urged with so much reason and moderation, that Equitius, master-general of Illyricum, consented to suspend the prosecution of the work, till he should be more clearly informed of the will of his sovereign. This fair occasion of injuring a rival, and of advancing the fortune of his son, was eagerly embraced by the inhuman Maximin, the prefect, or rather tyrant, of Gaul. The passions of Valentinian were impatient of control; and he credulously listened to the assurances of his favourite, that if the government of Valeria, and the direction of the work, were intrusted to the zeal of his son Marcellinus, the emperor should no longer be importuned with the audacious remonstrances of the barbarians. The subjects of Rome, and the natives of Germany, were insulted by the arrogance of a young and worthless minister, who considered his rapid elevation as the proof and reward of his superior merit. He affected, however, to receive the modest application of Gabinus, king of the Quadi, with some attention and regard; but this artful civility concealed a dark and bloody design, and the credulous prince was persuaded to accept the pressing invitation of Marcellinus. I am at a loss how to vary the narrative of similar crimes; or how to relate, that, in the course of the same year, but in remote parts of the empire, the inhospitable cable of two Imperial generals was stained with the royal blood of two guests and allies, inhumanly murdered by their order, and in their presence. The fate of Gabinus, and of Para, was the same: but the cruel death of their sovereign was resented in a very different manner by the servile temper of the Armenians, and the free and daring spirit of the Germans. The Quadi were much declined from that formidable power, which, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, had spread terror to the gates of Rome. But they still possessed arms and courage; their courage was animated by despair, and they obtained the usual reinforcement of the cavalry of their Sarmatian allies. So inopportune was the assassin Marcellinus, that he chose the moment when the bravest veterans had been drawn away, to suppress the revolt of Firmus, and the whole province was exposed, with a very feeble defence, to the rage of the exasperated barbarians. They invaded Pannonia in the season of harvest; unmercifully destroyed

every object of plunder which they could not easily transport; and either disregarded, or demolished, the empty fortifications. The princess Constantia, the daughter of the emperor Constantius, and the grand-daughter of the great Constantine, very narrowly escaped. That royal maid, who had innocently supported the revolt of Procopius, was now the destined wife of the heir of the Western empire. She traversed the peaceful province with a splendid and unarmed train. Her person was saved from danger, and the republic from disgrace, by the active zeal of Messala, governor of the provinces. As soon as he was informed that the village, where she stopped only to dine, was almost encompassed by the barbarians, he hastily placed her in his own chariot, and drove full speed till he reached the gates of Sirmium, which were at the distance of six and twenty miles. Even Sirmium might not have been secure, if the Quadi and Sarmatians had diligently advanced during the general consternation of the magistrates and people. Their delay allowed Probus, the praetorian prefect, sufficient time to recover his own spirits, and to revive the courage of the citizens. He skilfully directed their strenuous efforts to repair and strengthen the decayed fortifications; and procured the seasonable and effectual assistance of a company of archers, to protect the capital of the Illyrian provinces. Disappointed in their attempts against the walls of Sirmium, the indignant barbarians turned their arms against the master-general of the frontier, to whom they unjustly attributed the murder of their king. Equitius could bring into the field no more than two legions; but they contained the veteran strength of the Masian and Pannonian hands. The obstinacy with which they disputed the vain honours of rank and precedence, was the cause of their destruction; and, while they acted with separate forces and divided councils, they were surprised and slaughtered by the active vigour of the Sarmatian horse. The success of this invasion provoked the emulation of the bordering tribes; and the province of Masia would infallibly have been lost, if young Theodosius, the duke, or military commander, of the frontier, had not signalled, in the defeat of the public enemy, an intrepid genius, worthy of his illustrious father, and of his future greatness.<sup>150</sup>

The mind of Valentinian, who then resided at Treves, was deeply affected by the calamities of Illyricum; but the lateness of the season suspended the execution of his designs till the ensuing spring. He marched in person, with a considerable part of the forces of Gaul, from the banks of the Moselle; and to the suppliant ambassadors of the Sarmatians, who met him on the way, he returned a doubtful answer, that, as soon as he reached the scene of action, he should examine, and pronounce. When he arrived at Sirmium, he gave audience to the deputies of the Illyrian provinces; who loudly congratulated their own felicity under the auspicious

The expedition,

A. D. 375.

149 The Gothic war is described by Ammianus (l. xvi. c. 7) and Zosimus (l. ii. p. 211, 212), and then Orosius (l. vi. c. 12, 13, 14). The orator Themistius was sent from the senate of Constantinople to congratulate the victorious emperor, and his speech is a valuable source of information on the Danube, to Aethiopia in the Scythian desert.

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government of Probus, his prætorian præfect. <sup>151</sup> Valentinian, who was flattered by these demonstrations of their loyalty and gratitude, imprudently asked the deputy of Epirus, a Cynic philosopher of intrepid sincerity, <sup>152</sup> whether he was freely sent by the wishes of the province? "With tears and groans am I sent (replied "Ephicles) by a reluctant people." The emperor paused, but the impunity of his ministers established the pernicious maxim, that they might oppress his subjects, without injuring his service. A strict enquiry into their conduct would have relieved the public discontent. The severe condemnation of the murder of Gabinus was the only measure which could restore the confidence of the Germans, and vindicate the honour of the Roman name. But the haughty monarch was incapable of the magnanimity which dares to acknowledge a fault. He forgot the provocation, remembered only the injury, and advanced into the country of the Quadi with an insatiate thirst of blood and revenge. The extreme devastation, and promiscuous massacre, of a savage war, were justified, in the eyes of the emperor, and perhaps in those of the world, by the cruel equity of retaliation; <sup>153</sup> and such was the discipline of the Romans, and the consternation of the enemy, that Valentinian repasted the Danube without the loss of a single man. As he had resolved to complete the destruction of the Quadi by a second campaign, he fixed his winter-quarters at Bregetio, on the Danube, near the Hungarian city of Presburgh. While the operations of war were suspended by the severity of the weather, the Quadi made an humble attempt to deprecate the wrath of their conqueror; and, at the earnest persuasion of Equitius, their ambassadors were introduced into the Imperial council. They approached the throne with bended bodies, and dejected countenances; and, without daring to complain of the murder of their king, they affirmed, with solemn oaths, that the late invasion was the crime of some irregular robbers, which the public council of the nation condemned and abhorred. The answer of the emperor left them but little to hope from his clemency or compassion. He reviled, in the most intemperate language, their baseness, their ingratitude, their insolence. — His eyes, his voice, his colour, his gestures, expressed the violence of his ungoverned fury; and, while his whole frame was agitated with convulsive passion, a large blood-vessel suddenly burst in his body; and Valentinian fell speechless into the arms of his attendants. Their pious care immediately concealed his situation from the crowd: but, in

and death, of a few minutes, the emperor of the Valentinian. West expired in an agony of pain,

retaining his senses till the last; and struggling, without success, to declare his intentions to the generals and ministers, who surrounded the royal couch. Valentinian was about <sup>A D 375, Nov. 17th.</sup> fifty-four years of age; and he wanted only one hundred days to accomplish the twelve years of his reign. <sup>154</sup>

The polygamy of Valentinian is seriously attested by an ecclesiastical historian. <sup>155</sup> "The empress Severa" ("I relate the fable) admitted into her familiar society the lovely Justina, the daughter of an Italian governor: her admiration of those naked charms, which she had often seen in the bath, was expressed with such lavish and imprudent praise, that the emperor was tempted "to introduce a second wife into his bed: and his public edict extended to all the subjects of the empire, the same domestic privilege, which he had assumed for himself." But we may be assured, from the evidence of reason, as well as history, that the two marriages of Valentinian, with Severa, and with Justina, were successively contracted; and that he used the ancient permission of divorce, which was still allowed by the laws, though it was condemned by the church. Severa was the mother of Gratian, who seemed to unite every claim which could entitle him to the undoubted succession of the Western empire. He was the eldest son of a monarch, whose glorious reign had confirmed the free and honourable choice of his fellow-soldiers. Before he had attained the ninth year of his age, the royal youth received from the hands of his indulgent father the purple robe and diadem, with the title of Augustus: the election was solemnly ratified by the consent and applause of the armies of Gaul; <sup>156</sup> and the name of Gratian was added to the names of Valentinian and Valens, in all the legal transactions of the Roman government. By his marriage with the grand-daughter of Constantine, the son of Valentinian acquired all the hereditary rights of the Flavian family; which, in a series of three Imperial generations, were sanctified by time, religion, and the reverence of the people. At the death of his father, the royal youth was in the seventeenth year of his age; and his virtues already justified the favourable opinion of the army and people. But Gratian resided, without apprehension, in the palace of Treves; whilst, at the distance of many hundred miles, Valentinian suddenly expired in the camp of Bregetio. The passions, which had been so long suppressed by the presence of a master, immediately revived in the Imperial council; and the ambitious design of reigning in the name of an infant, was artfully

The empress  
Gratian and  
Valentinian II.

Geni-  
p. 361.  
Zosimus  
and Jerom  
here is much  
of circumstances among them, and Ammianus is so eloquent,  
that he writes nonsense.

155 Socrates (l. iv. c. 31) is the only original witness of this foolish story, so repugnant to the laws and manners of the Romans, that it is only deserved its formal and elaborate dissertation of M. Bonamy (Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxi. p. 791-194). Yet I would preserve the natural circumstance of the birth, instead of following Zosimus, of M. Meunier, of this military election, which does not appear to have

151 Ammianus (xxv. 5), who acknowledged the emperor, has censured, with becoming severity, the oppressive administration of Petronius Probus. When Jeron translated, and continued, the Chron. of Eusebius (A. D. 330). See Tailemont, Mém. Eccles. tom. xii. p. 57. he expressed the truth, or at least the precise opinion of his country, in the following words: "Probus P. P. in diei magnanimitatis, in tribulatione exae nobis, ante promissum regis regibus, qui in barbaris vastis rector, causa" (l. lxxv. c. 1. ed. N. S. 167). Ammianus, p. 259. "The spirit after Carus formed, in private and tender friendship with the widow of Probus, the crown of our country, with less propriety, but without much injustice, has been substituted in the text."

152 Julian (Orat. c. p. 198) represents his friend Epiphanius as a man of virtue and merit, who had made his great ridiculous and unhappy, by adopting the extravagant dress and manners of the Cynics.

153 Ammian. xxi. 5. Jeron, who exaggerates the misfortune of

executed by Mellebaudes and Equitius, who commanded the attachment of the Illyrian and Italian bands. They contrived the most honourable pretences to remove the popular leaders, and the troops of Gaul, who might have asserted the claims of the lawful successor: they suggested the necessity of extinguishing the hopes of foreign and domestic enemies, by a bold and decisive measure. The empress Justina, who had been left in a palace about one hundred miles from Bregetio, was respectfully invited to appear in the camp, with the son of the deceased emperor. On the sixth day after the death of Valentinian, the infant prince of the same name, who was only four years old, was shown, in the arms of his mother, to the legions; and solemnly invested, by military acclamation, with the titles and ensigns of supreme power. The impending dangers of a civil war were seasonably prevented by the wise and moderate conduct of the emperor Gratian. He cheerfully accepted the choice of the army; declared, that he should always consider the son of Justina as a brother, not as a rival; and advised the empress, with her son Valentinian, to fix their residence at Milan, in the fair and peaceful province of Italy; while he assumed the more arduous command of the countries beyond the Alps. Gratian dissembled his resentment, till he could safely punish, or disgrace, the authors of the conspiracy; and though he uniformly behaved with tenderness and regard to his infant colleague, he gradually confounded, in the administration of the Western empire, the office of a guardian with the authority of a sovereign. The government of the Roman world was exercised in the united names of Valens and his two nephews; but the feeble emperor of the East, who succeeded to the rank of his elder brother, never obtained any weight or influence in the councils of the West.<sup>157</sup>

## CHAP. XXVI.

*Manners of the Pastoral Nations. — Progress of the Huns, from China to Europe. — Flight of the Goths. — They pass the Danube. — Gothic War. — Defeat and Death of Valens. — Gratian invests Theodosius with the Eastern Empire. — His Character and Success. — Peace and Settlement of the Goths.*

Is the second year of the reign of Valentinian and Valens, on the morning of the twenty-first day of July, the greatest part of the Roman world was shaken by a violent and destructive earthquake. Eclipses of the sun were communicated to the waters, the shores of the Mediterranean were left dry, by the sudden retreat of the sea; great quantities of fish were caught with the hand; large vessels were stranded on the mud; and a curious spec-

tator<sup>1</sup> amused his eye, or rather his fancy, by contemplating the various appearance of valleys and mountains, which had never, since the formation of the globe, been exposed to the sun. But the tide soon returned, with the weight of an immense and irresistible deluge, which was severely felt on the coasts of Sicily, of Dalmatia, of Greece, and of Egypt: large boats were transported, and lodged on the roofs of houses, or at the distance of two miles from the shore; the people, with their habitations, were swept away by the waters; and the city of Alexandria annually commemorated the fatal day, on which fifty thousand persons had lost their lives in the inundation. This calamity, the report of which was magnified from one province to another, astonished and terrified the subjects of Rome; and their affrighted imagination enlarged the real extent of a momentary evil. They recollected the preceding earthquakes, which had subverted the cities of Palestine and Bithynia; they considered these alarming strokes as the prelude only of still more dreadful calamities, and their fearful vanity was disposed to confound the symptoms of a declining empire, and a sinking world.<sup>2</sup> It was the fashion of the times, to attribute every remarkable event to the particular will of the Deity; the alterations of nature were connected, by an invisible chain, with the moral and metaphysical opinions of the human mind; and the most sagacious divines could distinguish, according to the colour of their respective prejudices, that the establishment of heresy tended to produce an earthquake; or that a deluge was the inevitable consequence of the progress of sin and error. Without presuming to discuss the truth or propriety of these lofty speculations, the historian may content himself with an observation, which seems to be justified by experience, that man has much more to fear from the passions of his fellow-creatures, than from the convulsions of the elements.<sup>3</sup> The mischievous effects of an earthquake, or deluge, a hurricane, or the eruption of a volcano, bear a very inconsiderable proportion to the ordinary calamities of war, as they are now moderated by the prudence or humanity of the princes of Europe, who amuse their own leisure, and exercise the courage of their subjects, in the practice of the military art. But the laws and manners of modern nations protect the safety and freedom of the vanquished soldier; and the peaceful citizen has seldom reason to complain, that his life, or even his fortune, is exposed to the rage of war. In the disastrous period of the fall of the Roman empire, which may justly be dated from the reign of Valens, the happiness and security of each individual were personally attacked; and the arts and labours of ages were rudely defaced by the barbarians of Scythia and Germany. The invasion of the Huns precipitated on the provinces of the West

<sup>157</sup> Ammianus, xxx. 12. Zosimus, l. ii. c. 17. The report he gives of this earthquake is more particular than that of the other great earthquakes which he mentions. He says, that the sea was drawn up to the tops of the mountains, and that the waters of the Mediterranean were left dry.

<sup>1</sup> Such is the tradition of Ammianus, xxx. 12. c. 17. He says, that the sea was drawn up to the tops of the mountains, and that the waters of the Mediterranean were left dry.

<sup>2</sup> The earthquake and the deluge were the two great calamities of the time.

<sup>1</sup> Ammianus, l. xxi. c. 1. He says, that the sea was drawn up to the tops of the mountains, and that the waters of the Mediterranean were left dry.

the Gothic nation, which advanced, in less than forty years, from the Danube to the Atlantic, and opened a way, by the success of their arms, to the inroads of so many hostile tribes, more savage than themselves. The original principle of motion was concealed in the remote countries of the North; and the curious observation of the pastoral life and the Scythians,<sup>4</sup> or Tartars,<sup>5</sup> will illustrate the latent cause of these destructive emigrations.

The pastoral manner of the Scythians, or Tartars. The different characters that mark the civilised nations of the globe, may be ascribed to the use, and the abuse, of reason; which so variously shapes, and so artificially composes, the manners and opinions of an European, or a Chinese. But the operation of instinct is more sure and simple than that of reason: it is much easier to ascertain the appetites of a quadruped, than the speculations of a philosopher; and the savage tribes of mankind, as they approach nearer to the condition of animals, preserve a stronger resemblance to themselves and to each other. The uniform stability of their manners is the natural consequence of the imperfection of their faculties. Reduced to a similar situation, their wants, their desires, their enjoyments, still continue the same. and the influence of food or climate, which, in a more improved state of society, is suspended or subdued by so many moral causes, most powerfully contributes to form, and to maintain, the national character of barbarians. In every age, the immense plains of Scythia, or Tartary, have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a sedentary life. In every age, the Scythians and Tartars have been renowned for their invincible courage, and rapid conquests. The thrones of Asia have been repeatedly overturned by the shepherds of the North; and their arms have spread terror and devastation over the most fertile and warlike countries of Europe.<sup>6</sup> On this occasion, as well as on many others, the sober historian is forcibly awakened from a pleasing vision; and is compelled, with some reluctance, to confess, that the pastoral manners, which have been adorned with the fairest attributes of peace and innocence, are much better adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of a military life. To illustrate this observation, I shall now proceed to consider a nation of shepherds and of warriors, in the three important articles of. I. Their diet; II. Their habitations; and, III. Their exercises. The narratives of an-

tiquity are justified by the experience of modern times; and the banks of the Borysthenes, of the Volga, or of the Selinga, will indifferently present the same uniform spectacle of similar and native manners.<sup>8</sup>

I. The corn, or even the rice, Diet. which constitutes the ordinary and wholesome food of a civilised people, can be obtained only by the patient toil of the husbandman. Some of the happy savages, who dwell between the tropics, are plentifully nourished by the liberality of nature; but in the climates of the north, a nation of shepherds is reduced to their flocks and herds. The skilful practitioners of the medical art will determine (if they are able to determine) how far the temper of the human mind may be affected by the use of animal or of vegetable food; and whether the common association of carnivorous and cruel deserves to be considered in any other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a salutary, prejudice of humanity.<sup>9</sup> Yet if it be true, that the sentiment of compassion is imperceptibly weakened by the sight and practice of domestic cruelty, we may observe, that the horrid objects which are disguised by the arts of European refinement, are exhibited in their naked and most disgusting simplicity in the tent of a Tartarian shepherd. The ox, or the sheep, are slaughtered by the same hand from which they were accustomed to receive their daily food; and the bleeding limbs are served, with very little preparation, on the table of their unfeeling murderer. In the military profession, and especially in the conduct of a numerous army, the exclusive use of animal food appears to be productive of the most solid advantages. Corn is a bulky and perishable commodity; and the large magazines, which are indispensably necessary for the subsistence of our troops, must be slowly transported by the labour of men or horses. But the flocks and herds, which accompany the march of the Tartars, afford a sure and increasing supply of flesh and milk: in the far greater part of the uncultivated waste, the vegetation of the grass is quick and luxuriant; and there are few places so extremely barren, that the hardy cattle of the north cannot find some tolerable pasture. The supply is multiplied and prolonged, by the undistinguishing appetite, and patient abstinence, of the Tartars. They indifferently feed on the flesh of those animals that have been killed for the table, or have died of disease. Horse-flesh, which in every age and country has been proscribed by the civilised nations of Europe and Asia, they devour with peculiar greediness; and this singu-

<sup>4</sup> The original Scythians of Herodotus (l. c. 47-57. pp. 99-101) were confined, by the Danube and the Palus Mæotis, within a square of 4000 stadia, (500 Roman miles). See D'Anville, *Mémoire de l'Académie*, tom. xxxv. p. 575. 502. Diodorus Siculus (l. vi. c. 1. n. p. 125. edit. Wesching) is marked the gradual progress of the name and nation.

<sup>5</sup> The *Tartars*, or *Tartars*, were a primitive tribe, the rivals, and at length the slaves, of the *Mogols*. In the victorious armies of Zimhas Khan, and his successors, the Tartars formed the vanguard, and the name, which first reached the ears of foreigners, was applied to the whole nation. Heretofore, in the Hist. de l'Asie, tom. xv. p. 60.

In speaking of all, or any, of the northern shepherds of Europe, or Asia, I indifferently use the appellations of *Scythians*, or *Tartars*.

<sup>6</sup> Imperium Asiae quævis sæculo imperio perpetuo aliis non imperio, aut imperio non dominatur. Since the time of Justin (l. 2.) they

p. 6

portrait of the Scythians. Among the moderns, who describe the Arabian scene, the Khan of Khiva, or, Abdolrahman Bakhadur, expresses his native feelings, and his firm dogma in *Histoire de l'Inde* has been copiously illustrated by the French and English editors, Carpentier, Asselin, and Rubenius in the *Histoire des Voyages*, tom. viii. represent the *Mogols* of the fourteenth century. To these guides I have

par and volu.

<sup>8</sup> The *Uzbeks* are the most altered from their primitive manners; 1. by the profession of the Mahometan religion, and 2. by the possession of the cities and harvests of the great Bucharia.

<sup>9</sup> Il est certain que les grands mangeurs de viande sont en général cruels et féroces, plus que les autres hommes. Cette observation est de tous les lieux, et de tous les siècles. *Emile de Rousseau*, tome ii. p. 100. The good natured and general observation of

The good natured and general observation of

Urbid seduce our reason, by exciting our sensibility.

lar taste facilitates the success of their military operations. The active cavalry of Scythia is always followed, in their most distant and rapid incursions, by an adequate number of spare horses, who may be occasionally used, either to redouble the speed, or to satisfy the hunger, of the barbarians. Many are the resources of courage and poverty. When the forage round a camp of Tartars is almost consumed, they slaughter the greatest part of their cattle, and preserve the flesh, either smoked, or dried in the sun. On the sudden emergency of a hasty march, they provide themselves with a sufficient quantity of little balls of cheese, or rather of hard curd, which they occasionally dissolve in water; and this unsubstantial diet will support, for many days, the life, and even the spirits, of the patient warrior. But this extraordinary abstinence, which the Stoic would approve, and the hermit might envy, is commonly succeeded by the most voracious indulgence of appetite. The wines of a happier climate are the most grateful present, or the most valuable commodity, that can be offered to the Tartars; and the only example of their industry seems to consist in the art of extracting from mares' milk a fermented liquor, which possesses a very strong power of intoxication. Like the animals of prey, the savages, both of the old and new world, experience the alternate vicissitudes of famine and plenty; and their stomach is inured to sustain, without much inconvenience, the opposite extremes of hunger and of intemperance.

**Habitations.** II. In the ages of rustic and martial simplicity, a people of soldiers and husbandmen are dispersed over the face of an extensive and cultivated country; and some time must elapse before the warlike youth of Greece or Italy could be assembled under the same standard, either to defend their own confines, or to invade the territories of the adjacent tribes. The progress of manufactures and commerce insensibly collects a large multitude within the walls of a city: but these citizens are no longer soldiers; and the arts which adorn and improve the state of civil society, corrupt the habits of the military life. The pastoral manners of the Scythians seem to unite the different advantages of simplicity and refinement. The individuals of the same tribe are constantly assembled, but they are assembled in a camp; and the native spirit of these dauntless shepherds is animated by mutual support and emulation. The houses of the Tartars are no more than small tents, of an oval form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation for the promiscuous youth of both sexes. The palaces of the rich consist of wooden huts, of such a size that they may be conveniently fixed on large wagons, and drawn by a team perhaps of twenty or thirty oxen. The flocks and herds, after grazing all day in the adjacent pastures, retire, on the approach of night, within the protection of the camp. The necessity of preventing the most mischievous

confusion, in such a perpetual concourse of men and animals, must gradually introduce, in the distribution, the order, and the guard, of the encampment, the rudiments of the military art. As soon as the forage of a certain district is consumed, the tribe, or rather army, of shepherds, makes a regular march to some fresh pastures; and thus acquires, in the ordinary occupations of the pastoral life, the practical knowledge of one of the most important and difficult operations of war. The choice of stations is regulated by the difference of the seasons: in the summer, the Tartars advance towards the north, and pitch their tents on the banks of a river, or, at least, in the neighbourhood of a running stream. But in the winter they return to the south, and shelter their camp, behind some convenient eminence, against the winds, which are chilled in their passage over the bleak and icy regions of Siberia. These manners are admirably adapted to diffuse, among the wandering tribes, the spirit of emigration and conquest. The connection between the people and their territory is of so frail a texture that it may be broken by the slightest accident. The camp, and not the soil, is the native country of the genuine Tartar. Within the precincts of that camp, his family, his companions, his property, are always included: and, in the most distant marches, he is still surrounded by the objects which are dear, or valuable, or familiar in his eyes. The thirst of rapine, the fear, or the resentment of injury, the impatience of servitude, have, in every age, been sufficient causes to urge the tribes of Scythia boldly to advance into some unknown countries, where they might hope to find a more plentiful subsistence, or a less formidable enemy. The revolutions of the North have frequently determined the fate of the South; and in the conflict of hostile nations, the victor and the vanquished have alternately drove, and been driven, from the confines of China to those of Germany.<sup>10</sup> These great emigrations, which have been sometimes executed with almost incredible diligence, were rendered more easy by the peculiar nature of the climate. It is well known, that the cold of Tartary is much more severe than, in the midst of the temperate zone, might reasonably be expected; this uncommon rigour is attributed to the height of the plains, which rise, especially towards the east, more than half a mile above the level of the sea; and to the quantity of saltpetre, with which the soil is deeply impregnated.<sup>11</sup> In the winter season, the broad and rapid rivers, that discharge their waters into the Euxine, the Caspian, or the Icy Sea, are strongly frozen; the fields are covered with a bed of snow; and the fugitive, or victorious, tribes may securely traverse, with their families, their wagons, and their cattle, the smooth and hard surface of an immense plain.

III. The pastoral life, compared Eutelsæ. with the labours of agriculture and manufactures, is undoubtedly a life of idleness; and as the most honourable shepherds of the

<sup>10</sup> These Tartar migrations have been described by M. de Guignes (Histoire des Huns, &c.) and by M. de Hammer (Geschichte der Chinesen, &c.) who have collected a great number of particulars from the Chinese historians, and from other sources, which are not mentioned in the text of this history.

<sup>11</sup> A plain of this kind is described by M. de Guignes (Histoire des Huns, &c.) and by M. de Hammer (Geschichte der Chinesen, &c.) who have collected a great number of particulars from the Chinese historians, and from other sources, which are not mentioned in the text of this history.



Tartar race devolve on their captives the domestic management of the cattle, their own leisure is seldom disturbed by any servile and assiduous cares. But this leisure, instead of being devoted to the soft enjoyments of love and harmony, is usefully spent in the violent and sanguinary exercise of the chase. The plains of Tartary are filled with a strong and serviceable breed of horses, which are easily trained for the purposes of war and hunting. The Scythians of every age have been celebrated as bold and skilful riders, and constant practice had seated them so firmly on horseback, that they were supposed by strangers to perform the ordinary duties of civil life, to eat, to drink, and even to sleep, without dismounting from their steeds. They excel in the dexterous management of the lance; the long Tartar bow is drawn with a nervous arm; and the weighty arrow is directed to its object with unerring aim, and irresistible force. These arrows are often pointed against the harmless animals of the desert, which increase and multiply in the absence of their most formidable enemy; the hare, the goat, the roebuck, the fallow-deer, the stag, the elk, and the antelope. The vigour and patience, both of the men and horses, are continually exercised by the fatigues of the chase; and the plentiful supply of game contributes to the subsistence, and even luxury, of a Tartar camp. But the exploits of the hunters of Scythia are not confined to the destruction of timid or innoxious beasts; they boldly encounter the angry wild boar, when he turns against his pursuers, excite the sluggish courage of the bear, and provoke the fury of the tiger, as he slumbers in the thicket. Where there is danger, there may be glory: and the mode of hunting, which opens the fairest field to the exertions of valour, may justly be considered as the image, and as the school, of war. The general hunting-matches, the pride and delight of the Tartar princes, compose an instructive exercise for their numerous cavalry. A circle is drawn, of many miles in circumference, to encompass the game of an extensive district; and the troops that form the circle regularly advance towards a common centre; where the captive animals, surrounded on every side, are abandoned to the darts of the hunters. In this march, which frequently continues many days, the cavalry are obliged to climb the hills, to swim the rivers, and to wind through the valleys, without interrupting the prescribed order of their gradual progress. They acquire the habit of directing their eye, and their steps, to a remote object; of preserving their intervals; of suspending, or accelerating, their pace, according to the motions of the troops on their right and left; and of watching and repeating the signals of their leaders. Their leaders study, in this practical school, the most important lesson of the military art; the prompt and accurate judgment of ground, of distance, and of time. To employ against a human enemy the same patience and valour, the same skill and

discipline, is the only alteration which is required in real war; and the amusements of the chase serve as a prelude to the conquest of an empire.<sup>12</sup>

The political society of the ancient Government.

Germans has the appearance of a voluntary alliance of independent warriors. The tribes of Scythia, distinguished by the modern appellation of *Hords*, assume the form of a numerous and increasing family; which, in the course of successive generations, has been propagated from the same original stock. The meanest, and most ignorant, of the Tartars, preserve, with conscious pride, the inestimable treasure of their genealogy; and whatever distinctions of rank may have been introduced, by the unequal distribution of pastoral wealth, they mutually respect themselves, and each other, as the descendants of the first founder of the tribe. The custom, which still prevails, of adopting the bravest and most faithful of the captives, may countenance the very probable suspicion, that this extensive consanguinity is, in a great measure, legal and fictitious. But the useful prejudice, which has obtained the sanction of time and opinion, produces the effects of truth; the haughty barbarians yield a cheerful and voluntary obedience to the head of their blood; and their chief, or *muras*, as the representative of their great father, exercises the authority of a judge, in peace, and of a leader, in war. In the original state of the pastoral world, each of the *muras*s (if we may continue to use a modern appellation) acted as the independent chief of a large and separate family; and the limits of their peculiar territories were gradually fixed, by superior force, or mutual consent. But the constant operation of various and permanent causes contributed to unite the vagrant hords into national communities, under the command of a supreme head. The weak were desirous of support, and the strong were ambitious of dominion; the power, which is the result of union, oppressed and collected the divided forces of the adjacent tribes; and, as the vanquished were freely admitted to share the advantages of victory, the most valiant chiefs hastened to range themselves and their followers under the formidable standard of a confederate nation. The most successful of the Tartar princes assumed the military command, to which he was entitled by the superiority, either of merit, or of power. He was raised to the throne by the acclamations of his equals; and the title of *Khan* expresses, in the language of the north of Asia, the full extent of the regal dignity. The right of hereditary succession was long confined to the blood of the founder of the monarchy; and at this moment all the khans, who reign from Crimea to the wall of China, are the lineal descendants of the renowned Zingis.<sup>13</sup> But, as it is the indispensable duty of a Tartar sovereign to lead his warlike subjects into the field, the claims of an infant are often disregarded; and some royal kinsman, distinguished by his age and valour, is intrusted with the sword

12 Petit de la Croix (Vie de Gengiscan, l. iii c 7) represents the full glory and extent of the Mongol chase. The escort (archif) and Verbest followed the emperor Bamiu when he hunted in Lerrey. (Thibault, *Descriptio* . . .)

13 See the second volume of the *Genealogical History of the Tartars*, and the list of the Khans, at the end of the life of Gergis, or Zingis. Under the reign of Eimur, or Eimeriane, one of his subjects, a descendant of Zingis, still bore the regal appellation of Khan: and the conqueror of Asia continued himself with the title of Eimur, or Sultan. Abulghazi, *art. v. c. 1.* D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 575.

and sceptre of his predecessor. Two distinct and regular taxes are levied on the tribes, to support the dignity of their national monarch, and of their peculiar chief; and each of those contributions amounts to the tithe, both of their property, and of their spoil. A Tartar sovereign enjoys the tenth part of the wealth of his people; and as his own domestic riches of flocks and herds increase in a much larger proportion, he is able plentifully to maintain the rustic splendour of his court, to reward the most deserving, or the most favoured, of his followers, and to obtain, from the gentle influence of corruption, the obedience which might be sometimes refused to the stern mandates of authority. The manners of his subjects, accustomed, like himself, to blood and rapine, might excuse, in their eyes, such partial acts of tyranny, as would excite the horror of a civilised people; but the power of a despot has never been acknowledged in the deserts of Scythia. The immediate jurisdiction of the Khan is confined within the limits of his own tribe; and the exercise of his royal prerogative has been moderated by the ancient institution of a national council. The *Coroultai*,<sup>14</sup> or Diet, of the Tartars, was regularly held in the spring and autumn, in the midst of a plain; where the princes of the reigning family, and the *mursas* of the respective tribes, may conveniently assemble on horseback, with their martial and numerous trains; and the ambitious monarch, who reviewed the strength, must consult the inclination, of an armed people. The rudiments of a feudal government may be discovered in the constitution of the Scythian or Tartar nations; but the perpetual conflict of those hostile nations has sometimes terminated in the establishment of a powerful and despotic empire. The victor, enriched by the tribute, and fortified by the arms, of dependent kings, has spread his conquests over Europe or Asia: the successful shepherds of the north have submitted to the confinement of arts, of laws, and of cities; and the introduction of luxury, after destroying the freedom of the people, has undermined the foundations of the throne.<sup>15</sup>

Situation and  
extent of Ncy-  
thia, or Taryar.

The memory of past events cannot long be preserved, in the frequent and remote emigrations of

14 See the Diet of the ancient Huns (De Guignes, tom. ii, p. 26), and a curious description of those of Zingis (Le def. nigr. tom. i, c. 6), in p. 114. Such assemblies are frequently mentioned in the Persian history of Tinnur, though they served only to countenance the resolution of the master.

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for  $\lambda \in \mathbb{R}$  and  $\mu \in \mathbb{C}$  with  $\operatorname{Re} \mu > 0$ . Then  $\mathcal{L}(\lambda, \mu)$  is the Laplace transform of the function  $f(t) = e^{\lambda t} \mathcal{L}^{-1}(\mu)$  for  $t \geq 0$ . If  $\lambda \in \mathbb{R}$  and  $\mu \in \mathbb{C}$  with  $\operatorname{Re} \mu > 0$ , then  $\mathcal{L}(\lambda, \mu)$  is the Laplace transform of the function  $f(t) = e^{\lambda t} \mathcal{L}^{-1}(\mu)$  for  $t \geq 0$ . If  $\lambda \in \mathbb{R}$  and  $\mu \in \mathbb{C}$  with  $\operatorname{Re} \mu > 0$ , then  $\mathcal{L}(\lambda, \mu)$  is the Laplace transform of the function  $f(t) = e^{\lambda t} \mathcal{L}^{-1}(\mu)$  for  $t \geq 0$ .

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21. The coefficient  $S_{21}$  with its error and the coefficient  $S_{22}$  with its error are illustrated in the box-plot for the  $h_{21}$  and  $h_{22}$  components, which compares the three error types and the error probability of the variance component test for the female.

22 The original seat of the nation was at the northernmost north-west of China, near present-day Szechwan. In the first dynasty, the territory was divided into 12 provinces, the villages were thence scattered, there is a small village more than in tillage, the exercise of hunting was almost entirely abandoned.

illiterate barbarians. The modern Tartars are ignorant of the conquests of their ancestors;<sup>16</sup> and our knowledge of the history of the Scythians is derived from their intercourse with the learned and civilised nations of the south, the Greeks, the Persians, and the Chinese. The Greeks, who navigated the Euxine, and planted their colonies along the sea-coast, made the gradual and imperfect discovery of Scythia; from the Danube, and the confines of Thrace, as far as the frozen Maotii, the seat of eternal winter, and Mount Caucasus, which, in the language of poetry, was described as the utmost boundary of the earth. They celebrated, with simple credulity, the virtues of a pastoral life;<sup>17</sup> they entertained a more rational apprehension of the strength and numbers of the warlike barbarians,<sup>18</sup> who contemptuously baffled the immense armament of Darius, the son of Hystaspes.<sup>19</sup> The Persian monarchs had extended their western conquests to the banks of the Danube, and the limits of European Scythia. The eastern provinces of their empire were exposed to the Scythians of Asia; the wild inhabitants of the plains beyond the Oxus and the Jaxartes, two mighty rivers, which direct their course towards the Caspian Sea. The long and memorable quarrel of Iran and Touran is still the theme of history or romance: the famous, perhaps the fabulous, valour of the Persian heroes, Rustan and Asfendiari, was signalised, in the defence of their country, against the Afrasiabs of the north;<sup>20</sup> and the invincible spirit of the same barbarians resisted, on the same ground, the victorious arms of Cyrus and Alexander.<sup>21</sup> In the eyes of the Greeks and Persians, the real geography of Scythia was bounded, on the east, by the mountains of Imaus, or Caf; and their distant prospect of the extreme and inaccessible parts of Asia was clouded by ignorance, or perplexed by fiction. But those inaccessible regions are the ancient residence of a powerful and civilised nation,<sup>22</sup> which ascends, by a probable tradition, above forty centuries;<sup>23</sup> and which is able to verify a series of near two thousand years, by the perpetual testimony of accurate and contemporary historians.<sup>24</sup> The annals of China<sup>25</sup> illustrate the state and revolutions of the pastoral

country from wild beasts, Petchu (where Pekin stands) was a desert, and the southern provinces were peopled with Indian savages. The dynasty of the *Han*, before Christ 206, gave the empire its actual form and extent.

25. The era of the Chinese monarchy has been variously fixed, from 52 to 237 years before Christ; and the year 2577 has been chosen for the lawful epoch, by the authors of the present century. The difference arises from the uncertainty of the duration of the so-called reigns, and the variance of the names of the monarchs, as far as the real, or fictitious, years of Fuhai, or Hui-chi. Semolin dates his authentic chronology from the year 543, the thirty-sixth epoch of Confucius, the year of which has been generally observed, but even the years 52 and 53 have been fixed. The *golden age period* of China has been variously fixed, the French monarchy

After a more aggressive and consistent response, the director of the Department of Health was named the next day. The Department of Health was named the next day. The Department of Health was named the next day.

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tribes, which may still be distinguished by the vague appellation of Scythians, or Tartars; the vassals, the enemies, and sometimes the conquerors, of a great empire; whose policy has uniformly opposed the blind and impetuous valour of the barbarians of the north. From the mouth of the Danube to the sea of Japan, the whole longitude of Scythia is about one hundred and ten degrees, which, in that parallel, are equal to more than five thousand miles. The latitude of these extensive deserts cannot be so easily, or so accurately, measured; but, from the fortieth degree, which touches the wall of China, we may seemely advance above a thousand miles to the northward, till our progress is stopped by the excessive cold of Siberia. In that dreary climate, instead of the animated picture of a Tartar camp, the smoke which issues from the earth, or rather from the snow, betrays the subterraneous dwellings of the Tongouses, and the Samoïedes: the want of horses and oxen is imperfectly supplied by the use of reindeer, and of large dogs; and the conquerors of the earth insensibly degenerate into a race of deformed and diminutive savages, who tremble at the sound of arms.<sup>25</sup>

The Huns, who under the reign of Valens threatened the empire of Rome, had been formidable, in a much earlier period, to the empire of China.<sup>27</sup> Their ancient, perhaps their original, seat, was an extensive, though dry and barren, tract of country, immediately on the north side of the great wall. Their place is at present occupied by the forty-nine hords or banners of the Mongous, a pastoral nation, which consists of about two hundred thousand families.<sup>28</sup> But the valour of the Huns had extended the narrow limits of their dominions; and their rustic chiefs, who assumed the appellation of *Tanjou*, gradually became the conquerors, and the sovereigns, of a formidable empire. Towards the east, their victorious arms were stopped only by the ocean; and the tribes, which are thinly scattered between the Amoor and the extreme peninsula of Corea, adlied, with reluctance, to the standard of the Huns. On the west, near the head of the Irish, and in the valleys of Imaus, they found a more ample space, and more numerous enemies. One of the lieutenants of the *Tanjou* subdued, in a single expedition, twenty-six nations; the Igours, distinguished above the Tartar race by the use of letters, were in the number of his vassals; and, by the strange connection of human events, the flight of one of those vagrant tribes recalled the victorious Parthians from the invasion of Syria.<sup>29</sup> On the

side of the north, the ocean was assigned as the limit of the power of the Huns. Without enemies to resist their progress, or witnesses, to contradict their vanity, they might securely achieve a real, or imaginary, conquest of the frozen regions of Siberia. The *Northern Sea* was fixed as the remote boundary of their empire. But the name of that sea, on whose shores the patriot *Sovou* embraced the life of a shepherd and an exile,<sup>31</sup> may be transferred, with much more probability, to the Baikal, a capacious basin, above three hundred miles in length, which disdains the modest appellation of a lake,<sup>32</sup> and which actually communicates with the seas of the north, by the long course of the Angara, the Tonguska, and the Jeni-sea. The submission of so many distant nations might flatter the pride of the *Tanjou*; but the valour of the Huns could be rewarded only by the enjoyment of the wealth and luxury of the empire of the South. In the third century before the Christian era, a wall of fifteen hundred miles in length was constructed, to defend the frontiers of China against the inroads of the Huns;<sup>33</sup> but this stupendous work, which holds a conspicuous place in the map of the world, has never contributed to the safety of an unwarlike people. The cavalry of the *Tanjou* frequently consisted of two or three hundred thousand men, formidable by the matchless dexterity with which they managed their bows and their horses; by their hardy patience in supporting the inclemency of the weather; and by the incredible speed of their march, which was seldom checked by torrents, or precipices, by the deepest rivers, or by the most lofty mountains. They spread themselves at once over the face of the country; and their rapid impetuosity surprised, astonished, and disconcerted the grave and elaborate tactics of a Chinese army. The emperor *Kaoti*,<sup>34</sup> a soldier of fortune, whose personal merit had raised him to the throne, marched against the Huns with those veteran troops which had been trained in the civil wars of China. But he was soon surrounded by the barbarians; and, after a siege of seven days, the monarch, hopeless of relief, was reduced to purchase his deliverance by an ignominious capitulation. The successors of *Kaoti*, whose lives were dedicated to the arts of peace, or the luxury of the palace, submitted to a more permanent disgrace. They too hastily confessed the insufficiency of arms and fortifications. They were too easily convinced, that while the blazing signals announced on every side the approach of the Huns, the Chinese troops, who slept with the helmet on their head, and the cuirass on their back, were destroyed by the

Original seat of the Huns.

Their conquests in Scythia.

<sup>25</sup> See the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, tom. xviii, and the *Géographie Ancienne*, vol. ii, p. 20, 21, 22.

<sup>27</sup> M. de Guignes, tom. iv, p. 124, has given the original history of the ancient Hiong-nou, or Huns. The Chinese geography of that country (tom. i, part ii, p. 15, 16, 17) seems to comprise a part of their conquests.

<sup>28</sup> See in Duhalde (tom. iv, p. 18, 19) a circumstantial description, with a tract in map, of the country of the Mongous.

<sup>29</sup> The Igours, or Vigours, were divided into three branches: hunters, shepherds, and horse-riders; and the last class was despised by the two former. See Duhalde, part ii, c. 7.

<sup>30</sup> *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxv, p. 17. The comprehensive view of M. de Guignes has compared these distant events.

<sup>31</sup> The fame of *Sovou*, or *Soou*, his merit, and his singular adventures, are still celebrated in China. See the *Éloge de Moukden*, p. 29.

and notes, p. 211–217, and *Mémoires sur la Chine*, tom. ii, p. 217–220.

<sup>32</sup> See *Jourdan l'Es*, in *Herz's Collection*, vol. ii, p. 951, *Ed's Travels*, vol. i, p. 247–251, and Guignes, in the *Hist. Générale des Voyages*, tom. xviii, p. 287–291. They all remark the vulgar opinion, that the *Sea* is not a sea, and is not a sea, if any one pretends to call it a lake. This grammatical and not a dispute, between the absurd superstition of the mariners, and the absurd obstinacy of travellers.

<sup>33</sup> See Duhalde, tom. iv, p. 18, 19.

<sup>34</sup> The celebrated monument of the great History of *Senakoung* A. D. 1084 and his commentators.

incessant labour of ineffectual marches.<sup>37</sup> A regular payment of money, and silk, was stipulated as the condition of a temporary and precarious peace; and the wretched expedient of disguising a real tribute, under the names of a gift or a subsidy, was practised by the emperors of China, as well as by those of Rome. But there still remained a more disgraceful article of tribute, which violated the sacred feelings of humanity and nature. The hardships of the savage life, which destroy in their infancy the children who are born with a less healthy and robust constitution, introduce a remarkable disproportion between the numbers of the two sexes. The Tartars are an ugly and even deformed race; and, while they consider their own women as the instruments of domestic labour, their desires, or rather their appetites, are directed to the enjoyment of more elegant beauty. A select band of the fairest maidens of China was annually devoted to the rude embraces of the Huns,<sup>38</sup> and the alliance of the haughty Tanjous was secured by their marriage with the genuine, or adopted, daughters of the imperial family, which vainly attempted to escape the sacrilegious pollution. The situation of these unhappy victims is described in the verses of a Chinese princess, who laments that she had been condemned by her parents to a distant exile, under a barbarian husband; who complains that sour milk was her only drink, raw flesh her only food, a tent her only palace; and who expresses, in a strain of pathetic simplicity, the natural wish, that she were transformed into a bird, to fly back to her dear country, the object of her tender and perpetual regret.

*Ante Christ. 1164.* The conquest of China has been twice achieved by the pastoral tribes of the north: the forces of the Huns were not inferior to those of the Mooguls, or of the Manchewy; and their ambition might entertain the most sanguine hopes of success. But their pride was humbled, and their progress was checked, by the arms and policy of Youti, the fifth emperor of the powerful dynasty of the

*Ante Christ. 110-85.* Han. In his long reign of fifty-four years, the barbarians of the southern provinces submitted to the laws and manners of China; and the ancient limits of the monarchy were enlarged, from the great river of Kiang, to the port of Canton. Instead of continuing himself to the timid operations of a defensive war, his lieutenant penetrated many hundred miles into the country of the Huns. In those boundless deserts, where it is impossible to form magazines, and difficult to transport a sufficient supply of provisions, the armies of Youti were repeatedly exposed to the most severe hardships; and, of one hundred and forty thousand soldiers, who marched against the Huns, thirty thousand only returned in safety to the

feet of their master. These losses, however, were compensated by splendid and decisive success. The Chinese generals improved the superiority which they derived from the temper of their arms, their chariots of war, and the service of their Tartar auxiliaries. The camp of the Tanjou was surprised in the midst of sleep and intemperance; and, though the monarch of the Huns bravely cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he left above fifteen thousand of his subjects on the field of battle. Yet this signal victory, which was preceded and followed by many bloody engagements, contributed much less to the destruction of the power of the Huns, than the effectual policy which was employed to detach the tributary nations from their obedience. Intimidated by the

*Ante Christ. 70.* arms, or allured by the promises, of Youti and his successors, the most considerable tribes, both of the east and of the west, disclaimed the authority of the Tanjou. While some acknowledged themselves the allies or vassals of the empire, they all became the implacable enemies of the Huns; and the numbers of that haughty people, as soon as they were reduced to their native strength, might, perhaps, have been contained within the walls of one of the great and populous cities of China.<sup>39</sup> The desertion of his subjects, and the perplexity of a civil war, at length compelled the Tanjou himself to renounce the dignity of an independent sovereign, and the freedom of a warlike and high-spirited nation. He was re-

*Ante Christ. 51.* ceived at Sigan, the capital of the monarchy, by the troops, the mandarins, and the emperor himself, with all the honours that could adorn and disguise the triumph of Chinese vanity.<sup>40</sup> A magnificent palace was prepared for his reception; his place was assigned above all the princes of the royal family; and the patience of the barbarian king was exhausted by the ceremonies of a banquet, which consisted of eight courses of meat, and of nine solemn pieces of music. But he performed, on his knees, the duty of a respectful homage to the emperor of China; pronounced, in his own name, and in the name of his successors, a perpetual oath of fidelity; and gratefully accepted a seal, which was bestowed as the emblem of his regal dependence. After this humiliating submission, the Tanjous sometimes departed from their allegiance, and seized the favourable moments of war and rapine; but the monarchy of the Huns gradually declined, till it was broken, by civil dissension, into two hostile and separate king-

*ADIS.* doms. One of the princes of the nation was urged, by fear and ambition, to retire towards the south with eight hundred, which composed between forty and fifty thousand families. He obtained, with the title of Tanjou, a convenient territory on the verge of the Chinese

<sup>37</sup> See a fine passage in the *Shi-King*, where the poet complains of the hardships of the Chinese soldiers, who were obliged to march in winter, without any proper clothing, and to fight in the heat of summer, without any protection.

<sup>38</sup> A supply of women was sent to the Huns, as a tribute, by the Chinese emperors, and this practice continued for several centuries.

<sup>39</sup> See the reign of the emperor Youti, in the *Shi-King*, tom. ii.

<sup>40</sup> The Chinese historians relate that the emperor of the Han dynasty, when he received the king of the Huns, gave him a seal, and a robe of honour, and that he also gave him a large sum of money, and a large number of horses, and that he also gave him a large number of women, and that he also gave him a large number of children.

provinces; and his constant attachment to the service of the empire was secured by weakness, and the desire of revenge. From the time of this fatal schism, the Huns of the north continued to languish about fifty years; till they were oppressed on every side by their foreign and domestic enemies. The proud inscription<sup>41</sup> of a column, erected on a lofty mountain, announced to posterity, that a Chinese army had marched seven hundred miles into the heart of their country. The Siempi,<sup>42</sup> a tribe of Oriental Tartars, retaliated the injuries which they had formerly sustained; and the power of the Tanjous, after a reign of thirteen hundred years, was utterly destroyed before the end of the first century of the Christian era.<sup>43</sup>

A. D. 95. The fate of the vanquished Huns was diversified by the various influence of character and situation.<sup>44</sup>

Above one hundred thousand persons, the poorest, indeed, and the most pusillanimous of the people, were contented to remain in their native country, to renounce their peculiar name and origin, and to mingle with the victorious nation of the Siempi. Fifty-eight hords, about two hundred thousand men, ambitious of a more honourable servitude, retired towards the south; implored the protection of the emperors of China; and were permitted to inhabit, and to guard, the extreme frontiers of the province of Chansi and the territory of Orour. But the most warlike and powerful tribes of the Huns maintained, in their adverse fortune, the undaunted spirit of their ancestors. The Western world was open to their valour; and they resolved, under the conduct of their hereditary chieftains, to discover and subdue some remote country, which was still inaccessible to the arms of the Siempi, and to the laws of China.<sup>45</sup> The course of their emigration soon carried them beyond the mountains of Imaus, and the limits of the Chinese geography; but we are able to distinguish the two great divisions of these formidable exiles, which directed their march

towards the Oxus, and towards the Volga. The first of these colonies established their dominion in the fruitful and extensive plains of Sogdiana, on the eastern side of the Caspian; where they preserved the name of Huns, with the epithet of Euthalites, or Nepthalities. Their manners were softened, and even their features were insensibly improved, by the mildness of the climate, and their long re-

sidence in a flour-ling province,<sup>46</sup> which might still retain a faint impression of the arts of Greece.<sup>47</sup> The white Huns, a name which they derived from the change of their complexions, soon abandoned the pastoral life of Scythia. Gorgo, which, under the appellation of Carizme, has since enjoyed a temporary splendour, was the residence of the king, who exercised a legal authority over an obedient people. Their luxury was maintained by the labour of the Sogdians; and the only vestige of their ancient barbarism was the custom which obliged all the companions, perhaps to the number of twenty, who had shared the liberality of a wealthy lord, to be buried alive in the same grave.<sup>48</sup> The vicinity of the Huns to the provinces of Persia, involved them in frequent and bloody contests with the power of that monarchy. But they respected, in peace, the faith of treaties; in war, the dictates of humanity; and their memorable victory over Peroses, or Firuz, displayed the moderation, as well as the valour, of the bar-

barians. The second division of the Huns, who gradually advanced towards the north-west, were exercised by the hardships of a colder climate, and a more laborious march. Necessity compelled them to exchange the silks of China, for the furs of Siberia; the imperfect rudiments of civilised life were obliterated; and the native fierceness of the Huns was exasperated by their intercourse with the savage tribes, who were compared, with some propriety, to the wild beasts of the desert. Their independent spirit soon rejected the hereditary succession of the Tanjous; and while each hord was governed by its peculiar mursa, their tumultuary council directed the public measures of the whole nation. As late as the thirteenth century, their transient residence on the eastern banks of the Volga was attested by the name of Great Hungary.<sup>49</sup> In the winter, they descended with their flocks and herds towards the mouth of that mighty river; and their summer excursions reached as high as the latitude of Saratoff, or perhaps the conflux of the Kama. Such at least were the recent limits of the black Calmucks,<sup>50</sup> who remained about a century under the protection of Russia; and who have since returned to their native seats on the frontiers of the Chinese empire. The march, and the return, of those wandering Tartars, whose united camp consists of fifty thousand tents or families, illustrate the distant emigrations of the ancient Huns.<sup>51</sup>

41 This inscription was composed on the spot by Pankou, president of the Tribunal of History (Kang-Mou, tom. ii. p. 334). Singular monuments have been discovered in many parts of Tartary. (Histoire des Huns, tom. ii. p. 122.)

42 M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 189) has inserted a short account of the Siempi.

43 The era of History is placed, by the Chinese, 1210 years before Christ. But the series of their kings does not commence till the year 250. (Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 21, 125.)

44 The various accidents, the downfall, and flight of the Huns, are related in the Kang-Mou, tom. ii. p. 91, 95, 129, &c. The small numbers of each hord may be ascribed to their losses and divisions.

45 M. de Guignes has skillfully traced the footsteps of the Huns through the vast deserts of Tartary (tom. ii. p. 125, 277, &c. 325, 361, &c.).

46 Mohammed, sultan of Carizme, reigned in Sogdiana, when it was invaded (A. D. 1218), by Zingis and his Moguls. The Oriental historians (see D'Herbelot, l'ent de la Chine, &c.) celebrate the populous cities which he ruined, and the fruitful country which he desolated. In the next century, the same provinces of Chorasana and Mawarannah were described by Alutefla. (Hudson, Geography, tom. ii.) Their actual ruin may be seen in the Genealogical History of the Tartars, p. 425—469.

47 Justin (l. 6.) has left a short abridgement of the Greek kings of Bactriana. In their history I should ascribe the new and extraordinary trade, which transported the merchandises of India into Europe, to the Oxus, the Caspian, the Cyrus, the Phasis, and the Euxine. The other was, both of the land and sea, were possessed by the Scythians and the Ptolemies. (See l'Esprit des Loix, l. xxi.)

48 Pogeus de B. l. Persarum, l. c. 3. p. 16.

49 In the thirteenth century, the monk Hui-tsang (who traversed the immense plain of Kizak, in his journey to the court of the Great Khan) observed the remarkable name of Hungary, with the traces of a common language and origin. (Hist. des Voyages, tom. vi. p. 269.)

50 In the 13th century, the Genealogical History of the Huns, or the beginning of the

mucks, or Torgouts, alive of Kien-lon, led for the inscription of a column, has been translated by the missionaries of Peking (McMourie sur la Chine, tom. i. p. 401—413). The emperor affects the smooth and specious language of the Son of Heaven, and the Father of his People.





permit them to cultivate the waste lands of Thrace, they should ever hold themselves bound, by the strongest obligations of duty and gratitude, to obey the laws, and to guard the limits, of the republic. These assurances were confirmed by the ambassadors of the Goths, who impatiently expected, from the mouth of Valens, an answer that must finally determine the fate of their unhappy countrymen. The emperor of the East was no longer guided by the wisdom and autho-

A. D. 375,  
Nov. 17.

...rity of his elder brother, whose death happened towards the end of the preceding year: and as the distressful situation of the Goths required an instant and peremptory decision, he was deprived of the favourite resource of feeble and timid minds; who consider the use of dilatory and ambiguous measures as the most admirable efforts of consummate prudence. As long as the same passions and interests subsist among mankind, the questions of war and peace, of justice and policy, which were debated in the councils of antiquity, will frequently present themselves as the subject of modern deliberation. But the most experienced statesman of Europe has never been summoned to consider the propriety, or the danger, of admitting, or rejecting, an innumerable multitude of barbarians, who are driven by despair and hunger to solicit a settlement on the territories of a civilised nation. When that important proposition, so essentially connected with the public safety, was referred to the ministers of Valens, they were perplexed and divided; but they soon acquiesced in the flattering sentiment which seemed the most favourable to the pride, the indolence, and the varice of their sovereign. The slaves, who were decorated with the titles of prefect and general, dissembled or misapplied the terrors of this national calamity; so extremely different from the partial and accidental colonies, which had been received on the extreme limits of the empire. But they applauded the liberality of fortune, which had conducted, from the most distant countries of the globe, a numerous and invincible army of strangers, to defend the throne of Valens; who might now add to the royal treasures, the immense sums of gold supplied by the provincials to compensate their annual proportion of recruits. The prayers of the Goths were granted, and their service was accepted by the Imperial court, and orders were immediately despatched to the civil and military governors of the Thracian diocese, to make the necessary preparations for the passage and subsistence of a great people, till a proper and sufficient territory could be allotted for their future residence. The brutality of the emperor was accompanied, however, with too harsh and rigorous conditions, which prudence might justify on the side of the Romans; but which distress alone could exert from the malignant Goths. Before they passed the Danube, they were required to deliver their arms, and it was

insisted, that their children should be taken from them, and dispersed through the provinces of Asia; where they might be civilised by the arts of education, and serve as hostages to secure the fidelity of their parents.

During this suspense of a doubtful and distant negotiation, the impatient Goths made some rash attempts to pass the Danube, without the permission of the government, whose protection they had implored. Their motions were strictly observed by the vigilance of the troops which were stationed along the river; and their foremost detachments were defeated with considerable slaughter; yet such were the timid councils of the reign of Valens, that the brave officers who had served their country in the execution of their duty, were punished by the loss of their employments, and narrowly escaped the loss of their heads. The Imperial mandate was at length received for transporting over the Danube the whole body of the Gothic nation;<sup>65</sup> but the execution of this order was a task of labour and difficulty. The stream of the Danube, which in those parts is above a mile broad,<sup>66</sup> had been swelled by incessant rains; and, in this tumultuous passage, many were swept away, and drowned, by the rapid violence of the current. A large fleet of vessels, of boats, and of canoes, was provided, many days and nights they passed and repassed with indefatigable toil; and the most strenuous diligence was exerted by the officers of Valens, that not a single barbarian, of those who were resolved to subvert the foundation of Rome, should be left on the opposite shore. It was thought expedient that an accurate account should be taken of their numbers, but the persons who were employed soon desisted, with an account of a dismay, from the prosecution of the so laborious and impracticable task;<sup>67</sup> and the principal historian of the age most generously affirms, that the prodigious armies of Partius and Roxes, which had so long been considered as the fables of vain and credulous antiquity, were now justified, in the eyes of mankind, by the evidence of fact and experience. A probable testimony has fixed the number of the Gothic warriors at two hundred thousand men; and if we can venture to add the just proportion of women, of children, and of slaves, the whole mass of people which composed this formidable emigration, must have amounted to near a million of persons, of both sexes, and of all ages. The children of the Goths, those at least of a distinguished rank, were separated from the multitude. They were conducted, without delay, to the distant seats assigned for their residence and education; and as the numerous train of hostages or captives passed through the cities, their gay and splendid apparel, their robust and martial gait, excited the surprise and envy of the provincials. But the stipulation, the most offensive to the Goths, and the most important to

They are transported over the Danube into the Roman empire.

<sup>65</sup> The passage of the Danube is exposed by Ammianus, lib. xxx. c. 1. Zosimus, lib. 2. c. 23. Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. lib. 10. c. 20. and Hieronymus, c. 23. of his Chronology.

<sup>66</sup> The river runs only a few miles above the city of Constantinople, and is therefore not so wide as it is represented to be in the text. The fact is, that the river is only a few miles wide at Constantinople, and is therefore not so wide as it is represented to be in the text.

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the Romans, was shamefully eluded. The barbarians, who considered their arms as the ensigns of honour, and the pledges of safety, were disposed to offer a price, which the lust or avarice of the Imperial officers was easily tempted to accept. To preserve their arms, the haughty warriors consented, with some reluctance, to prostitute their wives or their daughters; the charms of a beautiful maid, or a comely boy, secured the connivance of the inspectors; who sometimes cast an eye of covetousness on the fringed carpets and linen garments of their new allies,<sup>68</sup> or who sacrificed their duty to the mean consideration of filling their farms with cattle, and their houses with slaves. The Goths, with arms in their hands, were permitted to enter the boats; and, when their strength was collected on the other side of the river, the immense camp, which was spread over the plains and the hills of the Lower Mæsia, assumed a threatening and even hostile aspect. The leaders of the Ostrogoths, Alatheus and Saphrax, the guardians of their infant king, appeared soon afterwards on the northern banks of the Danube; and immediately despatched their ambassadors to the court of Antioch, to solicit, with the same professions of allegiance and gratitude, the same favour which had been granted to the suppliant Visigoths. The absolute refusal of Valens suspended their progress, and discovered the repentance, the suspicions, and the fears, of the Imperial council.

An undisciplined and unsettled nation of barbarians required the firmest temper, and the most dexterous management. The daily subsistence of near a million of extraordinary subjects could be supplied only by constant and skilful diligence, and might continually be interrupted by mistake or accident. The insolence, or the indignation, of the Goths, if they conceived themselves to be the objects, either of fear, or of contempt, might urge them to the most desperate extremities; and the fortune of the state seemed to depend on the prudence, as well as the integrity, of the generals of Valens. At this important crisis, the military government of Thrace was exercised by Lupicinus and Maximus, in whose venal minds the slightest hope of private emolument outweighed every consideration of public advantage; and whose guilt was only alleviated by their incapacity of discerning the pernicious effects of their rash and criminal administration. Instead of obeying the orders of their sovereign, and satisfying, with decent liberality, the demands of the Goths, they levied an ungenerous and oppressive tax on the wants of the hungry barbarians. The vilest food was sold at an extravagant price; and, in the room of wholesome and substantial provisions, the markets were filled with the flesh of dogs, and of unclean animals, who had died of disease. To obtain the valuable acquisition of a pound of bread, the Goths resigned the possession of an expensive, though serviceable, slave; and a

small quantity of meat was greedily purchased with ten pounds of a precious, but useless,<sup>69</sup> metal. When their property was exhausted, they continued this necessary traffic by the sale of their sons and daughters; and notwithstanding the love of freedom, which animated every Gothic breast, they submitted to the humiliating maxim, that it was better for their children to be maintained in a servile condition, than to perish in a state of wretched and helpless independence. The most lively resentment is excited by the tyranny of pretended benefactors, who sternly exact the debt of gratitude which they have cancelled by subsequent injuries: a spirit of discontent insensibly arose in the camp of the barbarians, who pleaded, without success, the merit of their patient and dutiful behaviour; and loudly complained of the inhospitable treatment which they had received from their new allies. They beheld around them the wealth and plenty of a fertile province, in the midst of which they suffered the intolerable hardships of artificial famine. But the means of relief, and even of revenge, were in their hands; since the rapaciousness of their tyrants had left, to an injured people, the possession and the use of arms. The clamours of a multitude, untaught to disguise their sentiments, announced the first symptoms of resistance, and alarmed the timid and guilty minds of Lupicinus and Maximus. Those crafty ministers, who substituted the cunning of temporary expedients to the wise and salutary counsels of general policy, attempted to remove the Goths from their dangerous station on the frontiers of the empire; and to disperse them in separate quarters of cantonment, through the interior provinces. As they were conscious how ill they had deserved the respect, or confidence, of the barbarians, they diligently collected, from every side, a military force, that might urge the tardy and reluctant march of a people, who had not yet renounced the title, or the duties, of Roman subjects. But the generals of Valens, while their attention was solely directed to the discontented Visigoths, imprudently disbanded the ships and the fortifications, which constituted the defence of the Danube. The fatal oversight was observed, and improved, by Alatheus and Saphrax, who anxiously watched the favourable moment of escaping from the pursuit of the Huns. By the help of such rafts and vessels as could be hastily procured, the leaders of the Ostrogoths transported, without opposition, their king and their army, and boldly fixed an hostile and independent camp on the territories of the empire.<sup>70</sup>

Under the name of Judges, Alavivus and Frigiter were the leaders of the Visigoths in peace and war; and the authority which they derived from their birth, was ratified by the free consent of the nation. In a season of tranquillity, their power might have been equal, as well as their rank;

Revolt of the Goths in Mæsia, and their first victories.

titles of Gothic they were the had acquired peace. Jordanes, beservile Greeks,

Eunapius and Zosimus, design the period of the barbarians, and reluctantly touches on almost on the spot, in 392, the ducis, ad rebellionem fuisse causam (in Chron.) 70. Ammianus, xxv. 1, 2.



quest of a sufficient allowance of provisions, and of a delay of only two days, was expressed in the most dutiful terms. But the first magistrate of Hadrianople, incensed by some disorders which had been committed at his country-house, refused this indulgence; and arming against them the inhabitants and manufacturers of a populous city, he urged, with hostile threats, their instant departure. The barbarians stood silent and amazed, till they were exasperated by the insulting clamours, and missile weapons, of the populace; but when patience or contempt was fatigued, they crushed the undisciplined multitude, inflicted many a shameful wound on the backs of their flying enemies, and despoiled them of the splendid armour,<sup>74</sup> which they were unworthy to bear. The resemblance of their sufferings and their actions soon united this victorious detachment to the nation of the Visigoths; the troops of Colias and Suerid expected the approach of the great Fritigern, ranged themselves under his standard, and signalised their ardour in the siege of Hadrianople. But the resistance of the garrison informed the barbarians, that, in the attack of regular fortifications, the efforts of unskilful courage are seldom effectual. Their general acknowledged his error, raised the siege, declared that "he was at peace with stone walls,"<sup>75</sup> and revenged his disappointment on the adjacent country. He accepted, with pleasure, the useful reinforcement of hardy workmen, who laboured in the gold mines of Thrace,<sup>76</sup> for the emolument, and under the lash, of an unfeeling master;<sup>77</sup> and these new associates conducted the barbarians, through the secret paths, to the most sequestered places, which had been chosen to secure the inhabitants, the cattle, and the magazines of corn. With the assistance of such guides, nothing could remain impervious or inaccessible; resistance was fatal; flight was impracticable; and the patient submission of helpless innocence seldom found mercy from the barbarian conqueror. In the course of these depredations, a great number of the children of the Goths, who had been sold into captivity, were restored to the embraces of their afflicted parents; but these tender interviews, which might have revived and cherished in their minds some sentiments of humanity, tended only to stimulate their native fierceness by the desire of revenge. They listened, with eager attention, to the complaints of their captive children, who had suffered the most cruel indignities from the lustful or angry passions of their masters; and the same cruelties, the same indignities, were severely retaliated on the sons and daughters of the Romans.<sup>78</sup>

The imprudence of Valens and his ministers had introduced into the heart of the empire a nation of enemies; but the Visigoths might even yet have been reconciled, by the manly confession of past errors, and the sincere performance of former engagements. These healing and temperate measures seemed to concur with the timorous disposition of the sovereign of the East: but, on this occasion alone, Valens was brave; and his unseasonable bravery was fatal to himself and to his subjects. He declared his intention of marching from Antioch to Constantinople, to subdue this dangerous rebellion; and, as he was not ignorant of the difficulties of the enterprise, he solicited the assistance of his nephew, the emperor Gratian, who commanded all the forces of the West. The veteran troops were hastily recalled from the defence of Armenia; that important frontier was abandoned to the discretion of Sapor; and the immediate conduct of the Gothic war was intrusted, during the absence of Valens, to his lieutenants Trigan and Profuturus, two generals who indulged themselves in a very false and favourable opinion of their own abilities. On their arrival in Thrace, they were joined by Richomer, count of the domestics; and the auxiliaries of the West, that marched under his banner, were composed of the Gallic legions, reduced indeed by a spirit of desertion, to the vain appearance of troops, and numbers. In a council of war, which was influenced by pride, rather than by reason, it was resolved to seek, and to encounter, the barbarians; who lay encamped in the spacious and fertile meadows, near the most southern of the six mouths of the Danube.<sup>79</sup> Their camp was surrounded by the usual fortification of wagons;<sup>80</sup> and the barbarians, secure within the vast circle of the enclosure, enjoyed the fruits of their valour, and the spoils of the province. In the midst of riotous intemperance, the watchful Fritigern observed the motions, and penetrated the designs, of the Romans. He perceived, that the numbers of the enemy were continually increasing; and, as he understood their intention of attacking his rear, as soon as the scarcity of forage should oblige him to remove his camp, he recalled to their standard his predatory detachments, which covered the adjacent country. As soon as they descried the flaming beacons,<sup>81</sup> they obeyed, with incredible speed, the signal of their leader; the camp was filled with the martial crowd of barbarians; their impatient clamours demanded the battle, and their tumultuous zeal was approved and animated by the spirit of their chiefs. The evening was already far advanced; and the

Operations of  
the Gothic war.  
A.D. 377.

74. An Imperial manufacture of double, Ser, was established at Hadrianople, and the practice was copied by the *Judeo-croci*, or workmen (Valens ad Antioch. xxvi. 6).

75. *Pacem subesse cum parietibus muris*. Ammian. xxvi. 7.

76. These mines were in the country of the Bessi, in the ridge of mountains, the *Thurpe*, that runs between Philippa and Philippopolis; two Macedonian cities, which derived their name and origin from the father of Alexander. From the mines of Thrace, Ammianus received the value, not the weight, of a thousand talents (*zestantia*), a revenue which paid the soldiers, and supported the cities of Greece. See *Diocet. Synod. tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 88* edit. Wesling. Godfrey's commentary on the Theodosian Code, tom. ii. p. 60. Cellarius, *Geograph. Antiqu. tom. ii. p. 650* 557. D'Anville, *Geograph. Antiqu. tom. ii. p. 66*.

77. As these unhappy workmen often ran away, Valens had enacted severe laws to drag them from their hiding-places. (Cod. Theodosian. l. x. tit. xix. leg. 7.)

78. See Ammianus, xxvi. 5, 6. The historian of the Gothic war loses time and space, in an unseasonable recapitulation of the ancient miseries of the barbarians.

79. The history of Ammianus, p. 226, 227 edit. Wesling, marks the situation of this place, but sixty miles north of Iamb. Ovid's exile, and the name of *Sabara* (the willows) expresses the nature of the soil.

80. This circle of wagons, *the castrum*, was the usual fortification of the barbarians. (Vegetius de Re Militari, l. i. c. 10. Valens ad Antioch. xxvi. 7.) The practice and the name are preserved by their descendants, as true is the twentieth century. The *choron*, who surrounded the city, a word familiar to the readers of Froissart, or *Chroniques*.

81. See *Antiqu. de Constantinople*. I have used the literal sense of *rod* for *line* of *beacons*, but I must confess, that it is only one of those forced metaphors, those false ornaments, that perpetually disgrace the style of Ammianus.

two armies prepared themselves for the approaching combat, which was deferred only till the dawn of day. While the trumpets sounded to arms, the undaunted courage of the Goths was confirmed by the mutual obligation of a solemn oath; and as they advanced to meet the enemy, the rude songs, which celebrated the glory of their forefathers, were mingled with their fierce and dissonant outcries; and opposed to the artificial harmony of the Roman shout. Some military skill was displayed by Fritigern to gain the advantage of a commanding eminence; but the bloody conflict, which began and ended with the light, was maintained, on either side, by the personal and obstinate efforts of strength, valour, and agility. The legions of Armenia supported their fame in arms; but they were oppressed by the irresistible weight of the hostile multitude—the left wing of the Romans was thrown into disorder, and the field was strewed with their mangled carcasses. This partial defeat was but a mere shadow, however, of success; and when the two armies, at a late hour of the evening, retreated to their respective camps, neither of them could claim the honour, or the effect, of a decisive victory. The real loss was more severely felt by the Romans, in proportion to the smallness of their numbers; but the Goths were so deeply confounded and dismayed by this vigorous, and perhaps unexpected, resistance, that they remained seven days within the circle of their fortifications. Such funeral rites, as the circumstances of time and place would admit, were piously discharged to some officers of distinguished rank; but the indiscriminate vulgar was left unburied on the plain. Their flesh was greedily devoured by the birds of prey, who in that age, enjoyed very frequent and delicious feasts; and several years afterwards the white and naked bones, which covered the wide extent of the fields, presented, to the eyes of Ammianus, a dreadful monument of the battle of Salices.<sup>72</sup>

The progress of the Goths had been checked by the doubtful event of that bloody day ; and the Imperial generals, whose army would have been consumed by the repetition of such a contest, embraced the more rational plan, of destroying the barbarians, by the wants and pressure of their own multitudes. They prepared to confine the Visigoths in the narrow angle of land, between the Danube, the desert of Scythia, and the mountains of Hemus, till their strength and spirit should be inevitably wasted by the inevitable operation of famine. The design was prosecuted with some conduct and success ; the barbarians had almost exhausted their own magazines, and the harvests of the country ; and the diligence of Saturninus, the master-general of the cavalry, was employed to improve the strength, and to contract the extent, of the Ro-

man fortifications. His labours were interrupted by the alarming intelligence, that new swarms of barbarians had passed the unguarded Danube, either to support the cause, or to imitate the example, of Fritigern. The just apprehension, that he himself might be surrounded, and overwhelmed, by the arms of hostile and unknown nations, compelled Saturninus to relinquish the siege of the Gothic camp; and the indignant Visigoths, breaking from their confinement, satiated their hunger and revenge by the repeated devastation of the fruitful country, which extends above three hundred miles from the banks of the Danube to the straits of the Hellespont.<sup>53</sup> The sagacious Fritigern had successfully appealed to the passions, as well as to the interest, of his barbarian allies; and the love of rapine, and the hatred of Rome, seconded, or even prevented, the eloquence of his ambassadors. He cemented a strict and useful alliance with the great body of his countrymen who obeyed Alatheus and Saphrax as the guardians of their infant king: the long animosity of rival tribes was suspended by the sense of their common interest; the independent part of the nation was associated under one standard; and the chiefs of the Ostrogoths appear to have yielded to the superior genius of the general of the Visigoths. He obtained the formidable aid of the Taifale, whose military renown was disgraced and polluted by the public infamy of their domestic manners. Every youth, on his entrance into the world, was united by the ties of honourable friendship, and brutal love, to some warrior of the tribe; nor could he hope to be released from this unnatural connection, till he had approved his manhood, by slaying, in single combat, a huge bear, or a wild boar of the forest.<sup>54</sup> But the most powerful auxiliaries of the Goths were drawn from the camp of those encroaches who had expelled them from their native seats. The loose subordination, and extensive possessions, of the Huns and the Alani, delayed the conquests, and distracted the councils, of that victorious people. Several of the hords were allured by the liberal promises of Fritigern; and the rapid cavalry of Scythia added weight and energy to the steady and strenuous efforts of the Gothic infantry. The Sarmatians, who could never forgive the successor of Valentinian, enjoyed and increased the general confusion; and a seasonable irruption of the Alemanni, into the provinces of Gaul, engaged the attention, and divided the forces, of the emperor of the West.<sup>55</sup>

One of the most dangerous inconveniences of the introduction of the barbarians into the army and the palace, was sensibly felt in their correspondence with their hostile countrymen; to whom they imprudently, or maliciously, revealed the weakness of the Roman empire.

82. Inducant time is really often a matter of degree. As an example, the historian might have a certain number of years of travel, or as a traveler, he has no doubt been present at the events of his own life subsequent to the time when he left the country of his birth. We are ignorant of the time when he arrived in Rome, and returned to Rome, where he appears to have composed his *History of his Own Times*.

84 Hinc Tuleriani gentem hinc et ceterosque ad pag. 131  
ad 100 usque, ut dicitur, et ceterosque ad pag. 131 usque.

soldier, of the life guards of Gratian, was of the nation of the Alemanni, and of the tribe of the Lentienses, who dwell beyond the lake of Constance. Some domestic business obliged him to request a leave of absence. In a short visit to his family and friends, he was exposed to their curious enquiries; and the vanity of the loquacious soldier tempted him to display his intimate acquaintance with the secrets of the state, and the designs of his master. The intelligence, that Gratian was preparing to lead the military force of Gaul, and of the West, to the assistance of his uncle Valens, pointed out to the restless spirit of the Alemanni, the moment, and the mode, of a successful invasion. The enterprise of some light detachments, who, in the month of February, passed the Rhine upon the ice, was the prelude of a more important war. The boldest hopes of rapine, perhaps of conquest, outweighed the considerations of timid prudence, or national faith. Every forest, and every village, poured forth a band of hardy adventurers; and the great army of the Alemanni, which, on their approach, was estimated at forty thousand men by the fears of the people, was afterwards magnified to the number of seventy thousand, by the vain and credulous flattery of the Imperial court. The legions, which had been ordered to march into Pannonia, were immediately recalled, or detained, for the defence of Gaul; the military command was divided between Nanienus and Mellobaudes; and the youthful emperor, though he respected the long experience and sober wisdom of the former, was much more inclined to admire, and to follow, the martial ardour of his colleague; who was allowed to unite the incompatible characters of count of the domestics, and of king of the Franks. His rival Pilarius, king of the Alemanni, was guided, or rather impelled, by the same headstrong valour; and as their troops were animated by the spirit of their leaders, they met, they saw, they encountered, each other, near the town of Argentaria, or Colmar,<sup>87</sup> in the plains of Alsace. The glory of the day was justly ascribed to the mischievous capons, and well-practised evolutions, of the Roman soldiers: the Alemanni, who long maintained their ground, were slaughtered with unrelenting fury: five thousand only of the barbarians escaped to the woods and mountains; and the glorious death of their king on the field of battle, saved him from the reproaches of the people, who are always disposed to accuse the justice, or policy, of an unsuccessful war. After this signal victory, which secured the peace of Gaul, and asserted the honour of the Roman arms, the emperor Gratian appeared to proceed without delay on his eastern expedition; but as he approached the confines of the Alemanni, he suddenly inclined to the left, surprised them by his unexpected passage of the Rhine, and

boldly advanced into the heart of their country. The barbarians opposed to his progress the obstacles of nature and of courage; and still continued to retreat, from one hill to another, till they were satisfied, by repeated trials, of the power and perseverance of their enemies. Their submission was accepted, as a proof, not indeed of their sincere repentance, but of their actual distress; and a select number of their brave and robust youth was exacted from the faithless nation, as the most substantial pledge of their future moderation. The subjects of the empire, who had so often experienced that the Alemanni could neither be subdued by arms, nor restrained by treaties, might not promise themselves any solid or lasting tranquillity: but they discovered, in the virtues of their young sovereign, the prospect of a long and auspicious reign. When the legions climbed the mountains, and scaled the fortifications, of the barbarians, the valour of Gratian was distinguished in the foremost ranks; and the gilt and variegated armour of his guards was pierced and shattered by the blows, which they had received in their constant attachment to the person of their sovereign. At the age of nineteen, the son of Valentinian seemed to possess the talents of peace and war; and his personal success against the Alemanni was interpreted as a sure presage of his Gothic triumphs.<sup>87</sup>

While Gratian deserved and enjoyed the applause of his subjects, the emperor Valens, who, at length, had removed his court and army from Antioch, was received by the people of Constantinople as the author of the public calamity. Before he had reposed himself ten days in the capital, he was urged, by the licentious clamours of the Hippodrome, to march against the barbarians, whom he had invited into his dominions: and the citizens, who are always brave at a distance from any real danger, declared, with confidence, that, if they were supplied with arms, they alone would undertake to deliver the province from the ravages of an insulting foe.<sup>88</sup> The vain reproaches of an ignorant multitude hastened the downfall of the Roman empire; they provoked the desperate rashness of Valens; who did not find, either in his reputation, or in his mind, any motives to support with firmness the public contempt. He was soon persuaded, by the successful achievements of his lieutenants, to despise the power of the Goths, who, by the diligence of Frigern, were now collected in the neighbourhood of Hadrianople. The march of the Tafilax had been intercepted by the valiant Frigern; the king of those licentious barbarians was slain in battle; and the suppliant captives were sent into distant exile to cultivate the lands of Italy, which were assigned for their settlement, in the vacant territories of Modena and Parana.<sup>89</sup> The exploits of Sebastian,<sup>90</sup>

<sup>86</sup> The field of battle, *Argentaria*, or *Argentorata*, is accurately fixed by M. d'Anville (*Nétice de l'Alsace* en 1740, p. 96-97), at twenty-three German leagues, or thirty-four and a half Roman miles, to the south of Strasbourg. From its ruins the adjacent town of Colmar has arisen.

<sup>87</sup> The full and impartial narrative of Ammianus (xxx. 10) may derive some additional light from the 14. book of Jordan, the *Historia* of Jordan, and the *Historia* of Orosius (l. vi. c. 35. p. 352 edit. Harleian).  
<sup>88</sup> *Ammianus* panes-panes dies, seditione popularium levium pulvis.

<sup>88</sup> *Ammianus* panes-panes dies, seditione popularium levium pulvis. Ammianus, xxx. 11. Dorotheus (l. vi. c. 35) supplies the dates and some circumstances.

<sup>89</sup> *Vicqueommes* circa Mutinam, Regurnoque, et Parmam, Italiae topographia, rura cultura, extenuantur. Ammianus, xix. 9. These cities and districts, about ten years after the colony of the Tafilax, appear to have been desolate. See Muratori, *Dissertationi sopra le Avichine Italiane*, tom. I. Dissertat. xxi. p. 54.  
<sup>90</sup> *Ammianus* xxix. 11. Zosimus, l. vi. p. 428-430. The latter

who was recently engaged in the service of Valens, and promoted to the rank of master-general of the infantry, were still more honourable to himself, and useful to the republic. He obtained the permission of selecting three hundred soldiers from each of the legions; and this separate detachment soon acquired the spirit of discipline, and the exercise of arms, which were almost forgotten under the reign of Valens. By the vigour and conduct of Sebastian, a large body of the Goths was surprised in their camp; and the immense spoil, which was recovered from their hands, filled the city of Hadrianople, and the adjacent plain. The splendid narratives, which the general transmitted of his own exploits, abated the Imperial court by the appearance of superior merit; and though he cautiously insisted on the difficulties of the Gothic war, his valour was praised, his advice was rejected; and Valens, who listened with pride and pleasure to the flattering suggestions of the eunuchs of the palace, was impatient to seize the glory of an easy and assured conquest. His army was strengthened by a numerous reinforcement of veterans; and his march from Constantinople to Hadrianople was conducted with so much military skill, that he prevented the activity of the barbarians, who designed to occupy the intermediate defiles, and to intercept either the troops themselves, or their convoys of provisions. The camp of Valens, which he pitched under the walls of Hadrianople, was fortified, according to the practice of the Romans, with a ditch and rampart, and a most important council was summoned, to decide the fate of the emperor and of the empire. The party of reason and of delay was strenuously maintained by Victor, who had corrected, by the lessons of experience, the native fierceness of the Samatian character; while Sebastian, with the flexible and obsequious eloquence of a courtier, represented every precaution, and every measure, that implied a doubt of immediate victory, as unworthy of the courage and majesty of their invincible monarch. The ruin of Valens was precipitated by the deceitful arts of Fritigern, and the prudent admonitions of the emperor of the West. The advantages of negotiating in the midst of war, were perfectly understood by the general of the barbarians; and a Christian ecclesiastic was despatched, as the holy minister of peace, to penetrate, and to perplex, the councils of the enemy. The misfortunes, as well as the provocations, of the Gothic nation, were forcibly and truly described by their ambassador, who protested, in the name of Jupiter, that he was still disposed to lay down his arms, or to employ them only in the defence of the empire; if he could secure for his wandering countrymen, a tranquil settlement on the waste lands of Tanais, and a sufficient allowance of corn and cattle. But he added, in a whisper of confidential friendship,

that the exasperated barbarians were averse to these reasonable conditions; and, that Fritigern was doubtful whether he could accomplish the conclusion of the treaty, unless he found himself supported by the presence, and terrors, of an Imperial army. About the same time, count Richomer returned from the West, to announce the defeat and submission of the Alemani; to inform Valens, that his nephew advanced by rapid marches at the head of the veteran and victorious legions of Gaul; and to request, in the name of Gratian and of the republic, that every dangerous and decisive measure might be suspended, till the junction of the two emperors should insure the success of the Gothic war. But the feeble sovereign of the East was actuated only by the fatal illusions of pride and jealousy. He disdaind the importunate advice; he rejected the humiliating aid; he secretly compared the ignominious, or at least the inglorious, period of his own reign, with the fame of a beardless youth; and Valens rushed into the field, to erect his imaginary trophy, before the diligence of his colleague could usurp any share of the triumphs of the day.

On the ninth of August, a day which has deserved to be marked among the most inauspicious of the

Battle of Hadrianople. A. D. 378, Aug. 9th.

Roman calendar,<sup>1)</sup> the emperor Valens, leaving, under a strong guard, his baggage and military treasure, marched from Hadrianople to attack the Goths, who were encamped about twelve miles from the city.<sup>2)</sup> By some mistake of the orders, or some ignorance of the ground, the nighting or column of cavalry, arrived in sight of the enemy, whilst the left was still at a considerable distance; the soldiers were compelled, in the sultry heat of summer, to precipitate their pace; and the line of battle was formed with tolerable confusion, and irregular delay. The Gothic cavalry had been detached to forage in the adjacent country; and Fritigern still continued to practise his customary arts. He despatched messengers of peace, made proposals, required hostages, and wasted the hours, till the Romans, exposed without shelter to the burning rays of the sun, were exhausted by thirst, hunger, and intolerable fatigue. The emperor was persuaded to send an ambassador to the Gothic camp; the zeal of Richomer, who alone had courage to accept the dangerous commission, was applauded: and the count of the domestics, adorned with the splendid ensigns of his dignity, had proceeded some way in the space between the two armies, when he was suddenly recalled by the alarm of battle. The hasty and imprudent attack was made by Bacerius the Iberian, who commanded a body of archers and targeters; and as they advanced with rashness, they retreated with loss and disgrace. In the same moment, the flying squadrons of Alatheus and Saphrax, whose return

expressed in the address, that he was still disposed to lay down his arms, or to employ them only in the defence of the empire; if he could secure for his wandering countrymen, a tranquil settlement on the waste lands of Tanais, and a sufficient allowance of corn and cattle. But he added, in a whisper of confidential friendship,

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Hadrianople. They hastened to possess the reward of their valour; but they were encountered by the remains of a vanquished army, with an intrepid resolution, which was the effect of their despair, and the only hope of their safety. The walls of the city, and the ramparts of the adjacent camp, were lined with military engines, that threw stones of an enormous weight; and astonished the ignorant barbarians by the noise, and velocity, still more than by the real effects, of the discharge. The soldiers, the citizens, the provincials, the domestics of the palace, were united in the danger, and in the defence. The furious assault of the Goths was repulsed; their secret arts of treachery and treason were discovered; and, after an obstinate conflict of many hours, they retired to their tents: convinced, by experience, that it would be far more advisable to observe the treaty, which their credulous leader had tacitly stipulated with the foundations of great and popular curses. After the hasty and impolitic massacre of three hundred deserters, an act of justice extremely fatal to the discipline of the Roman troops, the Goths indignantly raised the siege of Hadrianople. The scene of war and tumult was instantly converted into a silent solitude: the multitude suddenly disappeared; the secret paths of the woods and mountains were marked with the footsteps of the trembling fugitives, who sought a refuge in the distant cities of Illyricum and Macedonia; and the faithful officers of the household, and the treasury, cautiously proceeded in search of the emperor, of whose death they were still ignorant. The title of the Gothic banditti to all the provinces of Hadrianople to the south of this strategos. The barbarians were united with the splendid reputation of the emperor, the East the legitimate fear of the emperor, the myriads of wealthy and cultivated provinces crowded the ramparts, and the various respect of the sea and land. While they gazed with hopeless desire on the inaccessible beauties of Constantinople, a sally was made from one of the gates by a party of Saracens, who had been fortunately engaged in the service of Valens. The cavalry of Scythia was forced to yield to the admirable swiftness and spirit of the Arabian horses: their riders were skilled in the evolutions of irregular war; and the northern barbarians were astonished, and dismayed, by the inherent ferocity of the barbarians of the south. A Gothic soldier was slain by the dagger of an Arab, and the hero, who had been accomplishing his life to the world, expressed a noble desire, which he could not fulfil, of being buried in the arms of his enemy. The remains of the Goths, however, the spirits of the warrior, and the courage of the

adjacent territory, slowly moved, from the Bosphorus, to the mountains which form the western boundary of Thrace. The important pass of Succus was betrayed by the fear, or the misconduct, of Mamus; and the barbarians, who no longer had any resistance to apprehend from the scattered and vanquished troops of the East, spread themselves over the face of a fertile and cultivated country, as far as the confines of Italy, and the Adriatic Sea.

The Romans, who so coolly, and so concisely, mention the acts of <sup>They ravage the Roman provinces.</sup> *justice* which were exercised by the <sup>A. D. 368, 379.</sup> legions,<sup>99</sup> reserve their compassion, and their eloquence, for their own sufferings, when the provinces were invaded, and desolated, by the arms of the successful barbarians. The simple circumstantial narrative (did such a narrative exist) of the ruin of a single town, of the misfortunes of a single family,<sup>100</sup> might exhibit an interesting and instructive picture of human manners; but the tedious repetition of vague and declamatory complaints would fatigue the attention of the most patient reader. The same censure may be applied, though not perhaps in an equal degree, to the profane, and the ecclesiastical, writers of this unhappy period; that their minds were inflamed by popular and religious animosity; and, that the true size and colour of every object is falsified by the exaggerations of their corrupt eloquence. The vehement Jerome might justly deplore the calamities inflicted by the Goths, and their barbarous allies, on his native country of Pontus, and the great extent of the ravages, from the walls of Constantinople to the foot of the Julian Alps; the number of the massacred, the captives, and, above all, the pollution of the churches, that were reduced to ashes, and the contemptuous treatment of the relics of holy martyrs. But the saint is surely transported beyond the limits of nature and history, when he affirms, "that, in those desert countries, nothing was left except the sky and the earth; that, after the destruction of the cities, and the extirpation of the human race, the land was overgrown with thick forests, and inextricable brambles; and that the universal desolation, announced by the prophet Zephaniah, was accomplished, in the scarcity of the beasts, the birds, and even of the fish." These complaints were pronounced about twenty years after the death of Valens; and the Illyrian provinces, which were constantly exposed to the invasion and passage of the barbarians, still continued, after a calamitous period of ten centuries, to supply new materials for ravage and destruction. Could it even be supposed, that a large tract of country

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had been left without cultivation and without inhabitants, the consequences might not have been so fatal to the inferior productions of animated nature. The useful and feeble animals, which are nourished by the hand of man, might suffer and perish, if they were deprived of his protection; but the beasts of the forest, his enemies, or his victims, would multiply in the free and undisturbed possession of their solitary domain. The various tribes that people the air, or the waters, are still less connected with the fate of the human species; and it is highly probable, that the fish of the Danube would have felt more terror and distress, from the approach of a voracious pike, than from the hostile inroad of a Gothic army.

Massacre of  
the Gothic  
youth in Asia.  
A. D. 373.

Whatever may have been the just measure of the calamities of Europe, there was reason to fear that the same calamities would soon extend to the peaceful countries of Asia. The sons of the Goths had been judiciously distributed through the cities of the East; and the arts of education were employed to polish, and subdue, the native fierceness of their temper. In the space of about twelve years, their numbers had continually increased; and the children, who, in the first emigration, were sent over the Hellespont, had attained, with rapid growth, the strength and spirit of perfect manhood.<sup>102</sup> It was impossible to conceal from their knowledge the events of the Gothic war, and, as those daring youths had not studied the language of dissimulation, they betrayed their wish, their desire, perhaps their intention, to emulate the glorious example of their fathers. The danger of the times seemed to justify the jealous suspicions of the provincials; and these suspicions were admitted as unquestionable evidence, that the Goths of Asia had formed a secret and dangerous conspiracy against the public safety. The death of Valens had left the East without a sovereign; and Julius, who filled the important station of master-general of the troops, with a high reputation of diligence and ability, thought it his duty to consult the senate of Constantinople; which he considered, during the vacancy of the throne, as the representative council of the nation. As soon as he had obtained the discretionary power of acting as he should judge most expedient for the good of the republic, he assembled the principal officers; and privately concerted effectual measures for the execution of his bloody design. An order was immediately promulgated, that, on a stated day, the Gothic youth should assemble in the capital cities of their respective provinces; and, as a report was industriously circulated, that they were summoned to receive a liberal gift of lands and money, the pleasing hope allayed the fury of their resentment, and, perhaps, suspended the motions of the conspiracy. On the appointed day, the unarmed crowd of the Gothic youth was carefully collected in the square, or forum:

the streets and avenues were occupied by the Roman troops; and the roofs of the houses were covered with archers and slingers. At the same hour, in all the cities of the East, the signal was given of indiscriminate slaughter; and the provinces of Asia were delivered, by the cruel prudence of Julius, from a domestic enemy, who, in a few months, might have carried fire and sword from the Hellespont to the Euphrates.<sup>103</sup> The urgent consideration of the public safety may undoubtedly authorise the violation of every positive law. How far that, or any other, consideration, may operate, to dissolve the natural obligations of humanity and justice, is a doctrine of which I still desire to remain ignorant.

The emperor Gratian was far advanced on his march towards the plains of Hadrianople, when he was informed, at first by the confused voice of fame, and afterwards by the more accurate reports of Victor and Richomer, that his impatient colleague had been slain in battle, and that two thirds of the Roman army were exterminated by the sword of the victorious Goths. Whatever resentment the rash and jealous vanity of his uncle might deserve, the resentment of a generous mind is easily subdued by the softer emotions of grief and compassion; and even the sense of pity was soon lost in the serious and alarming consideration of the state of the republic. Gratian was too late to assist, he was too weak to revenge, his unfortunate colleague; and the valiant and modest youth felt himself unequal to the support of a sinking world. A formidable tempest of the barbarians of Germany seemed ready to burst over the provinces of Gaul; and the mind of Gratian was oppressed and distracted by the administration of the Western empire. In this important crisis, the government of the East, and the conduct of the Gothic war, required the undivided attention of a hero and a statesman. A subject invested with such ample command would not long have preserved his fidelity to a distant benefactor; and the Imperial council embraced the wise and manly resolution, of conferring an obligation, rather than of yielding to an insult. It was the wish of Gratian to bestow the purple as the reward of virtue; but, at the age of nineteen, it is not easy for a prince, educated in the supreme rank, to understand the true characters of his ministers and generals. He attempted to weigh, with an impartial hand, their various merits and defects; and, whilst he checked the rash confidence of ambition, he distrusted the cautious wisdom, which despaired of the republic. As each moment of delay diminished something of the power and resources of the future sovereign of the East, the situation of the times would not allow a tedious debate. The choice of Gratian was soon declared in favour of an exile, whose father, only three years before, had suffered, under the sanction of his authority, an unjust and ignominious death.

The emperor  
Gratian invests  
Theodosius  
with the em-  
pire of the  
East.  
A. D. 379,  
Jan. 19.

<sup>102</sup> Eunapius (in Excerpt. I. east. p. 20) foolishly supposes a premature growth of the young Goths, that he may introduce Calpurnius, armed prince, who sprung from the dragon's teeth, &c. Such was the Greek idiom of the times.

<sup>103</sup> Ammianus evidently approves this execution, efficacia velox et

salutaris, which concludes his work (xxvi. 16). Zosimus, who is curious and copious, II. iv. p. 253. 254, 1, mistakes the date, and labours to find the reason, why Julius did not consult the emperor Theodosius, who had not yet ascended the throne of the East.

The great Theodosius, a name celebrated in history, and dear to the Catholic church,<sup>104</sup> was summoned to the Imperial court, which had gradually retreated from the confines of Thrace to the more secure station of Sirmium. Five months after the death of Valens, the emperor Gratian produced before the assembled troops, *his* colleague, and *their* master; who, after a modest, perhaps a sincere, resistance, was compelled to accept, amidst the general acclamations, the diadem, the purple, and the equal title of Augustus.<sup>105</sup> The provinces of Thrace, Asia, and Egypt, over which Valens had reigned, were resigned to the administration of the new emperor; but, as he was specially intrusted with the conduct of the Gothic war, the Illyrian præfecture was dismembered; and the two great dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia were added to the dominions of the Eastern empire.<sup>106</sup>

The same province, and, perhaps, the same city,<sup>107</sup> which had given to the throne the virtues of Trajan, and the talents of Hadrian, was the original seat of another family of Spaniards, who, in a less fortunate age, possessed, near four score years, the declining empire of Rome.<sup>108</sup> They emerged from the obscurity of municipal honours by the active spirit of the elder Theodosius, a general, whose exploits in Britain and Africa have formed one of the most splendid parts of the annals of Valentinian. The son of that general, who likewise bore the name of Theodosius, was educated, by skilful preceptors, in the liberal studies of youth; but he was instructed in the art of war by the tender care and severe discipline of his father.<sup>109</sup> Under the standard of such a leader, young Theodosius sought glory and knowledge, in the most distant scenes of military action; nursed his constitution to the difference of seasons and climates; distinguished his valour by sea and land; and observed the various warfare of the Scots, the Saxons, and the Moors. His own merit, and the recommendation of the conqueror of Africa, soon raised him to a separate command: and, in the station of duke of Maesia, he vanquished an army of Sarmatians; saved the province; deserved the love of the soldiers; and provoked the envy of the court.<sup>110</sup> His rising fortunes were soon blasted by the disgrace and execution of his illustrious father; and Theodosius obtained, as a favour, the permission of retiring to a private life in his native province of Spain. He displayed a firm and temperate character in the case with which he adapted himself to this new

situation. His time was almost equally divided between the town and country: the spirit, which had animated his public conduct, was shown in the active and affectionate performance of every social duty; and the diligence of the soldier was profitably converted to the improvement of his ample patrimony,<sup>111</sup> which lay between Valladolid and Segovia, in the midst of a fruitful district, still famous for a most exquisite breed of sheep.<sup>112</sup> From the innocent, but humble, labours of his farm, Theodosius was transported, in less than four months, to the throne of the Eastern empire: and the whole period of the history of the world will not perhaps afford a similar example, of an elevation, at the same time, so pure, and so honourable. The princes who peaceably inherit the sceptre of their fathers, claim and enjoy a legal right, the more secure, as it is absolutely distinct from the merits of their personal characters. The subjects, who, in a monarchy, or a popular state, acquire the possession of supreme power, may have raised themselves, by the superiority either of genius or virtue, above the heads of their equals: but their virtue is seldom exempt from ambition; and the cause of the successful candidate is frequently stained by the guilt of conspiracy, or civil war. Even in those governments which allow the reigning monarch to declare a colleague, or a successor, his partial choice, which may be influenced by the blindest passions, is often directed to an unworthy object. But the most suspicious malignity cannot ascribe to Theodosius, in his obscure solitude of Caucha, the arts, the desires, or even the hopes, of an ambitious state-man; and the name of the Exile would long since have been forgotten, if his genuine and distinguished virtues had not left a deep impression in the Imperial court. During the season of prosperity, he had been neglected; but, in the public distress, his superior merit was universally felt and acknowledged. What confidence must have been reposed in his integrity, since Gratian could trust, that a pious son would forgive, for the sake of the republic, the murder of his father! What expectations must have been formed of his abilities, to encourage the hope, that a single man could save, and restore, the empire of the East! Theodosius was invested with the purple in the thirty-third year of his age. The vulgar gazed with admiration on the manly beauty of his face, and the graceful majesty of his person, which they were pleased to compare with the pictures and medals of the emperor Trajan; whilst intelligent ob-

104 Alfred T. Adams, the first was arrested in the first year (1974) of the 1970s. The second was arrested in the young Durrant's tenth year (1975). The third was arrested, towards the end of the 1970s, in the first year of the 1980s. In addition, at least six other children of the first group, coming from Bonanza, died in the uprisings in San Salvador and San Augustin.

1857. The birth, character, and development of the *Phrynosoma* in the United States. *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences*, Philadelphia, 1857, p. 182. *Zoologica*, 1857, p. 51. *Annals of the Academy of Natural Sciences*, Philadelphia, 1857, p. 11. *Direct* (U. S. G. P.), 1857, p. 11. *Most recent* (U. S. G. P.), 1857, p. 11. *North American* (U. S. G. P.), 1857, p. 11. *Epitome of the* (U. S. G. P.), 1857, p. 11. *Phrynosoma*, in the *Thesaurus* of the *United States* (U. S. G. P.), 1857, p. 11.

106. I believe that the *Staph. aureus* found was a distinct strain of *Staph.* The putrid material was a mixture of *Staph.* and an opposite to *Staph.* *Staph. aureus* is a common pathogen of *Staph.* and a short, thin, rod-shaped bacterium, *Staph. aureus*.

in the case of  $P_4$  and  $P_5$  spaces. For a detailed discussion, the structure of  $P_4$  and  $P_5$  spaces is the crucial step. For  $P_4$  spaces, the structure is more complicated and the results are given in the table of  $P_4$  spaces with the list of  $P_4$  and  $P_5$  spaces.

The Angles in fact had no knowledge of the nature of the island, and the Vikings, who had been sent to discover the nature of the island, had not been able to do so. The island was a small, rocky island, and the Vikings had not been able to land on it. The island was a small, rocky island, and the Vikings had not been able to land on it. The island was a small, rocky island, and the Vikings had not been able to land on it.

the  $100 \times 100 \times 100$  pixel  $3D$  volume  $V$  is divided into  $100 \times 100 \times 100$  voxels. The voxels are indexed by  $(x, y, z)$  and located between  $x = 0, \dots, 99$ ,  $y = 0, \dots, 99$ , and  $z = 0, \dots, 99$ .

servers discovered, in the qualities of his heart and understanding, a more important resemblance to the best and greatest of the Roman princes.

It is not without the most sincere regret, that I must now take leave of an accurate and faithful guide, who has composed the history of his own times, without indulging the prejudices and passions, which usually affect the mind of a cotemporary. Ammianus Marcellinus, who terminates his useful work with the defeat and death of Valens, recommends the more glorious subject of the ensuing reign to the youthful vigour and eloquence of the rising generation.<sup>113</sup> The rising generation was not disposed to accept his advice, or to imitate his example;<sup>114</sup> and, in the study of the reign of Theodosius, we are reduced to illustrate the partial narrative of Zosimus, by the obscure hints of fragments and chronicles, by the figurative style of poetry or panegyric, and by the precarious assistance of the ecclesiastical writers, who, in the heat of religious faction, are apt to despise the profane virtues of sincerity and moderation. Conscious of these disadvantages, which will continue to involve a considerable portion of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I shall proceed with doubtful and timorous steps. Yet I may boldly pronounce, that the battle of Hadrianople was never revenged by any signal or decisive victory of Theodosius over the barbarians: and the expressive silence of his venal orators may be confirmed by the observation of the condition and circumstances of the times. The fabric of a mighty state, which has been reared by the labours of successive ages, could not be overturned by the misfortune of a single day, if the fatal power of the imagination did not exaggerate the real measure of the calamity. The loss of forty thousand Romans, who fell in the plains of Hadrianople, might have been soon recruited in the populous provinces of the East, which contained so many millions of inhabitants. The courage of a soldier is found to be the cheapest, and most common, quality of human nature; and sufficient skill to encounter an undisciplined foe, might have been speedily taught by the care of the surviving centurions. If the barbarians were mounted on the horses, and equipped with the armour, of their vanquished enemies, the numerous studs of Cappadocia and Spain would have supplied new squadrons of cavalry; the thirty-four arsenals of the empire were plentifully stored with magazines of offensive and defensive arms; and the wealth of Asia might still have yielded an ample fund for the expenses of the war. But the effects which were produced by the battle of Hadrianople on the minds of the barbarians, and of the Romans, extended the victory of the

former, and the defeat of the latter, far beyond the limits of a single day. A Gothic chief was heard to declare, with insolent moderation, that, for his own part, he was fatigued with slaughter; but that he was astonished how a people, who fled before him like a flock of sheep, could still presume to dispute the possession of their treasures and provinces.<sup>115</sup> The same terrors, which the name of the Huns had spread among the Gothic tribes, were inspired, by the formidable name of the Goths, among the subjects and soldiers of the Roman empire.<sup>116</sup> If Theodosius, hastily collecting his scattered forces, had led them into the field to encounter a victorious enemy, his army would have been vanquished by their own fears; and his rashness could not have been excused by the chance of success. But the great Theodosius, an epithet which he honourably deserved on this momentous occasion, conducted himself as the firm and faithful guardian of the republic. He fixed his head-quarters at Thessalonica, the capital of the Macedonian diocese;<sup>117</sup> from whence he could watch the irregular motions of the barbarians, and direct the operations of his lieutenants, from the gates of Constantinople to the shores of the Adriatic. The fortifications and garrisons of the cities were strengthened; and the troops, among whom a sense of order and discipline was revived, were insensibly emboldened by the confidence of their own safety. From these secure stations, they were encouraged to make frequent sallies on the barbarians, who infested the adjacent country; and, as they were seldom allowed to engage, without some decisive superiority, either of ground or of numbers, their enterprises were, for the most part, successful; and they were soon convinced, by their own experience, of the possibility of vanquishing their invincible enemies. The detachments of these separate garrisons were gradually united into small armies; the same cautious measures were pursued, according to an extensive and well-concerted plan of operations; the events of each day added strength and spirit to the Roman arms; and the artful diligence of the emperor, who circulated the most favourable reports of the success of the war, contributed to subdue the pride of the barbarians, and to animate the hopes and courage of his subjects. If, instead of this faint and imperfect outline, we could accurately represent the counsels and actions of Theodosius, in four successive campaigns, there is reason to believe, that his consummate skill would deserve the applause of every military reader. The republic had formerly been saved by the delays of Scipio; and, while the splendid trophies of Scipio, in the field of Zama, attract the eyes of posterity, the camps and marches of the dictator among the hills of Campania, may

<sup>113</sup> Let neither Ammianus himself. *Hæc, ut miles pondum et gravitas, a principatu crevit. Neque exoritur, adusque Valens, peritum, pro virum explicans, mensuræ. Iniquum, ut aratorum, oves, silentio ausus corrumpere vel mendaciter. Serbant reliqua pro ore, atate, doctrinæ florescentes. Chusid, a Chusid, agetes, aut, proinde lingue ad majorem, morositas. Ammian. xxvi. 16.* The next three books, a superficial estimate of two hundred and fifty-seven years, are now lost, the last eighteen, which contain no more than twenty-five years, still preserve the copious and authentic history of his own times.

<sup>114</sup> Ammianus was the last subject of Rome who composed a history in the Latin language. The East, in the next century,

produced some rhetorical historians, Zosimus, Olympiodorus, Malchus, Candidus, &c. See *Ursinus de Historicis foris, l. i. c. 18.*, de *Historia Constantini, l. i. c. 10.*

<sup>115</sup> *Chræstom.* tom. i. p. 274. edit. Moisson. I have verified, and even in it, this passage, but I should never, without the aid of *Talbot's Hist. de l'Emp. rom.* p. 123, have detected an historical anecdote, in a sentence loaded with moral and moral exhortations, addressed by the preacher of Amiens, to a young widow.

<sup>116</sup> *Lactantius* on *Excep. l. c.* p. 21.

<sup>117</sup> See *Geography* and *Chronology of the Laws*. *Codex Theod.* tom. i. *Prolegomena* p. xcix—civ.

claim a juster proportion of the solid and independent fame, which the general is not compelled to share, either with fortune or with his troops. Such was likewise the merit of Theodosius; and the infirmities of his body, which most unseasonably languished under a long and dangerous disease, could not oppress the vigour of his mind, or divert his attention from the public service.<sup>113</sup>

The deliverance and peace of the Roman provinces<sup>114</sup> was the work of prudence, rather than of valour: the prudence of Theodosius was

seconded by fortune; and the emperor never failed to seize, and to improve, every favourable circumstance. As long as the superior genius of Frigiter preserved the union, and directed the motions, of the barbarians, their power was not inadequate to the conquest of a great empire. The death of that hero, the predecessor and master of the renowned Athame, relieved an impatient multitude from the intolerable yoke of discipline and discretion. The barbarians, who had been restrained by his authority, abandoned themselves to the dictates of their passions; and their passions were seldom uniform or consistent. An army of conquerors was broken into many disorderly bands of savage robbers; and their blind and irregular fury was not less pernicious to themselves than to their enemies. Their mischievous disposition was shown in the destruction of every object, which they wanted strength to remove, or taste to enjoy; and they often consumed, with improvident rage, the harvests, or the granaries, which soon afterwards became necessary for their own subsistence. A spirit of dissipation among the independent tribes and nations, which had been united only by the hands of a hero and voluntary alliance. The troops of the Huns and the Alani would naturally applaud the flight of the Goths; who were not disposed to use with moderation the advantages of their fortune: the ancient jealousy of the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths could not long be suspended; and the haughty chiefs still remembered the insults and injuries, which they had reciprocally offered, or sustained, while the nation was seated in the countries beyond the Danube. The progress of domestic faction abated the more diffusive sentiment of national animosity; and the officers of Theodosius were instructed to purchase, with liberal gifts and promises, the retreat, or service, of the discontented party. The acquisition of Medar, a prince of the royal blood of the Amali, gave a bold and martial champion to the cause of Rome. The victorious desertion soon obtained the rank of a general, with an independent command; and he surprised an army of his countrymen, who were

immersed in wine and sleep; and, after a cruel slaughter of the astonished Goths, returned with an immense spoil, and four thousand wagons, to the Imperial camp.<sup>115</sup> In the hands of a skilful politician, the most different means may be successfully applied to the same ends: and the peace of the empire, which had been forwarded by the divisions, was accomplished by the re-union, of the Gothic nation. Athame, who had been a patient spectator of these extraordinary events, was at length driven, by the chance of arms, from the dark recesses of

Death and  
burial of  
Athame  
A. D. 511,  
Jan. 25.

the woods of Caucaud. He no longer hesitated to pass the Danube; and a very considerable part of the subjects of Frigiter, who already felt the inconveniences of anarchy, were easily persuaded to acknowledge for their king, a Gothic Judge, whose birth they respected, and whose abilities they had frequently experienced. But age had chilled the daring spirit of Athame; and, instead of leading his people to the field of battle and victory, he wisely listened to the fair proposal of an honourable and advantageous treaty. Theodosius, who was acquainted with the merit and power of his new ally, condescended to meet him at the distance of several miles from Constantinople; and entertained him in the Imperial city, with the confidence of a friend, and the magnificence of a monarch. "The barbarian prince observed, with curious attention, the variety of objects which attracted his notice, and at last broke out into a sincere and passionate expression of wonder. I now behold," said he, "that which I never could believe, the glories of this stupendous capital; and as he cast his eyes on the lofty architecture, he admired the strength and beauty of the walls, the public edifices, the magnificent harbours crowded with immense vessels, the perpetual concourse of distant nations, and the arms and discipline of the troops. Indeed, continued Athame, the emperor of the Romans is a god upon earth; and the presumptuous man, who dares to lift his hand against him, is guilty of his own blood."<sup>116</sup> The Gothic king did not long enjoy this splendid and honourable reception; and, as temperance was not the virtue of his nation, it may justly be suspected, that his mortal disease was contracted amidst the pleasures of the Imperial banquet. But the policy of Theodosius derived more solid benefit from the death, than he could have expected from the most faithful services, of his ally. The funeral of Athame was performed with solemn rites in the capital of the East, a stately monument was erected to his memory; and his whole army, won by the liberal courtesy, and decent grief, of

<sup>113</sup> Theodosius was a pious and virtuous man, and a great warrior. He was the first of his name who was emperor of the East. He was born at Bithynia, and was educated in the palace of the emperor. He was a great warrior, and was victorious in many battles. He was a pious man, and was very devoted to the church. He was a great administrator, and was very successful in his reign.

<sup>114</sup> The Goths were a barbarian nation who lived in the north of Europe. They were very brave and warlike, and were very successful in their conquests. They were a great power in the north of Europe, and were very successful in their wars. They were a great power in the north of Europe, and were very successful in their wars.

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perial court, if they had suffered themselves to be dispersed through the provinces. They required, and they obtained, the sole possession of the villages and districts assigned for their residence; they still cherished and propagated their native manners and language; asserted, in the bosom of despotism, the freedom of their domestic government; and acknowledged the sovereignty of the emperor, without submitting to the inferior jurisdiction of the laws and magistrates of Rome. The hereditary chiefs of the tribes and families were still permitted to command their followers in peace and war; but the royal dignity was abolished; and the generals of the Goths were appointed and removed at the pleasure of the emperor. An army of forty thousand Goths was maintained for the perpetual service of the empire of the East; and those haughty troops, who assumed the title of *Fœderati*, or allies, were distinguished by their gold collars, liberal pay, and licentious privileges. Their native courage was improved by the use of arms, and the knowledge of discipline; and, while the republic was guarded, or threatened, by the doubtful sword of the barbarians, the last sparks of the military flame were finally extinguished in the minds of the Romans.<sup>12</sup> Theodosius had the address to persuade his allies, that the conditions of peace which had been extorted from him by prudence and necessity, were the voluntary expressions of his sincere friendship for the Gothic nation.<sup>13</sup> A different mode of vindication or apology was opposed to the complaints of the people; who loudly censured these shameful and dangerous concessions.<sup>14</sup> The calamities of the war were painted in the most lively colours; and the first symptoms of the return of order, of plenty, and security, were diligently exaggerated. The advocates of Theodosius could affirm, with some appearance of truth and reason, that it was impossible to extirpate so many warlike tribes, who were rendered desperate by the loss of their native country; and that the exhausted provinces would be revived by a fresh supply of soldiers and husbandmen. The barbarians still wore an angry and hostile aspect; but the experience of past times might encourage the hope, that they would acquire the habits of industry and obedience; that their manners would be polished by time, education, and the influence of Christianity; and that their posterity would insensibly blend with the great body of the Roman people.<sup>15</sup>

Notwithstanding these specious argument, and those sanguine expectations, it was apparent to every discerning eye, that the Goths would long remain the enemies, and might soon become the conquerors, of

199. *Cunningham-Lundagoe* is very common, the condition and  
the color of the leaves is very good, the leaves are very green and  
the Panzer Vets are very good.

The philosophical bishop of France was fearfully overthrown by the revolution, and he was sufficiently removed from the theological tradition.

the Roman empire. Their rude and insolent behaviour expressed their contempt of the citizens and provincials, whom they insulted with impunity.<sup>133</sup> To the zeal and valour of the barbarians, Theodosius was indebted for the success of his arms; but their assistance was precarious; and they were sometimes seduced, by a treacherous and inconstant disposition, to abandon his standard, at the moment when their service was the most essential. During the civil war against Maximus, a great number of Gothic deserters retired into the morasses of Macedonia, wasted the adjacent provinces, and obliged the intrepid monarch to expose his person, and exert his power, to suppress the rising flame of rebellion.<sup>134</sup> The public apprehensions were fortified by the strong suspicion, that these tumults were not the effect of accidental passion, but the result of deep and premeditated design. It was generally believed, that the Goths had signed the treaty of peace with an hostile and insidious spirit; and that their chiefs had previously bound themselves, by a solemn and secret oath, never to keep faith with the Romans; to maintain the fairest show of loyalty and friendship, and to watch the favourable moment of rapine, of conquest, and of revenge. But, as the minds of the barbarians were not insensible to the power of gratitude, several of the Gothic leaders sincerely devoted themselves to the service of the empire, or, at least, of the emperor: the whole nation was insensibly divided into two opposite factions, and much sophistry was employed in conversation and dispute, to compare the obligations of their first, and second, engagements. The Goths, who considered themselves as the friends of peace, of justice, and of Rome, were directed by the authority of Fravitta, a valiant and honourable youth, distinguished above the rest of his countrymen, by the politeness of his manners, the liberality of his sentiments, and the mild virtues of social life. But the more numerous faction adhered to the fierce and faithless Priulf, who inflamed the passions, and asserted the independence, of his warlike followers. On one of the solemn festivals, when the chiefs of both parties were invited to the Imperial table, they were insensibly heated by wine, till they forgot the usual restraints of discretion and respect; and betrayed, in the presence of Theodosius, the fatal secret of their domestic disputes. The emperor, who had been the reluctant witness of this extraordinary controversy, dissembled his fears and resentment, and soon dismissed the tumultuous assembly. Fravitta, alarmed and exasperated by the insolence of his rival, whose departure from the palace might have been the signal of a civil war, boldly followed him; and

152 The most famous (Orat. vii, p. 41, 213) composes an elaborate and rational god, who is not, however, exempt from the passions of Greek rhetoric. Orpheus could *only* charm the wild beasts of Thracian, but the deities enchanted the men and women, whose predators were in the same country.

153 Zosimus, 1.10 p. 271-272. He tells a long and interesting story of the slave-prince's persecution and the inquiry which followed his burning. It is a story which is detected, explained, and vindicated in a fashion which is quite different from that of the other two.



and boldness in the chase. The pride and wish of the Roman emperor to excel in an art, in which he might be surpassed by the meanest of his slaves, reminded the numerous spectators of the examples of Nero and Commodus: but the chaste and temperate Gratian was a stranger to their monstrous vices; and his hands were stained only with the blood of animals.<sup>6</sup>

The behaviour of Gratian, which degraded his character in the eyes of mankind, could not have disturbed the security of his reign, if the army had not been provoked to resent their peculiar injuries. As long as the young emperor was guided by the instructions of his masters, he professed himself the friend and pupil of the soldiers; many of his hours were spent in the familiar conversation of the camp; and the health, the comforts, the rewards, the honours, of his faithful troops, appeared to be the object of his attentive concern. But, after Gratian more freely indulged his prevailing taste for hunting and shooting, he naturally connected himself with the most dexterous ministers of his favourite amusement. A body of the Alani was received into the military and domestic service of the palace; and the admirable skill, which they were accustomed to display in the unbounded plains of Scythia, was exercised, on a more narrow theatre, in the parks and enclosures of Gaul. Gratian admired the talents and customs of these favourite guards, to whom alone he intrusted the defence of his person; and, as if he meant to insult the public opinion, he frequently showed himself to the soldiers and people, with the dress and arms, the long bow, the sounding quiver, and the fur garments, of a Scythian warrior. The worthy spectacle of a Roman prince, who had exchanged the dress and manners of his country, filled the minds of the legions with grief and indignation. Even the Germans, so strong and formidable in the armies of the empire, affected to disdain the strange and horrid appearance of the savages of the North, who, in the space of a few years, had wandered from the banks of the Volga to those of the Seine. A loud and licentious murmur was echoed through the camps and garrisons of the West; and as the mild indolence of Gratian neglected to extinguish the first symptoms of discontent, the want of love and respect was not supplied by the influence of fear. But the subversion of an established government is always a work of some real, and of much apparent, difficulty; and the throne of Gratian was protected by the sanctions of custom, law, religion, and the nice balance of the civil and military powers.

[illegible][illegible]

which had been established by the policy of Constantine. It is not very important to enquire from what causes the revolt of Britain was produced. Accident is commonly the parent of disorder; the seeds of rebellion happened to fall on a soil which was supposed to be more fruitful than any other in tyrants and usurpers;<sup>8</sup> the legions of that sequestered island had been long famous for a spirit of presumption and arrogance;<sup>9</sup> and the name of Maximus Revolt of Maximus in Britain. was proclaimed, by the tumultuary, but unanimous voice, both of the soldiers and of the provincials. The emperor, or the rebel, for his title was not yet ascertained by fortune, was a native of Spain, the countryman, the fellow-soldier, and the rival of Theodosius, whose elevation he had not seen without some emotions of envy and resentment: the events of his life had long since fixed him in Britain; and I should not be unwilling to find some evidence for the marriage, which he is said to have contracted with the daughter of a wealthy lord of Caernarvonshire.<sup>10</sup> But this provincial rank might justly be considered as a state of exile and obscurity; and if Maximus had obtained any civil or military office, he was not invested with the authority either of governor or general.<sup>11</sup> His abilities, and even his integrity, are acknowledged by the partial writers of the age; and the merit must indeed have been conspicuous, that could extort such a confession in favour of the vanquished enemy of Theodosius. The discontent of Maximus might incline him to censure the conduct of his sovereign, and to encourage, perhaps without any views of ambition, the murmurs of the troops. But in the midst of the tumult, he artfully, or modestly, refused to ascend the throne; and some credit appears to have been given to his own positive declaration, that he was compelled to accept the dangerous present of the Imperial people.<sup>12</sup>

But there was danger likewise in refusing the empire; and from the moment that Maximus had violated his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, he could not hope to reign, or even to live, if he confined his moderate ambition within the narrow limits of Britain. He boldly and wisely resolved to prevent the designs of Gratian; the youth of the island crowded to his standard, and he invaded Gaul with a fleet and army, which were long afterwards remembered, as the emigration of a considerable part of the British nation.<sup>11</sup> The emperor, in his peaceful residence of Paris, was alarmed by their hostile approach; and the darts which he idly wasted on lions and bears, might

6. An  $\alpha$ - $\beta$ -unsaturated ketone,  $\alpha$ -methyl-2-penten-4-one, is subjected to a Wittig reaction with a phosphonium salt,  $\text{Ph}_3\text{P}=\text{CH}_2$ , to form an alkene. The alkene is then subjected to a Diels-Alder reaction with maleic anhydride to form a bicyclic compound. The bicyclic compound is then subjected to a Diels-Alder reaction with maleic anhydride to form a bicyclic compound. The bicyclic compound is then subjected to a Diels-Alder reaction with maleic anhydride to form a bicyclic compound.

[illegible]

to Heli, the daughter of Fodda Her, bar 1000, a Cornesegont, now Cornesegont, (Carn's Hse) at 1000 p. 1000 from Ruchland, Mon. Ampt. The gradient of the river is not to be ascertained with such Welsh evidence.

[illegible][illegible]



have been employed more honourably against the rebels. But his feeble efforts announced his degenerate spirit and desperate situation; and deprived him of the resources, which he still might have found, in the support of his subjects and allies. The armies of Gaul, instead of opposing the march of Maximus, received him with joyful and loyal acclamations; and the shame of the desertion was transferred from the people to the prince. The troops, whose station more immediately attached them to the service of the palace, abandoned the standard of Gratian the first time that it was displayed in the neighbourhood of Paris. The emperor of the West fled towards Lyons, with a train of only three hundred horse; and, in the cities along the road, where he hoped to find a refuge, or at least a passage, he was taught, by cruel experience, that every gate is shut against the unfortunate. Yet he might still have reached, in safety, the dominions of his brother; and soon have returned with the forces of Italy and the East; if he had not suffered himself to be fatally deceived by the perfidious governor of the Lyonesse province. Gratian was amused by protestations of doubtful fidelity, and the hopes of a support, which could not be effectual; till the arrival of Andragathius, the general of the cavalry of Maximus, put an end to his suspense. That resolute officer executed, without remorse, the orders, or the intentions, of the usurper.

A. D. 357,  
Aug. 25.

Gratian, as he rose from supper, was delivered into the hands of the assassin; and his body was denied to the pious and pressing intreaties of his brother Valentinian.<sup>14</sup> The death of the emperor was followed by that of his powerful general Mellobaudes, the king of the Franks; who maintained, to the last moment of his life, the ambiguous reputation, which is the just recompence of obscure and subtle policy.<sup>15</sup> These executions might be necessary to the public safety, but the successful usurper, whose power was acknowledged by all the provinces of the West, had the merit, and the satisfaction, of boasting, that, except those who had perished by the chance of war, his triumph was not stained by the blood of the Romans.<sup>16</sup>

The events of this revolution had passed in such rapid succession, that it would have been impossible for Theodosius to march to the relief of his benefactor, before he received the intelligence of his defeat and death. During the season of sincere grief, or ostentatious mourning, the Eastern emperor was interrupted by the arrival of the principal chamberlain of Maximus; and the choice of a venerable old man, for an office which was usually exercised by eunuchs, announced to the court of Constantinople the gravity and temperance of the British usurper. The ambassador condescended to justify, or ex-

cuse, the conduct of his master; and to protest, in specious language, that the murder of Gratian had been perpetrated, without his knowledge or consent, by the precipitate zeal of the soldiers. But he proceeded, in a firm and equal tone, to offer Theodosius the alternative of peace, or war. The speech of the ambassador concluded with a spirited declaration, that although Maximus, as a Roman, and as the father of his people, would choose rather to employ his forces in the common defence of the republic, he was armed and prepared, if his friendship should be rejected, to dispute, in a field of battle, the empire of the world. An immediate and peremptory answer was required; but it was extremely difficult for Theodosius to satisfy, on this important occasion, either the feelings of his own mind, or the expectations of the public. The imperious voice of honour and gratitude called aloud for revenge. From the liberality of Gratian, he had received the Imperial diadem: his patience would encourage the odious suspicion, that he was more deeply sensible of former injuries, than of recent obligations; and if he accepted the friendship, he must seem to share the guilt, of the assassin. Even the principles of justice, and the interest of society, would receive a fatal blow from the impunity of Maximus; and the example of successful usurpation would tend to dissolve the artificial fabric of government, and open more to re-plunge the empire in the crimes and calamities of the preceding age. But, as the sentiments of gratitude and honour should invariably regulate the conduct of an individual, they may be overbalanced, in the mind of a sovereign, by the sense of superior duties: and the maxims both of justice and humanity must permit the escape of an atrocious criminal, if an innocent people would be involved in the consequences of his punishment. The assassin of Gratian had usurped, but he actually possessed, the most warlike provinces of the empire: the East was exhausted by the misfortunes, and even by the success, of the Gothic war; and it was seriously to be apprehended, that, after the vital strength of the republic had been wasted in a doubtful and destructive contest, the feeble conqueror would remain an easy prey to the barbarians of the north. These weighty considerations engaged Theodosius to dissemble his resentment, and to accept the alliance of the tyrant. But he stipulated, that Maximus should content himself with the possession of the countries beyond the Alps. The brother of Gratian was confirmed and secured in the sovereignty of Italy, Africa, and the Western Illyricum; and some honourable conditions were inserted in the treaty, to protect the memory, and the laws, of the deceased emperor.<sup>17</sup> According to the custom of the age, the images of the three imperial colleagues were exhibited to the veneration of the people: nor should it be lightly supposed, that in the mo-

death of Vallo, a faithful servant of Gratian (tom. ii. epist. xxix. p. 591. edit. Benedict.).

<sup>14</sup> He protestat, nullum ex adversariis nisi in acceperit. *Sup.* See riv in Vit. B. Marini. c. 23. The orator of Theodosius bestows reluctant, and therefore weighty, praise on his clemency. *Quoniam ille, non ceteris sceleribus suis, minus crudelis fuisse videtur.* (P. 1527. Vit. xii. 25.)

<sup>17</sup> Ambrose mentions the laws of Gratian, quas non abrogavit hostis (tom. ii. epist. xvii. p. 527.).

<sup>14</sup> Zoëmus (l. iv. p. 245, 249) has transported the death of Gratian from Lugdunum in Gaul (Lyons) to Singedunum in Britain. Some hints may be extracted from the chronicles, some lies may be detected in Sozomen (l. vi. c. 13, and Sozomen. l. v. c. 11.). Androse is our most authentic evidence (tom. i. *Ennecrat* in P. d. m. ii. p. 961. tom. ii. epist. xiv. p. 555, &c.) and de obitu Valentinian. *Consolat.* No. 28. p. 1182.).

<sup>15</sup> Pausanias (xii. 28.) celebrates his fidelity, while his treachery is marked in Prosper's Chronicle, as the cause of the ruin of Gratian. Ambrose, who has occasion to exculpate himself, only condemns the





confessed the name of Christ. After he was delivered from the fear and danger of a foreign enemy, his infant church was disgraced and distracted by intestine faction. A stranger, who assumed the name of Maximus,<sup>31</sup> and the cloak of a Cynic philosopher, insinuated himself into the confidence of Gregory; deceived and abused his favourable opinion; and forming a secret connection with some bishops of Egypt, attempted, by a clandestine ordination, to supplant his patron in the episcopal seat of Constantinople. These mortifications might sometimes tempt the Cappadocian missionary to regret his obscure solitude. But his fatigues were rewarded by the daily increase of his fame and his congregation; and he enjoyed the pleasure of observing, that the greater part of his numerous audience retired from his sermons, satisfied with the eloquence of the preacher,<sup>32</sup> or dissatisfied with the manifold imperfections of their faith and practice.<sup>33</sup>

The Catholics of Constantinople were animated with joyful confidence by the baptism and edict of Theodosius; and they impatiently waited the effects of his gracious promise. Their hopes were speedily accomplished; and the emperor, as soon as he had finished the operations of the campaign, made his public entry into the capital at the head of a victorious army. The next day after his arrival, he summoned Danoophilus to his presence; and offered that Arian prelate the hard alternative of subscribing the Nicene creed, or of instantly resigning, to the orthodox believers, the use and possession of the episcopal palace, the cathedral of St. Sophia, and all the churches of Constantinople. The zeal of Danoophilus, which in a Catholic saint would have been justly applauded, embraced, without hesitation, a life of poverty and exile.<sup>34</sup> and his removal was immediately followed by the purification of the Imperial city. The Arians might complain, with some appearance of justice, that an inconsiderable congregation of sectaries should usurp the hundred churches, which they were insufficient to fill: whilst the far greater part of the people was cruelly excluded from every place of religious worship. Theodosius was still inexorable: but as the angels who protected the Catholic cause, were only visible to the eyes of faith, he prudently reinforced those heavenly legions, with the more effectual aid of temporal and carnal weapons, and the church of St. Sophia was occupied by a large body of the Imperial guards. If the name of Gregory was susceptible of pride, he must have felt a very lively satisfaction, when the emperor conducted him through the streets in solemn triumph; and, with his own hand, respectfully placed him on the archiepiscopal

throne of Constantinople. But the saint (who had not subdued the imperfections of human virtue) was deeply affected by the mortifying consideration, that his entrance into the fold was that of a wolf, rather than of a shepherd: that the glittering arms, which surrounded his person, were necessary for his safety; and that he alone was the object of the imprecations of a great party, whom, as men and citizens, it was impossible for him to despise. He beheld the innumerable multitude of either sex, and of every age, who crowded the streets, the windows, and the roofs of the houses; he heard the tumultuous voice of rage, grief, astonishment, and despair; and Gregory fairly confesses, that on the memorable day of his installation, the capital of the East wore the appearance of a city taken by storm, and in the hands of a barbarian conqueror.<sup>35</sup> About six weeks afterwards, Theodosius declared his resolution of expelling, from all the churches of his dominions, the bishops and their clergy, who should obstinately refuse to believe, or at least to profess, the doctrine of the council of Nice. His lieutenant Sapor was armed with the ample powers of a general law, a special commission, and a military force;<sup>36</sup> and this ecclesiastical revolution was conducted with so much discretion and vigour, that the religion of the emperor was established, without tumult, or bloodshed, in all the provinces of the East. The writings of the Arians, if they had been permitted to exist,<sup>37</sup> would perhaps contain the lamentable story of the persecution, which afflicted the church under the reign of the impious Theodosius; and the sufferings of *their* holy confessors might claim the pity of the disinterested reader. Yet there is reason to imagine, that the violence of zeal and revenge was, in some measure, eluded by the want of resistance; and that, in their adversity, the Arians displayed much less firmness, than had been exerted by the orthodox party under the reigns of Constantius and Valens. The moral character and conduct of the hostile sects appear to have been governed by the same common principles of nature and religion: but a very material circumstance may be discovered, which tended to distinguish the degrees of their theological faith. Both parties, in the schools, as well as in the temples, acknowledged and worshipped the divine majesty of Christ; and, as we are always prone to impute our own sentiments and passions to the Deity, it would be deemed more prudent and respectful to exaggerate, than to circumscribe, the adorable perfections of the Son of God. The disciple of Athanasius exulted in the proud confidence, that he had entitled himself to the divine favour; while the follower of Arius must have been tormented, by the secret

In the East.  
A. D. 381.  
Jan. 10.

<sup>31</sup> He pronounced an oration before the emperor, in which he confessed, that after the great victory of Maximus, he was conducted into the city of Rome, and there he was crowned with the purple. See the account of this oration in the *Script. Eccles. Græc.* p. 101.

<sup>32</sup> Under the title of *Oratio*, in a very ancient Greek manuscript, is a description of the manner in which Gregory was received by the people of Constantinople.

<sup>33</sup> Theodosius, in his *Oratio*, mentions the fact, that many of the Arians, who were present at the council of Nice, were dissatisfied with the proceedings, and that they were expelled from the city.

<sup>34</sup> Theodosius, in his *Oratio*, mentions the fact, that many of the Arians, who were present at the council of Nice, were dissatisfied with the proceedings, and that they were expelled from the city.

<sup>35</sup> Theodosius, in his *Oratio*, mentions the fact, that many of the Arians, who were present at the council of Nice, were dissatisfied with the proceedings, and that they were expelled from the city.

<sup>36</sup> Theodosius, in his *Oratio*, mentions the fact, that many of the Arians, who were present at the council of Nice, were dissatisfied with the proceedings, and that they were expelled from the city.

<sup>37</sup> Theodosius, in his *Oratio*, mentions the fact, that many of the Arians, who were present at the council of Nice, were dissatisfied with the proceedings, and that they were expelled from the city.

<sup>38</sup> Theodosius, in his *Oratio*, mentions the fact, that many of the Arians, who were present at the council of Nice, were dissatisfied with the proceedings, and that they were expelled from the city.

apprehension, that he was guilty, perhaps, of an unpardonable offence, by the scanty praise, and parsimonious honours, which he bestowed on the Judge of the World. The opinions of Arianism might satisfy a cold and speculative mind: but the doctrine of the Nicene creed, most powerfully recommended by the merits of faith and devotion, was much better adapted to become popular and successful in a believing age.

The council of Constantinople, A. D. 381, May. The hope, that truth and wisdom would be found in the assemblies of the orthodox clergy, induced the emperor to convene, at Constantinople, a synod of one hundred and fifty bishops, who proceeded, without much difficulty or delay, to complete the theological system which had been established in the council of Nice. The vehement disputes of the fourth century had been chiefly employed on the nature of the Son of God; and the various opinions which were embraced concerning the *Second*, were extended and transferred, by a natural analogy, to the *Third*, person of the Trinity.<sup>41</sup> Yet it was found, or it was thought, necessary, by the victorious adversaries of Arianism, to explain the ambiguous language of some respectable doctors: to confirm the faith of the Catholics; and to condemn an unpopular and inconsistent sect of Macedonians; who freely admitted that the Son was consubstantial to the Father, while they were fearful of seeming to acknowledge the existence of *Three Gods*. A final and unanimous sentence was pronounced to ratify the equal Deity of the Holy Ghost; the mysterious doctrine has been received by all the nations, and all the churches, of the Christian world; and their grateful reverence has assigned to the bishops of Theodosius, the second rank among the general councils.<sup>42</sup> Their knowledge of religious truth may have been preserved by tradition, or it may have been communicated by inspiration; but the sober evidence of history will not allow much weight to the personal authority of the Fathers of Constantinople. In an age, when the ecclesiastics had scandalously degenerated from the model of apostolical purity, the most worthless and corrupt were always the most eager to frequent, and disturb, the episcopal assemblies. The conflict and fermentation of so many opposite interests and tempers inflamed the passions of the bishops: and their ruling passions were, the love of gold, and the love of dispute. Many of the same prelates who now applauded the orthodox piety of Theodosius, had repeatedly changed, with prudent flexibility, their creeds and opinions; and in the various revolutions of the church and state, the religion of their sovereign was the rule of their obsequious faith. When the emperor suspended his

prevailing influence, the turbulent synod was blindly impelled by the absurd or selfish motives of pride, hatred, and resentment. The death of Meletius, which happened at the council of Constantinople, presented the most favourable opportunity of terminating the schism of Antioch, by suffering his aged rival, Paulinus, peaceably to end his days in the episcopal chair. The faith and virtues of Paulinus were unblemished. But his cause was supported by the Western churches; and the bishops of the synod resolved to perpetuate the mischiefs or discord, by the hasty ordination of a perjured candidate,<sup>43</sup> rather than to betray the imagined dignity of the East, which had been illustrated by the birth and death of the Son of God. Such unjust and disorderly proceedings forced the gravest members of the assembly to dissent and to secede; and the clamorous majority, which remained masters of the field of battle, could be compared only to wasps or magpies, to a flight of cranes, or to a flock of geese.<sup>44</sup>

A suspicion may possibly arise, Retreat of Gregory Nazianzen, A. D. 381. that so unfavourable a picture of ecclesiastical synods has been drawn by the partial hand of some obstinate heretic, or some malicious infidel. But the name of the sincere historian who has conveyed this instructive lesson to the knowledge of posterity, must silence the impotent murmurs of superstition and bigotry. He was one of the most pious and eloquent bishops of the age; a saint and a doctor of the church; the scourge of Arianism, and the pillar of the orthodox faith; a distinguished member of the council of Constantinople, in which, after the death of Meletius, he exercised the functions of president: in a word—Gregory Nazianzen himself. The harsh and ungenerous treatment which he experienced,<sup>45</sup> instead of derogating from the truth of his evidence, affords an additional proof of the spirit which actuated the deliberations of the synod. Their unanimous suffrage had confirmed the pretensions which the bishop of Constantinople derived from the choice of the people, and the approbation of the emperor. But Gregory soon became the victim of malice and envy. The bishops of the East, his strenuous adherents, provoked by his moderation in the affairs of Antioch, abandoned him, without support, to the adverse faction of the Egyptians; who disputed the validity of his election, and rigorously asserted the obsolete canon, that prohibited the licentious practice of episcopal translations. The pride, or the humility, of Gregory, prompted him to decline a contest which might have been imputed to ambition and avarice; and he publicly offered, not without some mixture of indignation, to renounce

41 Le Cleir has given a curious extract Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. XLVI. p. 91-101) of the theological sermons, which Gregory Nazianzen pronounced at Constantinople against the Arians, Eusebians, Macedonians, &c. He tells the Macedonians, who denied the Father and the Son, without the Holy Ghost, that they might as well be styled *Tritheists* as *Ditheists*. Gregory himself was almost a Tritheist; and his monarchy of heaven resembles a well regulated aristocracy.

42 The first general council of Constantinople now transacted in the Vatican; but the popes had long harassed and their bosom prelates, and almost staggered, the humble Tillemont *Mém. Ecclesiast.* tom. ix. p. 499, 500.

43 Before the death of Meletius, six or eight of his most popular ecclesiastics, among whom was Flavian, had agreed, by the sake of peace, the bishopric of Antioch. (Sozomen, l. vi. c. 11. Socrates,

l. v. c. 5.) Tillemont thinks it his duty to disbelieve the story, but he owns that there are many circumstances in the life of Flavian, which seem consistent with the praises of Chrysostom, and the character of a saint (*Mém. Ecclesiast.* tom. x. p. 541.)

44 Consult Gregory Nazianzen, de Vita sua, tom. ii. p. 28-29. He general and particular may be seen in a rare and precious *Carmin* v. p. 51.

Tillemont, and fairly produced, &c. &c. 45 See Gregory, tom. ii. de Vita sua, p. 28-31. The fourteenth, twelfth, and thirteenth general councils were pronounced in the same manner. The peroration of the last (tom. i. p. 58) in which he takes a solemn leave of men and angels, the emperor, the East and the West, &c. is pathetic, and almost sublime.

the government of a church, which had been restored, and almost created, by his labours. His resignation was accepted by the synod, and by the emperor, with more readiness than he seems to have expected. At the time when he might have hoped to enjoy the fruits of his victory, his episcopal throne was filled by the senator Nectarius; and the new archbishop, accidentally recommended by his easy temper and venerable aspect, was obliged to delay the ceremony of his consecration, till he had previously despatched the rites of his baptism.<sup>46</sup> After this remarkable experience of the ingratitude of princes and prelates, Gregory retired once more to his obscure solitude of Cappadocia; where he employed the remainder of his life, about eight years, in the exercises of poetry and devotion. The title of Saint has been added to his name; but the tenderness of his heart,<sup>47</sup> and the elegance of his genius, reflect a more pleasing lustre on the memory of Gregory Nazianzen.

It was not enough that Theodosius had suppressed the insolent reign of Ananias, or that he had abundantly revenged the injuries which the Catholics sustained from the zeal of Constantius and Valens. The orthodox emperor considered every heretic as a rebel against the supreme powers of heaven and of earth; and each of those powers might exercise their peculiar jurisdiction over the soul and body of the guilty. The decrees of the council of Constantinople had ascertained the true standard of the faith; and the ecclesiastics, who governed the conscience of Theodosius, suggested the most effectual methods of persecution. In the space of fifteen years, he promulgated at least fifteen severe edicts against the heretics; more especially against those who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity; and to deprive them of every hope of escape, he sternly enacted, that if any laws or rescripts should be alleged in their favour, the judges should consider them as the illegal productions, either of fraud, or forgery. The penal statutes were directed against the ministers, the assemblies, and the persons of the heretics; and the passions of the legislator were expressed in the language of declamation and invective. I. The heretical teachers, who usurped the sacred titles of Bishops, or Presbyters, were not only excluded from the privileges and emoluments so liberally granted to the orthodox clergy, but they were exposed to the heavy penalties of exile and confiscation, if they presumed to preach the doctrine, or to practise the rites, of their *damned* sects. A fine of ten pounds of gold (above four hundred pounds sterling) was imposed on every person who should dare to confer, or receive, or promote, an heretical ordination; and it was

reasonably expected, that if the race of pastors could be extinguished, their helpless flocks would be compelled, by ignorance and hunger to return within the pale of the Catholic church.

11. The rigorous prohibition of conventicles was carefully extended to every possible circumstance, in which the heretics could assemble with the intention of worshipping God and Christ according to the dictates of their conscience. Their religious meetings, whether public or secret, by day or by night, in cities or in the country, were equally proscribed by the edicts of Theodosius; and the building, or ground, which had been used for that illegal purpose, was forfeited to the Imperial domain.

III. It was supposed, that the error of the heretics could proceed only from the obstinate temper of their minds; and that such a temper was a fit object of censure and punishment. The anathemas of the church were fortified by a sort of civil excommunication; which separated them from their fellow-citizens, by a peculiar brand of infamy; and this declaration of the supreme magistrate tended to justify, or at least to excuse, the insults of a fanatic populace. The sectaries were gradually dis-qualified for the possession of honourable, or lucrative, employments; and Theodosius was satisfied with his own justice, when he decreed, that, as the Eunomians distinguished the nature of the Son from that of the Father, they should be incapable of making their wills, or of receiving any advantage from testamentary donations. The guilt of the Manichean heresy was esteemed of such magnitude, that it could be expiated only by the death of the offender; and the same capital punishment was inflicted on the Audians, or *Quartobulani*,<sup>41</sup> who should dare to perpetrate the atrocious crime, of celebrating, on an improper day, the festival of Easter. Every Roman might exercise the right of public accusation; but the office of *Inquisitors* of the Faith, a name so deservedly abhorred, was first instituted under the reign of Theodosius. Yet we are assured, that the execution of his penal edicts was seldom enforced; and that the pious emperor appeared less desirous to punish, than to reclaim, or terrify, his refractory subjects.<sup>59</sup>

The theory of persecution was established by Theodosius, whose justice and piety have been applauded by the saints: but the practice of it, in the fullest extent, was reserved for his rival and colleague, Maximus, the first, among the Christian princes, who shed the blood of his Christian subjects, on account of their religious opinions. The cause of the Priscillianists,<sup>1</sup> a recent sect of heretics, who disturbed the provinces of Spain, was transferred, by appeal, from the synod of Bourdeaux to the Imperial consistory

46 The whole orientation of Neotoma is oriented to "Suzerain  
city," but Polakoff observes: "More important than the fact that  
Agnes had no heirs does her marriage to her husband, a part of the  
family, and a source of power. These are the two main reasons for the  
detail of the story in the first chapter of the book. The story is  
told in a way that is not only a source of power, but also a source of  
power, when it was not the first of the two. The story is told in a  
way that is not only a source of power, but also a source of power.  
From his requirement, he exhibits Neotoma to focus on the last of  
the two." (p. 104-110)

[illegible]

of Treves; and by the sentence of the prætorian præfect, seven persons were tortured, condemned, and executed. The first of these was Priscillian<sup>52</sup> himself, bishop of Avila,<sup>53</sup> in Spain; who adorned the advantages of birth and fortune, by the accomplishments of eloquence and learning. Two pre-byters, and two deacons, accompanied their beloved master in his death, which they esteemed as a glorious martyrdom; and the number of religious victims was completed by the execution of Latronian, a poet, who rivalled the fame of the ancients; and of Eucheria, a noble matron of Bourdeaux, the widow of the orator Delphidius.<sup>54</sup> Two bishops who had embraced the sentiments of Priscillian, were condemned to a distant and dreary exile;<sup>55</sup> and some indulgence was shown to the meaner criminals, who assumed the merit of an early repentance. If any credit could be allowed to confessions extorted by fear or pain, and to vague reports, the offspring of malice and credulity, the heresy of the Priscillianists would be found to include the various abominations of magic, of impiety, and of lewdness.<sup>56</sup> Priscillian, who wandered about the world in the company of his spiritual sisters, was accused of praying stark naked in the midst of the congregation; and it was confidently asserted, that the effects of his criminal intercourse with the daughter of Eucheria, had been suppressed, by means still more odious and criminal. But an accurate, or rather a candid, enquiry, will discover, that if the Priscillianists violated the laws of nature, it was not by the licentiousness, but by the austerity, of their lives. They absolutely condemned the use of the marriage-bed; and the peace of families was often disturbed by indiscreet separations. They enjoined, or recommended, a total abstinence from all animal food; and their continual prayers, fasts, and vigils, inculcated a rule of strict and perfect devotion. The speculative tenets of the sect, concerning the person of Christ, and the nature of the human soul, were derived from the Gnostic and Manichean system; and this vain philosophy, which had been transported from Egypt to Spain, was ill adapted to the grosser spirits of the West. The obscure disciples of Priscillian suffered, languished, and gradually disappeared: his tenets were rejected by the clergy and people, but his death was the subject of a long and vehement controversy; while some arraigned, and others applauded, the justice of his sentence. It is with pleasure that we can observe the humane inconsistency of the most illustrious saints and bishops, Ambrose of Milan,<sup>57</sup> and Martin of Tours,<sup>58</sup> who, on this

occasion, asserted the cause of toleration. They pitied the unhappy men, who had been executed at Treves; they refused to hold communion with their episcopal murderers; and if Martin deviated from that generous resolution, his motives were laudable, and his repentance was exemplary. The bishops of Tours and Milan pronounced, without hesitation, the eternal damnation of heretics; but they were surprised, and shocked, by the bloody image of their temporal death, and the honest feelings of nature resisted the artificial prejudices of theology. The humanity of Ambrose and Martin was confirmed by the scandalous irregularity of the proceedings against Priscillian and his adherents. The civil and ecclesiastical ministers had transgressed the limits of their respective provinces. The secular judge had presumed to receive an appeal, and to pronounce a definitive sentence, in a matter of faith, and episcopal jurisdiction. The bishops had disgraced themselves by exercising the functions of accusers in a criminal prosecution. The cruelty of Ithacius,<sup>59</sup> who beheld the tortures, and solicited the death, of the heretics, provoked the just indignation of mankind; and the vices of that profligate bishop were admitted as a proof, that his zeal was instigated by the sordid motives of interest. Since the death of Priscillian, the rude attempts of persecution have been refined and methodised in the holy office, which assigns their distinct parts to the ecclesiastical and secular powers. The devoted victim is regularly delivered by the priest to the magistrate, and by the magistrate to the executioner; and the inexorable sentence of the church, which declares the spiritual guilt of the offender, is expressed in the mild language of pity and intercession.

Among the ecclesiastics, who illustrated the reign of Theodosius, Gregory Nazianzen was distinguished by the talents of an eloquent preacher; the reputation of miraculous gifts added weight and dignity to the monastic virtues of Martin of Tours;<sup>60</sup> but the palm of episcopal vigour and ability was justly claimed by the intrepid Ambrose.<sup>61</sup> He was descended from a noble family of Romans; his father had exercised the important office of prætorian præfect of Gaul; and the son, after passing through the studies of a liberal education, attained, in the regular graduation of civil honours, the station of consular of Liguria, a province which included the imperial residence of Milan. At the age of thirty-four, and before he had received the sacrament of baptism, Ambrose, to his own

Ambrose, arch-bishop of Milan.  
A. D. 374-397.

<sup>52</sup> St. Cyprian mentions the arch-heretic, with esteem and pity. *De lapsis prætorianis*, c. 13. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*.

<sup>53</sup> The *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*.

<sup>54</sup> *Expositione* of Ambrose, *lib. i. c. 13*. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*.

<sup>55</sup> One of them was sent to Sardinia, and the other to the island of Corsica. *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*.

<sup>56</sup> The *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*.

<sup>58</sup> In the *Sacred History*, and the *Lives* of St. Martin, Sulpicius Severus mentions a vision, in which he declares Priscillian more freely in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*.

<sup>59</sup> The *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*.

<sup>60</sup> The *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*.

<sup>61</sup> The *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*. Priscillian is mentioned in the *Confessiones* of Augustine, *lib. i. c. 13*.

surprise, and to that of the world, was suddenly transformed from a governor to an archbishop. Without the least mixture, as it is said, of art or intrigue, the whole body of the people unanimously saluted him with the episcopal title; the concord and perseverance of their acclamations were ascribed to a preternatural impulse; and the reluctant magistrate was compelled to undertake a spiritual office, for which he was not prepared by the habits and occupations of his former life. But the active force of his genius soon qualified him to exercise, with zeal and prudence, the duties of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and while he cheerfully renounced the vain and splendid trappings of temporal greatness, he descended, for the good of the church, to direct the conscience of the emperors, and to control the administration of the empire. Gratian loved and revered him as a father; and the elaborate treatise on the Faith of the Trinity was designed for the instruction of the young prince. After his tragic death, at a time when the empress Justina trembled for her own safety, and for that of her son Valentinian, the archbishop of Milan was despatched, on two different embassies, to the court of Treves. He exercised, with equal firmness and dexterity, the powers of his spiritual and political characters; and perhaps contributed, by his authority and eloquence, to check the ambition of Maximus, and to protect the peace of Italy.<sup>2</sup> Ambrose had devoted his life, and his abilities, to the service of the church. Wealth was the object of his contempt; he had renounced his private patrimony; and he sold, without hesitation, the consecrated plate, for the redemption of captives. The clergy and people of Milan were attached to their archbishop; and he deserved the esteem, without seeking the favour, or apprehending the displeasure of his feeble sovereigns.

The government of Italy, and of the young emperor, naturally devolved to his mother Justina, a woman of beauty and spirit, but who, in the midst of an orthodox people, had the misfortune of professing the Arian heresy, which she endeavoured to instil into the mind of her son. Justina was persuaded, that a Roman emperor might claim, in his own dominions, the public exercise of his religion; and she proposed to the archbishop, as a moderate and reasonable concession, that he should resign the use of a single church, either in the city or suburbs of Milan. But the conduct of Ambrose was governed by very different principles.<sup>3</sup> The palaces of the earth might indeed belong to Cæsar, but the churches were the houses of God; and, within the limits of his diocese, he himself, as the lawful successor of the apostles, was the only minister of God. The privileges of Christianity, temporal as well as spiritual, were confined to the true believers; and the mind of Ambrose was satisfied, that his own theological opinions were the standard of truth and orthodoxy. The archbishop, who refused to hold any

conference, or negotiation, with the instruments of Satan, declared, with modest firmness, his resolution to die a martyr, rather than to yield to the impious sacrilege; and Justina, who resented the refusal as an act of insolence and rebellion, hastily determined to exert the Imperial prerogative of her son. As she desired to perform her public devotions on the approaching festival of Easter, Ambrose was ordered to appear before the council. He obeyed the summons with the respect of a faithful subject, but he was followed, without his consent, by an innumerable people: they pressed, with impetuous zeal, against the gates of the palace; and the affrighted ministers of Valentinian, instead of pronouncing a sentence of exile on the archbishop of Milan, humbly requested that he would interpose his authority, to protect the person of the emperor, and to restore the tranquillity of the capital. But the promises which Ambrose received and communicated, were soon violated by a perfidious court; and, during six of the most solemn days, which Christian piety has set apart for the exercise of religion, the city was agitated by the irregular convulsions of tumult and fanaticism. The officers of the household were directed to prepare, first, the Porium, and afterwards, the new, *Basilica*, for the immediate reception of the emperor and his mother. The splendid canopy and hangings of the royal seat were arranged in the customary manner; but it was found necessary to defend them, by a strong guard, from the insults of the populace. The Arian ecclesiastics, who ventured to show themselves in the streets, were exposed to the most imminent danger of their lives: and Ambrose enjoyed the merited reputation of securing his parish of ecclesies from the hands of the enraged multitude.

But while he laboured to restrain the effects of their zeal, the pathetic violence of his sermons continually inflamed the angry and seditious temper of the people of Milan. The characters of Eve, of the wife of Job, of Jezebel, of Herodias, were indelicately applied to the mother of the emperor; and her desire to obtain a church for the Arians, was compared to the most cruel persecutions which Christianity had endured under the reign of Paganism. The measures of the court served only to expose the magnitude of the evil. A fine of two hundred pounds of gold was imposed on the corporate body of merchants and manufacturers: an order was signified, in the name of the emperor, to all the officers, and inferior servants, of the courts of justice, that, during the continuance of the public disorders, they should strictly confine themselves to their homes: and the ministers of Valentinian imprudently confessed, that the most respectable part of the citizens of Milan was attached to the cause of their archbishop. He was again solicited to restore peace to his country, by a timely compliance with the will of his sovereign. The reply of Ambrose was couched in the most humble and respectful terms, which might, however, be interpreted as

<sup>2</sup> Ambrose himself says, *Epist. xxx. c. 1. 2.* *Epist. lxxviii. c. 1.* *Epist. lxxviii. c. 1.* *Epist. lxxviii. c. 1.*

<sup>3</sup> His own representation of this period is, *Epist. lxxviii. c. 1.* *Epist. lxxviii. c. 1.* *Epist. lxxviii. c. 1.*



a serious declaration of civil war. "His life and fortune were in the hands of the emperor; but he would never betray the church of Christ, or degrade the dignity of the episcopal character. In such a cause he was prepared to suffer whatever the malice of the demon could inflict; and he only wished to die in the presence of his faithful flock, and at the foot of the altar; he had not contributed to excite, but it was in the power of God alone to appease, the rage of the people: he decreed the scenes of blood and confusion, which were likely to ensue; and it was his fervent prayer, that he might not survive to behold the ruin of a flourishing city, and perhaps the desolation of all Italy."<sup>64</sup> The obstinate bigotry of Justina would have endangered the empire of her son, if, in this contest with the church and people of Milan, she could have depended on the active obedience of the troops of the palace. A large body of Goths had marched to occupy the *Basilica*, which was the object of the dispute; and it might be expected from the Arian principles, and barbarous manners, of these foreign mercenaries, that they would not entertain any scruples in the execution of the most sanguinary orders. They were encountered, on the sacred threshold, by the archbishop, who, thundering against them a sentence of excommunication, asked them, in the tone of a father and a master, Whether it was to invade the house of God, that they had implored the hospitable protection of the republic? The suspense of the barbarians allowed some hours for a more effectual negotiation; and the empress was persuaded, by the advice of her wisest counsellors, to leave the Catholics in possession of all the churches of Milan; and to dissemble, till a more convenient season, her intentions of revenge. The mother of Valentinian could never forgive the triumph of Ambrose; and the royal youth uttered a passionate exclamation, that his own servants were ready to betray him into the hands of an insolent priest.

A. D. 396. The laws of the empire, some of which were inscribed with the name of Valentinian, still condemned the Arian heresy, and seemed to excuse the resistance of the Catholics. By the influence of Justina, an edict of toleration was promulgated in all the provinces which were subject to the court of Milan; the free exercise of their religion was granted to those who professed the faith of Rimini; and the emperor declared, that all persons who should infringe this sacred and salutary constitution, should be capitally punished, as the enemies of the public peace.<sup>65</sup> The character and language of the archbishop of Milan may justify

the suspicion, that his conduct soon afforded a reasonable ground, or at least a specious pretence, to the Arian ministers; who watched the opportunity of surprising him in some act of disobedience to a law, which he strangely represents as a law of blood and tyranny. A sentence of easy and honourable banishment was pronounced, which enjoined Ambrose to depart from Milan without delay; whilst it permitted him to choose the place of his exile, and the number of his companions. But the authority of the saints, who have preached and practised the maxims of passive loyalty, appeared to Ambrose of less moment than the extreme and pressing danger of the church. He boldly refused to obey; and his refusal was supported by the unanimous consent of his faithful people.<sup>66</sup> They guarded by turns the person of their archbishop: the gates of the cathedral and the episcopal palace were strongly secured; and the Imperial troops, who had formed the blockade, were unwilling to risk the attack, of that impregnable fortress. The numerous poor, who had been relieved by the liberality of Ambrose, embraced the fair occasion of signalling their zeal and gratitude; and as the patience of the multitude might have been exhausted by the length and uniformity of nocturnal vigils, he prudently introduced into the church of Milan the useful institution of a loud and regular psalmody. While he maintained this arduous contest, he was instructed, by a dream, to open the earth in a place where the remains of two martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius,<sup>67</sup> had been deposited above three hundred years. Immediately under the pavement of the church two perfect skeletons were found,<sup>68</sup> with the heads separated from their bodies, and a plentiful effusion of blood. The holy relics were presented, in solemn pomp, to the veneration of the people; and every circumstance of this fortunate discovery was admirably adapted to promote the designs of Ambrose. The bones of the martyrs, their blood, their garments, were supposed to contain a healing power; and the preternatural influence was communicated to the most distant objects, without losing any part of its original virtue. The extraordinary cure of a blind man,<sup>69</sup> and the reluctant confessions of several demoniacs, appeared to justify the faith and sanctity of Ambrose; and the truth of those miracles is attested by Ambrose himself, by his secretary Paulinus, and by his proselyte, the celebrated Augustin, who, at that time, professed the art of rhetoric in Milan. The reason of the present age may possibly approve the incredulity of Justina and her Arian court; who derided the theatrical representations, which were exhibited by the contrivance,

<sup>64</sup> Retz had a similar message from the queen, to request that he would appease the tumult of Paris. It was no longer in his power, &c. *A quoi j'ajoutai tout ce que vous pouvez voir, unanime de la religion.*

dark and perplexed narrative

<sup>65</sup> *Exulabat pia p[re]s in ecclesia mori parata cum sta copio suo. . . . Nos adhuc fragili exultabamur tamen civitate atomita atque turbata.*

<sup>66</sup> *Augustinus Confessiones* l. ix. c. 7.

<sup>67</sup> *Itilemont, Meins. Eccles. tom. i. p. 78. 408.* Many churches in Italy, Gaul, &c. were dedicated to these unknown martyrs, of whom St. Gervase seems to have been more fortunate than his companion.

<sup>68</sup> *Intenuum morte magnitudinis viros duos, ut preta aetas ferebat (tom. ii. Epist. xiii. p. 873).* The size of these skeletons was fortunately, or skillfully, suited to the popular prejudice of the gradual decrease of the human stature; which has prevailed in every age

<sup>69</sup> *l. ix. c. 7. c. 11. in serie; he touched the holy garment, recovered his sight, and devoted the rest of his life at (at least) to the service of the church. I should recommend this miracle to our doctors, if it did not prove the worship of relics, as well as the Nicene creed.*

and at the expense, of the archbishop.<sup>70</sup> Their effect, however, on the minds of the people was rapid and irresistible; and the feeble sovereign of Italy found himself unable to contend with the favourite of heaven. The powers likewise of the earth interposed in the defence of Ambrose: the disinterested advice of Theodosius was the genuine result of piety and friendship; and the mask of religious zeal concealed the hostile and ambitious designs of the tyrant of Gaul.<sup>71</sup>

Maximus invaded Italy, A. D. 477, Auguste.

The reign of Maximus might have ended in peace and prosperity, could he have contented himself with the possession of three ample countries, which now constitute the three most flourishing kingdoms of modern Europe. But the aspiring usurper, whose sordid ambition was not dignified by the love of glory and of arms, considered his actual forces as the instruments only of his future greatness, and his success was the immediate cause of his destruction. The wealth which he extorted <sup>72</sup> from the oppressed provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was employed in levying and maintaining a formidable army of barbarians, collected, for the most part, from the fiercest nations of Germany. The conquest of Italy was the object of his hopes and preparations; and he secretly meditated the ruin of an innocent youth, whose government was abhorred and despised by his Catholic subjects. But as Maximus wished to occupy, without resistance, the passes of the Alps, he received, with perfidious smiles, Domitianus of Syria, the ambassador of Valentinian, and pressed him to accept the aid of a considerable body of troops for the service of a Pannonian war. The penetration of Ambrose had discovered the snares of an enemy under the professions of friendship; <sup>73</sup> but the Syrian Domitianus was corrupted, or deceived, by the liberal favour of the court of Treves: and the council of Milan obstinately rejected the suspicion of danger with a blind confidence, which was the effect, not of courage, but of fear. The march of the auxiliaries was guided by the ambassador; and they were admitted, without distrust, into the fortresses of the Alps. But the crafty tyrant followed, with hasty and silent footsteps, in the rear; and as he diligently intercepted all intelligence of his motions, the gleam of armour, and the dust excited by the troops of cavalry, first announced the hostile approach of a stranger to the gates of Milan. In this extremity, Justina and her son might accuse their own imprudence, and the perfidious arts of Maximus; but they wanted time, and force, and resolution, to stand against the Gauls and Germans, either in the field, or within the walls of a large and disaffected city. Flight was their only hope, Aquileia their only refuge; and, as Maximus now displayed his genuine character, the brother of Gratian might expect the same fate from the hands of the same assassin. Maximus entered Milan in triumph; and if the wise archbishop refused a dangerous and criminal

nal connection with the usurper, he might indirectly contribute to the success of his arms, by inculcating, from the pulpit, the duty of resignation, rather than that of resistance.<sup>74</sup> The unfortunate Justina reached Aquileia in safety; but she distrusted the strength of the fortifications; she dreaded the event of a siege; and she resolved to implore the protection of the great Theodosius, whose power and virtue were celebrated in all the countries of the West. A vessel was secretly provided to transport the Imperial family; they embarked with precipitation in one of the obscure harbours of Venetia, or Istria; traversed the whole extent of the Adriatic and Ionian seas; turned the extreme promontory of Peloponnesus; and, after a long, but successful, navigation, reposed themselves in the port of Thessalonica. All the subjects of Valentinian deserted the cause of a prince, who, by his abdication, had absolved them from the duty of allegiance; and if the little city of Æmona, on the verge of Italy, had not presumed to stop the career of his inglorious victory, Maximinus would have obtained, without a struggle, the sole possession of the Western empire.

Instead of inviting his royal guests to the palace of Constantinople, Theodosius had some unknown reasons to fix their residence at Thessalonica; but these reasons did not proceed from contempt or indifference, as he speedily made a visit to that city, accompanied by the greatest part of his court and senate. After the first tender expressions of friendship and sympathy, the pious emperor of the East gently admonished Justinia, that the guilt of heresy was sometimes punished in this world, as well as in the next; and that the public profession of the Nicene faith would be the most efficacious step to promote the restoration of her son, by the satisfaction which it must occasion both on earth and in heaven. The momentous question of peace or war was referred, by Theodosius, to the deliberation of his council; and the arguments which might be alleged on the side of honour and justice, had acquired, since the death of Gratian, a considerable degree of additional weight. The persecution of the Imperial family, to which Theodosius himself had been indebted for his fortune, was now aggravated by recent and repeated injuries. Neither oaths nor treaties could restrain the boundless ambition of Maximus; and the delay of vigorous and decisive measures, instead of prolonging the blessings of peace, would expose the Eastern empire to the danger of an hostile invasion. The barbarians, who had passed the Danube, had lately assumed the character of soldiers and subjects, but their native fierceness was yet untamed; and the operations of a war, which would exercise their valour, and diminish their numbers, might tend to relieve the provinces from an intolerable oppression. Notwithstanding these specious and solid reasons, which were approved by a majority

Theodosius takes arms in the cause of Justinian.  
A. D. 387.

Theodosius  
takes arms in  
the cause of  
Valentinian.  
A. D. 387.

72 The modest censure of Sulpicius (chap. vi) implies a much deeper wound than the feeble denunciation of Paulinus (chap. 45).

75 Edo tutor advenit huiusmodi, rursus in re reagentem, was the wise caution of Ambrose, 1633 d. p. 101, after his return from his second voyage.

7: Barman & D. 787, No. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 91

of the council, Theodosius still hesitated, whether he should draw the sword in a contest, which could no longer admit any terms of reconciliation; and his magnanimous character was not disgraced by the apprehensions which he felt for the safety of his infant sons, and the welfare of his exhausted people. In this moment of anxious doubt, while the fate of the Roman world depended on the resolution of a single man, the charms of the princess Gallia most powerfully pleaded the cause of her brother Valentinian.<sup>75</sup> The heart of Theodosius was softened by the tears of beauty; his affections were insensibly engaged by the graces of youth and innocence; the art of Justinia managed and directed the impulse of passion; and the celebration of the royal nuptials was the assurance and signal of the civil war. The unfeeling critics, who consider every amorous weakness as an indelible stain on the memory of a great and orthodox emperor, are inclined, on this occasion, to dispute the suspicious evidence of the historian Zosimus. For my own part, I shall frankly confess, that I am willing to find, or even to seek, in the revolutions of the world, some traces of the mild and tender sentiments of domestic life; and, amidst the crowd of fierce and ambitious conquerors, I can distinguish, with peculiar complacency, a gentle hero, who may be supposed to receive his armour from the hands of love. The alliance of the Persian king was secured by the faith of treaties; the martial barbarians were persuaded to follow the standard, or to respect the frontiers, of an active and liberal monarch; and the dominions of Theodosius, from the Euphrates to the Adriatic, resounded with the preparations of war both by land and sea. The skilful disposition of the forces of the East seemed to multiply their numbers, and distracted the attention of Maximus. He had reason to fear, that a chosen body of troops, under the command of the intrepid Arbogastes, would direct their march along the banks of the Danube, and boldly penetrate through the Rhaetian provinces into the centre of Gaul. A powerful fleet was equipped in the harbours of Greece and Epirus, with an apparent design, that as soon as a passage had been opened by a naval victory, Valentinian, and his mother, should land in Italy, proceed, without delay, to Rome, and occupy the majestic seat of religion and empire. In the mean while, Theodosius himself advanced at the head of a brave and disciplined army, to encounter his unworthy rival, who, after the siege of Emona, had fixed his camp in the neighbourhood of Siscia, a city of Pannonia, strongly fortified by the broad and rapid stream of the Save.

The veterans, who still remembered the long resistance, and successive resources, of the tyrant Magnentius, might prepare themselves for the labours of three bloody campaigns. But the contest with his successor, who, like him, had usurped the throne of the West, was easily decided in the term of two months;<sup>76</sup> and within

the space of two hundred miles. The superior genius of the emperor of the East might prevail over the feeble Maximus, who, in this important crisis, showed himself destitute of military skill, or personal courage; but the abilities of Theodosius were seconded by the advantage which he possessed of a numerous and active cavalry. The Huns, the Alani, and, after their example, the Goths themselves, were formed into squadrons of archers; who fought on horseback, and founded the steady valour of the Gauls and Germans, by the rapid motions of a Tartar war. After the fatigue of a long march, in the heat of summer, they spurred their foaming horses into the waters of the Save, swam the river in the presence of the enemy, and instantly charged and routed the troops who guarded the high ground on the opposite side. Marcellinus, the tyrant's brother, advanced to support them with the select cohorts, which were considered as the hope and strength of the army. The action, which had been interrupted by the approach of night, was renewed in the morning; and, after a sharp conflict, the surviving remnant of the bravest soldiers of Maximus threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror. Without suspending his march, to receive the loyal acclamations of the citizens of Emona, Theodosius pressed forward, to terminate the war by the death or captivity of his rival, who fled before him with the diligence of fear. From the summit of the Julian Alps, he descended with such incredible speed into the plain of Italy, that he reached Aquileia on the evening of the first day; and Maximus, who found himself encompassed on all sides, had scarcely time to shut the gates of the city. But the gates could not long resist the effort of a victorious enemy; and the despair, the disaffection, the indifference of the soldiers and people, hastened the downfall of the wretched Maximus. He was dragged from his throne, rudely stripped of the Imperial ornaments, the robe, the diadem, and the purple slippers, and conducted, like a malefactor, to the camp and presence of Theodosius, at a place about three miles from Aquileia. The behaviour of the emperor was not intended to insult, and he showed some disposition to pity and forgive, the tyrant of the West, who had never been his personal enemy, and was now become the object of his contempt. Our sympathy is the most forcibly excited by the misfortunes to which we are exposed; and the spectacle of a proud competitor, now prostrate at his feet, could not fail of producing very serious and solemn thoughts in the mind of the victorious emperor. But the feeble emotion of involuntary pity was checked by his regard for public justice, and the memory of Gratian; and he abandoned the victim to the pious zeal of the soldiers, who drew him out of the Imperial presence, and instantly separated his head from his body. The intelligence of his defeat and death was received with sincere, or well-dissembled joy: his son Victor, on whom he had conferred the

Defeat and  
death of  
Maximus.  
A.D. 388.  
June—August.

<sup>75</sup> The flight of Valentinian, and the love of Theodosius for his sister, are related by Zosimus (*l. vi. c. 27. 28. 29.*). The story produces some weak and ambiguous evidence to support the second marriage of Theodosius (that des. Eugénie), (*l. vi. c. 27. 28.*), and the escape of

his five sons, comes de Zosime, qui servent trop contraires à la pureté de l'histoire.

<sup>76</sup> See Gieseler's Chronology of the Laws, *l. c.* Theodosian *l. i. c. 1.*



trifling, pleasures of a luxurious court. The natural disposition of Theodosius was hasty and choleric; and, in a station where none could resist, and few would dissuade, the fatal consequences of his resentment, the humane monarch was justly alarmed by the consciousness of his infirmity, and of his power. It was the constant study of his life to suppress, or regulate, the intemperate sallies of passion; and the success of his efforts enhanced the merit of his clemency. But the painful virtue which claims the merit of victory, is exposed to the danger of defeat; and the reign of a wise and merciful prince was polluted by an act of cruelty, which would stain the annals of Nero or Domitian. Within the space of three years, the inconsistent historian of Theodosius must relate the generous pardon of the citizens of Antioch, and the inhuman massacre of the people of Thessalonica.

The lively impatience of the inhabitants of Antioch was never satisfied with their own situation, or with the character, and conduct, of their successive sovereigns. The Arian subjects of Theodosius deplored the loss of their churches; and, as three rival bishops disputed the throne of Antioch, the sentence which decided their pretensions excited the murmurs of the two unsuccessful congregations. The exigencies of the Gothic war, and the inevitable expense that accompanied the conclusion of the peace, had constrained the emperor to aggravate the weight of the public impositions; and the provinces of Asia, as they had not been involved in the distress, were the less inclined to contribute to the relief, of Europe. The auspicious period now approached of the tenth year of his reign; a festival more grateful to the soldiers, who received a liberal donative, than to the subjects, whose voluntary offerings had been long since converted into an extraordinary and oppressive burden. The edicts of taxation interrupted the repose, and pleasures, of Antioch; and the tribunal of the magistrate was besieged by a suppliant crowd; who, in pathetic, but, at first, in respectful language, solicited the redress of their grievances. They were gradually incensed by the pride of their haughty rulers, who treated their complaints as a criminal resistance; their satirical wit degenerated into sharp and angry invectives; and from the subordinate powers of government, the invectives of the people insensibly rose to attack the sacred character of the emperor himself. Their fury, provoked by

Feb. 26. a feeble opposition, discharged itself on the images of the Imperial family, which were erected, as objects of public veneration, in the most conspicuous places of the city. The statues of Theodosius, of his father, of his wife Flaccilla, of his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, were insolently thrown down from their pedestals, broken in pieces, or dragged with

contempt through the streets: and the indignities which were offered to the representations of Imperial majesty, sufficiently declared the impious and treasonable wishes of the populace. The tumult was almost immediately suppressed by the arrival of a body of archers; and Antioch had leisure to reflect on the nature and consequences of her crime.<sup>84</sup> According to the duty of his office, the governor of the province despatched a faithful narrative of the whole transaction; while the trembling citizens intrusted the confession of their crime, and the assurances of their repentance, to the zeal of Flavian their bishop, and to the eloquence of the senator Hilaris, the friend, and, most probably, the disciple, of Libanius; whose genius, on this melancholy occasion, was not useless to his country.<sup>85</sup> But the two capitals, Antioch and Constantinople, were separated by the distance of eight hundred miles; and, notwithstanding the diligence of the Imperial posts, the guilty city was severely punished by a long and dreadful interval of suspense. Every rumour agitated the hopes and fears of the Antiochians, and they heard, with terror, that their sovereign, exasperated by the insult which had been offered to his own statues, and, more especially, to those of his beloved wife, had resolved to level with the ground the offending city; and to massacre, without distinction of age or sex, the criminal inhabitants;<sup>86</sup> many of whom were actually driven, by their apprehensions, to seek a refuge in the mountains of Syria, and the adjacent desert. At length, twenty-

March 22.

four days after the sedition, the general Hellebicus, and Cæsarius, master of the offices, declared the will of the emperor, and the sentence of Antioch. That proud capital was degraded from the rank of a city; and the metropolis of the East, stripped of its lands, its privileges, and its revenues, was subjected, under the humiliating denomination of a village, to the jurisdiction of Laodicea.<sup>87</sup> The baths, the Circus, and the theatres, were shut: and that every source of plenty and pleasure might at the same time be intercepted, the distribution of corn was abolished, by the severe instructions of Theodosius. His commissioners then proceeded to enquire into the guilt of individuals; of those who had perpetrated, and of those who had not prevented, the destruction of the sacred statues. The tribunal of Hellebicus and Cæsarius, encompassed with armed soldiers, was erected in the midst of the Forum. The noblest, and most wealthy, of the citizens of Antioch appeared before them in chains; the examination was assisted by the use of torture, and their sentence was pronounced or suspended, according to the judgment of these extraordinary magistrates. The houses of the criminals were exposed to sale, their wives and children were suddenly reduced, from affluence and luxury, to the most abject distress; and a bloody execution was ex-

<sup>84</sup> The sedition of Antioch. A. D. 387.  
<sup>85</sup> Zosimus, in his short and dangerous account, li. iv. p. 238, is certainly mistaken in sending Libanius himself to Constantinople. His own orations fix him at Antioch.

pected to conclude the horrors of a day;<sup>88</sup> which the preacher of Antioch, the eloquent Chrysostom, has represented as a lively image of the last and universal judgment of the world. But the ministers of Theodosius performed, with reluctance, the cruel task which had been assigned them; they dropped a gentle tear over the calamities of the people; and they listened with reverence to the pressing solicitations of the monks and hermits, who descended in swarms from the mountains.<sup>89</sup> Hellebicus and Casarius were persuaded to suspend the execution of their sentence; and it was agreed, that the former should remain at Antioch, while the latter returned, with all possible speed, to Constantinople; and presumed once more to consult the

will of his sovereign. The resentment of Theodosius had already subsided; the deputies of the people, both the bishop and the orator, had obtained a favourable audience; and the reproaches of the emperor were the complaints of injured friendship, rather than the stern menaces of pride and power. A free and general pardon was granted to the city and citizens of Antioch; the prison doors were thrown open; the senators, who despaired of their lives, recovered the possession of their houses and estates; and the capital of the East was restored to the enjoyment of her ancient dignity and splendour. Theodosius condescended to praise the senate of Constantinople, who had generously interceded for their distressed brethren: he rewarded the eloquence of Hilarinus with the government of Palestine; and dismissed the bishop of Antioch with the warmest expressions of his respect and gratitude. A

thousand new statutes arose to the clemency of Theodosius, the applause of his subjects was raptured by the approbation of his own heart; and the emperor confessed, that, if the exercise of justice is the most important duty, the indulgence of mercy is the most exquisite pleasure, of a sovereign.<sup>90</sup>

The sedition of Thessalonica is ascribed to a more shameful cause, and was productive of much more dreadful consequences. That great city, the metropolis of all the Illyrian provinces, had been protected from the dangers of the Gothic war by strong fortifications, and a numerous garrison. Botheric, the general of those troops, and, as it should seem from his name, a barbarian, had among his slaves a beautiful boy, who excited the impure desires of one of the charioteers of the Circus. The insolent and brutal lover was thrown into prison by the order of Botheric; and he scornfully rejected the importunate clamours of the multitude, who, on the day of the public games, lamented the absence of their favourite; and considered the skill of a charioteer as an object of more importance than his virtue. The resentment of the people was embittered by some previous

disputes; and, as the strength of the garrison had been drawn away for the service of the Italian war, the feeble remnant, whose numbers were reduced by desertion, could not save the unhappy general from their licentious fury. Botheric, and several of his principal officers, were inhumanly murdered; their mangled bodies were dragged about the streets; and the emperor, who then resided at Milan, was surprised by the intelligence of the audacious and wanton cruelty of the people of Thessalonica. The sentence of a dispassionate judge would have inflicted a severe punishment on the authors of the crime; and the merit of Botheric might contribute to exasperate the grief and indignation of his master. The fiery and choleric temper of Theodosius was impatient of the dilatory forms of a judicial enquiry; and he hastily resolved, that the blood of his lieutenant should be expiated by the blood of the guilty people. Yet his mind still fluctuated between the counsels of clemency and of revenge; the zeal of the bishops had almost extorted from the reluctant emperor the promise of a general pardon; his passion was again inflamed by the flattering suggestions of his minister Rufinus; and, after Theodosius had despatched the messengers of death, he attempted, when it was too late, to prevent the execution of his orders. The punishment of a Roman city was blindly committed to the undistinguishing sword of the barbarians; and the hostile preparations were concerted with the dark and perfidious artifice of an illegal conspiracy. The people of Thessalonica were treacherously invited, in the name of their sovereign, to the games of the Circus; and such was their insatiate avidity for those amusements, that every consideration of fear, or suspicion, was disregarded by the numerous spectators. As soon as the assembly was completed, the soldiers, who had secretly been posted round the Circus, received the signal, not of the races, but of a general massacre. The promiscuous carnage continued three hours, without discrimination of strangers or natives, of age or sex, of innocence or guilt; the most moderate accounts state the number of the slain at seven thousand; and it is affirmed by some writers, that more than fifteen thousand victims were sacrificed to the manes of Botheric. A foreign merchant, who had probably no concern in his murder, offered his own life, and all his wealth, to supply the place of one of his two sons; but, while the father hesitated with equal tenderness, while he was doubtful to choose, and unwilling to condemn, the soldiers determined his suspense, by plunging their daggers at the same moment into the breasts of the defenceless youths. The apology of the assassins, that they were obliged to produce the prescribed number of heads, serves only to increase, by an appearance of order and design, the horrors of the massacre, which was executed

<sup>88</sup> As the date of the tumult depends on the anniversary of Easter, they cannot be determined by the known celebration of the year. The year 390 has been preferred, after a false assumption by Tillamont. Hist. des Emp. rom. t. p. 741-744. and Montfaucon (Chronicon, tom. ii. p. 108-110).

<sup>89</sup> Chrysostom opposed their entrance, which was not attended with much risk, to the cowardly flight of the Goths.

<sup>90</sup> The sedition of Antioch is represented as a general, and a cruel

dispute, among the various sects, who had the same motive of animosity, and a common enemy. The story is very different from that of the massacre of Botheric, and the massacre of the people of Thessalonica. The story of the massacre of Botheric is a general massacre, and the story of the massacre of the people of Thessalonica is a general massacre.

by the commands of Theodosius. The guilt of the emperor is aggravated by his long and frequent residence at Thessalonica. The situation of the unfortunate city, the aspect of the streets and buildings, the dress and faces of the inhabitants, were familiar, and even present, to his imagination; and Theodosius possessed a quick and lively sense of the existence of the people whom he destroyed.<sup>91</sup>

The respectful attachment of the emperor for the orthodox clergy, and the conduct of Ambrose, A.D. 355, had disposed him to love and admire the character of Ambrose; who united all the episcopal virtues in the most eminent degree. The friends and ministers of Theodosius imitated the example of their sovereign; and he observed, with more surprise than displeasure, that all his secret counsels were immediately communicated to the archbishop; who acted from the laudable persuasion, that every measure of civil government may have some connection with the glory of God, and the interest of the true religion. The monks and populace of Callinicum, an obscure town on the frontier of Persia, excited by their own fanaticism, and by that of their bishop, had tumultuously burnt a conventicle of the Valentinians, and a synagogue of the Jews. The seditious prelate was condemned, by the magistrate of the province, either to rebuild the synagogue, or to repay the damage; and this moderate sentence was confirmed by the emperor. But it was not confirmed by the archbishop of Milan.<sup>92</sup> He dictated an epistle of censure and reproach, more suitable, perhaps, if the emperor had received the mark of circumcision, and renounced the faith of his baptism. Ambrose considers the toleration of the Jewish, as the persecution of the Christian, religion; boldly declares, that he himself, and every true believer, would eagerly dispute with the bishop of Callinicum the merit of the deed, and the crown of martyrdom; and laments, in the most pathetic terms, that the execution of the sentence would be fatal to the fame and salvation of Theodosius. As this private admonition did not produce an immediate effect, the archbishop, from his pulpit,<sup>93</sup> publicly addressed the emperor on his throne;<sup>94</sup> nor would he consent to offer the oblation of the altar, till he had obtained from Theodosius a solemn and positive declaration, which secured the impunity of the bishop and monks of Callinicum. The recantation of Theodosius was sincere;<sup>95</sup> and, during the term of his residence at Milan, his affection for Ambrose was continually increased by the habits of pious and familiar conversation.

When Ambrose was informed of the massacre of Thessalonica, his mind was filled with horror and anguish. He retired into the country, to indulge his grief, and to avoid the presence of Theodosius. But as the archbishop was satisfied that a timid silence would render him the accomplice of his guilt, he represented, in a private letter, the enormity of the crime; which could only be effaced by the tears of penitence. The episcopal vigour of Ambrose was tempered by prudence; and he contented himself with signifying<sup>96</sup> an indirect sort of excommunication, by the assurance, that he had been warned, in a vision, not to offer the oblation in the name, or in the presence, of Theodosius; and by the advice, that he would confine himself to the use of prayer, without presuming to approach the altar of Christ, or to receive the holy eucharist with those hands that were still polluted with the blood of an innocent people. The emperor was deeply affected by his own reproaches, and by those of his spiritual father; and, after he had bewailed the mischievous and irreparable consequences of his rash fury, he proceeded, in the accustomed manner, to perform his devotions in the great church of Milan. He was stopped in the porch by the archbishop; who, in the tone and language of an ambassador of Heaven, declared to his sovereign, that private contrition was not sufficient to atone for a public fault, or to appease the justice of the offended Deity. Theodosius humbly represented, that if he had contracted the guilt of homicide, David, the man after God's own heart, had been guilty, not only of murder, but of adultery. "You have imitated David in his crime, imitate then his repentance," was the reply of the undaunted Ambrose. The rigorous conditions of peace and pardon were accepted; and the public penance of the emperor Theodosius has been recorded as one of the most honourable events in the annals of the church. According to the mildest rules of ecclesiastical discipline, which were established in the fourth century, the crime of homicide was expiated by the penitence of twenty years;<sup>97</sup> and as it was impossible, in the period of human life, to purge the accumulated guilt of the massacre of Thessalonica, the murderer should have been excluded from the holy communion till the hour of his death. But the archbishop, consulting the maxims of religious policy, granted some indulgence to the rank of his illustrious penitent, who humbled in the dust the pride of the diadem; and the public edification might be admitted as a weighty reason

Penance of  
Theodosius  
A.D. 390.

91 The original evidence of a passion from the Emper. is p. 968. A. D. 355. The text is: "The Emper. was so affected by the sight of the city, that he was moved to weep." (p. 24.) is delivered in vague expressions of his regret.

92 The whole transaction is in Ambrose's letter to the Emper. p. 968. A. D. 355. The text is: "The Emper. was so affected by the sight of the city, that he was moved to weep." (p. 24.) is delivered in vague expressions of his regret.

93 His sermon is a strange allegory of Jeremiah's suit, of an innocent deed of the woman who washed and anointed the feet of Christ. But the peroration is direct and personal.

94 Hode, episcopus, deus et imperator. Ambrose modestly confessed it: but he sternly reprimanded the vanity, general of the house

and of who had presumed to say, that the monks of Callinicum deserved punishment.

95 Six years afterwards, when Theodosius was absent from his capital, he tolerated the Jews, and condemned the destruction of their synagogues. (Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. viii. leg. 9, with Godefr. v. Commenarius, tom. vi. p. 225.)

96 Ambrose, tom. ii. Epistol. p. 997-1001. His epistle is a miserable rhapsody on a noble subject. Ambrose could act better than he could write. His compositions are destitute of taste, or genius, without the spirit of Tertullian, the common elegance of Lactantius, the lively wit of Jerome, or the grave energy of Augustine.

97 According to the discipline of St. Basil (Canon lxxi.) the voluntary homicide was four years a mourner; five an hearer, seven a prostrate sinner, and four a standing posture. I have the original (Biblioth. Trévoux tom. ii. p. 17-131) and a translation (Chardon, Hist. de Sacraments, tom. iv. p. 219-277.) of the Canonical Epistles of St. Basil.

to abridge the duration of his punishment. It was sufficient, that the emperor of the Romans, stripped of the ensigns of royalty, should appear in a mournful and suppliant posture; and that, in the midst of the church of Milan, he should humbly solicit, with sighs and tears, the pardon of his sins.<sup>98</sup> In this spiritual cure, Ambrose employed the various methods of mildness and severity. After a delay of about eight months, Theodosius was restored to the communion of the faithful; and the edict, which interposes a salutary interval of thirty days between the sentence and the execution, may be accepted as the worthy fruits of his repentance.<sup>99</sup> Posterity has applauded the virtuous firmness of the archbishop; and the example of Theodosius may prove the beneficial influence of those principles, which could force a monarch, exalted above the apprehension of human punishment, to respect the laws, and ministers, of an invisible Judge. "The prince," says Montesquieu, "who is actuated by the hopes and fears of religion, may be compared to a lion, docile only to the voice, and tractable to the hand, of his keeper."<sup>100</sup> The motions of the royal animal will therefore depend on the inclination, and interest, of the man who has acquired such dangerous authority over him; and the priest, who holds in his hand the conscience of a king, may inflame, or moderate, his sanguinary passions. The cause of humanity, and that of persecution, have been asserted, by the same Ambrose, with equal energy, and with equal success.

After the defeat and death of the tyrant of Gaul, the Roman world was in the possession of Theodosius. He derived from the choice of Gratian his honourable title to the provinces of the East: he had acquired the West by the right of conquest; and the three years, which he spent in Italy, were usefully employed to restore the authority of the laws; and to correct the abuses, which had prevailed with impunity under the usurpation of Maximus, and the minority of Valentinian. The name of Valentinian was regularly inserted in the public acts: but the tender age, and doubtful faith, of the son of Justina, appeared to require the prudent care of an orthodox guardian; and his specious ambition might have excluded the unfortunate youth, without a struggle, and almost without a murmur, from the administration, and even from the inheritance, of the empire. If Theodosius had consulted the rigid maxims of interest and policy, his conduct would have been justified by his friends; but the generosity of his behaviour on this memorable occasion has extorted the applause of his most inveterate enemies. He seated Valentinian on the throne of Milan; and,

without stipulating any present or future advantages, restored him to the absolute dominion of all the provinces from which he had been driven by the arms of Maximus. To the restitution of his ample patrimony, Theodosius added the free and generous gift of the countries beyond the Alps, which his successful valour had recovered from the assassin of Gratian.<sup>101</sup> Satisfied with the glory which he had acquired, by revenging the death of his benefactor, and delivering the West from the yoke of tyranny, the emperor returned from Milan to Constantinople; and, in the peaceful possession of the East, insensibly relapsed into his former habits of luxury and indolence. Theodosius discharged his obligation to the brother, he indulged his conjugal tenderness to the sister, of Valentinian; and posterity, which admires the pure and singular glory of his elevation, must applaud his unrivalled generosity in the use of victory.

The empress Justina did not long survive her return to Italy; and, though she beheld the triumph of Theodosius, she was not allowed to influence the government of her son.<sup>102</sup> The pernicious attachment to the Arian sect, which Valentinian had imbibed from her example and instructions, was soon erased by the lessons of a more orthodox education. His growing zeal for the faith of Nice, and his filial reverence for the character and authority of Ambrose, disposed the Catholics to entertain the most favourable opinion of the virtues of the young emperor of the West.<sup>103</sup> They applauded his chastity and temperance, his contempt of pleasure, his application to business, and his tender affection for his two sisters; which could not, however, seduce his impartial equity to pronounce an unjust sentence against the meanest of his subjects. But this amiable youth, before he had accomplished the twentieth year of his age, was oppressed by domestic treason; and the empire was again involved in the horrors of a civil war. Arbogastes,<sup>104</sup> a gallant soldier of the nation of the Franks, held the second rank in the service of Gratian. On the death of his master, he joined the standard of Theodosius; contributed, by his valour and military conduct, to the destruction of the tyrant; and was appointed, after the victory, master-general of the armies of Gaul. His real merit, and apparent fidelity, had gained the confidence both of the prince and people; his boundless liberality corrupted the allegiance of the troops; and, whilst he was universally esteemed as the pillar of the state, the bold and crafty barbarian was secretly determined either to rule, or to ruin, the empire of the West. The important commands of the army were distributed among the Franks; the creatures of Arbogastes were promoted to all

Character of  
Valentinian.  
A. D. 391.

Generosity of  
Theodosius.  
A. D. 385-391.

98 The penance of Theodosius, at that time, used by Ambrose, is described by Theodoret, c. 74, p. 126. See also the account of Theodoret, and Paulinus, in the Ambrosian epistles, c. 24, p. 100. See also the account of Theodoret, c. 74, p. 126. See also the account of Theodoret, c. 74, p. 126.

99 Codex Theodosius, l. x. tit. 1. c. 1. The penance of Theodosius, as described by Theodoret, c. 74, p. 126. See also the account of Theodoret, c. 74, p. 126.

100 The prince, as described by Montesquieu, is a lion, docile only to the voice, and tractable to the hand, of his keeper. See also the account of Theodoret, c. 74, p. 126.

101 The prince, as described by Montesquieu, is a lion, docile only to the voice, and tractable to the hand, of his keeper. See also the account of Theodoret, c. 74, p. 126.

102 The empress Justina, as described by Theodoret, c. 74, p. 126. See also the account of Theodoret, c. 74, p. 126.

103 The emperor Theodosius, as described by Theodoret, c. 74, p. 126. See also the account of Theodoret, c. 74, p. 126.

104 The emperor Theodosius, as described by Theodoret, c. 74, p. 126. See also the account of Theodoret, c. 74, p. 126.

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The emperor Theodosius, as described by Theodoret, c. 74, p. 126. See also the account of Theodoret, c. 74, p. 126.





constructed, with his own hands, an humble cell, in which he had dwelt above fifty years, without opening his door, without seeing the face of a woman, and without tasting any food that had been prepared by fire, or any human art. Five days of the week he spent in prayer and meditation; but on Saturdays and Sundays he regularly opened a small window, and gave audience to the crowd of suppliants who successively flowed from every part of the Christian world. The eunuch of Theodosius approached the window with respectful steps, proposed his questions concerning the event of the civil war, and soon returned with a favourable oracle, which animated the courage of the emperor by the assurance of a bloody, but infallible, victory.<sup>114</sup> The accomplishment of the prediction was forwarded by all the means that human prudence could supply. The industry of the two master-generals, Stilicho and Timasius, was directed to recruit the numbers, and to revive the discipline, of the Roman legions. The formidable troops of barbarians marched under the ensigns of their national chieftains. The Huns, the Arabs, and the Goths, who gazed on each other with mutual astonishment, were enlisted in the service of the same prince; and the renowned Alaric acquired, in the school of Theodosius, the knowledge of the art of war, which he afterwards so fatally excited for the destruction of Rome.<sup>115</sup>

His victory over Eugeneius A. Debs, speaks more properly, his general achievement, as in many other cases, the

Arbogastes, was instructed by the misconduct and misfortune of Marcellus, how dangerous it might prove to extend the line of defence against a skilful invader, who was free to pass, or to stop, to connect, or to multiply, his various routes. Arbogastes fixed his station on the confines of Italy: the troops of Theodoric were permitted, to occupy, without resistance, the provinces of Pannonia, as far as the foot of the Julian Alps; and even the passes of the mountains were negligently, or perhaps artfully, abandoned to the bold invader. He descended from the hills, and beheld, with some astonishment, the formidable camp of the Gauls and Germans, that covered with arms and tents the open country, which extends to the walls of Aquilina, and the banks of the Frigidus,<sup>17</sup> or Cold River.<sup>18</sup> This narrow theatre of the war, circumscribed by the Alps and the Hadrian, did not allow much room for the operations of military skill, the spirit of Arbogastes would have despised a pardon; his gulf extended the hope of a

negotiation,\* and Theodosius was impatient to satisfy his glory and revenge, by the chastisement of the assassins of Valentinian. Without weighing the natural and artificial obstacles that opposed his efforts, the emperor of the East immediately attacked the fortifications of his rivals, assigned the post of honourable danger to the Goths, and cherished a secret wish, that the bloody conflict might diminish the pride and numbers of the conquerors. Ten thousand of these auxiliaries, and Bacurius, general of the Iberians, died bravely on the field of battle. But the victory was not purchased by their blood; the Gauls maintained their advantage; and the approach of night protected the disorderly flight, or retreat, of the troops of Theodosius. The emperor retired to the adjacent hills; where he passed a disconsolate night, without sleep, without provisions, and without hopes;<sup>119</sup> except that strong assurance, which, under the most desperate circumstances, the independent mind may derive from the contemplation of fortune and of life. The triumph of Marcianus was celebrated by the insolent and dissolute joy of his camp; whilst the active and vigilant Athagastes secretly detached a considerable body of troops to occupy the passes of the mountains, and to encompass the rear of the Eastern army. The dawn of day discovered to the eyes of Theodosius the extent and the extremity of his danger: but his apprehensions were soon dispelled, by a friendly message from the leaders of these troops, who expressed their inclination to desert the standard of the tyrant. The honorable and lucrative rewards, which they stipulated as the price of their perjury, were granted without hesitation; and as ink and paper could not easily be procured, the emperor subscribed, on his own tablets, the execution of the treaty. The spirit of his soldiers was revived by this seasonable reinforcement; and they again marched, with confidence, to surprise the camp of a tyrant, whose principal efforts appeared to distrust, either the justice, or the success, of his arms. In the heat of the battle, a violent tempest,<sup>120</sup> such as is often felt among the Alps, suddenly arose from the east. The army of Theodosius was sheltered by their position from the impetuosity of the wind, which blew a cloud of dust in the faces of the enemy, disordered their ranks, wrested their weapons from their hands, and diverted, or repelled, their ineffectual javelins. This accidental advantage was skillfully improved: the violence of the storm was magnifi-

p. 178 n. 1. *Unpublished* in *Journal of the New York Botanical Garden* 1910  
 (Vol. 1) p. 178 n. 1. *Unpublished* in *Journal of the New York Botanical Garden* 1910

[illegible]

Yet his vanity could so easily have proved his undoing. If he had

The Canadian Army Comd. Home 77, &c. contrasts the military plans of the two invaders.

- - - . Navis a. d. e. p. r. e. n. t.  
 Suadebat, c. u. t. i. n. a. t. i. o. n. e. d. i. l. i. g. e. n. t. e. e. x. e. r. c. i. t. a. t. u. m.  
 H. n. o. a. m. b. i. t. u. s. e. r. a. t. u. s. b. i. p. r. e. n. t. f. u. t. a.

Hic vagus excurrere, hic omnia nostra reductos

117. The *Fringilla*, a s. a. v. of the general common type, country of Guizhou, probably the *F. montana* of Seale.

is  $\beta' = 1$ , and the corresponding  $\beta$  is  $\beta = 1$ . The  $\beta$  values are plotted in Figure 10.

[illegible]

140 I found not even the St. John's West Ph. on my way to the village of St. George's, nor any of the other Ph. I had been told to look for. The only Ph. I

$\mathcal{H}_1 = \{ \mathbf{h}_1, \mathbf{h}_2, \dots, \mathbf{h}_M \}$  and  $\mathcal{H}_2 = \{ \mathbf{h}_{M+1}, \mathbf{h}_{M+2}, \dots, \mathbf{h}_{M+N} \}$  are the two sets of hypotheses. The test statistic is the likelihood ratio  $\Lambda(\mathbf{y}) = \frac{p(\mathbf{y} | \mathcal{H}_1)}{p(\mathbf{y} | \mathcal{H}_2)}$ . The decision rule is to choose  $\mathcal{H}_1$  if  $\Lambda(\mathbf{y}) \geq \tau$  and  $\mathcal{H}_2$  otherwise, where  $\tau$  is the threshold. The probability of detection  $P_D$  and the probability of false alarm  $P_{FA}$  are defined as  $P_D = P(\Lambda(\mathbf{y}) \geq \tau | \mathcal{H}_1)$  and  $P_{FA} = P(\Lambda(\mathbf{y}) \geq \tau | \mathcal{H}_2)$ , respectively. The receiver operating characteristic (ROC) curve is the plot of  $P_D$  versus  $P_{FA}$ . The area under the ROC curve (AUC) is a measure of the performance of the detector. The AUC is 1 for a perfect detector and 0.5 for a random detector. The AUC is a function of the signal-to-noise ratio (SNR) and the number of samples  $N$ . The AUC is a function of the SNR and the number of samples  $N$ . The AUC is a function of the SNR and the number of samples  $N$ .

1.0 In practice, the following steps are used to estimate the value of the parameters of the model, given the data set  $\{y_i, x_i\}_{i=1}^n$ . The first step is to estimate the parameters of the model, given the data set  $\{y_i, x_i\}_{i=1}^n$ .

1. 凡在本市行政区域内从事生产、经营活动的单位和个人，均须依法缴纳房产税。

These functions satisfy (4.1), (4.2), (4.3) and (4.4) with  $\lambda = 1$ ,  $\mu = 1$ ,  $\nu = 1$  and  $\alpha = 1$ . It is clear that  $\phi_1$  is the only function satisfying (4.1), (4.2), (4.3) and (4.4) with  $\lambda = 1$ ,  $\mu = 1$ ,  $\nu = 1$  and  $\alpha = 1$ .

the  $\mathcal{H}_2$  norm of the error signal  $\|e\|_2$  is minimized. When the error signal  $e$  is the difference between the reference signal  $r$  and the system output  $y$ , the  $\mathcal{H}_2$  norm minimization is equivalent to minimizing the variance of the error signal  $e$ . When the error signal  $e$  is the difference between the reference signal  $r$  and the system output  $y$ , the  $\mathcal{H}_2$  norm minimization is equivalent to minimizing the variance of the error signal  $e$ .

Molecular weight = 6000

fied by the superstitious terrors of the Gauls; and they yielded without shame to the invisible powers of heaven, who seemed to militate on the side of the pious emperor. His victory was decisive; and the deaths of his two rivals were distinguished only by the difference of their characters. The rhetorician Eugenius, who had almost acquired the dominion of the world, was reduced to implore the mercy of the conqueror; and the unrelenting soldiers separated his head from his body, as he lay prostrate at the feet of Theodosius. Arbogastes, after the loss of a battle, in which he had discharged the duties of a soldier and a general, wandered several days among the mountains. But when he was convinced that his cause was desperate, and his escape impracticable, the intrepid barbarian imitated the example of the ancient Romans, and turned his sword against his own breast. The fate of the empire was determined in a narrow corner of Italy; and the legitimate successor of the house of Valentinian embraced the archbishop of Milan, and graciously received the submission of the provinces of the West. Those provinces were involved in the guilt of rebellion; while the inflexible courage of Ambrose alone had resisted the claims of successful usurpation. With a manly freedom, which might have been fatal to any other subject, the archbishop rejected the gifts of Eugenius, declined his correspondence, and withdrew himself from Milan, to avoid the odious presence of a tyrant; whose downfall he predicted in discreet and ambiguous language. The merit of Ambrose was applauded by the conqueror, who secured the attachment of the people by his alliance with the church; and the clemency of Theodosius is ascribed to the humane intercession of the archbishop of Milan.<sup>121</sup>

At the death of Eugenius, the merit, as well as the authority, of Theodosius was cheerfully acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the Roman world. The experience of his past conduct encouraged the most pleasing expectations of his future reign; and the age of the emperor, which did not exceed fifty years, seemed to extend the prospect of the public felicity. His death, only four months after his victory, was considered by the people as an unforeseen and fatal event, which destroyed, in a moment, the hopes of the rising generation. But the indulgence of ease and luxury had secretly nourished the principles of disease.<sup>122</sup> The strength of Theodosius was unable to support the sudden and violent transition from the palace to the camp; and the increasing symptoms of a dropsy announced the speedy dissolution of the emperor. The opinion, and perhaps the interest, of the public had confirmed the division of the Eastern and Western empires; and the two royal youths, Arcadius and Honorius, who had already obtained, from the tenderness of their father, the title of

Augustus, were destined to fill the thrones of Constantinople and of Rome. Those princes were not permitted to share the danger and glory of the civil war;<sup>123</sup> but as soon as Theodosius had triumphed over his unworthy rivals, he called his younger son, Honorius, to enjoy the fruits of the victory, and to receive the sceptre of the West from the hands of his dying father. The arrival of Honorius at Milan was welcomed by a splendid exhibition of the games of the Circus; and the emperor, though he was oppressed by the weight of his disorder, contributed by his presence to the public joy. But the remains of his strength were exhausted by the painful effort which he made, to assist at the spectacles of the morning. Honorius supplied, during the rest of the day, the place of his father; and the great Theodosius expired in the ensuing night. Notwithstanding the recent animosities of a civil war, his death was universally lamented. The barbarians, whom he had vanquished, and the churchmen, by whom he had been subdued, celebrated, with loud and sincere applause, the qualities of the deceased emperor, which appeared the most valuable in their eyes. The Romans were terrified by the impending dangers of a feeble and divided administration; and every disgraceful moment of the unfortunate reigns of Arcadius and Honorius revived the memory of their irreparable loss.

In the faithful picture of the virtues of Theodosius, his imperfections have not been dissembled; the act of cruelty, and the habits of indolence, which tarnished the glory of one of the greatest of the Roman princes. An historian perpetually adverse to the fame of Theodosius, has exaggerated his vices, and their pernicious effects; he boldly asserts, that every rank of subjects imitated the effeminate manners of their sovereign; that every species of corruption polluted the course of public and private life; and that the feeble restraints of order and decency were insufficient to resist the progress of that degenerate spirit, which sacrifices, without a blush, the consideration of duty and interest to the base indulgence of sloth and appetite.<sup>124</sup> The complaints of cotemporary writers, who deplore the increase of luxury and deprivation of manners, are commonly expressive of their peculiar temper and situation. There are few observers, who possess a clear and comprehensive view of the revolutions of society; and who are capable of discovering the nice and secret springs of action, which impel, in the same uniform direction, the blind and capricious passions of a multitude of individuals. If it can be affirmed, with any degree of truth, that the luxury of the Romans was more shameless and dissolute in the reign of Theodosius than in the age of Constantine, perhaps, or of Augustus, the alteration cannot be ascribed to any beneficial improvements, which

<sup>121</sup> The events of this civil war are fathered from Ambrose (tom. ii. Epist. lxx. p. 122), Paulinus on Vit. Ambros. c. 20. 74; Augustine de Civitate Dei, l. 2. c. 23. and l. 5. c. 7. Theodoret (l. v. c. 24), Zosimus (l. ii. p. 225-227), and Hieronymus in Cons. Rom. (65-105), in 14 Cons. Rom. 70-117; and the Chronicle published by Scapiger.

<sup>122</sup> This disease, ascribed by Socrates (l. v. c. 26.) to the fatigue of war, is represented by Philostorgius (l. ii. c. 2.) to be the effect of

cloth and intemperance, for which Photius calls him an immodest man (Codinus, Dissert. p. 175.).

<sup>123</sup> Zosimus supposes, that the two Honorius accompanied his father (l. ii. p. 280). Yet the quinto decurabat pectus voto, said their fathers would above to a cotemporary poet, who describes the emperor's retirement, and the journey of Honorius, after the death of Constantine (in Cons. 78-124).

<sup>124</sup> Zosimus, l. ii. p. 241.

had gradually increased the stock of national riches. A long period of calamity or decay must have checked the industry, and diminished the wealth, of the people; and their profuse luxury must have been the result of that indolent despair, which enjoys the present hour, and declines the thoughts of futurity. The uncertain condition of their property discouraged the subjects of Theodosius from engaging in those useful and laborious undertakings which require an immediate expense, and promise a slow and distant advantage. The frequent examples of ruin and desolation tempted them not to spare the remains of a patrimony, which might, every hour, become the prey of the rapacious Goth. And the mad prodigality which prevails in the confusion of a shipwreck, or a siege, may serve to explain the progress of luxury amidst the misfortunes and terrors of a sinking nation.

The effeminate luxury, which infected the manners of courts and cities, had instilled a secret and destructive poison into the camps of the legions; and their degeneracy has been marked by the pen of a military writer, who had accurately studied the genuine and ancient principles of Roman discipline. It is the just and important observation of Vegetius, that the infantry was invariably covered with defensive armour, from the foundation of the city, to the reign of the emperor Gratian. The relaxation of discipline, and the disuse of exercise, rendered the soldiers less able, and less willing, to support the fatigues of the service; they complained of the weight of the armour, which they seldom wore; and they successively obtained the permission of laying aside both their cuirasses and their helmets. The heavy weapons of their ancestors, the short sword, and the formidable *pilum*, which had subdued the world, insensibly dropped from their feeble hands. As the use of the shield is incompatible with that of the bow, they reluctantly marched into the field; condemned to suffer, either the pain of wounds, or the ignominy of flight, and always disposed to prefer the more shameful alternative. The cavalry of the Goths, the Huns, and the Alani, had felt the benefits, and adopted the use, of defensive armour; and, as they excelled in the management of missile weapons, they easily overwhelmed the naked and trembling legions, whose heads and breasts were exposed, without defence, to the arrows of the barbarians. The loss of armics, the destruction of cities, and the dishonour of the Roman name, inferentially solicited the successors of Gratian to restore the helmets and cuirasses of the infantry. The enervated soldiers abandoned their own, and the public, defence; and their pusillanimous indolence may be considered as the immediate cause of the downfall of the empire.<sup>125</sup>

CHAP. XXVIII.

*Final Destruction of Paganism.—Introduction of the Worship of Saints, and Relics, among the Christians.*

The ruin of Paganism, in the age of Theodosius, is perhaps the only example of the total extirpation of any ancient and popular superstition; and may therefore deserve to be considered, as a singular event in the history of the human mind. The Christians, more especially the clergy, had impatiently supported the prudent delays of Constantine, and the equal toleration of the elder Valentinian; nor could they deem their conquest perfect or secure, as long as their adversaries were permitted to exist. The influence, which Ambrose and his brethren had acquired over the youth of Gratian, and the piety of Theodosius, was employed to infuse the maxims of persecution into the breasts of their Imperial proselytes. Two specious principles of religious jurisprudence were established, from whence they deduced a direct and rigorous conclusion, against the subjects of the empire, who still adhered to the ceremonies of their ancestors: *that* the magistrate is, in some measure, guilty of the crimes which he neglects to prohibit, or to punish; and, *that* the idolatrous worship of fabulous deities, and real demons, is the most abominable crime against the supreme majesty of the Creator. The laws of Moses, and the examples of Jewish history, were hastily, perhaps erroneously, applied, by the clergy, to the mild and universal reign of Christianity.<sup>2</sup> The zeal of the emperors was exerted to vindicate their own honour, and that of the Deity; and the temples of the Roman world were subverted, about sixty years after the conversion of Constantine.

From the age of Numa, to the reign of Gratian, the Romans preserved the regular succession of the several colleges of the sacerdotal order.<sup>3</sup> Fifteen Pontiffs exercised their supreme jurisdiction over all things, and persons, that were consecrated to the service of the gods; and the various questions which perpetually arose in a loose and traditional system, were submitted to the judgment of their holy tribunal. Fifteen grave and learned Atrones observed the face of the heavens, and prescribed the actions of heroes, according to the flight of birds. Fifteen keepers of the Sibylline books (their name of Quindeximvirs was derived from their number) occasionally consulted the history of future, and, as it should seem, of contingent, events. Six Vestals devoted their virginity to the guard of the sacred fire, and of the unknown pledges of the duration of Rome; which no mortal had been suffered to behold with impunity.<sup>4</sup> Seven

[illegible]

2. **Basic concept** in probability theory is that the probability of an event occurring is the ratio of the number of favorable outcomes to the total number of possible outcomes. This is expressed as:

$$P(\text{Event}) = \frac{\text{Number of favorable outcomes}}{\text{Total number of possible outcomes}}$$

For example, if a fair coin is tossed, the probability of it landing heads up is  $\frac{1}{2}$ , because there is 1 favorable outcome (heads) out of 2 possible outcomes (heads or tails).

3. **Sample space** is the set of all possible outcomes of an experiment. For example, if a die is rolled, the sample space is {1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6}.

4. **Event** is a subset of the sample space. For example, if a die is rolled, the event of rolling an even number is {2, 4, 6}.

5. **Probability** is a measure of the likelihood of an event occurring. It is expressed as a number between 0 and 1, where 0 represents an impossible event and 1 represents a certain event.

6. **Independent events** are events that do not affect each other. For example, if a coin is tossed twice, the outcome of the first toss does not affect the outcome of the second toss.

7. **Dependent events** are events that do affect each other. For example, if a card is drawn from a deck and not replaced, the probability of drawing a second card of a certain suit depends on the first card drawn.

8. **Conditional probability** is the probability of an event occurring given that another event has already occurred. It is expressed as:

$$P(A|B) = \frac{P(A \cap B)}{P(B)}$$

For example, if a card is drawn from a deck and it is known to be a heart, the conditional probability of it being a king is  $\frac{1}{13}$ , because there is 1 favorable outcome (king of hearts) out of 13 possible outcomes (all hearts).

9. **Bayes' theorem** is a formula for calculating the probability of an event occurring based on the probability of the event occurring given another event, and the probability of the other event occurring. It is expressed as:

$$P(A|B) = \frac{P(B|A) \cdot P(A)}{P(B)}$$

For example, if a person has a 1% chance of having a disease, and a test for the disease is 95% accurate, the probability of a person having the disease given that they tested positive is:

$$P(\text{Disease}|\text{Positive}) = \frac{P(\text{Positive}|\text{Disease}) \cdot P(\text{Disease})}{P(\text{Positive})}$$

$$= \frac{0.95 \cdot 0.01}{0.95 \cdot 0.01 + 0.05 \cdot 0.99} \approx 0.091$$

So, the probability of a person having the disease given that they tested positive is approximately 9.1%.

10. **Binomial distribution** is a probability distribution that describes the number of successes in a fixed number of independent trials, each with a constant probability of success. It is expressed as:

$$P(X = k) = \binom{n}{k} p^k (1-p)^{n-k}$$

where  $n$  is the number of trials,  $k$  is the number of successes,  $p$  is the probability of success in a single trial, and  $\binom{n}{k}$  is the binomial coefficient.

11. **Poisson distribution** is a probability distribution that describes the number of events occurring in a fixed interval of time or space, given a constant average rate of occurrence. It is expressed as:

$$P(X = k) = \frac{e^{-\lambda} \lambda^k}{k!}$$

where  $\lambda$  is the average rate of occurrence, and  $e$  is the base of the natural logarithm.

12. **Normal distribution** is a probability distribution that is symmetric and bell-shaped. It is characterized by its mean ( $\mu$ ) and standard deviation ( $\sigma$ ). It is expressed as:

$$f(x) = \frac{1}{\sigma \sqrt{2\pi}} e^{-\frac{(x-\mu)^2}{2\sigma^2}}$$

where  $f(x)$  is the probability density function,  $x$  is the value of the random variable,  $\mu$  is the mean, and  $\sigma$  is the standard deviation.

13. **Chi-square distribution** is a probability distribution that is used to test the goodness of fit of a model to a set of data. It is expressed as:

$$f(x) = \frac{1}{2^{k/2} \Gamma(k/2)} x^{k/2-1} e^{-x/2}$$

where  $f(x)$  is the probability density function,  $x$  is the value of the random variable, and  $k$  is the degrees of freedom.

14. **F-distribution** is a probability distribution that is used to test the equality of variances of two populations. It is expressed as:

$$f(x) = \frac{1}{B(k_1/2, k_2/2)} \left( \frac{x}{1+x} \right)^{(k_1+k_2)/2} \left( \frac{x}{1+x} \right)^{k_1/2-1} \left( \frac{1}{1+x} \right)^{k_2/2-1}$$

where  $f(x)$  is the probability density function,  $x$  is the value of the random variable,  $k_1$  and  $k_2$  are the degrees of freedom for the two populations.

15. **T-distribution** is a probability distribution that is used to test the equality of means of two populations. It is expressed as:

$$f(x) = \frac{\Gamma(\frac{n+1}{2})}{\Gamma(\frac{n}{2}) \sqrt{n\pi}} \left( 1 + \frac{x^2}{n} \right)^{-\frac{n+1}{2}}$$

where  $f(x)$  is the probability density function,  $x$  is the value of the random variable, and  $n$  is the degrees of freedom.

16. **Logistic regression** is a statistical model that is used to predict the probability of a binary outcome (e.g., success or failure) based on a set of independent variables. It is expressed as:

$$P(Y = 1|X) = \frac{e^{\beta_0 + \beta_1 X}}{1 + e^{\beta_0 + \beta_1 X}}$$

where  $P(Y = 1|X)$  is the probability of the outcome being 1 given the independent variable  $X$ ,  $\beta_0$  and  $\beta_1$  are the parameters of the model.

17. **Linear regression** is a statistical model that is used to predict a continuous outcome (e.g., height or weight) based on a set of independent variables. It is expressed as:

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X$$

where  $Y$  is the outcome,  $X$  is the independent variable,  $\beta_0$  and  $\beta_1$  are the parameters of the model.

18. **Multiple regression** is a statistical model that is used to predict a continuous outcome based on a set of independent variables. It is expressed as:

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_n X_n$$

where  $Y$  is the outcome,  $X_1, X_2, \dots, X_n$  are the independent variables, and  $\beta_0, \beta_1, \beta_2, \dots, \beta_n$  are the parameters of the model.

19. **Principal component analysis (PCA)** is a statistical technique that is used to reduce the dimensionality of a dataset by identifying the principal components of the data. It is expressed as:

$$X = W \Lambda W^T$$

where  $X$  is the data matrix,  $W$  is the matrix of principal components, and  $\Lambda$  is the matrix of eigenvalues.

20. **Support vector machine (SVM)** is a machine learning algorithm that is used to classify data points based on a set of features. It is expressed as:

$$f(x) = \text{sign}(\sum_{i=1}^n \alpha_i y_i \langle x, x_i \rangle + b)$$

where  $f(x)$  is the decision function,  $x$  is the input vector,  $\alpha_i$  and  $y_i$  are the weights and labels of the support vectors,  $x_i$  are the support vectors, and  $b$  is the bias.

21. **Neural network** is a machine learning algorithm that is inspired by the human brain. It is used to learn complex patterns in data. It is expressed as:

$$y = \sigma(\sum_{i=1}^n w_i x_i + b)$$

where  $y$  is the output,  $\sigma$  is the activation function,  $w_i$  and  $x_i$  are the weights and input vectors, and  $b$  is the bias.

22. **Deep learning** is a subset of machine learning that uses neural networks with many layers to learn complex patterns in data. It is expressed as:

$$y = \sigma(\sum_{i=1}^n w_i x_i + b)$$

where  $y$  is the output,  $\sigma$  is the activation function,  $w_i$  and  $x_i$  are the weights and input vectors, and  $b$  is the bias.

23. **Reinforcement learning** is a machine learning algorithm that is used to learn how to take actions in an environment to maximize a reward. It is expressed as:

$$V = \sum_{t=0}^{\infty} \gamma^t R_t$$

where  $V$  is the value function,  $\gamma$  is the discount factor,  $R_t$  is the reward at time  $t$ .

24. **Generative adversarial network (GAN)** is a machine learning algorithm that is used to generate new data points that are similar to a set of training data. It is expressed as:

$$G(z) = \text{generator}(z)$$

where  $G$  is the generator,  $z$  is the latent vector.

25. **Convolutional neural network (CNN)** is a machine learning algorithm that is used to process data with a grid-like topology, such as images. It is expressed as:

$$y = \sigma(\sum_{i=1}^n w_i x_i + b)$$

where  $y$  is the output,  $\sigma$  is the activation function,  $w_i$  and  $x_i$  are the weights and input vectors, and  $b$  is the bias.

26. **Recurrent neural network (RNN)** is a machine learning algorithm that is used to process sequential data, such as time series or speech. It is expressed as:

$$y_t = \sigma(\sum_{i=1}^n w_i x_i + b)$$

where  $y_t$  is the output at time  $t$ ,  $\sigma$  is the activation function,  $w_i$  and  $x_i$  are the weights and input vectors, and  $b$  is the bias.

27. **Long short-term memory (LSTM)** is a type of RNN that is used to process sequential data with long-term dependencies. It is expressed as:

$$y_t = \sigma(\sum_{i=1}^n w_i x_i + b)$$

where  $y_t$  is the output at time  $t$ ,  $\sigma$  is the activation function,  $w_i$  and  $x_i$  are the weights and input vectors, and  $b$  is the bias.

28. **Gated recurrent unit (GRU)** is a type of RNN that is used to process sequential data with long-term dependencies. It is expressed as:

$$y_t = \sigma(\sum_{i=1}^n w_i x_i + b)$$

where  $y_t$  is the output at time  $t$ ,  $\sigma$  is the activation function,  $w_i$  and  $x_i$  are the weights and input vectors, and  $b$  is the bias.

29. **Autoencoder** is a machine learning algorithm that is used to learn a compact representation of data. It is expressed as:

$$y = \sigma(\sum_{i=1}^n w_i x_i + b)$$

where  $y$  is the output,  $\sigma$  is the activation function,  $w_i$  and  $x_i$  are the weights and input vectors, and  $b$  is the bias.

30. **Generative model** is a machine learning algorithm that is used to generate new data points that are similar to a set of training data. It is expressed as:

$$y = \sigma(\sum_{i=1}^n w_i x_i + b)$$

where  $y$  is the output,  $\sigma$  is the activation function,  $w_i$  and  $x_i$  are the weights and input vectors, and  $b$  is the bias.

31. **Discriminative model** is a machine learning algorithm that is used to classify data points based on a set of features. It is expressed as:

$$y = \sigma(\sum_{i=1}^n w_i x_i + b)$$

where  $y$  is the output,  $\sigma$  is the activation function,  $w_i$  and  $x_i$  are the weights and input vectors, and  $b$  is the bias.

32. **Transfer learning** is a machine learning algorithm that is used to transfer knowledge from a source task to a target task. It is expressed as:

$$y = \sigma(\sum_{i=1}^n w_i x_i + b)$$

where  $y$  is the output,  $\sigma$  is the activation function,  $w_i$  and  $x_i$  are the weights and input vectors, and  $b$  is the bias.

33. **Domain adaptation** is a machine learning algorithm that is used to adapt a model to a new domain. It is expressed as:

$$y = \sigma(\sum_{i=1}^n w_i x_i + b)$$

where  $y$  is the output,



deify the imagination of a young prince, by displaying the attributes of the goddess of victory ; he manifests, that the consecration of the revenues, which were considered to the service of the gods, was a measure unworthy of his liberal and disinterested character, and he maintains, that the Roman sacrifices would be deprived of their force and energy, if they were no longer celebrated at the expense, as well as in the name, of the republic. Even scepticism is made to supply an apology for superstition. The great and unconquerable *secret* of the universe eludes the enquiry of man. Where reason cannot instruct, custom may be permitted to guide ; and every nation seems to consent the dictates of prudence, by a tacitly yielded merit to those rites, and opinions which have received the sanction of age.

[illegible]

86. The first part of the proof is devoted to the construction of a  
 87.  $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -invariant  $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -equivariant map  $f: \mathbb{R}^n \rightarrow \mathbb{R}^n$  such that  
 88.  $f(x) = x$  for all  $x \in \mathbb{R}^n$  and  $f(x) \neq x$  for all  $x \in \mathbb{R}^n$ .  
 89. The second part of the proof is devoted to the construction of a  
 90.  $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -invariant  $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -equivariant map  $f: \mathbb{R}^n \rightarrow \mathbb{R}^n$  such that  
 91.  $f(x) = x$  for all  $x \in \mathbb{R}^n$  and  $f(x) \neq x$  for all  $x \in \mathbb{R}^n$ .  
 92. The third part of the proof is devoted to the construction of a  
 93.  $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -invariant  $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -equivariant map  $f: \mathbb{R}^n \rightarrow \mathbb{R}^n$  such that  
 94.  $f(x) = x$  for all  $x \in \mathbb{R}^n$  and  $f(x) \neq x$  for all  $x \in \mathbb{R}^n$ .  
 95. The fourth part of the proof is devoted to the construction of a  
 96.  $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -invariant  $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -equivariant map  $f: \mathbb{R}^n \rightarrow \mathbb{R}^n$  such that  
 97.  $f(x) = x$  for all  $x \in \mathbb{R}^n$  and  $f(x) \neq x$  for all  $x \in \mathbb{R}^n$ .  
 98. The fifth part of the proof is devoted to the construction of a  
 99.  $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -invariant  $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -equivariant map  $f: \mathbb{R}^n \rightarrow \mathbb{R}^n$  such that  
 100.  $f(x) = x$  for all  $x \in \mathbb{R}^n$  and  $f(x) \neq x$  for all  $x \in \mathbb{R}^n$ .

the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are under 15 years of age is expected to increase from 1.1 billion to 1.5 billion. The number of people aged 65 and over is expected to increase from 200 million to 400 million. The number of people aged 15 and over is expected to increase from 3.5 billion to 4.5 billion. The number of people aged 15 and over is expected to increase from 3.5 billion to 4.5 billion. The number of people aged 15 and over is expected to increase from 3.5 billion to 4.5 billion.

phile opher, and to ask, with some contempt, why it should be thought necessary to introduce a new authority and irresistible power, in the cause of the excommunications which were sufficiently explained by the violence and decimation of the legions. He justly derides the double reverence for antiquity, which could only tend to encourage the improvements of art, and to replace the human race into their original barbarism. From thence gradually rising to a more lofty and theological tone, he pronounces, that Christianity alone is the doctrine of truth and salvation; and that every mode of polytheism conducts its deluded votaries, through the paths of error, to the abyss of eternal perdition. Arguments like these, were they were presented by a favourite bishop, had power to prevent the restoration of the altar of Victory, but the same arguments fell, with much more energy and effect, from the mouth of a competitor, and the seeds of antipathy were sown in triumph at the chambers of the Theodosians. In a full meeting of the senate, the emperor proposed, according to the forms of the republic, the important question, Whether the worship of Jupiter, or that of Christ, should be the religion of the Romans? The liberty of suffrages, which he intended to allow, was destroyed by the Popes and fears that his presence impaired; and the arbitrary exile of Symmachus was a recent and obvious, that it could be dangerous to expose the wisdom of the emperor. On a regular vote of the senate, Jupiter was re-elected, and the altar of Victory was restored.

[illegible]

The following are some of the more common types of errors found in the analysis of variance:

- (1) Failure to state the null hypothesis.
- (2) Failure to state the alternative hypothesis.
- (3) Failure to state the level of significance.
- (4) Failure to state the degrees of freedom.
- (5) Failure to state the test statistic.

[illegible]



circumference; and the large stones, of which they were composed, were firmly cemented with lead and iron. The force of the strongest and sharpest tools had been tried without effect. It was found necessary to undermine the foundations of the columns, which fell down as soon as the temporary wooden props had been consumed with fire; and the difficulties of the enterprise are described under the allegory of a black demon, who retarded, though he could not defeat, the operations of the Christian engineers. Elated with victory, Marcellus took the field in person against the powers of darkness; a numerous troop of soldiers and gladiators marched under the episcopal banner, and he successively attacked the villages and country temples of the diocese of Apamea. Whenever any resistance or danger was apprehended, the champion of the faith, whose lameness would not allow him either to fight or fly, placed himself at a convenient distance, beyond the reach of darts. But this prudence was the occasion of his death: he was surprised and slain by a body of exasperated natives, and the synod of the province pronounced, without hesitation, that the holy Marcellus had sacrificed his life in the cause of God. In the support of this cause, the monks, who rushed, with tumultuous fury, from the desert, distinguished themselves by their zeal and diligence. They deserved the censure of the Pagans; and some of them might deserve the reproaches of avarice and intemperance; of avarice, which they gratified with holy plunder, and of intemperance, which they indulged at the expense of the people, who foolishly admired their tattered garments, loud psalmody, and artificial piety. A small number of temples was protected by the fears, the vanity, the taste, or the prudence, of the civil and ecclesiastical governors. The temple of the Celestial Venus at Carthage, whose sacred precincts formed a circumference of two miles, was judiciously converted into a Christian church; and a similar consecration has preserved inviolate the majestic dome of the Pantheon at Rome.<sup>31</sup> But in almost every province of the Roman world, an army of fanatics, without authority, and without discipline, invaded the peaceful inhabitants; and the ruin of the fairest structures of antiquity still displays the ravages of those barbarians, who alone had time and inclination to execute such laborious destruction.

In this wide and various prospect  
 of devastation, the spectator may

distinguish the ruins of the temple of Serapis, at Alexandria.<sup>32</sup> Serapis does not appear to have been one of the native gods, or monsters, who sprung from the fruitful soil of superstitious Egypt.<sup>33</sup> The first of the Ptolemies had been commanded, by a dream, to import the mysterious stranger from the coast of Pontus, where he had been long adored by the inhabitants of Sinope; but his attributes and his reign were so imperfectly understood, that it became a subject of dispute, whether he represented the bright orb of day, or the gloomy monarch of the subterraneous regions.<sup>34</sup> The Egyptians, who were obstinately devoted to the religion of their fathers, refused to admit this foreign deity within the walls of their cities.<sup>35</sup> But the obsequious priests, who were seduced by the liberality of the Ptolemies, submitted, without resistance, to the power of the god of Pontus: an honourable and domestic genealogy was provided; and this fortunate usurper was introduced into the throne and bed of Osiris,<sup>36</sup> the husband of Isis, and the celestial monarch of Egypt. Alexandria, which claimed his peculiar protection, gloried in the name of the city of Serapis. His temple,<sup>37</sup> which rivalled the pride and magnificence of the Capitol, was erected on the spacious summit of an artificial mount, raised one hundred steps above the level of the adjacent parts of the city; and the interior cavity was strongly supported by arches, and distributed into vaults and subterraneous apartments. The consecrated buildings were surrounded by a quadrangular portico, the stately halls, and exquisite statues, displayed the triumph of the arts; and the treasures of ancient learning were preserved in the vast Alexandrian library, which bore a name with new splendour from its riches.<sup>38</sup> After the edicts of Theodosius had severely prohibited the sacrifices of the Pagans, they were still tolerated in the city and temple of Serapis, and this singular indulgence was imprudently ascribed to the superstitious terrors of the Christians themselves: as if they had feared to abolish those ancient rites, which could alone secure the inundations of the Nile, the harvests of Egypt, and the subsistence of Constantinople.<sup>39</sup>

At that time<sup>40</sup> the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria was filled <sup>Its final destruction.</sup> by Theophilus,<sup>41</sup> the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue: a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold, and with blood. His pious indignation

<sup>31</sup> At Rome, the temple of Serapis was destroyed in the year 529. The temple of Isis, which was also destroyed, was situated in the same place. The temple of Isis, which was also destroyed, was situated in the same place. The temple of Isis, which was also destroyed, was situated in the same place.

<sup>32</sup> The temple of Serapis was destroyed in the year 529. The temple of Isis, which was also destroyed, was situated in the same place. The temple of Isis, which was also destroyed, was situated in the same place.

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<sup>34</sup> The temple of Serapis was destroyed in the year 529. The temple of Isis, which was also destroyed, was situated in the same place. The temple of Isis, which was also destroyed, was situated in the same place.





the relics, which the naked eye, and the profane hand, are unable to distinguish from the most common productions of art, or nature; and if, in the hour of danger, their secret and miraculous virtue does not operate for their own preservation, he scorns the vain apologies of his priests, and justly decides the object, and the folly, of his superstitious attachment.<sup>51</sup> After the fall of Serapis, some hopes were still entertained by the Pagans, that the Nile would refuse his annual supply to the impious masters of Egypt; and the extraordinary delay of the inundation seemed to announce the displeasure of the river-god. But this delay was soon compensated by the rapid swell of the waters. They suddenly rose to such an unusual height, as to comfort the discontented party with the pleasing expectation of a deluge; till the peaceful river again subsided to the well-known and fertilising level of sixteen cubits, or about thirty English feet.<sup>52</sup>

The temples of the Roman empire were deserted, or destroyed; but the ingenuous superstition of the Pagans still attempted to elude the laws of Theodosius, by which all sacrifices had been severely prohibited. The inhabitants of the country, whose conduct was less exposed to the eye of malicious curiosity, disguised their religious, under the appearance of convivial meetings. On the days of solemn festivals, they assembled in great numbers under the spreading shade of some consecrated trees; sheep and oxen were slaughtered and roasted; and this rural entertainment was sanctified by the use of incense, and by the hymns, which were sung in honour of the gods. But it was alleged, that, as no part of the animal was made a burnt-offering, as no altar was provided to receive the blood, and as the previous oblation of salt cakes, and the concluding ceremony of libations, were carefully omitted, these festive meetings did not involve the guests in the guilt, or penalty, of an illegal sacrifice.<sup>53</sup> Whatever might be the truth of the facts, or the merit of the distinction,<sup>54</sup> these vain pretences were swept away by the last edict of Theodosius; which inflicted a deadly wound on the superstition of the Pagans.<sup>55</sup> This prohibitory law is expressed in the most absolute and comprehensive terms. "It is our will and pleasure," says the emperor, "that none of our subjects, whether magistrates or private citizens, however exalted or however humble may be their rank and condition, shall presume, in any city, or in any place, to worship an inanimate idol, by the sacrifice of a guiltless victim." The act of sacrificing, and the practice of divination by the entrails of the victim, are declared (without any regard to the

object of the enquiry) a crime of high treason against the state; which can be expiated only by the death of the guilty. The rites of Pagan superstition, which might seem less bloody and atrocious, are abolished, as highly injurious to the truth and honour of religion; luminaries, garlands, frankincense, and libations of wine, are specially enumerated and condemned; and the harmless claims of the domestic genius, of the household gods, are included in this rigorous proscription. The use of any of these profane and illegal ceremonies subjects the offender to the forfeiture of the house, or estate, where they have been performed; and if he has artfully chosen the property of another for the scene of his impiety, he is compelled to discharge, without delay, a heavy fine of twenty-five pounds of gold, or more than one thousand pounds sterling. A fine, not less considerable, is imposed on the connivance of the secret enemies of religion, who shall neglect the duty of their respective stations, either to reveal, or to punish, the guilt of idolatry. Such was the persecuting spirit of the laws of Theodosius, which were repeatedly enforced by his sons and grandsons, with the loud and unanimous applause of the Christian world.<sup>56</sup>

In the cruel reigns of Decius and Diocletian, Christianity had been proscribed, as a revolt from the ancient and hereditary religion of the empire; and the unjust suspicions which were entertained of a dark and dangerous faction, were, in some measure, countenanced by the inseparable union, and rapid conquests, of the Catholic church. But the same causes of fear and ignorance cannot be applied to the Christian emperors, who violated the precepts of humanity and of the Gospel. The experience of ages had displayed the weakness, as well as folly, of Paganism; the light of reason and of truth had already exposed, to the greatest part of mankind, the vanity of idols; and the declining sect, which still adhered to their worship, might have been permitted to enjoy, in peace and obscurity, the religious customs of their ancestors. Had the Pagans been animated by the undaunted zeal, which possessed the minds of the primitive believers, the triumph of the church must have been stained with blood; and the martyrs of Jupiter and Apollo might have embraced the glorious opportunity of devoting their lives and fortunes at the foot of their altars. But such obstinate zeal was not congenial to the loose and careless temper of polytheism. The violent and repeated strokes of the orthodox princes were broken by the soft and yielding substance against which they were directed; and the ready obedience of the Pagans protected them from the pains and penalties of

<sup>51</sup> The history of the Roman nation affords frequent examples of the sudden change from superstition to contempt.

<sup>52</sup> Strabo, l. vi. c. 24. I have supplied the measure. The same standard, of the inundation, and consequently of the soil, has uniformly subsisted since the time of Herodotus. See Fretius in the *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. vi. p. 311, 335. Grævius's *Metamorphosis*, Works, v. l. p. 277. The Egyptian cult is about twenty-two inches of the English measure.

<sup>53</sup> Iulianus (pro *Tetaplo*, p. 1, De *Idolo*) p. 1. He argues with gentleness and moderation, "From the fact that these festivals had not ceased to be celebrated, and those of Isis, the goddess of Isis, had produced the theatre of Apis, &c." See also *l. vi. c. 24* and *l. vi. c. 24*.

<sup>54</sup> Honoré collected these rustic festivals (A. D. 311). "A. D. 311

"*illa sacrificia, atque illi caeremonie damnabiles*." But nine years afterwards, he found it necessary to reiterate and enforce the same proviso (Index Theodos. l. xvi. tit. 5, de *Idolo*, p. 12, 13, 14).

<sup>55</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 12, de *Idolo* (Remarks on *Fœdes Histor.* vol. iv. p. 174) censures, with becoming asperity, the style and sentiments of this imperial law.

<sup>56</sup> Such a charge as this, in the light of modern history, would be

the Theodosian Code.<sup>57</sup> Instead of asserting, that the authority of the gods was superior to that of the emperor, they desisted, with a plaintive murmur, from the use of those sacred rites which their sovereign had condemned. If they were sometimes tempted, by a sally of passion, or by the hopes of concealment, to indulge their favourite superstition; their humble repentance disarmed the severity of the Christian magistrate, and they seldom refused to atone for their rashness, by submitting, with some secret reluctance, to the yoke of the Gospel. The churches were filled with the increasing multitude of these unworthy proselytes, who had conformed, from temporal motives, to the reigning religion: and whilst they devoutly imitated the postures, and recited the prayers, of the faithful, they satisfied their conscience by the silent and sincere invocation of the gods of antiquity.<sup>58</sup> If the Pagans wanted patience to suffer, they wanted spirit to resist; and the scattered myriads, who deplored the ruin of the temples, yielded, without a contest, to the fortune of their adversaries. The disorderly opposition<sup>59</sup> of the peasants of Syria, and the populace of Alexandria, to the rage of private fanaticism, was silenced by the name and authority of the emperor. The Pagans of the West, without contributing to the elevation of Eugenius, disgraced, by their partial attachment, the cause and character of the usurper. The clergy vehemently exclaimed, that he aggravated the crime of rebellion by the guilt of apostasy; that, by his permission, the altar of Victory was again restored; and that the idolatrous symbols of Jupiter and Hercules were displayed in the field, against the invincible standard of the cross. But the vain hopes of the Pagans were soon annihilated by the defeat of Eugenius; and they were left exposed to the resentment of the conqueror, who laboured to deserve the favour of Heaven by the extirpation of idolatry.<sup>60</sup>

A nation of slaves is always prepared to applaud the clemency of their master, who, in the abuse of absolute power, does not proceed to the last extremes of injustice and oppression. Theodosius might undoubtedly have proposed to his Pagan subjects the alternative of baptism or of death; and the eloquent Libanius has praised the moderation of a prince, who never enacted, by any positive law, that all his subjects should immediately embrace and practise the religion of their sovereign.<sup>61</sup> The profession of Christianity was not made an essential qualification for the enjoyment of the civil rights of society, nor

were any peculiar hardships imposed on the sectaries, who credulously received the fables of Ovid, and obstinately rejected the miracles of the Gospel. The palace, the schools, the army, and the senate, were filled with declared and devout Pagans; they obtained, without distinction, the civil and military honours of the empire. Theodosius distinguished his liberal regard for virtue and genius, by the consular dignity, which he bestowed on Symmachus;<sup>62</sup> and by the personal friendship which he expressed to Libanius;<sup>63</sup> and the two eloquent apologists of Paganism were never required either to change, or to dissemble, their religious opinions. The Pagans were indulged in the most licentious freedom of speech and writing; the historical and philosophic remains of Eunapius, Zosimus,<sup>64</sup> and the fanatic teachers of the school of Plato, betray the most furious animosity, and contain the sharpest invectives, against the sentiments and conduct of their victorious adversaries. If these audacious libels were publicly known, we must applaud the good sense of the Christian princes, who viewed, with a smile of contempt, the last struggles of superstition and despair.<sup>65</sup> But the Imperial laws, which prohibited the sacrifices and ceremonies of Paganism, were rigidly executed; and every hour contributed to destroy the influence of a religion, which was supported by custom, rather than by argument. The devotion of the poet, or the philosopher, may be secretly nourished by prayer, meditation, and study; but the exercise of public worship appears to be the only solid foundation of the religious sentiments of the people, which derive their force from imitation and habit. The interruption of that public exercise may consummate, in the period of a few years, the important work of a national revolution. The memory of theological opinions cannot long be preserved, without the artificial helps of priests, of temples, and of books.<sup>66</sup> The ignorant vulgar, whose minds are still agitated by the blind hopes and terrors of superstition, will be soon persuaded, by their superiors, to direct their vows to the reigning deities of the age; and will insensibly imbibe an ardent zeal for the support and propagation of the new doctrine, which spiritual hunger at first compelled them to accept. The generation that arose in the world after the promulgation of the Imperial laws, was attracted within the pale of the Catholic church: and so rapid, yet so gentle, was the fall of Paganism, that only twenty-eight years after the death of Theodosius, the faint and minute vestiges were no longer visible to the eye of the legislator.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Orosius, l. vi. c. 28, p. 537. Augustin (Ecclesiast. in Psalm ccl. apud Lardner, li. ii. c. 10.) Testimonies, which he says, insult their cowardice. <sup>58</sup> *Quod contra comprehensum est in sacrificio cum his legibus ista prohibetur et in negotio.*

<sup>59</sup> Libanius (pro Temp. p. 17, l. v.) mentions, without censure, the occasional conformity, and as it were theatrical play, of these hypocrites.

<sup>60</sup> Libanius concludes his Apology (p. 52, l. v.) by declaring, to the emperor, that unless he expressly warrants the destruction of the temples, the prosecutors will defend themselves and the laws.

<sup>61</sup> Paulinus, in l. vi. Antiqu. c. 26. Augustin de Civitate Dei, l. v. c. 26. Theodoret, l. v. c. 24.

<sup>62</sup> Libanius suggests the form of a persecuting edict, which Theodosius might enact (pro Temp. p. 52, l. v.) a rash joke, and a dangerous experiment. Some princes would have taken his advice.

<sup>63</sup> Denique pro meritis terrestribus etiam premia conferens. Munera, sacerdotibus sanctorum impericis honores.

*Ipse magistratum tibi consulat, ipse tribunus Consulit.*

Prudent. in Symmacho, l. i. 617, &c.

... should ... Ju- ... no ... the ... have been privately circulated, since it escaped the invectives of the ecclesiastical historians prior to Evagrius (l. iii. c. 40-42), who lived towards the end of the sixth century.

<sup>65</sup> Yet the Pagans of Africa complained, that the times would not allow them to answer with freedom the City of God, nor does St. Augustine (iv. 26) deny the charge.

<sup>66</sup> The Moors of Spain who secretly preserved the Mahometan religion, above a century, under the traces of the Inquisition, possessed the Koran, with the peculiar use of the Arabic tongue, see the curious and honest story of their expulsion in Gieddes (Miscellaneous, vol. i. p. 1-18 &c.)

<sup>67</sup> Paulinus, p. 50. superant, quoniam non ratione, sed timore. C. d. Theod. l. xvi. tit. x. c. 2. A. D. 425. The emperor Theodosius was afterwards satisfied, that his judgment had been somewhat premature.

The ruin of the Pagan religion is described by the sophists as a dreadful and amazing prodigy, which covered the earth with darkness, and restored the ancient dominion of chaos and of night. They relate, in solemn and pathetic strains, that the temples were converted into sepulchres, and that the holy places, which had been adorned by the statues of the gods, were basely polluted by the relics of Christian martyrs. "The monks" (a race of filthy animals, to whom Eupapius is tempted to refuse the name of men) "are the authors of the new worship, which, in the place of those deities, who are conceived by the understanding, has substituted the meanest and most contemptible slaves. The heads, salted and pickled, of those infamous malefactors, who for the multitude of their crimes have suffered a just and ignominious death; then bodies, still marked by the impression of the lash, and the scars of those tortures which were inflicted by the sentence of the magistrate; such" (continues Eupapius) "are the gods which the earth produces in our days; such are the martyrs, the supreme arbitrators of our prayers and petitions to the Deity, whose tombs are now consecrated as the objects of the veneration of the people."<sup>68</sup> Without approving the malice, it is natural enough to share the surprise, of the sophist, the spectator of a revolution, which raised those obscure victims of the laws of Rome, to the rank of celestial and invisible protectors of the Roman empire. The grateful respect of the Christians for the martyrs of the faith was exalted, by time and victory, into religious adoration; and the most illustrious of the saints and prophets were deservedly associated to the honours of the martyrs. One hundred and fifty years after the glorious deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Vatican and the Ostian road were distinguished by the tombs, or rather by the trophies, of those spiritual heroes.<sup>69</sup> In the age which followed the conversion of Constantine, the emperors, the consuls, and the generals of armies, devoutly visited the sepulchres of a tent-maker and a fisherman;<sup>70</sup> and their venerable bones were deposited under the altars of Christ, on which the bishops of the royal city continually offered the unbloody sacrifice.<sup>71</sup> The new capital of the Eastern world, unable to produce any ancient and domestic trophies, was enriched by the spoils of dependant provinces. The bodies of St. Andrew, St. Luke, and St. Timothy, had reposed, near three hundred years, in the obscure graves, from whence they were transported, in

solemn pomp, to the church of the apostles, which the magnificence of Constantine had founded on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus.<sup>72</sup> About fifty years afterwards, the same banks were honoured by the presence of Samuel, the judge and prophet of the people of Israel. His ashes, deposited in a golden vase, and covered with a silken veil, were delivered by the bishops into each other's hands. The relics of Samuel were received by the people, with the same joy and reverence which they would have shown to the living prophet; the highways, from Palestine to the gates of Constantinople, were filled with an uninterrupted procession; and the emperor Arcadius himself, at the head of the most illustrious members of the clergy and senate, advanced to meet his extraordinary guest, who had always deserved and claimed the homage of kings.<sup>73</sup> The example of Rome and Constantinople confirmed the faith and discipline of the Catholic world. The honours of the saints and martyrs, after a feeble and ineffectual murmur of profane reason,<sup>74</sup> were universally established; and in the age of Ambrose and Jerom, something was still deemed wanting to the sanctity of a Christian church, till it had been consecrated by some portion of holy relics, which fixed and inflamed the devotion of the faithful.

In the long period of twelve hundred years, which elapsed between the reign of Constantine and the reformation of Luther, the worship of saints and relics corrupted the pure and perfect simplicity of the Christian model; and some symptoms of degeneracy may be observed even in the first generations which adopted and cherished this pernicious innovation.

I. The satisfactory experience, that the relics of saints were more valuable than gold or precious stones,<sup>75</sup> stimulated the clergy to multiply the treasures of the church. Without much regard for truth or probability, they invented names for skeletons, and actions for names. The fame of the apostles, and of the holy men who had imitated their virtues, was darkened by religious fiction. To the invincible band of genuine and primitive martyrs, they added myriads of imaginary heroes, who had never existed, except in the fancy of crafty or credulous legends; and there is reason to suspect, that Tours might not be the only diocese in which the bones of a malefactor were adored, instead of those of a saint.<sup>76</sup> A superstitious practice, which tended to increase the temptations of fraud, and credulity, increas-

<sup>68</sup> See Eupapius, *l. i. c. 1*. of the *Philosophical History*, p. 111. Eupapius has translated the *Philosophical History* into Greek, and has added some observations on it.

<sup>69</sup> Caus (apud Euseb.) *l. i. c. 1*. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. who lived in the time of *Julian* (A. D. 361). *Philosophical History*, p. 111. who lived in the time of *Julian* (A. D. 361). *Philosophical History*, p. 111. who lived in the time of *Julian* (A. D. 361).

<sup>70</sup> Christion. *Quest. l. i. c. 1*. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. I am indebted for this quotation to *Isaac* (A. D. 1470). *Philosophical History*, p. 111. I am indebted for this quotation to *Isaac* (A. D. 1470). *Philosophical History*, p. 111. I am indebted for this quotation to *Isaac* (A. D. 1470).

<sup>71</sup> Malefactor. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111.

<sup>72</sup> Jerom. *l. i. c. 1*. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111.

<sup>73</sup> *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111.

<sup>74</sup> *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111.

<sup>75</sup> *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111.

<sup>76</sup> *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111.

*Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111. *Philosophical History*, p. 111.



their residence, their death, their burial, or the possession of their relics. The meaner passions of pride, avarice, and revenge, may be deemed unworthy of a celestial breast; yet the saints themselves condescended to testify their grateful approbation of the liberality of their votaries, and the sharpest bolts of punishment were hurled against those impious wretches, who violated their magnificent shrines, or disbelieved their supernatural power.<sup>83</sup> Atrocious, indeed, must have been the guilt, and strange would have been the scepticism, of those men, if they had obstinately resisted the proofs of a divine agency, which the elements, the whole range of the animal creation, and even the subtle and invisible operations of the human mind, were compelled to obey.<sup>84</sup> The immediate, and almost instantaneous, effects, that were supposed to follow the prayer, or the offence, satisfied the Christians, of the ample measure of favour and authority which the saints enjoyed in the presence of the Supreme God; and it seemed almost superfluous to enquire, whether they were continually obliged to intercede before the throne of grace; or whether they might not be permitted to exercise, according to the dictates of their benevolence and justice, the delegated powers of their subordinate ministry. The imagination, which had been raised by a painful effort to the contemplation and worship of the Universal Cause, eagerly embraced such inferior objects of adoration as were more proportioned to its gross conceptions and imperfect faculties. The sublime and simple theology of the primitive Christians was gradually corrupted, and the monarchy of heaven, already clouded by metaphysical subtleties, was degraded by the introduction of a popular mythology, which tended to restore the reign of polytheism.

IV. As the objects of belief were gradually reduced to the standard of the imagination, the rites and ceremonies were introduced that seemed most powerfully to affect the senses of the vulgar. If, in the beginning of the fifth century, Tertullian, or Lactantius,\* had been suddenly raised from the dead, to assist at the festival of some popular saint, or martyr,† they would have gazed with astonishment, and indignation, on the profane spectacle, which had succeeded to the pure and spiritual worship of a Christian congregation. As soon as the doors of the church were thrown open, they must have been offended by the smoke of incense, the perfume of flowers, and the glare of lamps and tapers, which diffused, at noon-day, a gaudy, superfluous, and, in their opinion, a sacrilegious light. If they approached the balustrade of the altar,

they made their way through the prostrated crowd, consisting, for the most part, of strangers and pilgrims, who resorted to the city on the vigil of the feast, and who already felt the strong intoxication of fanaticism, and, perhaps, of wine. Their devout kisses were imprinted on the walls and pavement of the sacred edifice; and their fervent prayers were directed, whatever might be the language of their church, to the bones, the blood, or the ashes, of the saint, which were usually concealed, by a linen or silken veil, from the eyes of the vulgar. The Christians frequented the tombs of the martyrs, in the hope of obtaining, from their powerful intercession, every sort of spiritual, but more especially of temporal, blessings. They implored the preservation of their health, or the cure of their infirmities; the fruitfulness of their barren wives, or the safety and happiness of their children. Whenever they undertook any distant or dangerous journey, they requested, that the holy martyrs would be their guides and protectors on the road; and if they returned without having experienced any misfortune, they again hastened to the tombs of the martyrs, to celebrate, with grateful thanksgivings, their obligations to the memory and relics of those heavenly patrons. The walls were hung round with symbols of the favours which they had received; eyes, and hands, and feet, of gold and silver—and edifying pictures, which could not long escape the abuse of indiscriminate or idolatrous devotion, represented the image, the attributes, and the miracles, of the tutelar saint. The same uniform original spirit of superstition might suggest, in the most distant ages and countries, the same methods of deceiving the crowd; by a direct affect on the senses, of fear and love—but it must rigorously be confessed, that the ministers of the Catholic church imitated the profane priests, which they were impatient to destroy. The most respectable bishops had persuaded themselves, that the ignorant masses would more charitably renounce the superstitions of Paganism, if they found some resemblance, some compensation, in the bosom of Christianity. The religion of Constantine achieved, in less than a century, the final conquest of the Roman empire. But the victors themselves were insensibly subdued by the arts of their vanquished rivals.<sup>(2)</sup>

## CHAP. XXIX.

*Fatal Division of the Roman Empire between the  
Sons of Theodosius. — Reign of Arcadius and  
Honorius. — Administration of Rufinus and*

83. Flower, D. C. 1949. *Journal of Field Ornithology*, 20: 1-6.

[illegible]

... against the Pagan countries which opposed the term of

[illegible]

Let  $\{T_n\}$  be a sequence of operators on  $X$  such that  $T_n \rightarrow T$  in the strong operator topology. If  $\{x_n\}$  is a sequence in  $X$  such that  $x_n \rightarrow x$  in  $X$ , then  $T_n x_n \rightarrow T x$  in  $X$ .

[illegible]

*Stilicho. — Revolt and Defeat of Gildo in Africa.*

Division of the  
empire between  
Arcadius and  
Honorius.  
A. D. 395,  
Jan. 17.

THE genius of Rome expired with Theodosius; the last of the successors of Augustus and Constantine, who appeared in the field at the head of their armies, and whose authority was universally acknowledged throughout the whole extent of the empire. The memory of his virtues still continued, however, to protect the feeble and inexperienced youth of his two sons. After the death of their father, Arcadius and Honorius were saluted, by the unanimous consent of mankind, as the lawful emperors of the East, and of the West; and the oath of fidelity was eagerly taken by every order of the state; the senates of old and new Rome, the clergy, the magistrates, the soldiers, and the people. Arcadius, who then was about eighteen years of age, was born in Spain, in the humble habitation of a private family. But he received a princely education in the palace of Constantinople; and his inglorious life was spent in that painful and splendid seat of royalty, from whence he appeared to reign over the provinces of Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia and Ethiopia. His younger brother, Honorius, assumed, in the eleventh year of his age, the nominal government of Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; and the troops, which guarded the frontiers of his kingdom, were opposed, on one side, to the Caledonians, and on the other, to the Moors. The great and martial præfecture of Illyricum was divided between the two princes: the defence and possession of the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, still belonged to the Western empire; but the two large dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia, which Gratian had intrusted to the valour of Theodosius, were for ever united to the empire of the East. The boundary in Europe was not very different from the line which now separates the Germans and the Turks; and the respective advantages of territory, riches, populousness, and military strength, were fairly balanced and compensated, in this final and permanent division of the Roman empire. The hereditary sceptre of the sons of Theodosius appeared to be the gift of nature, and of their father; the generals and ministers had been accustomed to adore the majesty of the royal infants; and the army and people were not admonished of their rights, and of their power, by the dangerous example of a recent election. The gradual discovery of the weakness of Arcadius and Honorius, and the repeated calamities of their reign, were not sufficient to obliterate the deep and early impressions of loyalty. The subjects of Rome, who still revered the persons, or rather the

names, of their sovereigns, beheld, with equal abhorrence, the rebels who opposed, and the ministers who abused, the authority of the throne.

Theodosius had tarnished the glory of his reign by the elevation of Rufinus; an odious favourite, who, in an age of civil and religious faction, has deserved, from every party, the imputation of every crime. The strong impulse of ambition and avarice<sup>1</sup> had urged Rufinus to abandon his native country, an obscure corner of Gaul,<sup>2</sup> to advance his fortune in the capital of the East: the talent of bold and ready elocution<sup>3</sup> qualified him to succeed in the lucrative profession of the law; and his success in that profession was a regular step to the most honourable and important employments of the state. He was raised, by just degrees, to the station of master of the offices. In the exercise of his various functions, so essentially connected with the whole system of civil government, he acquired the confidence of a monarch, who soon discovered his diligence and capacity in business, and who long remained ignorant of the pride, the malice, and the covetousness of his disposition. These vices were concealed beneath the mask of profound dissimulation; <sup>4</sup> his passions were subservient only to the passions of his master; yet, in the horrid massacre of Thessalonica, the cruel Rufinus inflamed the fury, without imitating the repentance, of Theodosius. The minister, who viewed with proud indifference the rest of mankind, never forgave the appearance of an injury; and his personal enemies had forfeited, in his opinion, the merit of all public services. Promotus, the master-general of the infantry, had saved the empire from the invasion of the Ostrogoths; but he indignantly supported the pre-eminence of a rival, whose character and profession he despised; and, in the midst of a public council, the impatient soldier was provoked to chastise with a blow the indecent pride of the favourite. This act of violence was represented to the emperor as an insult, which it was incumbent on his dignity to resent. The disgrace and exile of Promotus were signified by a peremptory order, to repair, without delay, to a military station on the banks of the Danube; and the death of that general (though he was slain in a skirmish with the barbarians) was imputed to the perfidious arts of Rufinus.<sup>5</sup> The sacrifice of an hero gratified his revenge; the honours of the consulship elated his vanity; but his power was still imperfect and precarious, as long as the important posts of præfect of the East, and of præfect of Constantinople, were filled by Tatian,<sup>6</sup> and his son Proculus; whose united authority balanced, for some time, the ambition and favour of the master of the offices. The two præfects were accused of rapine and corruption in the administration of the laws and

<sup>1</sup> Alecto, envious of the public felicity, conceives an infernal spite, Mezerai recommends her pupil Rufinus, and exerts all his arts of mischief, &c. But there is as much difference between Alecto and the fury and that of Virgil, as between the characters of Junius and Rufinus.

<sup>2</sup> It is evident (Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. rom. v. p. 770), though de Marra is ashamed of our countrymen, that Rufinus was a Gaul, of Elusa, the metropolis of Noricum, now a small village of Gascogne. (D'Anville, Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 37.)

<sup>3</sup> Philostorgius, l. xi. c. 5, with Godefroy's Dissert. p. 430.

<sup>4</sup> A passage of Suidas is expressive of his profound dissimulation: *Βασίλειον εὐφρόνιστος, καὶ ὑποκρίνεται*.

<sup>5</sup> Zosimus, l. iv. p. 274, 275.

<sup>6</sup> Zosimus, who describes the fall of Tatian and his son (l. iv. p. 275, 276), asserts their innocence, and even his testimony may outweigh the charges of their enemies (Orel. Theod. tom. iv. p. 480), who will use them of oppressing the *frères*. The connection of Tatian with the Arians, who he was præfect of Egypt (l. iv. p. 373), inclines Tillemont to believe that he was guilty of every crime. (Hist. des Emp. rom. v. p. 500. Mém. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 589.)

finances. For the trial of these illustrious offenders, the emperor constituted a special commission: several judges were named to share the guilt and reproach of injustice; but the right of pronouncing sentence was reserved to the president alone, and that president was Rufinus himself. The father, stripped of the præfecture of the East, was thrown into a dungeon; but the son, conscious that few ministers can be found innocent, where an enemy is their judge, had secretly escaped; and Rufinus must have been satisfied with the least obnoxious victim, if despotism had not condescended to employ the basest and most ungenerous artifice. The prosecution was conducted with an appearance of equity and moderation, which flattered Tatian with the hope of a favourable event: his confidence was fortified by the solemn assurances, and perfidious oaths, of the president, who presumed to interpose the sacred name of Theodosius himself; and the unhappy father was at last persuaded to recel, by a private letter, the fugitive Proculus. He was instantly seized, examined, condemned, and beheaded, in one of the suburbs of Constantinople, with a precipitation which disappointed the clemency of the emperor. Without respecting the misfortunes of a consular senator, the cruel judges of Tatian compelled him to behold the execution of his son: the fatal cord was fastened round his own neck; but in the moment when he expected, and perhaps desired, the relief of a speedy death, he was permitted to consume the miserable remnant of his old age in poverty and exile. The punishment of the two præfects might, perhaps, be excused by the exceptional parts of their own conduct; the cruelty of Rufinus might be palliated by the jealous and unsocial nature of ambition. But he indulged a spirit of revenge, equally repugnant to prudence and to justice, when he degraded their native country of Lycia from the rank of Roman provinces; stigmatised a guiltless people with a mark of ignominy; and declared, that the countrymen of Tatian and Proculus should for ever remain incapable of holding any employment of honour or advantage, under the Imperial government.<sup>8</sup> The new præfect of the East (for Rufinus instantly succeeded to the vacant honours of his adversary) was not diverted, however, by the most criminal pursuits, from the performance of the religious duties, which in that age were considered as the most essential to salvation. In the suburb of Chalcedon, surnamed the *Ozak*, he had built a magnificent villa; to which he devoutly added

a stately church, consecrated to the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and continually sanctified by the prayers, and penance, of a regular society of monks. A numerous, and almost general, synod of the **bishops** of the **Eastern** empire was summoned to celebrate, at the same time, the dedication of the church, and the baptism of the founder. This double ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp; and when Rufinus was purified, in the holy font, from all the sins that he had hitherto committed, a venerable hermit of Egypt rashly proposed himself as the sponsor of a proud and ambitious statesman.<sup>9</sup>

The character of Theodosius imposed on his minister the task of hypocrisy, which disguised, and sometimes restrained, the abuse of power; and Rufinus was apprehensive of disturbing the indolent slumber of a prince, still capable of exerting the abilities, and the virtue, which had raised him to the throne.<sup>10</sup> But the absence, and, soon afterwards, the death, of the emperor, confirmed the absolute authority of Rufinus over the person and dominions of Arcadius; a feeble youth, whom the imperious prefect considered as his pupil, rather than his sovereign. Regardless of the public opinion, he indulged his passions without remorse, and without resistance; and his malignant and rapacious spirit rejected every passion that might have contributed to his own glory, or the happiness of the people. His avarice,<sup>11</sup> which seems to have prevailed, in his corrupt mind, over every other sentiment, attracted the wealth of the East, by the various arts of partial, and general, extortion; oppressive taxes, scandalous bribery, moderate fines, unjust confiscations, forced or fictitious testaments, by which the tyrant despoiled of their lawful inheritance the children of strangers, or enemies; and the public sale of justice, as well as of favour, which he instituted in the palace of Constantinople. The ambitious candidate eagerly solicited, at the expense of the fairest part of his patrimony, the honours and emoluments of some provincial government, the lives and fortunes of the unhappy people were abandoned to the most liberal purchaser; and the public discontent was sometimes appeased by the sacrifice of an unpopular criminal, whose punishment was profitable only to the prefect of the East, his accomplice and his judge. If avarice were not the blindest of the human passions, the motives of Rufinus might excite our curiosity; and we might be tempted to enquire, with what view he violated every principle of humanity and justice,

He oppresses  
the Fast.  
A. D. 593

7 ——— J. VENTURA FERRAZ, C. L.  
Ante a presença dos senhores doze senhores  
Ibiza da casa do Sr. de Fátima Aguiar  
Posto da casa do Sr. de Fátima Aguiar

The facts of Zosimus' expedition are fully borne out by the statements of interpreters were ignorant of the North country. The expedition was planned, with the help of Tiliakout, in a season of St. Asterac or Amasea.

3. This odious law is rectified, and repealed, by Archimedes, A. D. 500, in the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. xxx. c. 1. The same is still explained by Claudian in Rufin. l. 254. and Gregory, tom. iii. p. 279, is perfectly clear.

— *Ex-cultores cives*  
*Funditus et monitus* . . . *de cetero* . . .  
 The scriptures of Pagan and Theismont can arise only from the zeal for  
 the glory of Theodosius.  
 2. *Ammonitis* . . . *Rupinum* . . . *proprie* . . . *maribus* . . . *suscepit* . . . *sacro fonte*  
*mundarum*. See Rowseyde's *Vite Latrunc* p. 447. *Sacrosancti* . . .  
 17. mentions the church and monastery, and Theismont . . . *Mim-*

Feet. On Sept. 5, 1893, read the synod, in which St. Gregory of

As performed in a public forum, the "Patriotic Prayer" prizes one of the best of Theodore's addresses to the priest Radin on that day. The time is to discourage the presentation of irresponsible, or "sacred," news wires. A threat of statute discredits the existence of norms. But a laudable effort to end within the species professions, or intellectual wishes, of the priest, or his members. Thus, I understand a just, though moribund, canon of criticism.

11. Explan de l'horizant —  
Congrès, curriculum spes, orbis que rapinas

This character is attested in Report 134. It is confirmed by Japen, and interested witness whom is Japen's associate, the ad Heimer p. 20, by Japen's associate, and to Japen, who copied the letter of Japen.



to accumulate those immense treasures, which he could not spend without folly, nor possess without danger. Perhaps he vainly imagined, that he laboured for the interest of an only daughter, on whom he intended to bestow his royal pupil, and the august rank of Empress of the East. Perhaps he deceived himself by the opinion, that his avarice was the instrument of his ambition. He aspired to place his fortune on a secure and independent basis, which should no longer depend on the caprice of the young emperor; yet he neglected to conciliate the hearts of the soldiers and people, by the liberal distribution of those riches, which he had acquired with so much toil, and with so much guilt. The extreme parsimony of Rufinus left him only the reproach, and envy, of ill-gotten wealth; his dependents served him without attachment; the universal hatred of mankind was repressed only by the influence of servile fear. The fate of Lucian proclaimed to the East, that the præfect, whose industry was much abated in the despatch of ordinary business, was active and indefatigable in the pursuit of revenge. Lucian, the son of the præfect Florentinus, the oppressor of Gaul, and the enemy of Julian, had employed a considerable part of his inheritance, the fruit of rapine and corruption, to purchase the friendship of Rufinus, and the high office of count of the East. But the new magistrate imprudently departed from the maxims of the court, and of the times; disgraced his benefactor, by the contrast of a virtuous and temperate administration; and presumed to refuse an act of injustice, which might have tended to the profit of the emperor's uncle. Arcadius was easily persuaded to resent the supposed insult, and the præfect of the East resolved to execute in person the cruel vengeance, which he meditated against this ungrateful delegate of his power. He performed with incessant speed the journey of seven or eight hundred miles, from Constantinople to Antioch, entered the capital of Syria at the dead of night, and spread universal consternation among a people ignorant of his design, but not ignorant of his character. The count of the fifteen provinces of the East was dragged, like the vilest malefactor, before the arbitrary tribunal of Rufinus. Notwithstanding the clearest evidence of his integrity, which was not impeached even by the voice of an accuser, Lucian was condemned, almost without a trial, to suffer a cruel and ignominious punishment. The ministers of the tyrant, by the order, and in the presence, of their master, beat him on the neck with leather thongs, armed at the extremities with lead; and when he fainted under the violence of the pain, he was removed in a close litter, to conceal his dying agonies from the eyes of the indignant city. No sooner had Rufinus perpetrated this inhuman act, the sole object of his expedition, than he returned, amidst the deep,

and silent, curses of a trembling people, from Antioch to Constantinople; and his diligence was accelerated by the hope of accomplishing, without delay, the nuptials of his daughter with the emperor of the East.<sup>12</sup>

But Rufinus soon experienced, that a prudent minister should constantly secure his royal captive by the strong, though invisible, chain of habit; and that the merit, and much more easily the favour, of the absent, are obliterated in a short time from the mind of a weak and capricious sovereign. While the præfect satiated his revenge at Antioch, a secret conspiracy of the favorite eunuchs, directed by the great chamberlain Eutropius, undermined his power in the palace of Constantinople. They discovered that Arcadius was not inclined to love the daughter of Rufinus, who had been chosen, without his consent, for his bride; and they contrived to substitute in her place the fair Eudoxia, the daughter of Bauto,<sup>13</sup> a general of the Franks in the service of Rome; and who was educated, since the death of her father, in the family of the sons of Promotus. The young emperor, whose chastity had been strictly guarded by the pious care of his tutor Arsenius,<sup>14</sup> eagerly listened to the artful and flattering descriptions of the charms of Eudoxia: he gazed with impatient ardour on her picture, and he understood the necessity of concealing his amorous designs from the knowledge of a minister, who was so deeply interested to oppose the consummation of his happiness. Soon after the return of Rufinus, the approaching ceremony of the royal nuptials was announced to the people of Constantinople, who prepared to celebrate, with false and hollow acclamations, the fortune of his daughter. A splendid train of eunuchs and officers issued, in hymeneal pomp, from the gates of the palace; bearing aloft the dadem, the robes, and the inestimable ornaments, of the future empress. The solemn procession passed through the streets of the city, which were adorned with garlands, and filled with spectators; but, when it reached the house of the sons of Promotus, the principal eunuch respectfully entered the mansion, invested the fair Eudoxia with the Imperial robes, and conducted her in triumph to the palace and bed of Arcadius.<sup>15</sup> The secrecy, and success, with which this conspiracy against Rufinus had been conducted, imprinted a mark of indelible ridicule on the character of a minister, who had suffered himself to be deceived, in a post where the arts of deceit and dissimulation constitute the most distinguished merit. He considered, with a mixture of indignation and fear, the victory of an aspiring eunuch, who had secretly captivated the favour of his sovereign; and the disgrace of his daughter, whose interest was inseparably connected with his own, wounded the tenderness,

He is disappointed by the marriage of Arcadius, A. D. 336, April 27.

12

— Cætera scimus.  
Ad eunus veli; prouti regere renotas  
Impiger via vas.

This allusion of Cædian in Rufin. l. 241. is again explained by the circumstantial narrative of Zosimus (l. v. p. 287, 288).

<sup>13</sup> Zosimus (l. iv. p. 247.) praises the valour, prudence, and integrity, of Bauto the Frank. See Tiliemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 771.

<sup>14</sup> Arsenius escaped from the palace of Constantinople, and passed

five years in rigid penance in the monasteries of Egypt. See Tiliemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. xiv. p. 676-702, and Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. v. p. 1, &c. but the latter, for want of authentic materials, has given too much credit to the legend of Metaphrastes.

<sup>15</sup> The story (Zosimus l. v. p. 294.) proves that the ceremonial rites of marriage were still practised, without adultery, by the Christians of the East, and the bride was *freely* conveyed from the house of her parents to that of her husband. Our form of marriage requires, with less delicacy, the express and public consent of a virgin.

or, at least, the pride, of Rufinus. At the moment when he flattered himself that he should become the father of a line of kings, a foreign maid, who had been educated in the house of his implacable enemies, was introduced into the Imperial bed; and Eudoxia soon displayed a superiority of sense and spirit, to improve the ascendancy which her beauty must acquire over the mind of a fond and youthful husband. The emperor would soon be instructed to hate, to fear, and to destroy, the powerful subject, whom he had injured; and the consciousness of guilt deprived Rufinus of every hope, either of safety or comfort, in the retirement of a private life. But he still possessed the most effectual means of defending his dignity, and perhaps of oppressing his enemies. The prefect still exercised an uncontrolled authority over the civil and military government of the East: and his treasures, if he could resolve to use them, might be employed to procure proper instruments, for the execution of the blackest designs, that pride, ambition, and revenge, could suggest to a desperate statesman. The character of Rufinus seemed to justify the accusations, that he conspired against the person of his sovereign, to seat himself on the vacant throne; and that he had secretly invited the Huns, and the Goths, to invade the provinces of the empire, and to increase the public confusion. The subtle prefect, whose life had been spent in the intrigues of the palace, opposed, with equal arms, the artful measures of the eunuch Eutropius; but the timid soul of Rufinus was astonished by the hostile approach of a more formidable rival, of the great Stilicho, the general, or rather the master, of the empire of the West.<sup>16</sup>

The celestial gift, which Achilles obtained, and Alexander envied, of a poet worthy to celebrate the actions of heroes, has been enjoyed by Stilicho, in a much higher degree than might have been expected from the declining state of genius, and of art. The muse of Claudian,<sup>17</sup> devoted to his service, was always prepared to stigmatise his adversaries, Rufinus, or Eutropius, with eternal infamy; or to paint, in the most splendid colours, the victories, and virtues, of a powerful benefactor. In the review of a period indifferently supplied with authentic materials, we cannot refuse to illustrate the annals of Honorius, from the invectives, or the panegyrics, of a contemporary writer; but as Claudian appears to have indulged the most ample privilege of a poet and a courtier, some criticism will be requisite to translate the language of fiction, or exaggeration, into the truth and simplicity of historic prose. His silence concerning the family of Stilicho may be admitted as a proof,

that his patron was neither able, nor desirous, to boast of a long series of illustrious progenitors; and the slight mention of his father, an officer of barbarian cavalry, in the service of Valens, seems to countenance the assertion, that the general, who so long commanded the armies of Rome, was descended from the savage and perfidious race of the Vandals.<sup>18</sup> If Stilicho had not possessed the external advantages of strength and stature, the most flattering band, in the presence of so many thousand spectators, would have hesitated to affirm, that he surpassed the measure of the demigods of antiquity; and that, whenever he moved, with lofty steps, through the streets of the capital, the astonished crowd made room for the stranger, who displayed, in a private condition, the awful majesty of a hero. From his earliest youth he embraced the profession of arms; his prudence and valour were soon distinguished in the field; the horsemen and archers of the East admired his superior dexterity; and in each degree of his military promotions, the public judgment always prevented and approved the choice of the sovereign. He was named by Theodosius, to ratify a solemn treaty with the monarch of Persia; he supported, during that important embassy, the dignity of the Roman name; and after his return to Constantinople, his merit was rewarded by an intimate and honourable alliance with the Imperial family. Theodosius had been prompted, by a pious motive of fraternal affection, to adopt, for his own, the daughter of his brother Honorius, the beauty and accomplishments of Serena were universally admired by the obsequious court, and Stilicho obtained the preference over a crowd of rivals, who ambitiously disputed the hand of the princess, and the favour of her adoptive father.<sup>19</sup> The assurance, that the husband of Serena would be faithful to the throne, which he was permitted to approach, engaged the emperor to exalt the fortunes, and to employ the abilities, of the sagacious and intrepid Stilicho. He rose through the successive steps of master of the horse, and count of the domestics, to the supreme rank of master-general of all the cavalry and infantry of the Roman, or at least of the Western, empire; and his enemies confessed, that he invariably disdained to barter for gold the rewards of merit, or to defraud the soldiers of the pay and gratifications, which they deserved, or claimed, from the liberality of the state.<sup>20</sup> The valour and conduct which he afterwards displayed, in the defence of Italy, against the arms of Alaric and Radagaisus, may justify the fame of his early achievements, and in an age less attentive to the laws of honour, or of pride, the Roman generals might yield the pre-eminence of rank,

<sup>16</sup> Zosimus, l. vi. p. 109. Orosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27.

<sup>17</sup> See Claudian, l. i. c. 1. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27.

<sup>18</sup> Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27.

<sup>19</sup> Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27.

<sup>20</sup> Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27.

<sup>21</sup> Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27. Theodosius, l. vi. c. 27.





the moderation of a minister, who had so often signalised his military spirit and abilities. But if Stilicho had any longer endured the revolt of Africa, he would have betrayed the security of the capital, and the majesty of the Western emperor, to the capricious insolence of a Moorish rebel. Gildo,<sup>37</sup> the brother of the tyrant Firmus, had preserved and obtained, as the reward of his apparent fidelity, the immense patrimony which was forfeited by treason; long and meritorious service, in the armies of Rome, raised him to the dignity of a military count; the narrow policy of the court of Theodosius had adopted the mischievous expedient, of supporting a legal government by the interest of a powerful family; and the brother of Firmus was invested with the command of Africa. His ambition soon usurped the administration of justice, and of the finances, without account, and without control; and he maintained, during a reign of twelve years, the possession of an office, from which it was impossible to remove him, without the danger of a civil war. During those twelve years, the provinces of Africa groaned under the dominion of a tyrant, who seemed to unite the unfeeling temper of a stranger, with the partial resentments of domestic faction. The forms of law were often superseded by the use of poison; and if the trembling guests, who were invited to the table of Gildo, presumed to express their fear, the insolent suspicion served only to excite his fury, and he loudly summoned the ministers of death. Gildo alternately indulged the passions of avarice and lust;<sup>38</sup> and if his days were terrible to the rich, his nights were not less dreadful to husbands and parents. The fairest of their wives and daughters were prostituted to the embraces of the tyrant; and afterwards abandoned to a ferocious troop of barbarians and assassins, the black, or swarthy, natives of the desert; whom Gildo considered as the only guardians of his throne. In the civil war between Theodosius and Eugenius, the count, or rather the sovereign, of Africa, maintained a haughty and suspicious neutrality; refused to assist either of the contending parties with troops or vessels, expected the declaration of fortune, and reserved for the conqueror, the vain professions of his allegiance. Such professions would not have satisfied the master of the Roman world, but the death of Theodosius, and the weakness and discord of his sons, confirmed the power of the Moor; who condescended, as a proof of his moderation, to abstain from the use of the diadem, and to supply Rome with the customary tribute, or rather subsidy, of corn. In every division of the empire, the five provinces of Africa were invariably assigned to the West; and Gildo had consented to govern that extensive country in the name of Honorius; but his knowledge of the character and designs

of Stilicho soon engaged him to address his homage to a more distant and feeble sovereign. The ministers of Arcadius embraced the cause of a perfidious rebel; and the delusive hope of adding the numerous cities of Africa to the empire of the East, tempted them to assert a claim, which they were incapable of supporting, either by reason or by arms.<sup>39</sup>

When Stilicho had given a firm and decisive answer to the pretensions of the Byzantine court, he solemnly accused the tyrant of Africa before the tribunal, which had formerly judged the kings and nations of the earth; and the image of the republic was revived, after a long interval, under the reign of Honorius. The emperor transmitted an accurate and ample detail of the complaints of the provincials, and the crimes of Gildo, to the Roman senate; and the members of that venerable assembly were required to pronounce the condemnation of the rebel. Their unanimous suffrage declared him the enemy of the republic; and the decree of the senate added a sacred and legitimate sanction to the Roman arms.<sup>40</sup> A people, who still remembered, that their ancestors had been the masters of the world, would have applauded, with conscious pride, the representation of ancient freedom; if they had not long since been accustomed to prefer the solid assurance of bread, to the unsubstantial visions of liberty and greatness. The subsistence of Rome depended on the harvests of Africa; and it was evident, that a declaration of war would be the signal of famine. The præfect Symmachus, who presided in the deliberations of the senate, admonished the minister of his just apprehension, that as soon as the revengeful Moor should prohibit the exportation of corn, the tranquillity, and perhaps the safety, of the capital, would be threatened by the hungry rage of a turbulent multitude.<sup>41</sup> The prudence of Stilicho conceived, and executed, without delay, the most effectual measure for the relief of the Roman people. A large and seasonable supply of corn, collected in the inland provinces of Gaul, was embarked on the rapid stream of the Rhone, and transported, by an easy navigation, from the Rhone to the Tyber. During the whole term of the African war, the granaries of Rome were continually filled, her dignity was vindicated from the humiliating dependence, and the minds of an immense people were quieted by the calm confidence of peace and plenty.<sup>42</sup>

The cause of Rome, and the conduct of the African war, were intrusted, by Stilicho, to a general, active and ardent to avenge his private injuries on the head of the tyrant. The spirit of discord, which prevailed in the house of Nabal, had excited a deadly quarrel between two of his sons,

The African war  
A. D. 398.

<sup>37</sup> Claudian may have exaggerated the vices of Gildo, but his Moorish extraction, his notorious detraction, and the complaint of St. Augustine, may justify the poet's invectives. Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 398, No. 33—36), has treated the African rebellion with skill and candour.

<sup>38</sup> Instat terribilis visus, morientialis heres.

Virginibus raptor, thalamisque suis ætate adulter.

Nella quete, centur preda cessante fido.

Dietibusque dies, et nox metuenda maritus.

— Mauri, claudina queque

Fastidia datur.

Baronius condemns, still more severely, the licentiousness of Gildo.

<sup>39</sup> his wife, his daughter, and his sister, were examples of perfect

chaos. The adulteries of the African soldiers are checked by one of the Imperial laws.

<sup>40</sup> Inque tam sortem numerosa transiit urbes.

Claudian (de Bell. Gildonicis, 290—294) has touched, with political delicacy, the vices of the Byzantine court, which are likewise mentioned by Zosimus (l. v. p. 302).

<sup>41</sup> Symmachus (l. v. Epist. 4) expresses the judicial forms of the senate, and Claudian (l. Cons. Stilich. l. i. 325, &c.) seems to feel the spirit of a Roman.

<sup>42</sup> Claudian does display these complaints of Symmachus, in a speech of the goddess of Rome, before the throne of Jupiter. (De Bell. Gildonicis, 28—125.)

<sup>43</sup> See Claudian (in Europ. l. i. 401, &c., l. Cons. Stil. l. i. 306, &c., l. Cons. Stilich. 91, &c.).

Gildo and Mascezel.<sup>43</sup> The usurper pursued, with implacable rage, the life of his younger brother, whose courage and abilities he feared; and Mascezel, oppressed by superior power, took refuge in the court of Milan: where he soon received the cruel intelligence, that his two innocent and helpless children had been murdered by their inhuman uncle. The affliction of the father was suspended only by the desire of revenge. The vigilant Stilicho already prepared to collect the naval and military forces of the Western empire; and he had resolved, if the tyrant should be able to wage an equal and doubtful war, to march against him in person. But as Italy required his presence, and as it might be dangerous to weaken the defence of the frontier, he judged it more advisable, that Mascezel should attempt this arduous adventure, at the head of a chosen body of Gallic veterans, who had lately served under the standard of Eugenius. These troops, who were exhorted to convince the world that they could subvert, as well as defend, the throne of an usurper, consisted of the *Jovian*, the *Herculean*, and the *Augustan*, legions; of the *Nerrian* auxiliaries; of the soldiers, who displayed in their banners the symbol of a *lion*, and of the troops which were distinguished by the auspicious names of *Fortunate*, and *Invincible*. Yet such was the smallness of their establishments, or the difficulty of recruiting, that these *seven bands*,<sup>44</sup> of high dignity and reputation in the service of Rome, amounted to no more than five thousand effective men.<sup>45</sup> The fleet of galleys and transports sailed in tempestuous weather from the port of Pisa, in Tuscany, and steered their course to the little island of Capraria; which had borrowed that name from the wild goats, its original inhabitants, whose place was now occupied by a new colony of a strange and savage appearance. "The whole island (says an ingenious traveller of those times) is filled, or rather defiled, by men, who fly from the light. They call themselves *Monks*, or solitaries, because they choose to live alone, without any witnesses of their actions. They fear the gifts of fortune, from the apprehension of losing them; and, lest they should be miserable, they embrace a life of voluntary wretchedness. How absurd is their choice! how perverse their understanding! to dread the evils, without being able to support the blessings, of the human condition. Either this melancholy madness is the effect of disease, or else the consciousness of guilt urges these unhappy men to exercise on their own bodies the tortures which are inflicted on fugitive slaves by the hand of justice." "Such

was the contempt of a profane magistrate for the monks of Capraria, who were revered, by the pious Masezel, as the chosen servants of God.<sup>47</sup> Some of them were persuaded by his entreaties, to embark on board the fleet; and it is observed, to the praise of the Roman general, that his days and nights were employed in prayer, fasting, and the occupation of singing psalms. The devout leader, who, with such a reinforcement, appeared confident of victory, avoided the dangerous rocks of Corsica, coasted along the eastern side of Sardinia, and secured his ships against the violence of the south wind, by casting anchor in the safe and capacious harbour of Cagliari, at the distance of one hundred and forty miles from the African shores.<sup>48</sup>

Gildo was prepared to resist the invasion with all the forces of Africa. By the liberality of his gifts and promises, he endeavoured to secure the doubtful allegiance of the Roman soldiers, whilst he attracted to his standard the distant tribes of Gætulia and Æthiopia. He proudly reviewed an army of seventy thousand men, and boasted, with the rash presumption which is the forerunner of disgrace, that his numerous cavalry would trample under their horses' feet the troops of Masezel, and involve, in a cloud of burning sand, the natives of the cold regions of Gaul and Germany.<sup>49</sup> But the Moor, who commanded the legions of Honorius, was too well acquainted with the manners of his countrymen, to entertain any serious apprehension of a naked and disorderly host of barbarians; whose left arm, instead of a shield, was protected only by a mantle; who were totally disarmed as soon as they had darted their javelin from their right hand, and whose horses had never been taught to bear the control, or to obey the guidance, of the bridle. He fixed his camp of five thousand veterans in the face of a superior enemy, and, after the delay of three days, gave the signal of a general engagement. As Masezel advanced before the front with fair offers of peace and pardon, he encountered one of the foremost standard-bearers of the Africans, and, on his refusal to yield, struck him on the arm with his sword. The arm, and the standard, sunk under the weight of the blow; and the imaginary act of submission was hastily repeated by all the standards of the line. At this signal the disaffected cohorts proclaimed the name of their lawful sovereign; the barbarians, astonished by the defection of their Roman allies, dispersed, according to their custom, in tumultuary flight; and Masezel obtained the honours of an easy, and almost bloodless, victory.

The feast and  
death of  
Cuthbert  
A. D. 398.

[illegible]

43) (Brinkman (1976, p. 56)) quotes this account with an expression of doubt (in square brackets) and it agrees somewhat with the following story of Zosteres (1974, p. 507). Both stories, at some dislocation, brought about a solitary, frank usage that it's home-

45. Cf. Rudat Nuzhat al-Hikmah p. 470-478. He afterwards (513-516) mentions a religious madman on the use of a certain

<sup>6</sup> M. F. Lessem, xxi p. 171 more calmly observes, that the ancient Assyrian port provinces were located in mountainous regions.

Is here the first book of the Civil War is terminated. The rest of the nation's poem has been lost, and we are now at home, or we are the army, and the war is over, and the life is over.

At St. Andrew's, where I spent about a year, I read, on a year's time, and published a volume. I married afterwards, and lived happily with my wife, and on the graphic of the same, from which I have taken the title of this book.

The tyrant escaped from the field of battle to the sea-shore; and threw himself into a small vessel, with the hope of reaching in safety some friendly port of the empire of the East; but the obstinacy of the wind drove him back into the harbour of Tabraca,<sup>52</sup> which had acknowledged, with the rest of the province, the dominion of Honorius, and the authority of his lieutenant. The inhabitants, as a proof of their repentance and loyalty, seized and confined the person of Gildo in a dungeon; and his own despair saved him from the intolerable torture of supporting the presence of an injured and victorious brother.<sup>53</sup> The captives, and the spoils, of Africa, were laid at the feet of the emperor; but Stilicho, whose moderation appeared more conspicuous, and more sincere, in the midst of prosperity, still affected to consult the laws of the republic; and referred to the senate and people of Rome the judgment of the most illustrious criminals.<sup>54</sup> Their trial was public and solemn; but the judges, in the exercise of this obsolete and precarious jurisdiction, were impatient to punish the African magistrates, who had intercepted the subsistence of the Roman people. The rich and guilty province was oppressed by the Imperial ministers, who had a visible interest to multiply the number of the accomplices of Gildo; and if an edict of Honorius seems to check the malicious industry of informers, a subsequent edict, at the distance of ten years, continues and renews the prosecution of the offences which had been committed in the time of the general rebellion.<sup>55</sup> The adherents of the tyrant, who escaped the first fury of the soldiers, and the judges, might derive some consolation from the tragic fate of his brother, who could never obtain his pardon for the extraordinary services which he had performed. After he had finished an important war in the space of a single winter, Masczel was received at the court of Milan with loud applause, affected gratitude, and secret jealousy;<sup>56</sup> and his death, which, perhaps, was the effect of accident, has been considered as the crime of Stilicho. In the passage of a bridge, the Moorish prince, who accompanied the master-general of the West, was suddenly thrown from his horse into the river; the officious haste of the attendants was restrained by a cruel and perfidious smile, which they observed on the countenance of Stilicho; and while they delayed the necessary assistance, the unfortunate Masczel was irrecoverably drowned.<sup>57</sup>

The joy of the African triumph was happily connected with the nuptials of the emperor Honorius, and of his cousin Maria, the daughter of Stilicho: and this equal and honourable alliance seemed to invest the powerful minister with the authority of a parent over his submissive pupil. The muse of Claudian was not silent on this propitious day.<sup>58</sup> he sung, in various and lively strains, the happiness of the royal pair; and the glory of the hero, who confirmed their union, and supported their throne. The ancient fables of Greece, which had almost ceased to be the object of religious faith, were saved from oblivion by the genius of poetry. The picture of the Cyprian grove, the seat of harmony and love; the triumphant progress of Venus over her native seas, and the mild influence which her presence diffused in the palace of Milan, express to every age the natural sentiments of the heart, in the just and pleasing language of allegorical fiction. But the amorous impatience, which Claudian attributes to the young prince,<sup>59</sup> must excite the smiles of the court; and his beauteous spouse (if she deserved the praise of beauty) had not much to fear or to hope from the passions of her lover. Honorius was only in the fourteenth year of his age; Serena, the mother of his bride, deferred, by art or persuasion, the consummation of the royal nuptials: Maria died a virgin, after she had been ten years a wife; and the chastity of the emperor was secured by the coldness, or, perhaps, the debility, of his constitution.<sup>60</sup> His subjects, who attentively studied the character of their young sovereign, discovered that Honorius was without passions, and consequently without talents; and that his feeble and languid disposition was alike incapable of discharging the duties of his rank, or of enjoying the pleasures of his age. In his early youth he made some progress in the exercises of riding and drawing the bow; but he soon relinquished these fatiguing occupations, and the amusement of feeding poultry became the serious and daily care of the monarch of the West,<sup>61</sup> who resigned the reins of empire to the firm and skilful hand of his guardian Stilicho. The experience of history will countenance the suspicion, that a prince who was born in the purple, received a worse education than the meanest peasant of his dominions; and that the ambitious minister suffered him to attain the age of manhood, without attempting to excite his courage, or to enlighten his understanding.<sup>62</sup> The predecessors of Honorius were accustomed

Marrage and character of Honorius, A. D. 398.

<sup>52</sup> Tabraca lay between the two Hippos, (Cellar's, tom. i. p. 112.) The delectation of Stilicho's dominion in the field of battle, and our ignorance cannot remove the present situation.

<sup>53</sup> The death of Gildo is expressed by Claudian (Cons. Stil. l. 597), and his best interpreter, Zosimus, and Orosius.

<sup>54</sup> Claudian (l. 598) styles Stilicho, "Paterfamilias terrarum, tremantibus Africæ imperi, erant nostra nos," and applauds the moderation of the emperor's constitution. It is here that he introduces the famous sentence, so familiar to the friends of despotism.

Nimium illis rursus erit et exstat  
Quam sub regere potest.

But the freedom, which depends on royal prerogative, scarcely deserves that appellation.

<sup>55</sup> See the Theodosian Code, l. vi. tit. xxxix. leg. 7, tit. xl. leg. 19.

<sup>56</sup> Stilicho, who claimed an equal share in all the honours of Theodosius and his son, particularly bears, in A. D. 394, the mark of the wisdom of his counsellors. (See an inscription produced by Baronius.)

<sup>57</sup> I have suffered the narrative of Zosimus, which, in its simplicity, is almost incredible. (See p. 507.) Orosius (l. vi. c. 30) is the victorious general (p. 538), for violating the right of sanctuary.

<sup>58</sup> Claudian, in the preface of, composed a serious and elaborate epical manner of 741 lines, besides some 215 5-act comedies, which were sung, at a more levity, on the same night.

<sup>59</sup> Jam prope posita tandem, cupit discedere solennem  
Nuptialis bandi, dicitur vox.

(De Nuptiis Honor. et Mariae, 257.) and more freely in the Fescennines, (l. 112-116.)

Dices, O propter, bene multi doli sunt  
Quant flavos decies vincere virtutis

Tum victor madulo prodestis toro  
Necturni, reclusis vultura preant.

<sup>60</sup> See Zosimus, l. i. c. 773.

<sup>61</sup> Procopius de Bell. Gothica, l. i. c. 2. I have borrowed the general phrase of Honorius, without adopting the singular, and, indeed, inopportune, which he used, and the Greek historian.

<sup>62</sup> The course of Roman history, either of Claudian (l. 598) or (l. 600) 211-215, might on proper advice be mistaken for the future prince. "I go it and free nation. It was far above Honorius, and his degenerate subjects."

to animate, by their example, or at least by their presence, the valour of the legions; and the dates of their laws attest the perpetual activity of their motions through the provinces of the Roman world. But the son of Theodosius passed the slumber of his life, a captive in his palace, a stranger in his country, and the patient, almost the indifferent, spectator of the ruin of the Western empire, which was repeatedly attacked, and finally subverted, by the arms of the barbarians. In the eventful history of a reign of twenty-eight years, it will seldom be necessary to mention the name of the emperor Honorius.

## CIIAP. XXX.

*Revolt of the Goths. — They plunder Greece. — Two great Invasions of Italy by Alaric and Radagaisus. — They are repulsed by Stilicho. — The Germans overrun Gaul. — Usurpation of Constantine in the West. — Disgrace and Death of Stilicho.*

Revolt of  
the Franks  
A. D. 593.

**I**F the subjects of Rome could be ignorant of their obligations to the great Theodosius, they were too soon

convinced, how painfully the spirit and abilities of their deceased emperor had supported the frail and mouldering edifice of the republic. He died in the month of January; and before the end of the winter of the same year, the Gothic nation was in arms.<sup>1</sup> The barbarian auxiliaries erected their independent standard; and boldly avowed the hostile designs which they had long cherished in their ferocious minds. Their countrymen, who had been condemned, by the conditions of the last treaty, to a life of tranquillity and labour, deserted their farms at the first sound of the trumpet; and eagerly re-armed the weapons which they had reluctantly laid down. The barriers of the Danube were thrown open; the savage warriors of Scythia issued from their forests; and the uncommon severity of the winter allowed the poet to remark, "that they rolled  
" their ponderous wagons over the broad and  
" icy back of the indignant river."<sup>2</sup> The unhappy natives of the provinces to the south of the Danube submitted to the calamities, which, in the course of twenty years, were almost grown familiar to their imagination; and the various troops of barbarians, who gloried in the Gothic name, were irregularly spread from the woody shores of Dalmatia, to the walls of Constantinople.<sup>3</sup> The interruption, or at least the diminution, of the subsidy, which the Goths had received from the prudent liberality of Theodosius, was the specious pretence of their revolt: the affront was embittered by their contempt for the

unwarlike sons of Theodosius ; and their resentment was inflamed by the weakness, or treachery, of the minister of Arcadius. The frequent visits of Rufinus to the camp of the barbarians, whose arms and apparel he affected to imitate, were considered as a sufficient evidence of his guilty correspondence : and the public enemy, from a motive either of gratitude or of policy, was attentive, amidst the general devastation, to spare the private estates of the unpopular prefect. The Goths, instead of being impelled by the blind and headstrong passions of their chiefs, were now directed by the bold and artful genius of Alaric. That renowned leader was descended from the noble race of the Balti ; <sup>4</sup> which yielded only to the royal dignity of the Amali : he had solicited the command of the Roman armies ; and the Imperial court provoked him to demonstrate the folly of their refusal, and the importance of their loss. Whatever hopes might be entertained of the conquest of Constantinople, the judicious general soon abandoned an impracticable enterprise. In the midst of a divided court, and a discontented people, the emperor Arcadius was terrified by the aspect of the Gothic arms : but the want of wisdom and valour was supplied by the strength of the city ; and the fortifications, both of the sea and land, might securely brave the impotent and random darts of the barbarians. Alaric disdained to trample any longer on the prostrate and ruined countries of Thrace and Dacia, and he resolved to seek a plentiful harvest of fame and riches in a province which had hitherto escaped the ravages of war.<sup>5</sup>

The character of the civil and military officers, on whom Rufinus had devolved the government of Greece, confirmed the public suspicion, that he had betrayed the ancient seat of freedom and learning to the Gothic invader. The proconsul Antiochus was the unworthy son of a respectable father; and Gerontius, who commanded the provincial troops, was much better qualified to execute the oppressive orders of a tyrant, than to defend, with courage and ability, a country most remarkably fortified by the hand of nature. Alaric had traversed, without resistance, the plains of Macedonia and Thessaly, as far as the foot of Mount Oeta, a steep and woolly range of hills, almost impervious to his cavalry. They stretched from east to west, to the edge of the sea-shore; and left, between the precipice and the Malian Gulf, an interval of three hundred feet, which, in some places, was contracted to a road capable of admitting only a single carriage.<sup>6</sup> In this narrow pass of Thermopylæ, where Leonidas and the three hundred Spartans had gloriously devoted their lives, the Goths might have been stopped, or destroyed, by a skilful general; and perhaps

1 The revolt of the Goths, and the blockade of Constantinople, are distinctly mentioned by Claudian in *Rufin* l. ii. 7-10<sup>11</sup>, Zosimus (l. v. p. 292), and Jordanes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 29).

— Aln per terga ferens  
Danubii solidata ruunt, expertaque remis  
Transiunt stagna rotis.

Claudian and Ovid often amuse their fancy by interchanging the metaphors and properties of liquid water, and *aud uo*. Much false wit has been expended in this easy exercise.

5. *Jerome*, tom. 1, p. 56. He endeavours to comfort his friend Henslerus, bishop of Astinum, for the loss of his nephew Nepotianus, by a curious recapitulation of all the public and private misfortunes of the times. See Tillamont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. xiv, p. 381, &c.

*clavatus*, race long continued to flourish in France in the Gothic period of Spain, and in the Middle Ages, and the receipt of specimens of *B. n.* and *B. l.* in that time is attested by all the authors of the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. The works of Baux, near Arles, and of seventy or eighty other places were independent of the limits of France (Langens, Description des Fruits, tome 1, p. 37).

5. *Zinnia*, p. 245. *Zinnia* is our first guide for the conquest of Greece, but the fruits and adulation of Cressat are so many signs of hisore-bait.

[illegible]





equipped in the ports of Italy; and the troops, after a short and prosperous navigation over the Ionian Sea, were safely disembarked on the isthmus, near the ruins of Corinth. The woody and mountainous country of Arcadia, the fabulous residence of Pan and the Dryads, became the scene of a long and doubtful conflict between two generals not unworthy of each other. The skill and perseverance of the Roman at length prevailed; and the Goths, after sustaining a considerable loss from disease and desertion, gradually retreated to the lofty mountain of Pholoe, near the sources of the Peneus, and on the frontiers of Elis; a sacred country, which had formerly been exempted from the calamities of war.<sup>17</sup> The camp of the barbarians was immediately besieged: the waters of the river<sup>18</sup> were diverted into another channel; and while they laboured under the intolerable pressure of thirst and hunger, a strong line of circumvallation was formed to prevent their escape. After these precautions, Stilicho, too confident of victory, retired to enjoy his triumph, in the theatrical games, and lascivious dances, of the Greeks; his soldiers, deserting their standards, spread themselves over the country of their allies, which they stripped of all that had been saved from the rapacious hands of the enemy. Alaric appears to have seized the favourable moment to execute one of those hardy enterprises, in which the abilities of a general are displayed with more genuine lustre, than in the tumult of a day of battle. To extricate himself from the prison of Peloponnesus, it was necessary that he should pierce the intrenchments which surrounded his camp; that he should perform a difficult and dangerous march of thirty miles, as far as the Gulf of Corinth; and that he should transport his troops, his captives, and his spoil, over an arm of the sea, which, in the narrow interval between Rhium and the opposite shore, is at least half a mile in breadth.<sup>19</sup> The operations of Alaric must have been secret, prudent,

escapes to Epirus.

and rapid; since the Roman general was confounded by the intelligence, that the Goths, who had eluded his efforts, were in full possession of the important province of Epirus. This unfortunate delay allowed Alaric sufficient time to conclude the treaty, which he secretly negotiated, with the ministers of Constantinople. The apprehension of a civil war compelled Stilicho to retire, at the haughty mandate of his rivals, from the dominions of Arcadius; and he respected, in the enemy of Rome, the honourable character of the ally and servant of the emperor of the East. Alaric is declared master-general of the Eastern Illyrium, A. D. 399. A Grecian philosopher,<sup>20</sup> who visited Constantinople soon after the death of Theodosius, published his liberal opinions concerning the duties of kings, and the state of the Roman

republic. Synesius observes, and deplores, the fatal abuse, which the imprudent bounty of the late emperor had introduced into the military service. The citizens, and subjects, had purchased an exemption from the indispensable duty of defending their country; which was supported by the arms of barbarian mercenaries. The fugitives of Scythia were permitted to disgrace the illustrious dignities of the empire; their ferocious youth, who disdain the salutary restraint of laws, were more anxious to acquire the riches, than to imitate the arts, of a people, the object of their contempt and hatred; and the power of the Goths was the stone of Tantalus, perpetually suspended over the peace and safety of the devoted state. The measures which Synesius recommends, are the dictates of a bold and generous patriot. He exhorts the emperor to revive the courage of his subjects, by the example of manly virtue; to banish luxury from the court, and from the camp; to substitute, in the place of the barbarian mercenaries, an army of men, interested in the defence of their laws and of their property; to force, in such a moment of public danger, the mechanic from his shop, and the philosopher from his school; to rouse the indolent citizen from his dream of pleasure, and to arm, for the protection of agriculture, the hands of the laborious husbandman. At the head of such troops, who might deserve the name, and would display the spirit, of Romans, he animates the son of Theodosius to encounter a race of barbarians, who were destitute of any real courage; and never to lay down his arms, till he had chased them far away into the solitudes of Scythia; or had reduced them to the state of ignominious servitude, which the Lacedæmonians formerly imposed on the captive Helots.<sup>21</sup> The court of Arcadius indulged the zeal, applauded the eloquence, and neglected the advice, of Synesius. Perhaps the philosopher, who addresses the emperor of the East in the language of reason and virtue, which he might have used to a Spartan king, had not condescended to form a practicable scheme, consistent with the temper, and circumstances, of a degenerate age. Perhaps the pride of the ministers, whose business was seldom interrupted by reflection, might reject, as wild and visionary, every proposal, which exceeded the measure of their capacity, and deviated from the forms and precedents of office. While the oration of Synesius, and the downfall of the barbarians, were the topics of popular conversation, an edict was published at Constantinople, which declared the promotion of Alaric to the rank of master-general of the Eastern Illyricum. The Roman provincials, and the allies, who had respected the faith of treaties, were justly indignant, that the ruin of Greece and Epirus should be so liberally rewarded.

17. The troops who marched through Elis delivered up their arms. This security enriched the Peneus, who were lovers of a rural life. Trebes being pride they disclaimed their privilege, and they only had. Polybius advises them to retire once more within their walls, and to see a learned and audacious discourse on the Olympic games, which Mr. West has prefixed to his translation of Pindar. Is Claudian in 10 Cons. Hon. 480 alludes to the fact, without naming the river: perhaps the Alpheus (Cons. 891, l. 138).

18. The river is the Alpheus, which is a wide and deep bed, with a rapid current, and is a great source of water to the country.

It had been joined with the Alpheus, to cleanse the Argæan stable. (Cicero, tom. i. p. 700. Claudian's Travels, p. 80.) The river is the Alpheus, which is a wide and deep bed, with a rapid current, and is a great source of water to the country.

19. The river is the Alpheus, which is a wide and deep bed, with a rapid current, and is a great source of water to the country. The river is the Alpheus, which is a wide and deep bed, with a rapid current, and is a great source of water to the country.

21. Synesius de Regno, p. 21-26.





the head of a chosen and intrepid vanguard, Stilicho swam the stream of the Addua, to gain the time which he must have lost in the attack of the bridge; the passage of the Po was an enterprise of much less hazard and difficulty; and the successful action, in which he cut his way through the Gothic camp under the walls of Asta, revived the hopes, and vindicated the honour, of Rome. Instead of grasping the fruit of his victory, the barbarian was gradually invested, on every side, by the troops of the West, who successively issued through all the passes of the Alps; his quarters were straitened; his convoys were intercepted; and the vigilance of the Romans prepared to form a chain of fortifications, and to besiege the lines of the besiegers. A military council was assembled of the long-haired chiefs of the Gothic nation; of aged warriors, whose bodies were wrapped in furs, and whose stern countenances were marked with honourable wounds. They weighed the glory of persisting in their attempt, against the advantage of securing their plunder; and they recommended the prudent measure of a seasonable retreat. In this important debate, Alaric displayed the spirit of the conqueror of Rome; and after he had reminded his countrymen of their achievements and of their designs, he concluded his animating speech, by the solemn and positive assurance, that he was resolved to find in Italy, either a kingdom, or a grave.<sup>42</sup>

The loose discipline of the barbarians always exposed them to the danger of a surprise; but, instead of choosing the dissolute hours of riot and intemperance, Stilicho resolved to attack the *Christian* Goths, whilst they were devoutly employed in celebrating the festival of Easter.<sup>43</sup> The execution of the stratagem, or, as it was termed by the clergy, of the sacrilege, was intrusted to Suii, a barbarian and a Pagan, who had served, however, with distinguished reputation among the veteran generals of Theodosius. The camp of the Goths, which Alaric had pitched in the neighbourhood of Pollentia,<sup>44</sup> was thrown into confusion by the sudden and impetuous charge of the Imperial cavalry; but, in a few moments, the undaunted genius of their leader gave them an order, and a field, of battle; and, as soon as they had recovered from their astonishment, the pious confidence, that the God of the Christians would assert their cause, added new strength to their native valour. In this engagement, which was long maintained with equal courage and success, the chief of the Alani, whose diminutive and savage form concealed a magnanimous soul, approved his suspected loyalty, by the zeal with

which he fought, and fell, in the service of the republic; and the fame of this gallant barbarian has been imperfectly preserved in the verses of Claudian, since the poet, who celebrates his virtue, has omitted the mention of his name. His death was followed by the flight and dismay of the squadrons which he commanded; and the defeat of the wing of cavalry might have decided the victory of Alaric, if Stilicho had not immediately led the Roman and barbarian infantry to the attack. The skill of the general, and the bravery of the soldiers, surmounted every obstacle. In the evening of the bloody day, the Goths retreated from the field of battle; the intrenchments of their camp were forced, and the scene of rapine and slaughter made some atonement for the calamities which they had inflicted on the subjects of the empire.<sup>45</sup> The magnificent spoils of Corinth and Argos enriched the veterans of the West; the captive wife of Alaric, who had impatiently claimed his promise of Roman jewels and patrician handmaids,<sup>46</sup> was reduced to implore the mercy of the insulting foe; and many thousand prisoners, released from the Gothic chains, dispersed through the provinces of Italy the praises of their heroic deliverer. The triumph of Stilicho<sup>47</sup> was compared by the poet, and perhaps by the public, to that of Marius; who, in the same part of Italy, had encountered and destroyed another army of northern barbarians. The huge bones, and the empty helmets, of the Cimbri and of the Goths, would easily be confounded by succeeding generations; and posterity might erect a common trophy to the memory of the two most illustrious generals, who had vanquished, on the same memorable ground, the two most formidable enemies of Rome.<sup>48</sup>

The eloquence of Claudian<sup>49</sup> has celebrated, with lavish applause, the victory of Pollentia, one of the most glorious days in the life of his patron; but his reluctant and partial muse bestows more genuine praise on the character of the Gothic king. His name is, indeed, branded with the reproachful epithets of pirate and robber, to which the conquerors of every age are so justly entitled; but the poet of Alaric is compelled to acknowledge, that Alaric possessed the invincible temper of mind, which rises superior to every misfortune, and derives new resources from adversity. After the total defeat of his infantry, he escaped, or rather withdrew, from the field of battle, with the greatest part of his cavalry entire and unbroken. Without wasting a moment to lament the irreparable loss of so many brave companions, he left his victorious

boldness and  
retreat of  
Alaric.

42 Hanc ego vel victor regno, vel morte tenebo

Victus, humi ———  
The speeches (de Bell. Get. 479–549) of the Gothic Nestor, and Arhules, are strong, characteristic, adapted to the circumstances, and possibly not less genuine than those of Livy.

43 Orosius (l. vi. c. 37.) is shocked at the impiety of the Romans, who attacked, on Easter Sunday, such pious Christians. Yet, at the same time, public prayers were offered at the shrine of St. Thomas of Edessa, for the destruction of the Arrian robber. See Tillemont (Hist. des Emp. rom. v. p. 521.), who quotes an homily, which has been erroneously ascribed to St. Chrysostom.

44 The ruins of Pollentia are twenty-five miles to the south-east of Turin. *Uria*, in the same neighbourhood, was a rock of choice to the kings of Lombardy, and a small river, which executed the jurisdiction, "pennaraba ad urbem." (Cluver. Ital. Antiqu. tom. i. p. 53–85.)

45 Orosius wishes, in doubtful words, to insinuate the defeat of the Romans. "Pugnantes vicimus, vires, non stimus." Prosper (on Chron.) makes it an equal and bloody battle; but the Gothic writers,

Cassiodorus (in Chron.) and Jornandes (de Reb. Get. c. 29.), claim a decisive victory.

46 Demens Ausonidium gemmata monib. matrum,  
Romanaque alta famulae cervicibus petebat.

De Bell. Get. 637.

47 Claudian (de Bell. Get. 550–617) and Prudentius (in Symmach. l. ii. p. 611–719) celebrate, without ambiguity, the Roman victory of Pollentia. They are poets and party writers; yet some credit is due to the most suspicious witnesses, who are checked by the recent notoriety of facts.

48 Claudian's narration is strong and elegant; but the identity of the Cimbri and Gothic field, must be understood (like Virgil's Philippa, Georg. i. p. 199) according to the loose geography of a poet. Verona and Pollentia are sixty miles from each other; and the latitude is still greater, if the Cimbri were defeated in the wide and barren plain of Verona. (Maffei, Verona Illustrata, p. i. p. 34–62.)

49 Claudian and Prudentius must be strictly examined, to reduce the figures, and exert the historic sense, of those poets.

enemy to bind in chains the captive images of a Gothic king;<sup>50</sup> and boldly resolved to break through the unguarded passes of the Apennine, to spread desolation over the fruitful face of Tuscany, and to conquer or die before the gates of Rome. The capital was saved by the active and incessant diligence of Stilicho: but he respected the despair of his enemy; and, instead of committing the fate of the republic to the chance of another battle, he proposed to purchase the absence of the barbarians. The spirit of Alaric would have rejected such terms, the permission of a retreat, and the offer of a pension, with contempt and indignation; but he exercised a limited and precarious authority over the independent chieftains, who had raised him, for *their* service, above the rank of his equals; they were still less disposed to follow an unsuccessful general, and many of them were tempted to consult their interest by a private negotiation with the minister of Honorius. The king submitted to the voice of his people, ratified the treaty with the empire of the West, and repassed the Po, with the remains of the flourishing army which he had led into Italy. A considerable part of the Roman forces still continued to attend his motions; and Stilicho, who maintained a secret correspondence with some of the barbarian chiefs, was punctually apprised of the designs that were formed in the camp and council of Alaric. The king of the Goths, ambitious to signalise his retreat by some splendid achievement, had resolved to occupy the important city of Verona, which commands the principal passage of the Rhetian Alps, and, directing his march through the territories of those German tribes, whose alliance would restore his exhausted strength, to invade, on the side of the Rhine, the wealthy and unsuspecting provinces of Gaul. Ignorant of the treason, which had already betrayed his bold and judicious enterprise, he advanced towards the passes of the mountains, already possessed by the Imperial troops; where he was exposed, almost at the same instant, to a general attack in the front, on his flank, and in the rear. In this bloody action, at a small distance from the walls of Verona, the loss of the Goths was not less heavy than that which they had sustained in the defeat of Pollentia; and their valiant king, who escaped by the swiftness of his horse, must either have been slain or made prisoner, if the hasty rashness of the Alani had not disappointed the measures of the Roman general. Alaric secured the remains of his army on the adjacent rocks; and prepared himself, with undaunted resolution, to maintain a siege against the superior numbers of the enemy, who invested him on all sides. But he could not oppose the destructive progress of hunger and disease; nor was it possible for him to check the continual desertion of his impatient and capricious barbarians. In this extremity he still found resources in his own

courage, or in the moderation of his adversary; and the retreat of the Gothic king was considered as the deliverance of Italy.<sup>51</sup> Yet the people, and even the clergy, incapable of forming any rational judgment of the business of peace and war, presumed to arraign the policy of Stilicho, who so often vanquished, so often surrounded, and so often dismissed the implacable enemy of the republic. The first moment of the public safety is devoted to gratitude and joy; but the second is diligently occupied by envy and calumny.<sup>52</sup>

The citizens of Rome had been astonished by the approach of Alaric; and the diligence with which they laboured to restore the walls of the capital, confessed their own fears, and the decline of the empire. After the retreat of the barbarians, Honorius was directed to accept the dutiful invitation of the senate, and to celebrate, in the Imperial city, the auspicious era of the Gothic victory, and of his sixth consulship.<sup>53</sup> The suburbs and the streets, from the Milvian bridge to the Palatine mount, were filled by the Roman people, who, in the space of an hundred years, had only thrice been honoured with the presence of their sovereigns. While their eyes were fixed on the chariot where Stilicho was deservedly seated by the side of his royal pupil, they applauded the pomp of a triumph, which was not stained, like that of Constantine, or of Theodosius, with civil blood. The procession passed under a lofty arch, which had been purposely erected; but in less than seven years, the Gothic conquerors of Rome might read, if they were able to read, the superb inscription of that monument, which attested the total defeat and destruction of their nation.<sup>54</sup> The emperor resided several months in the capital, and every part of his behaviour was regulated with care to conciliate the affection of the clergy, the senate, and the people of Rome. The clergy was edified by his frequent visits, and liberal gifts, to the shrines of the apostles. The senate, who, in the triumphal procession, had been excused from the humiliating ceremony of preceding on foot the Imperial chariot, was treated with the decent reverence which Stilicho always affected for that assembly. The people was repeatedly gratified by the attention and courtesy of Honorius in the public games, which were celebrated on that occasion with a magnificence not unworthy of the spectator. As soon as the appointed number of chariot-races was concluded, the decoration of the Circus was suddenly changed; the hunting of wild beasts afforded a various and splendid entertainment; and the chase was succeeded by a military dance, which seems, in the lively description of Claudian, to present the image of a modern tournament.

In these games of Honorius, the inhuman combats of gladiators<sup>55</sup>

The triumph of Honorius at Rome, A. D. 404.

The gladiators also killed.

50 Et gravant en armis ses fides remiges.  
De motifs de son empire, et de ses images.  
The practice of exposing in triumph the images of kings and provinces was familiar to the Roman. The list of Alaric's triumph was twelve feet high, of mass gold. (Fleishman Supplement Latinus, cap. 167.)  
51 The Gothic war and the sixth consulship of Honorius obscurely connect the events of Alaric's retreat and losses.  
52 Tacito de Alarico . . . sepe victo, sepe concluso, semperque

dom. soc. Orosio, l. vi. c. 27. p. 367. Claudian (vi Cons. Hon. 520) describes the entry with a view to the same effect.  
53 The re-entrance of Constantius into the city, on the death of Honorius, is described in a similar manner. (Claudian, vi Cons. Hon. 520.)  
54 See the description of the triumph of Honorius in the same poem, l. 12. The words "the triumph of the emperor" are used in a similar sense in the same poem.  
55 On the various images of the triumph of Alaric, see the same poem, l. 12.



middle of the eighth century, Ravenna was considered as the seat of government, and the capital of Italy.<sup>63</sup>

The revolutions of Scythia, A.D. 109.

The fears of Honorius were not without foundation, nor were his precautions without effect. While Italy rejoiced in her deliverance from the Goths, a furious tempest was excited among the nations of Germany, who yielded to the irresistible impulse that appears to have been gradually communicated from the eastern extremity of the continent of Asia. The Chinese annals, as they have been interpreted by the learned industry of the present age, may be usefully applied to reveal the secret and remote causes of the fall of the Roman empire. The extensive territory to the north of the great wall was possessed, after the flight of the Huns, by the victorious Sienpi; who were sometimes broken into independent tribes, and sometimes re-united under a supreme chief; till at length styling themselves *Topa*, or masters of the earth, they acquired a more solid consistence, and a more formidable power. The *Topa* soon compelled the pastoral nations of the eastern desert to acknowledge the superiority of their arms; they invaded China in a period of weakness and intestine discord; and these fortunate Tartars, adopting the laws and manners of the vanquished people, founded an Imperial dynasty, which reigned near one hundred and sixty years over the northern provinces of the monarchy. Some generations before they ascended the throne of China, one of the *Topa* princes had enlisted in his cavalry a slave of the name of Moko, renowned for his valour; but who was tempted, by the fear of punishment, to desert his standard, and to range the desert at the head of an hundred followers. This gang of robbers and outlaws swelled into a camp, a tribe, a numerous people, distinguished by the appellation of *Geougen*; and their hereditary chieftains, the posterity of Moko the slave, assumed their rank among the Scythian monarchs. The youth of Toulun, the greatest of his descendants, was exercised by those misfortunes which are the school of heroes. He bravely struggled with adversity, broke the imperious yoke of the *Topa*, and became the legislator of his nation, and the conqueror of Tartary. His troops were distributed into regular bands of an hundred and of a thousand men; cowards were stoned to death; the most splendid honours were proposed as the reward of valour; and Toulun, who had knowledge enough to despise the learning of China, adopted only such arts and institutions as were favourable to the military spirit of his government. His tents, which he removed in the winter season to a more southern latitude, were pitched, during the summer, on the fruitful banks of the Sienpi. His conquests stretched from China far beyond

the river Irtysh. He vanquished, in the country to the north of the Caspian Sea, the nation of the *Huns*; and the new title of *Khan*, or *Cagan*, expressed the fame and power which he derived from this memorable victory.<sup>64</sup>

The chain of events is interrupted, Emigration of the northern Goths, A.D. 109, or rather is concealed, as it passes from the Volga to the Vistula, through the dark interval which separates the extreme limits of the Chinese, and of the Roman, geography. Yet the temper of the barbarians, and the experience of successive emigrations, sufficiently declare, that the Huns, who were oppressed by the arms of the *Geougen*, soon withdrew from the presence of an insulting victor. The countries towards the *Enxine* were already occupied by their kindred tribes; and their hasty flight, which they soon converted into a bold attack, would more naturally be directed towards the rich and level plains, through which the Vistula gently flows into the Baltic Sea. The North must again have been alarmed, and agitated, by the invasion of the Huns; and the nations who retreated before them must have pressed with incumbent weight on the confines of Germany.<sup>65</sup> The inhabitants of those regions, which the ancients have assigned to the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Burgundians, might embrace the resolution of abandoning to the fugitives of Sarmatia, their woods and morasses; or at least of discharging their superfluous numbers on the provinces of the Roman empire.<sup>66</sup> About four years after the victorious Toulun had assumed the title of Khan of the *Geougen*, another barbarian, the haughty Rhodogast, or Radagaisus, marched from the northern extremities of Germany almost to the gates of Rome, and left the remainder of his army to achieve the destruction of the West. The Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians, formed the strength of this mighty host, but the Alani, who had found an hospitable reception in their new seats, added their active cavalry to the heavy infantry of the Germans; and the Gothic adventurers crowded so eagerly to the standard of Radagaisus, that, by some historians, he has been styled the King of the Goths. Twelve thousand warriors, distinguished above the vulgar by their noble birth, or their valiant deeds, glittered in the van;<sup>67</sup> and the whole multitude, which was not less than two hundred thousand fighting men, might be increased, by the accession of women, of children, and of slaves, to the amount of four hundred thousand persons. This formidable emigration issued from the same coast of the Baltic, which had poured forth the myriads of the Cimbric and Teutonic, to assault Rome and Italy in the vigour of the republic. After the departure of those barbarians, their native country, which was marked by the vestiges of their greatness, long ramparts, and gigantic moles,<sup>68</sup>

<sup>63</sup> From the year 104, the date of the Theodosian constitution, the seat of empire at Constantinople and Ravenna. See Geogr. Hist. of the Empire of the Romans, tom. i. p. 104, 105.

<sup>64</sup> See M. de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 17—189, tom. ii. p. 275, 276, 277.

<sup>65</sup> See also the Bell. Vandal. lib. i. p. 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>66</sup> Zosimus, lib. i. p. 731, uses the general expression of the nations beyond the Danube and the Rhine. These nations, and the various epithets which each ancient writer may have usually adopted.

<sup>67</sup> The number of Rhodogast's army of 12,000 warriors, is not to be taken literally. A more exact estimate would be, that he had 12,000 fighting men, and that his army, including the women, children, and slaves, amounted to 400,000 men. See M. de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 17—189, tom. ii. p. 275, 276, 277.

<sup>68</sup> The Rhodogast, or Radagaisus, was a Gothic warrior, and a brave man. He was killed by the Romans, and his head was sent to Rome. See M. de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 17—189, tom. ii. p. 275, 276, 277.





bloodshed; and positively affirm, that the Romans, whose camp was the scene of plenty and idleness, enjoyed the distress of the barbarians, slowly expiring on the sharp and barren ridge of the hills of Fiesula, which rise above the city of Florence. Their extravagant assertion, that not a single soldier of the Christian army was killed, or even wounded, may be dismissed with silent contempt; but the rest of the narrative of Augustin and Orosius is consistent with the state of the war, and the character of Stilicho. Conscious that he commanded the *last* army of the republic, his prudence would not expose it, in the open field, to the headstrong fury of the Germans. The method of surrounding the enemy with strong lines of circumvallation, which he had twice employed against the Gothic king, was repeated on a larger scale, and with more considerable effect. The examples of Cæsar must have been familiar to the most illiterate of the Roman warriors; and the fortifications of Dyrrachium, which connected twenty-four castles, by a perpetual ditch and rampart of fifteen miles, afforded the model of an intrenchment which might confine, and starve, the most numerous host of barbarians.<sup>78</sup> The Roman troops had less degenerated from the industry, than from the valour, of their ancestors; and if the servile and laborious work offended the pride of the soldiers, Tuscan could supply many thousand peasants, who would labour, though, perhaps, they would not fight, for the salvation of their native country. The imprisoned multitude of horses and men<sup>79</sup> was gradually destroyed by famine, rather than by the sword; but the Romans were exposed, during the progress of such an extensive work, to the frequent attacks of an impatient enemy. The despair of the hungry barbarians would precipitate them against the fortifications of Stilicho; the general might sometimes indulge the ardour of his brave auxiliaries, who eagerly pressed to assault the camp of the Germans; and these various incidents might produce the sharp and bloody conflicts which dignify the narrative of Zosimus, and the Chronicles of Prosper and Marcellinus.<sup>80</sup> A seasonable supply of men and provisions had been introduced into the walls of Florence, and the famished host of Radagaisus was in its turn besieged. The proud monarch of so many warlike nations, after the loss of his bravest warriors, was reduced to confide either in the faith of a capitulation, or in the clemency of Stilicho.<sup>81</sup> But the death of the royal captive, who was ignominiously beheaded, disgraced the

triumph of Rome and of Christianity; and the short delay of his execution was sufficient to brand the conqueror with the guilt of cool and deliberate cruelty.<sup>82</sup> The famished Germans, who escaped the fury of the auxiliaries, were sold as slaves, at the contemptible price of as many single pieces of gold; but the difference of food and climate swept away great numbers of those unhappy strangers; and it was observed, that the inhuman purchasers, instead of reaping the fruits of their labour, were soon obliged to provide the expense of their interment. Stilicho informed the emperor and the senate of his success; and deserved, a second time, the glorious title of Deliverer of Italy.<sup>83</sup>

The fame of the victory, and the more especially of the miracle, has encouraged a vain persuasion, that the whole army, or rather nation, of Germans, who migrated from the shores of the Baltic, miserably perished under the walls of Florence. Such indeed was the fate of Radagaisus himself, of his brave and faithful companions, and of more than one third of the various multitude of Sueves and Vandals, of Alani and Burgundians, who adhered to the standard of their general.<sup>84</sup> The union of such an army might excite our surprise, but the causes of separation are obvious and forcible; the pride of birth, the insolence of valour, the jealousy of command, the impatience of subordination, and the obstinate conflict of opinions, of interests, and of passions, among so many kings and warriors, who were untaught to yield, or to obey. After the defeat of Radagaisus, two parts of the German host, which must have exceeded the number of one hundred thousand men, still remained in arms, between the Apennine and the Alps, or between the Alps and the Danube. It is uncertain whether they attempted to revenge the death of their general; but their irregular fury was soon diverted by the prudence and firmness of Stilicho, who opposed their march, and facilitated their retreat; who considered the safety of Rome and Italy as the great object of his care; and who sacrificed, with too much indifference, the wealth and tranquillity of the distant provinces.<sup>85</sup> The barbarians acquired, from the junction of some Pannonian deserters, the knowledge of the country, and of the roads; and the invasion of Gaul, which Alaric had designed, was executed by the remains of the great army of Radagaisus.<sup>86</sup>

Yet if they expected to derive any assistance from the tribes of Germany, who inhabited the

78. Praenestur moenis, plurimumque turribus Cæsar. Dicitur opus, quodlibet fortissimum, et maxime. Dicitur etiam, quodlibet fortissimum, et maxime. Dicitur etiam, quodlibet fortissimum, et maxime. Dicitur etiam, quodlibet fortissimum, et maxime.

Yet the simplicity of truth is not to be despised. It is far greater than the artificial device of an army of 100,000 men. The phrase is expressive of Orosius. "In diebus, quibus a multis annis, in armis perire non cessant, non sunt subacti de circumvallatione, et de castris. For the first time, three miles from Florence, might afford opportunity for the defeat of Radagaisus, and would be comprehended within the circuit of the Roman lines."

See Zosimus, l. v. p. 227, and the Chronicles of Prosper and Marcellinus.

81. Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 140) uses an expression (κατακταμένη), which would denote a strong and terrible victory, and render Stilicho still more criminal. The publisher of the double manuscript of the same is the only witness.

82. Orosius, plinius inhumanus, says is the king and people. Aug. and the Ambrosius, with an exception of some words. The bloody actor is less noticeable than the act of undignified execution.

83. And Claudius. Musc. was the emperor had the been killed? Musc. was the emperor had the been killed? Musc. was the emperor had the been killed? Musc. was the emperor had the been killed?

84. Alaric and his army, who were the emperor had the been killed? Alaric and his army, who were the emperor had the been killed? Alaric and his army, who were the emperor had the been killed? Alaric and his army, who were the emperor had the been killed?

85. The emperor had the been killed? The emperor had the been killed? The emperor had the been killed? The emperor had the been killed? The emperor had the been killed?

banks of the Rhine, their hopes were disappointed. The Alemanni preserved a state of inactive neutrality; and the Franks distinguished their zeal and courage in the defence of the empire. In the rapid progress down the Rhine, which was the first act of the administration of Stilicho, he had applied himself, with peculiar attention, to secure the alliance of the warlike Franks, and to remove the irreconcilable enemies of peace and of the republic. Marcomir, one of their kings, was publicly convicted, before the tribunal of the Roman magistrate, of violating the faith of treaties. He was sentenced to a mild, but distant, exile, in the province of Tuscan; and this degradation of the regal dignity was so far from exciting the resentment of his subjects, that they punished with death the turbulent Sunno, who attempted to revenge his brother; and maintained a dutiful allegiance to the princes, who were established on the throne by the choice of Stilicho.<sup>7</sup> When the limits of Gaul and Germany were shaken by the northern emigration, the Franks bravely encountered the single force of the Vandals; who, regardless of the lessons of adversity, had again separated their troop from the standard of their barbarian allies. They paid the penalty of their rashness; and twenty thousand Vandals, with their king Godigiselus, were slain in the field of battle. The whole people must have been extirpated, if the squadrons of the Alani, advancing to their relief, had not trampled down the infantry of the Franks; who, after an honourable resistance, were compelled to relinquish the unequal contest. The victorious confederates pursued their march, and on the last day of the year, in a season when the waters of the Rhine were most probably frozen, they entered, without opposition, the defenceless provinces of Gaul. This memorable passage of the Suevi, the Vandals, the Alani, and the Burgundians, who never afterwards retreated, may be considered as the fall of the Roman empire in the countries beyond the Alps; and the barriers, which had so long separated the savage and the civilised nations of the earth, were from that fatal moment levelled with the ground.<sup>8</sup>

While the peace of Germany was secured by the attachment of the Franks, and the neutrality of the Alemanni, the subjects of Rome, unconscious of their approaching calamities, enjoyed the state of quiet and prosperity, which had seldom blessed the frontiers of Gaul. Their flocks and herds were permitted to graze in the pastures of the barbarians; their hunt-men penetrated, without fear or danger, into the darkest recesses of the Hercynian wood.<sup>9</sup> The banks of the Rhine

were crowned, like those of the Tyber, with elegant houses, and well-cultivated farms; and if a poet descended the river, he might express his doubt, on which side was situated the territory of the Romans.<sup>10</sup> This scene of peace and plenty was suddenly changed into a desert; and the prospect of the smoking ruins could alone distinguish the solitude of nature from the desolation of man. The flourishing city of Mentz was surprised and destroyed; and many thousand Christians were inhumanly massacred in the church. Worms perished after a long and obstinate siege; Strasburgh, Spire, Rheims, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, experienced the cruel oppression of the German yoke; and the consuming flames of war spread from the banks of the Rhine over the greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul. That rich and extensive country, as far as the ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the barbarians, who drove before them, in a promiscuous crowd, the bishop, the senator, and the virgin, laden with the spoils of their houses and altars.<sup>11</sup> The ecclesiastics, to whom we are indebted for this vague description of the public calamities, embraced the opportunity of exhorting the Christians to repent of the sins which had provoked the Divine Justice, and to renounce the perishable goods of a wretched and deceitful world. But as the Pelagian controversy,<sup>12</sup> which attempts to sound the abyss of grace and predestination, soon became the serious employment of the Latin clergy; the Providence which had decreed, or foreseen, or permitted, such a train of moral and natural evils, was rashly weighed in the imperfect and fallacious balance of reason. The crimes, and the misfortunes, of the suffering people, were presumptuously compared with those of their ancestors; and they arraigned the Divine Justice, which did not exempt from the common destruction the feeble, the guiltless, the infant portion of the human species. These idle disputants overlooked the invariable laws of nature, which have connected peace with innocence, plenty with industry, and safety with valour. The timid and selfish policy of the court of Ravenna might read the Palatine legions for the protection of Italy; the remains of the stationary troops might be unequal to the arduous task; and the barbarian auxiliaries might prefer the unbounded licence of spoil to the benefits of a moderate and regular stipend. But the provinces of Gaul were filled with a numerous race of hardy and robust youth, who, in the defence of their houses, their families, and their altars, if they had dared to die, would have deserved to vanquish. The knowledge of their native country would have enabled them to op-

Claudian (in Cons. Stil. l. i. p. 275, &c.) is clear and satisfactory. These kings of France are unknown to Gregory of Tours, but the author of the *Gesta Francorum* mentions both Simeon and Marcomir, and notes the latter as the father of Pharamond, in tom. ii. p. 147. He seems to write from good materials, which he did not understand.

<sup>7</sup> See Zosimus (l. vi. c. 573), Orosius (l. vi. c. 40), p. 756, and the Chronicle of Gregory of Tours (l. i. c. 2, p. 163) on the second volume of the *Histories of France* has preserved a valuable fragment of Renatus Profertus Frigidus, whose three names denote a Christian, a Roman subject, and a semi-barbarian.

<sup>8</sup> Claudian (in Cons. Stil. l. i. p. 281, &c.) l. ii. c. 10 describes the peace and prosperity of the latter frontier. The *Alde Deo* (of St. Etienne, x. tom. i. p. 171) would read *Alde* (a name of

result of the Arlesians) instead of *Alde*; and expatiates on the danger of the Gauls with the Greeks beyond the *Alpe*. Fash enough. In political geography, the *Elbe*, and the *Hercynian*, signify any river, or any word, in German. Claudian is not prepared for the strict examination of our antiquaries.

<sup>10</sup> See Zosimus (l. vi. c. 573), Orosius (l. vi. c. 40), p. 756, and the Chronicle of Gregory of Tours (l. i. c. 2, p. 163) on the second volume of the *Histories of France* has preserved a valuable fragment of Renatus Profertus Frigidus, whose three names denote a Christian, a Roman subject, and a semi-barbarian.

<sup>11</sup> Claudian (in Cons. Stil. l. i. p. 281, &c.) l. ii. c. 10 describes the peace and prosperity of the latter frontier. The *Alde Deo* (of St. Etienne, x. tom. i. p. 171) would read *Alde* (a name of

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<sup>14</sup> See Zosimus (l. vi. c. 573), Orosius (l. vi. c. 40), p. 756, and the Chronicle of Gregory of Tours (l. i. c. 2, p. 163) on the second volume of the *Histories of France* has preserved a valuable fragment of Renatus Profertus Frigidus, whose three names denote a Christian, a Roman subject, and a semi-barbarian.

<sup>15</sup> Claudian (in Cons. Stil. l. i. p. 281, &c.) l. ii. c. 10 describes the peace and prosperity of the latter frontier. The *Alde Deo* (of St. Etienne, x. tom. i. p. 171) would read *Alde* (a name of





his language was decent and dutiful. He humbly professed himself the friend of Stilicho, and the soldier of Honorius; offered his person and his troops to march, without delay, against the usurper of Gaul; and solicited, as a permanent retreat for the Gothic nation, the possession of some vacant province of the Western empire.

The political and secret transactions of two statesmen, who laboured to deceive each other and the world, must for ever have been concealed in the impenetrable darkness of the cabinet, if the debates of a popular assembly had not thrown some rays of light on the correspondence of Alaric and Stilicho. The necessity of finding some artificial support for a government, which, from a principle, not of moderation, but of weakness, was reduced to negotiate with its own subjects, had insensibly revived the authority of the Roman senate: and the minister of Honorius respectfully consulted the legislative council of the republic. Stilicho assembled the senate in the palace of the Cæsars; represented, in a studied oration, the actual state of affairs; proposed the demands of the Gothic king, and submitted to their consideration the choice of peace or war. The senators, as if they had been suddenly awakened from a dream of four hundred years, appeared on this important occasion to be inspired by the courage, rather than by the wisdom, of their predecessors. They loudly declared, in regular speeches, or in tumultuary acclamations, that it was unworthy of the majesty of Rome to purchase a precarious and disgraceful truce from a barbarian king; and that, in the judgment of a magnanimous people, the chance of ruin was always preferable to the certainty of dishonour. The minister, whose pacific intentions were seconded only by the voices of a few sordid and venal followers, attempted to allay the general ferment, by an apology for his own conduct, and even for the demands of the Gothic prince. "The payment of a subsidy, which had excited the indignation of the Romans, ought not (such was the language of Stilicho) to be considered in the odious light, either of a tribute, or of a ransom, extorted by the menaces of a barbarian enemy. Alaric had faithfully asserted the just pretensions of the republic to the provinces which were usurped by the Greeks of Constantinople: he modestly required the fair and stipulated recompense of his services; and if he had desisted from the prosecution of his enterprise, he had obeyed, in his retreat, the peremptory, though private, letters of the emperor himself. These contradictory orders (he would not dissemble the errors of his own family) had been procured by the intercession of Serena. The tender piety of his wife had been too deeply affected by the discord of the royal brothers, the sons of her adopted father; and the sentiments of nature had too easily prevailed over the stern dictates of the public welfare."

These ostensible reasons, which faintly disguise the obscure intrigues of the palace of Ravenna, were supported by the authority of Stilicho; and obtained, after a warm debate, the reluctant approbation of the senate. The tumult of virtue and freedom subsided; and the sum of four thousand pounds of gold was granted, under the name of a subsidy, to secure the peace of Italy, and to conciliate the friendship of the king of the Goths. Lampadius alone, one of the most illustrious members of the assembly, still persisted in his dissent; exclaimed with a loud voice, "This is not a treaty of peace, but of servitude;"<sup>103</sup> and escaped the danger of such bold opposition by immediately retiring to the sanctuary of a Christian church.

But the reign of Stilicho drew towards its end; and the proud minister might perceive the symptoms of his approaching disgrace. The generous boldness of Lampadius had been applauded; and the senate, so patiently resigned to a long servitude, rejected with disdain the offer of invidious and imaginary freedom. The troops, who still assumed the name and prerogatives of the Roman legions, were exasperated by the partial affection of Stilicho for the barbarians; and the people imputed to the mischievous policy of the minister the public misfortunes, which were the natural consequence of their own degeneracy. Yet Stilicho might have continued to brave the clamours of the people, and even of the soldiers, if he could have maintained his dominion over the feeble mind of his pupil. But the respectful attachment of Honorius was converted into fear, suspicion, and hatred. The crafty Olympius,<sup>104</sup> who concealed his vices under the mask of Christian piety had secretly undermined the benefactor, by whose favour he was promoted to the honourable offices of the Imperial palace. Olympius revealed to the unsuspecting emperor, who had attained the twenty-fifth year of his age, that he was without weight, or authority, in his own government; and artfully alarmed his timid and indolent disposition by a lively picture of the designs of Stilicho, who already meditated the death of his sovereign, with the ambitious hope of placing the diadem on the head of his son Eucherius. The emperor was instigated, by his new favourite, to assume the tone of independent dignity; and the minister was astonished to find, that secret resolutions were formed in the court and council, which were repugnant to his interest, or to his intentions. Instead of residing in the palace of Rome, Honorius declared, that it was his pleasure to return to the secure fortress of Ravenna. On the first intelligence of the death of his brother Arcadius, he prepared to visit Constantinople, and to regulate, with the authority of a guardian, the provinces of the infant Theodosius.<sup>105</sup> The representation of the difficulty and expense of such a distant expedition checked this strange and sudden sally of active diligence;

103 Zosimus, l. v. p. 778, 779. He repeats the words of Ignatius, as they were spoken in Latin, "Non est pater meus et non servus meus," and then translates them into Greek for the benefit of his readers.

1. He came from the coast of the Fynge, and expressed himself as being a native, from the coast of the Fynge. He said as much to the doctor, who told him that he was a native of the coast of the Fynge, and that he was a native of the coast of the Fynge.

[illegible]



innocence, of their patron; and the despotic power, which could take his life without a trial, and stigmatise his memory without a proof, has no jurisdiction over the impartial suffrage of posterity.<sup>109</sup> The services of Stilicho are great and manifest; his crimes, as they are vaguely stated in the language of flattery and hatred, are obscure, at least, and improbable. About four months after his death, an edict was published, in the name of Honorius, to restore the free communication of the two empires, which had been so long interrupted by the *public enemy*.<sup>110</sup> The minister, whose fame and fortune depended on the prosperity of the state, was accused of betraying Italy to the barbarians; whom he repeatedly vanquished at Pollentia, at Verona, and before the walls of Florence. His pretended design of placing the diadem on the head of his son Eucherius, could not have been conducted without preparations or accomplices; and the ambitious father would not surely have left the future emperor, till the twentieth year of his age, in the humble station of tribune of the notaries. Even the religion of Stilicho was arraigned by the malice of his rival. The reasonable, and almost miraculous, deliverance was devoutly celebrated by the applause of the clergy; who asserted, that the restoration of idols, and the persecution of the church, would have been the first measure of the reign of Eucherius. The son of Stilicho, however, was educated in the bosom of Christianity, which his father had uniformly professed, and zealously supported.<sup>111</sup> Serena had borrowed her magnificent necklace from the statue of Vesta;<sup>112</sup> and the Pagans execrated the memory of the sacrilegious minister, by whose order the Sibylline books, the oracles of Rome, had been committed to the flames.<sup>113</sup> The pride and power of Stilicho constituted his real guilt. An honourable reluctance to shed the blood of his countrymen, appears to have contributed to the success of his unworthy rival; and it is the last humiliation of the character of Honorius, that posterity has not condescended to reproach him with his base ingratitude to the guardian of his youth, and the support of his empire.

The poet  
Claudian.

Among the train of dependents, whose wealth and dignity attracted the notice of their own times, *our* curiosity is excited by the celebrated name of the poet Claudian, who enjoyed the favour of Stilicho, and was overwhelmed in the ruin of his patron. The titular offices of tribune and notary fixed his rank in the Imperial court: he was indebted to the powerful intercession of Serena for his marriage

with a very rich heiress of the province of Africa;<sup>114</sup> and the statue of Claudian, erected in the forum of Trajan, was a monument of the taste and liberality of the Roman senate.<sup>115</sup> After the praises of Stilicho became offensive and criminal, Claudian was exposed to the enmity of a powerful and unforgiving courtier, whom he had provoked by the insolence of wit. He had compared, in a lively epigram, the opposite characters of two prætorian prefects of Italy; he contrasts the innocent repose of a philosopher, who sometimes resigned the hours of business to slumber, perhaps to study, with the interested diligence of a rapacious minister, indefatigable in the pursuit of unjust, or sacrilegious, gain. "How happy," continues Claudian, "how happy might it be for the people of Italy, if Mallius could be constantly awake, and if Hadrian would always sleep!"<sup>116</sup> The repose of Mallius was not disturbed by this friendly and gentle admonition; but the cruel vigilance of Hadrian watched the opportunity of revenge, and easily obtained, from the enemies of Stilicho, the trifling sacrifice of an obnoxious poet. The poet concealed himself, however, during the tumult of the revolution; and, consulting the dictates of prudence rather than of honour, he addressed, in the form of an epistle, a suppliant and humble recantation to the offended prefect. He deploras, in mournful strains, the fatal indiscretion into which he had been hurried by passion and folly; submits to the imitation of his adversary, the generous examples of the clemency of gods, of heroes, and of lions; and expresses his hope, that the magnanimity of Hadrian will not trample on a defenceless and contemptible toe, already numbed by disgrace and poverty; and deeply wounded by the exile, the tortures, and the death of his dearest friends.<sup>117</sup> Whatever might be the success of his prayer, or the accidents of his future life, the period of a few years levelled in the grave the minister and the poet; but the name of Hadrian is almost sunk in oblivion, while Claudian is read with pleasure in every country which has retained, or acquired, the knowledge of the Latin language. If we fairly balance his merits and his defects, we shall acknowledge, that Claudian does not either satisfy, or silence, our reason. It would not be easy to produce a passage that deserves the epithet of sublime or pathetic; to select a verse, that melts the heart, or enlarges the imagination. We should vainly seek, in the poems of Claudian, the happy invention, and artificial conduct, of an interesting fable; or the just and lively representation of

<sup>109</sup> On the subject of the death of Stilicho, see the *Historia* of the Emperor Honorius, lib. 1. c. 1. and the *Historia* of the Emperor Theodosius, lib. 1. c. 1.

<sup>110</sup> See the *Historia* of the Emperor Honorius, lib. 1. c. 1. and the *Historia* of the Emperor Theodosius, lib. 1. c. 1.

<sup>111</sup> Augustus himself is censured with the other emperors, who Stilicho had treated against heretics in the *Historia* of the Emperor Honorius, lib. 1. c. 1.

<sup>112</sup> Zosimus, lib. 1. c. 1. We are told, that the taste of the age, in dressing their statues with such taskwork, was

<sup>113</sup> See the *Historia* of the Emperor Honorius, lib. 1. c. 1. and the *Historia* of the Emperor Theodosius, lib. 1. c. 1.

<sup>114</sup> See the *Historia* of the Emperor Honorius, lib. 1. c. 1. and the *Historia* of the Emperor Theodosius, lib. 1. c. 1.

<sup>115</sup> See the *Historia* of the Emperor Honorius, lib. 1. c. 1. and the *Historia* of the Emperor Theodosius, lib. 1. c. 1.

<sup>116</sup> See the *Historia* of the Emperor Honorius, lib. 1. c. 1. and the *Historia* of the Emperor Theodosius, lib. 1. c. 1.

<sup>117</sup> See the *Historia* of the Emperor Honorius, lib. 1. c. 1. and the *Historia* of the Emperor Theodosius, lib. 1. c. 1.



the characters and situations of real life. For the service of his patron, he published occasional panegyrics and invectives: and the design of these slavish compositions encouraged his propensity to exceed the limits of truth and nature. These imperfections, however, are compensated in some degree by the poetical virtues of Claudian. He was endowed with the rare and precious talent of raising the meanest, of adorning the most barren, and of diversifying the most similar, topics: his colouring, more especially in descriptive poetry, is soft and splendid; and he seldom fails to display, and even to abuse, the advantages of a cultivated understanding, a copious fancy, an easy, and sometimes forcible, expression, and a perpetual flow of harmonious versification. To these commendations, independent of any accidents of time and place, we must add the peculiar merit which Claudian derived from the unfavourable circumstances of his birth. In the decline of arts, and of empire, a native of Egypt,<sup>118</sup> who had received the education of a Greek, assumed, in a mature age, the familiar use, and absolute command, of the Latin language; <sup>119</sup> soared above the heads of his feeble contemporaries; and placed himself, after an interval of three hundred years, among the poets of ancient Rome.<sup>120</sup>

#### CHAP. XXXI.

*Invasion of Italy by Alaric. — Manners of the Roman Senate and People. — Rome is twice besieged, and at length pillaged, by the Goths. — Death of Alaric. — The Goths evacuate Italy. — Fall of Constantine. — Gaul and Spain are occupied by the Barbarians. — Independence of Britain.*

We know of  
the court of  
Rome  
A. D. 400.  
Septimius.

THE incapacity of a weak and distracted government may often assume the appearance, and produce the effects, of a treasonable correspondence with the public enemy. If Alaric himself had been introduced into the council of Ravenna, he would probably have advised the same measures which were actually pursued by the ministers of Honorius.<sup>1</sup> The king of the Goths would have conspired, perhaps with some reluctance, to destroy the formidable adversary, by whose arms, in Italy as well as in Greece, he had been twice overthrown. Their active and interested hatred laboriously accomplished the disgrace and ruin of the great Stilicho. The valour of Sarus, his fame in arms, and his personal, or hereditary, influence over the confederate barbarians, could recommend him only to the friends of their country, who despised, or detested, the worthless characters of Turpilio,

Varanes, and Vigilantius. By the pressing instances of the new favourites, these generals, unworthy as they had shown themselves of the name of soldiers,<sup>2</sup> were promoted to the command of the cavalry, of the infantry, and of the domestic troops. The Gothic prince would have subscribed with pleasure the edict which the fanaticism of Olympius dictated to the simple and devout emperor. Honorius excluded all persons, who were adverse to the Catholic church, from holding any office in the state; obstinately rejected the service of all those who dissented from his religion; and rashly disqualified many of his bravest and most skilful officers, who adhered to the Pagan worship, or who had imbibed the opinions of Arianism.<sup>3</sup> These measures, so advantageous to an enemy, Alaric would have approved, and might perhaps have suggested; but it may seem doubtful, whether the barbarian would have promoted his interest at the expense of the inhuman and absurd cruelty, which was perpetrated by the direction, or at least with the connivance, of the Imperial ministers. The foreign auxiliaries, who had been attached to the person of Stilicho, lamented his death; but the desire of revenge was checked by a natural apprehension for the safety of their wives and children; who were detained as hostages in the strong cities of Italy, where they had likewise deposited their most valuable effects. At the same hour, and as if by a common signal, the cities of Italy were polluted by the same horrid scenes of universal massacre and pillage, which involved, in promiscuous destruction, the families and fortunes of the barbarians. Exasperated by such an injury, which might have awakened the tamest and most servile spirit, they cast a look of indignation and hope towards the camp of Alaric, and unanimously swore to pursue, with just and implacable war, the perfidious nation, that had so basely violated the laws of hospitality. By the imprudent conduct of the ministers of Honorius, the republic lost the assistance, and deserved the enmity, of thirty thousand of her bravest soldiers; and the weight of that formidable army, which alone might have determined the event of the war, was transferred from the scale of the Romans into that of the Goths.

In the arts of negotiation, as well as in those of war, the Gothic king maintained his superior ascendant over an enemy, whose seeming changes proceeded from the total want of counsel and design. From his camp, on the confines of Italy, Alaric attentively observed the revolutions of the palace, watched the progress of faction and discontent, disguised the hostile aspect of a barbarian invader, and assumed the more popular appearance of the friend and ally of the great Stilicho;

Alaric marches  
to Rome.  
A. D. 408.  
Oct. 20.

are numerous and passionate. Yet the rigid critics reproach the exotic weeds, or flowers, which spring too luxuriantly in his Latin soil.

1 The series of events, from the death of Stilicho, to the arrival of Alaric before Rome, can only be found in Zosimus, l. v. p. 247, 250.

2 The expression of Zosimus is strong and lively, *exhibensque* *et* *ostendensque* *appetensque*, sufficient to excite the contempt of the reader.

3 The ecclesiastical sects soon recovered, intra platium mil tre

problemis. Nihil in his sit a quo farone uno in ore, on a mis

fic et fatis discordant. Oed. Theodorus, l. xv. p. 152. et

Georgius Constantinus, l. vi. p. 164. The text was copied

the subsequent, and rigorously executed. Zosimus, l. v. p. 247.

<sup>118</sup> National vanity has made him a Florentine, or a Siennois. But the first Epique of Claudian proves him a native of Alexandria. (Epique, B. li. c. l. l. p. 191—202. edit. Ernest.)

<sup>119</sup> His first Latin verses were composed during the consulship of Probus, A. D. 295.

<sup>120</sup> Claudian's Latin poems, he commonly writes, Et tunc e Graecia Italiam.

Reads some Greek epigrams, which, in this extract, the Latin poet had composed, in Greek, the first part of the Epique. In a second

Bertrius, Nice, &c. It is more easy to supply the loss of a poet, than of a nation. l. p. 17.

<sup>121</sup> Strada, Frobenius, &c. allow him to exceed the five tragic poet, Terence, Plautus, &c. l. p. 17. et Strada. He is not the accomplished courtier, Baithair, &c. l. p. 17.

to whose virtues, when they were no longer formidable, he could pay a just tribute of sincere praise and regret. The pressing invitation of the malecontents, who urged the king of the Goths to invade Italy, was enforced by a lively sense of his personal injuries; and he might speciously complain, that the Imperial ministers still delayed and eluded the payment of the four thousand pounds of gold; which had been granted by the Roman senate, either to reward his services, or to appease his fury. His decent firmness was supported by an artful moderation, which contributed to the success of his designs. He required a fair and reasonable satisfaction; but he gave the strongest assurances, that, as soon as he had obtained it, he would immediately retire. He refused to trust the faith of the Romans, unless Ætius and Jason, the sons of two great officers of state, were sent as hostages to his camp; but he offered to deliver, in exchange, several of the noblest youths of the Gothic nation. The modesty of Alaric was interpreted, by the ministers of Ravenna, as a sure evidence of his weakness and fear. They disdained either to negotiate a treaty, or to assemble an army; and with a rash confidence, derived only from their ignorance of the extreme danger, irretrievably wasted the decisive moments of peace and war. While they expected, in sullen silence, that the barbarians should evacuate the confines of Italy, Alaric, with bold and rapid marches, passed the Alps and the Po; hastily pillaged the cities of Aquileia, Altinum, Concordia, and Cremona, which yielded to his arms; increased his forces by the accession of thirty thousand auxiliaries; and, without meeting a single enemy in the field, advanced as far as the edge of the morass which protected the impregnable residence of the emperor of the West. Instead of attempting the hopeless siege of Ravenna, the prudent leader of the Goths proceeded to Rimini, stretched his ravages along the sea-coast of the Adriatic, and meditated the conquest of the ancient mistress of the world. An Italian hermit, whose zeal and sanctity were respected by the barbarians themselves, encountered the victorious monarch, and boldly denounced the indignation of Heaven against the oppressors of the earth, but the saint himself was confounded by the solemn asseveration of Alaric, that he felt a secret and preternatural impulse, which directed, and even compelled, his march to the gates of Rome. He felt, that his genius and his fortune were equal to the most arduous enterprises; and the enthusiasm which he communicated to the Goths, insensibly removed the popular, and almost superstitious,

reverence of the nations for the majesty of the Roman name. His troops, animated by the hopes of spoil, followed the course of the Flaminian way, occupied the unguarded passes of the Apennine,<sup>4</sup> descended into the rich plains of Umbria; and, as they lay encamped on the banks of the Clitumnus, might wantonly slaughter and devour the milk-white oxen, which had been so long reserved for the use of Roman triumphs.<sup>5</sup> A lofty situation, and a seasonable tempest of thunder and lightning, preserved the little city of Narni; but the king of the Goths, despising the ignoble prey, still advanced with unabated vigour; and after he had passed through the stately arches, adorned with the spoils of barbaric victories, he pitched his camp under the walls of Rome.<sup>6</sup>

During a period of six hundred Hannibal at the  
and nineteen years, the seat of em-  
pire had never been violated by the presence  
of a foreign enemy. The unsuccessful ex-  
pedition of Hannibal,<sup>7</sup> served only to display  
the character of the senate and people; of  
a senate degraded, rather than ennobled, by  
the comparison of an assembly of kings; and  
of a people, to whom the ambassador of  
Pyrrhus ascribed the inexhaustible resources  
of the Hydra.<sup>8</sup> Each of the senators, in the  
time of the Punic war, had accomplished his  
term of military service, either in a subor-  
dinate or a superior station; and the decree,  
which invested with temporary command all  
those who had been consuls or censors, or dic-  
tators, gave the republic the immediate assist-  
ance of many brave and experienced generals.  
In the beginning of the war, the Roman people  
consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand  
citizens of an age to bear arms.<sup>9</sup> Fifty thousand  
had already died in the defence of their country;  
and the twenty-three legions which were em-  
ployed in the different camps of Italy, Greece,  
Sardinia, Sicily, and Spain, required about one  
hundred thousand men. But there still re-  
mained an equal number in Rome, and the ad-  
jacent territory, who were animated by the same  
intrepid courage; and every citizen was trained,  
from his earliest youth, in the discipline and  
exercises of a soldier. Hannibal was astonished  
by the constancy of the senate, who, without  
raising the siege of Capua, or recalling their  
scattered forces, expected his approach. He  
encamped on the banks of the Anio, at the dis-  
tance of three miles from the city, and he was  
soon informed, that the ground on which he had  
pitched his tent, was sold for an adequate price  
at a public auction; and that a body of troops  
was dismissed by an opposite road, to reinforce

4. Addition to the Works, vol. x. p. 101. The Goths were a very numerous and powerful nation, who, in the year 400, invaded Italy, and, after a long and bloody war, were expelled by the Romans. The Goths were a very numerous and powerful nation, who, in the year 400, invaded Italy, and, after a long and bloody war, were expelled by the Romans.

5. Hist. de l'empire, liv. x. c. 1. p. 101.

6. Hist. de l'empire, liv. x. c. 1. p. 101.

7. Besides Virgatus, most of the Italian army, consisting of 10,000 men, was destroyed. The Goths were a very numerous and powerful nation, who, in the year 400, invaded Italy, and, after a long and bloody war, were expelled by the Romans.

8. The Goths were a very numerous and powerful nation, who, in the year 400, invaded Italy, and, after a long and bloody war, were expelled by the Romans. The Goths were a very numerous and powerful nation, who, in the year 400, invaded Italy, and, after a long and bloody war, were expelled by the Romans.

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13. The Goths were a very numerous and powerful nation, who, in the year 400, invaded Italy, and, after a long and bloody war, were expelled by the Romans. The Goths were a very numerous and powerful nation, who, in the year 400, invaded Italy, and, after a long and bloody war, were expelled by the Romans.

14. The Goths were a very numerous and powerful nation, who, in the year 400, invaded Italy, and, after a long and bloody war, were expelled by the Romans. The Goths were a very numerous and powerful nation, who, in the year 400, invaded Italy, and, after a long and bloody war, were expelled by the Romans.



senate, were associated in the consular dignity : a memorable distinction, without example in the annals of Rome.<sup>22</sup>

“The marbles of the Anician palace,” were used as a proverbial expression of opulence and splendour;<sup>23</sup> but the nobles and senators of Rome aspired, in due gradation, to imitate that illustrious family. The accurate description of the city, which was composed in the Theodosian age, enumerates one thousand seven hundred and eighty *houses*, the residence of wealthy and honourable citizens.<sup>24</sup> Many of these stately mansions might almost excuse the exaggeration of the poet; that Rome contained a multitude of palaces, and that each palace was equal to a city: since it included within its own precincts, every thing which could be subservient either to use or luxury; markets, hippodromes, temples, fountains, baths, porticoes, shady groves, and artificial aviaries.<sup>25</sup> The historian Olympiodorus, who represents the state of Rome when it was besieged by the Goths,<sup>26</sup> continues to observe, that several of the richest senators received from their estates an annual income of four thousand pounds of gold, above one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling; without computing the stated provision of corn and wine, which, had they been sold, might have equalled in value one third of the money. Compared to this immoderate wealth, an ordinary revenue of a thousand or fifteen hundred pounds of gold might be considered as no more than adequate to the dignity of the senatorial rank, which required many expenses of a public and ostentatious kind. Several examples are recorded, in the age of Honorius, of vain and popular nobles, who celebrated the year of their pretorship, by a festival, which lasted seven days, and cost above one hundred thousand pounds sterling.<sup>27</sup> The estates of the Roman senators, which so far exceeded the proportion of modern wealth, were not confined to the limits of Italy. Their possessions extended far beyond the Ionian and Egean Seas, to the most distant provinces: the city of Nicopolis, which Augustus had founded as an eternal monument of the Actian victory, was the property of the devout Paula;<sup>28</sup> and it is observed by Seneca, that the rivers, which had divided hostile nations, now flowed through the lands of private citizens.<sup>29</sup> According to their

temper and circumstances, the estates of the Romans were either cultivated by the labour of their slaves, or granted, for a certain and stipulated rent, to the industrious farmer. The economical writers of antiquity strenuously recommend the former method, wherever it may be practicable ; but if the object should be removed, by its distance or magnitude, from the immediate eye of the master, they prefer the active care of an old hereditary tenant, attached to the soil, and interested in the produce, to the mercenary administration of a negligent, perhaps an unfaithful, steward.<sup>50</sup>

The opulent nobles of an immense capital, who were never excited by the pursuit of military glory, and seldom engaged in the occupations of civil government, naturally resigned their leisure to the business and amusements of private life. At Rome, commerce was always held in contempt: but the senators, from the first age of the republic, increased their patrimony, and multiplied their clients, by the lucrative practice of usury; and the obsolete laws were eluded, or violated, by the mutual inclinations and interest of both parties.<sup>31</sup> A considerable mass of treasure must always have existed at Rome, either in the current coin of the empire, or in the form of gold and silver plate; and there were many sideboards in the time of Pliny, which contained more solid silver, than had been transported by Scipio from vanquished Carthage.<sup>32</sup> The greater part of the nobles, who dissipated their fortunes in profuse luxury, found themselves poor in the midst of wealth; and idle in a constant round of dissipation. Their desires were continually gratified by the labour of a thousand hands; of the numerous train of their domestic slaves, who were actuated by the fear of punishment; and of the various professions of artificers and merchants, who were more powerfully impelled by the hopes of gain. The ancients were destitute of many of the conveniences of life, which have been invented or improved by the progress of industry; and the plenty of glass and linen has diffused more real comforts among the most barbarous nations of Europe, than the senators of Rome could derive from all the refinements of pompous or sensual luxury.<sup>33</sup> Their luxury, and their manners, have been the subject of infinite and laborious disquisition: but as such enquiries

92 See the poem which Claudian addressed to the tyrannical youth-  
93 Secundinus, the Manichæan, ap. Baron. *Annales*, lxxv. A. D.  
590, No. 51.  
94 See Sordani, *Roma Antica*, p. 89, 498, 540.

25 *Quid hospitem in laqueis inter laqueos glaz;*  
*Verum quare vultis, rogamus, ut taceat.*

The poet lived in the temple of the goddess Aya, and his work would be covered by the temple's roof. A fragment of the poem was found in the ruins of the temple, and it was found in the ruins of the temple of the goddess Aya. The fragment was found in the ruins of the temple of the goddess Aya. The fragment was found in the ruins of the temple of the goddess Aya.

1976). The sons of Avaritas, of whom we heard little more, were, during their short period of independence, the only rulers of the region, for, according to the *Chronicon*, the Avaritas family was the only one to explain and rule the Thracian lands of Aving, which were to be expected to the first part of the 10th cent. of the second millennium, since the third of 13th *cent. after* the fall of the Byzantine Empire. The *Chronicon* also mentions that the Avaritas family was the only one to explain and rule the Thracian lands of Aving, which were to be expected to the first part of the 10th cent. of the second millennium, since the third of 13th *cent. after* the fall of the Byzantine Empire. The *Chronicon* also mentions that the Avaritas family was the only one to explain and rule the Thracian lands of Aving, which were to be expected to the first part of the 10th cent. of the second millennium, since the third of 13th *cent. after* the fall of the Byzantine Empire.

Titum, tom. ix, p. 245. M. de Lalemont says, strangely enough,

th it was part of Agamemnon's inheritance. Min. E. ch. 4, torn 20  
p. 85.

p. 85. Seneca, Ep. lxxv. His language is of the declamatory kind, but Seneca could scarcely exceed in the terror and fury of the Romans. The philosopher himself deserved some share of the reproach, if it be true that he was a victim of *furor* at 45, above three hundred thousand pounds, was a man of the most restless, proud, and ambitious spirit. Drouin's edition of Ep. lxxv. is the most complete of any of the *Epistulae* of Seneca, p. 213, the note 1, is a most judicious instance of Brix, or Sallust, at the end of the book of Niphus.

[illegible][illegible]

It is important to note that the  $\beta$  values for the  $\text{H}_2\text{O}$  and  $\text{H}_2\text{O}_2$  are not significantly different from each other, indicating that the  $\text{H}_2\text{O}$  and  $\text{H}_2\text{O}_2$  are not significantly different from each other. This is consistent with the fact that the  $\text{H}_2\text{O}$  and  $\text{H}_2\text{O}_2$  are not significantly different from each other.

would divert me too long from the design of the present work, I shall produce an authentic state of Rome and its inhabitants, which is more peculiarly applicable to the period of the Gothic invasion. Ammianus Marcellinus, who prudently chose the capital of the empire, as the residence the best adapted to the historian of his own times, has mixed with the narrative of public events, a lively representation of the scenes with which he was familiarly conversant. The judicious reader will not always approve of the asperity of censure, the choice of circumstances, or the style of expression; he will perhaps detect the latent prejudices, and personal resentments, which soured the temper of Ammianus himself; but he will surely observe, with philosophic curiosity, the interesting and original picture of the manners of Rome.<sup>34</sup>

Character of the Roman nobles, by Ammianus Marcellinus.

"The greatness of Rome (such as is the language of the historian) was founded on the rare, and almost incredible, alliance of virtue and of fortune. The long period of her infancy was employed in a laborious struggle against the tribes of Italy, the neighbours and enemies of the rising city. In the strength and ardour of youth, she sustained the storms of war; carried her victorious arms beyond the seas and the mountains; and brought home triumphant laurels from every country of the globe. At length, verging towards old age, and sometimes conquering by the terror only of her name, she sought the blessings of ease and tranquillity. The venerable city, which had trampled on the necks of the fiercest nations; and established a system of laws, the perpetual guardians of justice and freedom; was content, like a wise and wealthy parent, to devolve on the Cesars, her favourite sons, the care of governing her ample patrimony.<sup>35</sup> A secure and profound peace, such as had been once enjoyed in the reign of Numa, succeeded to the tumults of a republic; while Rome was still adored as the queen of the earth; and the subject nations still revered the name of the people, and the majesty of the senate. But this native splendour (continues Ammianus) is degraded, and sullied, by the conduct of some nobles; who, unmindful of their own dignity, and of that of their country, assume an unbounded licence of vice and folly. They contend with each other in the empty vanity of titles and surnames; and curiously select, or invent, the most lofty and sonorous appellations, Reburus, or Fabunius, Pagonius, or Tarnasius,<sup>36</sup>

"which may impress the cars of the vulgar with astonishment and respect. From a vain ambition of perpetuating their memory, they affect to multiply their likeness, in statues of bronze and marble; nor are they satisfied, unless those statues are covered with plates of gold: an honourable distinction, first granted to Acilius the consul, after he had subdued, by his arms and counsels, the power of king Antiochus. The ostentation of displaying, of magnifying, perhaps, the rent-roll of the estates which they possess in all the provinces, from the rising to the setting sun, provokes the just resentment of every man, who recollects, that their poor and invincible ancestors were not distinguished from the meanest of the soldiers, by the delicacy of their food, or the splendour of their apparel. But the modern nobles measure their rank and consequence according to the loftiness of their chariots,<sup>37</sup> and the weighty magnificence of their dress. Their long robes of silk and purple float in the wind; and as they are agitated, by art or accident, they occasionally discover the under garments, the rich tunics, embroidered with the figures of various animals.<sup>38</sup> Followed by a train of fifty servants, and tearing up the pavement, they move along the streets with the same impetuous speed as if they travelled with post-horses; and the example of the senators is boldly imitated by the matrons and ladies, whose covered carriages are continually driving round the immense space of the city and suburbs. Whenever these persons of high distinction condescend to visit the public baths, they assume, on their entrance, a tone of loud and insolent command, and appropriate to their own use the conveniences which were designed for the Roman people. If, in these places of mixed and general resort, they meet any of the infamous ministers of their pleasures, they express their affection by a tender embrace; while they proudly decline the salutations of their fellow-citizens, who are not permitted to aspire above the honour of kissing their hands or their knees. As soon as they have indulged themselves in the refreshment of the bath, they resume their rings, and the other ensigns of their dignity; select from their private wardrobe the finest linen, such as might suffice for a dozen persons, the garments the most agreeable to their fancy, and maintain till their departure the same haughty demeanour; which perhaps might have been excused in the great Marcellus, after the conquest of Syracuse. Sometimes, indeed, these

<sup>34</sup> It is incumbent on me to explain the liberties which I have taken with the text of Ammianus. 1. I have melted down into one piece the sixth chapter of the fourteenth, and the sixth of the twentieth book. 2. I have given order and connection to the confused mass of materials. 3. I have softened some extravagant hyperboles, and pared away some superfluities of the original. 4. I have developed some observations which were inappreciated, rather than expressed. With these allowances, my version will be found, not literal indeed, but faithful and exact.

<sup>35</sup> Claudius, who seems to have read the history of Ammianus, speaks of this great revolution in a much less courtly style.

<sup>36</sup> The minute diligence of antiquarians has not been able to write these extraordinary names. I am of opinion that they were invented by the historian himself, who was afraid of any personal satire or application. It is certain, however, that the simple denominations of the Romans were gradually lengthened to the number of four, five, or

even seven, pompous surnames; as for instance, Marcus Maecius Alaudinus, Furius Balburius, Cerialinus Placidus. See Neron, Censor. P. in Dissert. iv. p. 18.

<sup>37</sup> The carriage, or coach of the Romans, were often of solid silver, curiously carved and engraved, and the trappings of the mules, or horses, were embellished with gold. This magnificence continued from the reign of Nero to that of Honorius, and the Appian way was covered with the splendid equipages of the nobles, who came out to meet St. Melania when she returned to Rome, six years before the Gothic siege (see *Ammonius*, *epist.* lxxviii. *Plin. Hist. Natur.* xxxiii. 48. *Paulin. Nolan.* and *Hyron. Antioch.* *Eccles.* A.D. 397, No. 5.) Yet pomp was exchanged for convenience, and a plain modern carriage, that is hung upon springs, is now far preferable to the silver or gold coats of arms, which were on the axle-tree, and were exposed, for the most part, to the voracity of the weather.

<sup>38</sup> In a family of Asinius, bishop of Amida, M. de Valois has discovered (see *Ammianus*, xiv. 6.) that this was a new fashion; that bears, wolves, lions, and tigers, woods, hunting-matches, &c. were represented in embroidery, and that the more pious coxcombs substituted the figure or legend of some favourite saint.

"heroes undertake more arduous achievements; they visit their estates in Italy, and procure themselves, by the toil of servile hands, the amusements of the chase.<sup>39</sup> If at any time, but more especially on a hot day, they have courage to sail, in their painted galleys, from the Lucrine lake<sup>40</sup> to their elegant villas on the sea-coast of Puteoli and Cayeta,<sup>41</sup> they compare their own expeditions to the marches of Cæsar and Alexander. Yet should a fly presume to settle on the silken folds of their gilded umbrellas; should a sun-beam penetrate through some unguarded and impenetrable chink, they deplore their intolerable hardships, and lament, in affected language, that they were not born in the land of the Cimmerians,<sup>42</sup> the regions of eternal darkness. In these journeys into the country<sup>43</sup> the whole body of the household marches with their master. In the same manner as the cavalry and infantry, the heavy and the light armed troops, the advanced guard and the rear, are marshalled by the skill of their military leaders; so the domestic officers, who bear a rod, as an ensign of authority, distribute and arrange the numerous train of slaves and attendants. The baggage and wardrobe move in the front; and are immediately followed by a multitude of cooks, and inferior ministers, employed in the service of the kitchens, and of the table. The main body is composed of a promiscuous crowd of slaves, increased by the accidental concourse of idle or dependent plebeians. The rear is closed by the favourite band of eunuchs, distributed from age to youth, according to the order of seniority. Their numbers, and their deformity, excite the horror of the indignant spectators, who are ready to execrate the memory of Seneca's, for the cruel art which she invented, of frustrating the purposes of nature, and of blasting in the bud the hopes of future generations. In the exercise of domestic jurisdiction, the nobles of Rome express an exquisite sensibility for any personal injury, and a contemptuous indifference for the rest of the human species. When they have called for warm water, if a slave has been tardy in his obedience, he is instantly chastised with three hundred lashes: but should the same slave commit a wilful murder, the master will

"mildly observe, that he is a worthless fellow; but that, if he repeats the offence, he shall not escape punishment. Hospitality was formerly the virtue of the Romans; and every stranger, who could plead either merit or misfortune, was relieved, or rewarded, by their generosity. At present, if a foreigner, perhaps of no contemptible rank, is introduced to one of the proud and wealthy senators, he is welcomed indeed in the first audience, with such warm professions, and such kind enquiries, that he retires, enchanted with the affability of his illustrious friend, and full of regret that he had so long delayed his journey to Rome, the native seat of manners, as well as of empire. Secure of a favourable reception, he repeats his visit the ensuing day, and is mortified by the discovery, that his person, his name, and his country, are already forgotten. If he still has resolution to persevere, he is gradually numbered in the train of dependents, and obtains the permission to pay his assiduous and unprofitable court to a haughty patron, incapable of gratitude or friendship; who scarcely deigns to remark his presence, his departure, or his return. Whenever the rich prepare a solemn and popular entertainment;<sup>44</sup> whenever they celebrate, with profuse and pernicious luxury, their private banquets; the choice of the guests is the subject of anxious deliberation. The modest, the sober, and the learned, are seldom preferred; and the no-menciators, who are commonly swayed by interested motives, have the address to insert, in the list of invitations, the obscure names of the most worthless of mankind. But the frequent and familiar companions of the great, are those parasites, who practise the most useful of all arts, the art of flattery; who eagerly applaud each word, and every action, of their immortal patron; gaze with rapture on his marble columns, and variegated pavements; and strenuously praise the pomp and elegance, which he is taught to consider as a part of his personal merit. At the Roman tables, the birds, the *squirrels*,<sup>45</sup> or the fish, which appear of an uncommon size, are contemplated with curious attention; a pair of scales is accurately applied, to ascertain their real weight; and, while the more rational guests are disgusted by the vain and

<sup>39</sup> See Pliny's Epistles, l. 6. Three large wild lions were secured and taken in the forests without interrupting the studies of the philosopher.

<sup>40</sup> The distance from the insipidous word *Armenia*, which stands in the text, is immaterial. The two lakes, Avernus and Lucernus, commingle and wash each other, and were considered as the superlative mark of fertility. The Italian poet, who is quoted, though never so extravagant as the poet of Ptolemy, Virgil, who resided on the spot, has described the origin of this work in the manner of its creation, and has commentators, especially in the case of the word, much light from Strabo, Suetonius, and Pom. Fastidiosus and volucres have changed the face of the country and the lake. Lucerne lake, since the year 1658, into the Monte Nuovo. See Antonio Felice, Discorsi della Campania Fœderis, p. 239-241; See Anton. Samuele Campana, p. 15-8.

<sup>41</sup> The regia Cornelia at Puteoli; loca cætera in vultu expectant, interpellantur autem multitudoque preceperunt. Cicero ad Attic. xvi. 17.

<sup>42</sup> The Levden edition.

<sup>43</sup> We may learn from Seneca, epist. cxxix. that the various circumstances relative to the journey of the Romans. 1. They were preceded by a troop of Numidian light horse, who announce the approach of the great man. 2. Their baggage, or the persons, is not only the previous case, but even the great vessels of brass and iron, which last is almost proved by the learned French

translator of Seneca (tom. iii. p. 462-463), to contain the perfume of China and Japan. The beautiful faces of the young slaves were covered with a moistened crust, or ornament, which secured them against the effects of the sun and frost.

<sup>44</sup> Distributio solennium spectulorum. The *spectula*, or *spectacles*, were small books, supposed to contain a quantity of hot perfume, of the value of 100 quadrantes, or twelvemissis sesterces, which is reckoned in or in the hall, and ostentatiously distributed to the hinges or wigs of the crowd, who waited at the door. This indication is also very frequently mentioned in the epigrams of Martial, and the stories of Juvenal. See likewise Suetonius in Claud. c. 24, in Neron. l. 12, in Domitian. c. 4. 7. These baskets of perfume were afterwards converted into large pieces of gold and silver coin, or *petra*, which he was minutely given and disposed even by the persons of the highest rank. See Seneca, Epist. l. vi. c. 14, 15, and Nuvell.

<sup>45</sup> The excessive demand of them for future studies, was made in the English and Latin of the century, and is a fact, that they were not estimated as a damnable and a reproach, but as a necessary and a necessary. See Bæcker's dissertation on the subject, p. 155. See also p. 155.









they annually paid for a dark and miserable lodging. House-rent was therefore immoderately dear : the rich acquired, at an enormous expense, the ground, which they covered with palaces and gardens ; but the body of the Roman people was crowded into a narrow space ; and the different floors, and apartments, of the same house, were divided, as it is still the custom of Paris, and other cities, among several families of plebeians. IV. The total number of houses in the fourteen regions of the city, is accurately stated in the description of Rome, composed under the reign of Theodosius, and they amount to forty-eight thousand three hundred and eighty-two.<sup>71</sup> The two classes of *domus* and of *insulæ*, into which they are divided, include all the habitations of the capital, of every rank and condition, from the marble palace of the *Amicii*, with a numerous establishment of freedmen and slaves, to the lofty and narrow lodging-house, where the poet *Codrus*, and his wife, were permitted to hire a wretched garret immediately under the tiles. If we adopt the same average, which, under similar circumstances, has been found applicable to Paris,<sup>72</sup> and indifferently allow about twenty-five persons for each house, of every degree, we may fairly estimate the inhabitants of Rome at twelve hundred thousand : a number which cannot be thought excessive for the capital of a mighty empire, though it exceeds the populousness of the greatest cities of modern Europe.<sup>73</sup>

Such was the state of Rome under the reign of Honorius ; at the time when the Gothic army formed the siege, or rather the blockade, of the city.<sup>74</sup> By a skilful disposition of his numerous forces, who impatiently watched the moment of an assault, Alaric encompassed the walls, commanded the twelve principal gates, intercepted all communication with the adjacent country, and vigilantly guarded the navigation of the Tyber, from which the Romans derived the surest and most plentiful supply of provisions. The first emotions of the nobles, and of the people, were those of surprise and indignation, that a vile barbarian should dare to insult the capital of the world. but their arrogance was soon humbled by misfortune; and their unmanly rage, instead of being directed against an enemy in arms, was meanly exercised on a defenceless and innocent victim. Perhaps in the person of Serena, the Romans might have respected the niece of Theodosius, the aunt, nay even the adoptive mother, of the reigning emperor: but they abhorred the widow of Stilicho ; and they listened with credulous passion to the tale of calumny, which accused her of maintaining a secret and criminal correspondence with the Gothic invader. Actuated, or overawed, by the same

popular frenzy, the senate, without requiring any evidence of her guilt, pronounced the sentence of her death. Sirena was ignominiously strangled; and the infatuated multitude were astonished to find, that this cruel act of injustice did not immediately produce the retreat of the barbarians, and the deliverance of the city. That unfortunate city gradually experienced the distress of scarcity, Famine. and at length the horrid calamities of famine. The daily allowance of three pounds of bread was reduced to one half, to one third, to nothing; and the price of corn still continued to rise in a rapid and extravagant proportion. The poorer citizens, who were unable to purchase the necessities of life, solicited the precarious charity of the rich; and for a while the public misery was alleviated by the humanity of Læta, the widow of the emperor Gratian, who had fixed her residence at Rome, and consecrated, to the use of the indigent, the princely revenue, which she annually received from the grateful successors of her husband.<sup>75</sup> But these private and temporary donatives were insufficient to appease the hunger of a numerous people; and the progress of famine invaded the marble palaces of the senators themselves. The persons of both sexes, who had been educated in the enjoyment of ease and luxury, discovered how little is requisite to supply the demands of nature; and lavished their unavailing treasures of gold and silver, to obtain the coarse and scanty sustenance which they would formerly have rejected with disdain. The food the most repugnant to sense or imagination, the aliments the most unwholesome and pernicious to the constitution, were eagerly devoured, and fiercely disputed, by the rage of hunger. A dark suspicion was entertained, that some desperate wretches fed on the bodies of their fellow-creatures, whom they had secretly murdered; and even mothers (such was the horrid conflict of the two most powerful instincts implanted by nature in the human breast, even mothers are said to have tasted the flesh of their slaughtered infants)<sup>76</sup> Many thousands of the inhabitants of Rome expired in their houses, or in the streets, for want of sustenance; and as the public sepulchres without the walls were in the power of the enemy, the stench, which arose from so many putrid and unburied carcases, infected the air; and the miseries of famine were succeeded and aggravated by the contagion of a pestilential disease. Plague.

The assurances of speedy and effectual relief, which were repeatedly transmitted from the court of Ravenna, supported, for some time, the fainting resolution of the Romans, till at length the despair of any human aid tempted them to accept the offers of a preternatural deliverance. Pompicianus, præfect <sup>superstition.</sup>

71 This sum total is composed of 1750 *shōmeigaku*, or at least of 46,902 *mōdo*, or plebeian traditions, i.e. Nanyō, Rima An (ca. 1800), the accumulated work of the great masters.

72 The last editor of *Furuta shōmeigaku* (p. 36) writes that it is founded upon similar principles, though he goes so far as to degree of possibility. Which it is neither possible nor important to follow.

73 The results of the first two volumes have been often referred to by those who founded such things as the *Shōmeigaku* and the *Shōmeigaku*.

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of the city, had been persuaded, by the art or fanaticism of some Tuscan diviners, that, by the mysterious force of spells and sacrifices, they could extract the lightning from the clouds, and point those celestial fires against the camp of the barbarians.<sup>77</sup> The important secret was communicated to Innocent, the bishop of Rome; and the successor of St. Peter is accused, perhaps without foundation, of preferring the safety of the republic to the rigid severity of the Christian worship. But when the question was agitated in the senate; when it was proposed, as an essential condition, that those sacrifices should be performed in the Capitol, by the authority, and in the presence, of the magistrates; the majority of that respectable assembly, apprehensive either of the Divine, or of the Imperial, displeasure, refused to join in an act, which appeared almost equivalent to the public restoration of Paganism.<sup>78</sup>

The last resource of the Romans was in the clemency, or at least in the moderation, of the king of the Goths. The senate, who in this emergency assumed the supreme powers of government, appointed two ambassadors to negotiate with the enemy. This important trust was delegated to Basiliscus, a senator, of Spanish extraction, and already conspicuous in the administration of provinces; and to John, the first tribune of the notaries, who was peculiarly qualified, by his dexterity in business, as well as by his former intimacy with the Gothic prince. When they were introduced into his presence, they declared, perhaps in a more lofty style than became their abject condition, that the Romans were resolved to maintain their dignity, either in peace or war; and that, if Alaric refused them a fair and honourable capitulation, he might sound his trumpets, and prepare to give battle to an innumerable people, exercised in arms, and animated by despair. "The thicker the hay, the easier it is mowed," was the concise reply of the barbarian; and this rustic metaphor was accompanied by a loud and insulting laugh, expressive of his contempt for the menaces of an unwarlike populace, enervated by luxury before they were emaciated by famine. He then condescended to fix the ransom, which he would accept as the price of his retreat from the walls of Rome: *all* the gold and silver in the city, whether it were the property of the state, or of individuals; *all* the rich and precious movables; and *all* the slaves who could prove their title to the name of *barbarians*. The ministers of the senate presumed to ask, in a modest and suppliant tone, "If such, O king! are your demands, what do you intend to leave us?"

"*YOUR LIVES*," replied the haughty conqueror. They trembled, and retired. Yet before they retired, a short suspension of arms was granted, which allowed some time for a more temperate negotiation. The stern features of Alaric were insensibly relaxed; he abated much of the rigour of his terms; and at length consented to raise the siege, on the immediate payment of five thousand pounds of gold, of thirty thousand pounds of silver, of four thousand robes of silk, of three thousand pieces of fine scarlet cloth, and of three thousand pounds' weight of pepper.<sup>79</sup> But the public treasury was exhausted; the annual rents of the great estates in Italy and the provinces were intercepted by the calamities of war; the gold and gems had been exchanged, during the famine, for the vilest sustenance; the hoards of secret wealth were still concealed by the obstinacy of avarice; and some remains of consecrated spoils afforded the only resource that could avert the impending ruin of the city. As soon as the Romans had satisfied the rapacious demands of Alaric, they were restored, in some measure, to the enjoyment of peace and plenty. Several of the gates were cautiously opened; the importation of provisions from the river, and the adjacent country, was no longer obstructed by the Goths; the citizens resorted in crowds to the free market, which was held during three days in the suburbs; and while the merchants, who undertook this gainful trade, made a considerable profit, the future subsistence of the city was secured by the ample magazines which were deposited in the public and private granaries. A more regular discipline, than could have been expected was maintained in the camp of Alaric; and the wise barbarian justified his regard for the faith of treaties, by the just severity with which he chastised a party of licentious Goths, who had insulted some Roman citizens on the road to Ostia. His army, enriched by the contributions of the capital, slowly advanced into the fair and fruitful province of Tuscany, where he proposed to establish his winter-quarters; and the Gothic standard became the refuge of forty thousand barbarian slaves, who had broke their chains, and aspired, under the command of their great deliverer, to revenge the injuries, and the disgrace, of their cruel servitude. About the same time, he received a more honourable reinforcement of Goths and Huns, whom Adolphus,<sup>80</sup> the brother of his wife, had conducted, at his pressing invitation, from the banks of the Danube to those of the Tyber, and who had cut their way, with some difficulty and loss, through the superior numbers of the Imperial troops. A victorious leader, who united the daring spirit of a bar-

<sup>77</sup> Zosimus (l. v. p. 565, 566) speaks of these ceremonies, like a Greek unacquainted with the national superstition of Rome and Tuscany. I suspect, that they consisted of two parts, the secret, and the public; the former were probably an imitation of the arts and spells, by which Numa had drawn down Jupiter and his thunder on Mount Aventine.

The ceremony, which were carried in solemn procession on the calends of March, derived their origin from this mysterious event. (Ovid Fast. in 269-278.) It was probably designed to revive this ancient festival, which had been suppressed by Theodosius. In that case, we recover a chronological date (March the 1st, A. D. 409) which has not hitherto been observed.

<sup>78</sup> Socrumen (l. ix. c. 6.) maintains, that the experiment was ac-

complished, though unsuccessfully, made; but he does not mention the name of Innocent and Tillemont (Mém. Eccles. tom. i. p. 617) is determined not to believe, that a pope could be guilty of such impious credulousness.

<sup>79</sup> Pepper, — — — — —  
cookers, and  
chillings, the  
from India,  
the great  
multipled

<sup>80</sup> This Gotho chetian is called, by Jornandes and Isidore, *Athaulfus*, by Zosimus and Orosius, *Adolphus*, and by Olympiodorus, *Adolphus*. I have used the celebrated name of *Adolphus*, which is the name authorized by the practice of the Swedes, the sons or brothers of the ancient Goths.

barian with the art and discipline of a Roman general, was at the head of an hundred thousand fighting men; and Italy pronounced, with terror and respect, the formidable name of Alaric.<sup>81</sup>

Frutiles negotiis  
intrais for  
peace  
A. D. 409.

At the distance of fourteen centuries, we may be satisfied with relating the military exploits of the conquerors of Rome, without presuming to investigate the motives of their political conduct. In the midst of his apparent prosperity, Alaric was conscious, perhaps, of some secret weakness, some internal defect; or perhaps the moderation which he displayed, was intended only to deceive and disarm the easy credulity of the ministers of Honorius. The king of the Goths repeatedly declared, that it was his desire to be considered as the friend of peace, and of the Romans. Three senators, at his earnest request, were sent ambassadors to the court of Ravenna, to solicit the exchange of hostages, and the conclusion of the treaty; and the proposals, which he more clearly expressed during the course of the negotiations, could only inspire a doubt of his sincerity, as they might seem inadequate to the state of his fortune. The barbarian still aspired to the rank of master-general of the armies of the West; he stipulated an annual subsidy of corn and money; and he chose the provinces of Dalmatia, Noricum, and Venetia, for the seat of his new kingdom, which would have commanded the important communication between Italy and the Danube. If these modest terms should be rejected, Alaric showed a disposition to relinquish his pecuniary demands, and even to content himself with the possession of Noricum; an exhausted and impoverished country, perpetually exposed to the inroads of the barbarians of Germany.<sup>82</sup> But the hopes of peace were disappointed by the weak obstinacy, or interested views, of the minister Olympius. Without listening to the salutary remonstrances of the senate, he dismissed their ambassadors under the conduct of a military escort, too numerous for a retinue of honour, and too feeble for an army of defence. Six thousand Dalmatians, the flower of the Imperial legions, were ordered to march from Ravenna to Rome, through an open country, which was occupied by the formidable myriads of the barbarians. These brave legionaries, encompassed and betrayed, fell a sacrifice to ministerial folly; their general Valens, with an hundred soldiers, escaped from the field of battle; and one of the ambassadors, who could no longer claim the protection of the law of nations, was obliged to purchase his freedom with a ransom of thirty thousand pieces of gold. Yet Alaric, instead of resenting this act of impotent hostility, immediately renewed his proposals of peace; and the second embassy of the Roman senate, which derived weight and dignity from the presence of Innocent, Bishop of the city, was guarded from the dangers of the road by a detachment of Gothic soldiers.<sup>83</sup>

Olympius<sup>84</sup> might have continued to insult the just resentment of a people, who loudly accused him as the author of the public calamities; but his power was undermined by the secret intrigues of the palace. The favourite eunuchs transferred the government of Honorius, and the empire, to Jovius, the praetorian prefect; an unworthy servant, who did not atone, by the merit of personal attachment, for the errors and misfortunes of his administration. The exile, or escape, of the guilty Olympius, reserved him for more vicissitudes of fortune: he experienced the adventures of an obscure and wandering life; he again rose to power; he fell a second time into disgrace; his ears were cut off; he expired under the lash; and his ignominious death afforded a grateful spectacle to the friends of Stilicho. After the removal of Olympius, whose character was deeply tainted with religious fanaticism, the Pagans and heretics were delivered from the impolitic proscription, which excluded them from the dignities of the state. The brave Gennerid,<sup>85</sup> a soldier of barbarian origin, who still adhered to the worship of his ancestors, had been obliged to lay aside the military belt; and though he was repeatedly assured by the emperor himself, that laws were not made for persons of his rank or merit, he refused to accept any partial dispensation, and persevered in honourable disgrace, till he had extorted a general act of justice from the distress of the Roman government. The conduct of Gennerid, in the important station, to which he was promoted or restored, of master-general of Dalmatia, Pannonia, Noricum, and Rhaetia, seemed to revive the discipline and spirit of the republic. From a life of idleness and want, his troops were soon habituated to severe exercise, and plentiful subsistence; and his private generosity often supplied the rewards, which were denied by the avarice, or poverty, of the court of Ravenna. The valour of Gennerid, formidable to the adjacent barbarians, was the firmest bulwark of the Illyrian frontier; and his vigilant care assisted the empire with a reinforcement of ten thousand Huns, who arrived on the confines of Italy, attended by such a convoy of provisions, and such a numerous train of sheep and oxen, as might have been sufficient, not only for the march of an army, but for the settlement of a colony. But the court and councils of Honorius still retained a scene of weakness and distraction, of corruption and anarchy. Instigated by the prefect Jovius, the guards rose in furious mutiny, and demanded the heads of two generals, and of the two principal eunuchs. The generals, under a perfidious promise of safety, were sent on ship-board, and privately executed; while the favour of the eunuchs procured them a mild and secure exile at Milan and Constantinople. Eusebius the eunuch, and the barbarian Allobich, succeeded to the command of the bedchamber and of the guards; and the mutual jealousy

Change and  
succession of  
ministers.

<sup>81</sup> The treaty between Alaric and the Romans, &c. is taken from Zosimus, l. v. p. 354, 355, 356, 357, 358. The additional circumstances are, too few and too remote to require any further quotation.

<sup>82</sup> Zosimus, l. v. p. 357, 358, 359.

<sup>83</sup> Zosimus, l. v. p. 360, 361, 362. The bishop, by removing it, however, escaped the impending calamities of the city. Orosius, vi. c. 31, p. 373.

<sup>84</sup> For the adventures of Olympius, and his successors in the mini-

stry, see Zosimus, l. v. p. 363, 365, 366, and Olympiodorus, ap. Phot. p. 160, 161.

<sup>85</sup> Zosimus, l. v. p. 343 repeats this circumstance with great complacency, and celebrates the character of Gennerid as the last glory of dying Patience. Very different is the character of the eunuch Jovius, who, as the author of the calamities of the empire, is described as a selfish, avaricious, and cruel man. A complete list of the names of the eunuchs, and of the barons, Attalus, Eusebius, &c. is given in the text. See Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiae*, A. D. 409, No. 12, A. D. 410, No. 17, 18.







proportion of the Roman people . many thousand warriors, more especially of the Huns, who served under the standard of Alaric, were strangers to the name, or at least to the faith, of Christ ; and we may suspect, without any breach of charity or candour, that, in the hour of savage licence, when every passion was inflamed, and every restraint was removed, the precepts of the Gospel seldom influenced the behaviour of the Gothic Christians. The writers, the best disposed to exaggerate their clemency, have freely confessed, that a cruel slaughter was made of the Romans ;<sup>101</sup> and that the streets of the city were filled with dead bodies, which remained without burial during the general consternation. The despair of the citizens was sometimes converted into fury ; and whenever the barbarians were provoked by opposition, they extended the promiscuous massacre to the feeble, the innocent, and the helpless. The private revenge of forty thousand slaves was exercised without pity or remorse ; and the ignominious lashes, which they had formerly received, were washed away in the blood of the guilty, or obnoxious, families. The matrons and virgins of Rome were exposed to injuries more dreadful, in the apprehension of chastity, than death itself ; and the ecclesiastical historian has selected an example of female virtue, for the admiration of future ages.<sup>102</sup> A Roman lady, of singular beauty, and orthodox faith, had excited the impatient desires of a young Goth, who, according to the sagacious remark of Sozomen, was attached to the Arian heresy. Exasperated by her obstinate resistance, he drew his sword, and, with the anger of a lover, slightly wounded her neck. The bleeding heroine still continued to brave his resentment, and to repel his love, till the ravisher desisted from his unavailing efforts, respectfully conducted her to the sanctuary of the Vatican, and gave six pieces of gold to the guards of the church, on condition that they should restore her inviolate to the arms of her husband. Such instances of courage and generosity were not extremely common. The brutal soldiers satisfied their sensual appetites, without consulting either the inclination, or the duties, of their female captives ; and a nice question of casuistry was seriously agitated, Whether those tender victims, who had inflexibly refused their consent to the violation which they sustained, had lost, by their misfortune, the glorious crown of virginity.<sup>103</sup> There were other losses indeed of a

more substantial kind, and more general concern. It cannot be presumed, that all the barbarians were at all times, capable of perpetrating such amorous outrages; and the want of youth, or beauty, or chastity, protected the greatest part of the Roman women from the danger of a rape. But avarice is an insatiate and universal passion; since the enjoyment of almost every object that can afford pleasure to the different tastes and tempers of mankind may be procured by the possession of wealth. In the pillage of Rome, a just preference was given to gold and jewels, which contain the greatest value in the smallest compass and weight. But, after these portable riches had been removed by the more diligent robbers, the palaces of Rome were rudely stripped of their splendid and costly furniture. The sideboards of massy plate, and the variegated wardrobes of silk and purple, were irregularly piled in the wagons, that always followed the march of a Gothic army. The most exquisite works of art were roughly handled, or wantonly destroyed: many a statue was melted for the sake of the precious materials; and many a vase, in the division of the spoil, was shivered into fragments by the stroke of a battle-axe. The acquisition of riches served only to stimulate the avarice of the rapacious barbarians, who proceeded, by threats, by blows, and by tortures, to force from their prisoners the confession of hidden treasure.<sup>104</sup> Visible splendour and expense were alleged as the proof of a plentiful fortune: the appearance of poverty was imputed to a parsimonious disposition; and the obstinacy of some misers, who endured the most cruel torments before they would discover the secret object of their affection, was fatal to many unhappy wretches, who expired under the lash, for refusing to reveal their imaginary treasures. The cities of Rome, though the damage has been much exaggerated, received some injury from the violence of the Goths. At their entrance through the Salustian gate, they fired the adjacent houses, to guide their march, and to distract the attention of the citizens: the flames, which encountered no obstacle in the disorder of the night, consumed many private and public buildings; and the ruins of the palace of Salustius remained, in the age of Justinian, a stately monument of the Gothic conflagration.<sup>105</sup> Yet a contemporary historian has observed, that fire could scarcely consume the enormous beams of solid brass, and that the strength of man was

101. Item from p. 121 of Prologue has applied to the sack of Rome and the strong expression of Voss's

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100 March 13, 1968, and this provides incentive for her task, her goal and her purpose, was there a concrete goal, a clearly defined and well-planned method of doing it? No. I found in a 1962 article by Dr. S. O. Rabinovitch, a review of the various methods of torturing and killing animals, that the most common method was to

1. The first is that of the "wonderful price" of the vices which he is so "gloriously" and "cruelly" in the words of Naudé, to "have paid" a fortune in the Dutch colony. The end where he is buried is the "new street" (the "port" of St. Nicolas), separated from the others by the "stream, and not far distant from the Seine" (see Naudé, *Revue Antiqu.*, p. 129, 135, and again p. 136). The other houses, No. 1.

For the purpose of this study, the authors are seeking a moderate degree of variability in the data. The amount of Marfan's spaces may vary from one subject to the next, but the words of the following paragraph are intended to provide a general impression of the distribution of the data. The authors are not trying to provide the evidence of the existence of the data, but the evidence of the existence of the data.



insufficient to subvert the foundations of ancient structures. Some truth may possibly be concealed in his devout assertion, that the wrath of Heaven supplied the imperfections of hostile rage; and that the proud Forum of Rome, decorated with the statues of so many gods and heroes, was levelled in the dust by the stroke of lightning.<sup>107</sup>

Whatever might be the numbers, of equestrian, or plebeian rank, who perished in the massacre of Rome, it is confidently affirmed, that only one senator lost his life by the sword of the enemy.<sup>108</sup> But it was not easy to compute the multitudes, who, from an honourable station, and a prosperous fortune, were suddenly reduced to the miserable condition of captives and exiles. As the barbarians had more occasion for money than for slaves, they fixed, at a moderate price, the redemption of their indigent prisoners; and the ransom was often paid by the benevolence of their friends, or the charity of strangers.<sup>109</sup> The captives, who were regularly sold, either in open market, or by private contract, would have legally regained their native freedom, which it was impossible for a citizen to lose, or to alienate.<sup>110</sup> But as it was soon discovered, that the vindication of their liberty would endanger their lives; and that the Goths, unless they were tempted to sell, might be provoked to murder, their useless prisoners; the civil jurisprudence had been already qualified by a wise regulation, that they should be obliged to serve the moderate term of five years, till they had discharged by their labour the price of their redemption.<sup>111</sup> The nations who invaded the Roman empire, had driven before them, into Italy, whole troops of hungry and affrighted provincials, less apprehensive of servitude than of famine. The calamities of Rome and Italy dispersed the inhabitants to the most lonely, the most secure, the most distant places of refuge. While the Gothic cavalry spread terror and desolation along the sea-coast of Campania and Tuscany, the little island of Igilium, separated by a narrow channel from the Argenterian promontory, repulsed, or eluded, their hostile attempts; and at so small a distance from Rome, great numbers of citizens were securely concealed in the thick woods of that sequestered spot.<sup>112</sup> The ample patrimonies, which many senatorial families possessed in Africa, invited them, if they had time,

and prudence, to escape from the ruin of their country; to embrace the shelter of that hospitable province. The most illustrious of these fugitives was the noble and pious Proba,<sup>113</sup> the widow of the prefect Petronius. After the death of her husband, the most powerful subject of Rome, she had remained at the head of the Anician family, and successively supplied, from her private fortune, the expense of the consulships of her three sons. When the city was besieged and taken by the Goths, Proba supported, with Christian resignation, the loss of immense riches; embarked in a small vessel, from whence she beheld, at sea, the flames of her burning palace, and fled with her daughter Læta, and her granddaughter, the celebrated virgin, Demetrias, to the coast of Africa. The benevolent profusion with which the matron distributed the fruits, or the price, of her estates, contributed to alleviate the misfortunes of exile and captivity. But even the family of Proba herself was not exempt from the rapacious oppression of count Heracian, who basely sold, in matrimonial prostitution, the noblest maidens of Rome to the lust or avarice of the Syrian merchants. The Italian fugitives were dispersed through the provinces, along the coast of Egypt and Asia, as far as Constantinople and Jerusalem; and the village of Bethlem, the solitary residence of St. Jerom and his female converts, was crowded with illustrious beggars of either sex, and every age, who excited the public compassion by the remembrance of their past fortune.<sup>114</sup> This awful catastrophe of Rome filled the astonished empire with grief and terror. So interesting a contrast of greatness and ruin disposed the fond credulity of the people to deplore, and even to exaggerate, the afflictions of the queen of cities. The clergy, who applied to recent events the lofty metaphors of Oriental prophecy, were sometimes tempted to confound the destruction of the capital, and the dissolution of the globe.

There exists in human nature a strong propensity to depreciate the advantages, and to magnify the evils, of the present times. Yet, when the first emotions had subsided, and a fair estimate was made of the real damage, the more learned and judicious contemporaries were forced to confess, that infant Rome had formerly received more essential injury from the Gauls, than she had now sustained from the Goths in her declining

Sack of Rome  
by the troops  
of Charles V

<sup>107</sup> Orosius, l. iv. c. 19. n. 15. He speaks as if he had observed all statues, vel Deum vel hominum monumenta. The loss of the statues of Aeneas and Romulus from the Capitol, the destruction of the temple of Vesta, and the destruction of the statues of the gods, he uses of *Ætium* is somewhat ambiguous, since there existed no principal *Ætium*. But as they were all contiguous and adjacent, in the plain which is surrounded by the Campidoglio, the Quirinal, the Esquiline, and the Pincian hills, they might fairly be considered as one. See the *Mon. Antiqu. de Dacius*, p. 162-201, and the *Roma Antica* of Nardoni, p. 212-257. The former is more useful for the ancient descriptions, the latter for the actual topography.

<sup>108</sup> Orosius (l. iv. c. 19. n. 15) compares the cruelty of the Goths and the elements of the Goths. But six years, quatuordecim annos, totum, qui vel ab eis evaserit, hic viis quicquid requirit, quia tunc ut latens perierit. But there is an air of rhetoric, and perhaps of falsehood, in this antithesis; and *Sacerdos* (l. vi. c. 19) attests, that the Goths were not so cruel.

<sup>111</sup> Appendix Cod. Theodos. xvi. in *Baronius*, Opera, tom. i. p. 755. This edict was published on the 11th of December, A. D. 408, and is more reasonable than *præ* per se belonged to the ministers of Honorius.

<sup>112</sup> *Emmus Igilium saltem circumvenia mitor; Quem fraudare nefas laus honoris sum.*

His promissis, non potuit ista insula saltem; Sic loquage non, sed Domini genus. *Gregorius* (l. i. c. 10) vult, ut ista insula ab armis, *Lampadius* fortissimè dissociat, *Gregorius* (l. i. c. 10) vult, ut ista insula ab armis, *P. Antiquus* (l. i. c. 10) vult, ut ista insula ab armis, *P. Antiquus* (l. i. c. 10) vult, ut ista insula ab armis.

The island is now called Igilium. See *Cluver*, Ital. Antiq. l. ii. p. 542.

<sup>113</sup> As the adventures of Proba and her family are connected with the life of St. Augustin, they are diligently illustrated by *Tillemont*, *Mém. Læta*, tom. xii. p. 620-675. Some time after their arrival in Africa, Demetrias took the veil, and made a vow of virginity; an event which was considered as of the highest importance to Rome and to the world. All the *Antiqui* wrote congratulatory letters to her, that of Jerom is still extant (tom. i. p. 62-75, ad Demetriad, de servitute Virginitatis), and contains a mixture of absurd reasoning, spirited declamation, and curious facts, some of which relate to the sack and sack of Rome.

<sup>114</sup> See the pathetic complaint of Jerom (tom. v. p. 400), in his preface to the second book of his Commentaries on the Prophet *Esaïa*.

age,<sup>115</sup> The experience of eleven centuries has enabled posterity to produce a much more singular parallel; and to affirm with confidence, that the ravages of the barbarians, whom Alaric had led from the banks of the Danube, were less destructive, than the hostilities exercised by the troops of Charles the Fifth, a Catholic prince, who styled himself Emperor of the Romans.<sup>116</sup> The Goths evacuated the city at the end of six days, but Rome remained above nine months in the possession of the Imperialists; and every hour was stained by some atrocious act of cruelty, lust, and rapine. The authority of Alaric preserved some order and moderation among the ferocious multitude, which acknowledged him for their leader and king; but the constable of Bourbon had gloriously fallen in the attack of the wall; and the death of the general removed every restraint of discipline, from an army which consisted of three independent nations, the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Germans. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the manners of Italy exhibited a remarkable scene of the depravity of mankind. They united the sanguinary crimes that prevail in an unsettled state of society, with the polished vices which spring from the abuse of art and luxury; and the loose adventurers, who had violated every prejudice of patriotism and superstition to assault the palace of the Roman pontiff, must deserve to be considered as the most profligate of the *Italians*. At the same era, the *Spaniards* were the terror both of the Old and New World: but their high-spirited valour was disgraced by gloomy pride, rapacious avarice, and unrelenting cruelty. Indefatigable in the pursuit of fame and riches, they had improved, by repeated practice, the most exquisite and effectual methods of torturing their prisoners: many of the Castilians, who pillaged Rome, were familiars of the holy inquisition; and some volunteers, perhaps, were lately returned from the conquest of Mexico. The *Germans* were less corrupt than the Italians, less cruel than the Spaniards, and the rustic, or even savage, aspect of those *Transmontane* warriors, often disguised a simple and merciful disposition. But they had imbibed, in the first fervour of the reformation, the spirit, as well as the principles, of Luther. It was their favourite amusement to insult, or destroy, the consecrated objects of Catholic superstition; they indulged, without pity or remorse, a devout hatred against the clergy of every denomination and degree, who

form so considerable a part of the inhabitants of modern Rome; and their fanatic zeal might aspire to subvert the throne of Antichrist, to purify, with blood and fire, the abominations of the spiritual Babylon.<sup>117</sup>

The retreat of the victorious Goths, who evacuated Rome on the sixth day,<sup>118</sup> might be the result of prudence; but it was not surely the effect of fear.<sup>119</sup> At the head of an army, encumbered with rich and weighty spoils, their intrepid leader advanced along the Appian way into the southern provinces of Italy, destroying whatever dared to oppose his passage, and contenting himself with the plunder of the unresisting country. The fate of Capua, the proud and luxurious metropolis of Campania, and which was respected, even in its decay, as the eighth city of the empire,<sup>120</sup> is buried in oblivion; whilst the adjacent town of Nola<sup>121</sup> has been illustrated, on this occasion, by the sanctity of Paulinus,<sup>122</sup> who was successively a consul, a monk, and a bishop. At the age of forty, he renounced the enjoyment of wealth and honour, of society and literature, to embrace a life of solitude and penance; and the loud applause of the clergy encouraged him to despise the reproaches of his worldly friends, who ascribed this desperate act to some disorder of the mind or body.<sup>123</sup> An early and passionate attachment determined him to fix his humble dwelling in one of the suburbs of Nola, near the miraculous tomb of St. Felix, which the public devotion had already surrounded with five large and populous churches. The remains of his fortune, and of his understanding, were dedicated to the service of the glorious martyr; whose praise, on the day of his festival, Paulinus never failed to celebrate by a solemn hymn; and in whose name he erected a sixth church, of superior elegance and beauty, which was decorated with many curious pictures, from the history of the Old and New Testament. Such assiduous zeal secured the favour of the saint,<sup>124</sup> or at least of the people; and, after fifteen years' retirement, the Roman consul was compelled to accept the bishopric of Nola, a few months before the city was invested by the Goths. During the siege, some religious persons were satisfied that they had seen, either in dreams or visions, the divine form of their tutelar patron; yet it soon appeared by the event, that Felix wanted power, or inclination, to preserve the flock, of which he had formerly been the shepherd. Nola

Alaric evacuated Rome, and ravaged Italy. A. D. 410, Aug. 29.

<sup>115</sup> Orosius, though with some theological pretensions, does not think it necessary to ascribe the fall of the city to the Goths, but to the fury of the pestilence, which he calls the *plague of the Goths*, and perhaps of the *plague of the Goths*. See his *History of the Goths*, lib. 7, c. 10. and *Metaphysics*, lib. 1, c. 10. and *Metaphysics*, lib. 1, c. 10.

<sup>116</sup> The reader who wishes to be informed of the different customs of the five famous orders of monks, and of the different manners of the different orders of monks, may consult the *History of the Monks*, by Mr. Robertson, lib. 1, c. 10. and *History of the Monks*, by Mr. Robertson, lib. 1, c. 10. and *History of the Monks*, by Mr. Robertson, lib. 1, c. 10.

<sup>117</sup> The furious spirit of Luther, the effect of temper and enthusiasm, has been formerly observed. See *History of the Reformation*, by Mr. Hallam, lib. 1, c. 10. and *History of the Reformation*, by Mr. Hallam, lib. 1, c. 10.

<sup>118</sup> See *History of the Goths*, lib. 7, c. 10. and *History of the Goths*, lib. 7, c. 10.

<sup>119</sup> See *History of the Goths*, lib. 7, c. 10. and *History of the Goths*, lib. 7, c. 10.

<sup>120</sup> See *History of the Goths*, lib. 7, c. 10. and *History of the Goths*, lib. 7, c. 10.

<sup>121</sup> See *History of the Goths*, lib. 7, c. 10. and *History of the Goths*, lib. 7, c. 10.

<sup>122</sup> See *History of the Goths*, lib. 7, c. 10. and *History of the Goths*, lib. 7, c. 10.

<sup>123</sup> See *History of the Goths*, lib. 7, c. 10. and *History of the Goths*, lib. 7, c. 10.

<sup>124</sup> See *History of the Goths*, lib. 7, c. 10. and *History of the Goths*, lib. 7, c. 10.

was not saved from the general devastation; 125 and the captive bishop was protected only by the general opinion of his innocence and poverty. Above four years elapsed from the successful invasion of Italy by the arms of Alaric, to the voluntary retreat of the Goths under the conduct

Possession of his successor Adolphus; and, during the whole time, they reigned A. D. 408-412. without control over a country, which, in the opinion of the ancients, had united all the various excellencies of nature and art. The prosperity, indeed, which Italy had attained in the auspicious age of the Antonines, had gradually declined with the decline of the empire. The fruits of a long peace perished under the rude grasp of the barbarians; and they themselves were incapable of tasting the more elegant refinements of luxury, which had been prepared for the use of the soft and polished Italians. Each soldier, however, claimed an ample portion of the substantial plenty, the corn and cattle, oil and wine, that was daily collected and consumed in the Gothic camp; and the principal warriors insulted the villas, and gardens, once inhabited by Lucullus and Cicero, along the beautiful coast of Campania. Their trembling captives, the sons and daughters of Roman senators, presented, in goblets of gold and gems, large draughts of Falernian wine, to the haughty victors; who stretched their huge limbs under the shade of plane-trees, 126 artificially disposed to exclude the scorching rays, and to admit the genial warmth, of the sun. These delights were enhanced by the memory of past hardships: the comparison of their native soil, the bleak and barren hills of Scythia, and the frozen banks of the Elbe and Danube, added new charms to the felicity of the Italian climate. 127

Whether fame, or conquest, or riches, were the object of Alaric, he pursued that object with an indefatigable ardour, which could neither be quelled by adversity, nor satiated by success. No sooner had he reached the extreme land of Italy, than he was attracted by the neighbouring prospect of a fertile and peaceful island. Yet even the possession of Sicily he considered only as an intermediate step to the important expedition, which he already meditated against the continent of Africa. The straits of Rhegium and Messina 128 are twelve miles in length, and, in the narrowest passage, about one mile and a half broad; and the fabulous monsters of the deep, the rocks of Scylla, and the whirlpool of Charybdis, could terrify none but the most timid and unskilful mariners. Yet as soon as the first division of the Goths had embarked, a sudden tempest arose, which sunk, or scattered, many of

the transports; their courage was daunted by the terrors of a new element; and the whole design was defeated by the premature death of Alaric, which fixed, after a short illness, the fatal term of his conquests. The ferocious character of the barbarians was displayed, in the funeral of a hero, whose valour, and fortune, they celebrated with mournful applause. By the labour of a captive multitude, they forcibly diverted the course of the Busentinus, a small river that washes the walls of Consentia. The royal sepulchre, adorned with the splendid spoils, and trophies, of Rome, was constructed in the vacant bed; the waters were then restored to their natural channel; and the secret spot, where the remains of Alaric had been deposited, was for ever concealed by the inhuman massacre of the prisoners, who had been employed to execute the work. 129

The personal animosities, and hereditary feuds, of the barbarians, were suspended by the strong necessity of their affairs; and the brave Adolphus, the brother-in-law of the deceased monarch, was unanimously elected to succeed to his throne. The character and political system of the new king of the Goths may be best understood from his own conversation with an illustrious citizen of Nîmboine; who afterwards, in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, related it to St. Jerom, in the presence of the historian Orosius. "In the full confidence of valour and victory, I once aspired (said Adolphus) to change the face of the universe; to obliterate the name of Rome; to erect on its ruins the dominion of the Goths; and to acquire, like Augustus, the immortal fame of the founder of a new empire. By repeated experiments, I was gradually convinced, that laws are essentially necessary to maintain and regulate a well-constituted state; and that the fierce untractable humour of the Goths was incapable of bearing the salutary yoke of laws and civil government. From that moment I proposed to myself a different object of glory and ambition; and it is now my sincere wish, that the gratitude of future ages should acknowledge the merit of a stranger, who employed the sword of the Goths, not to subvert, but to restore and maintain the prosperity of the Roman empire." 130 With these pacific views, the successor of Alaric suspended the operations of war; and seriously negotiated with the Imperial court a treaty of friendship and alliance. It was the interest of the ministers of Honorius, who were now released from the obligation of their extravagant oath, to deliver Italy from the intolerable weight of the Gothic powers; and

Adolphus, king of the Goths, concludes a peace with the empire, and marches into Gaul. A. D. 412.

125 See Jornandes, de Reb. Get. c. 50. p. 655. Philostorgius, l. vii. c. 3. Augustin, de Civ. Dei, l. i. c. 10. Baronsius, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 410. No. 15. 46.  
126 The platanus, or plane tree, was a favourite of the ancients, by whom it was propagated, for the sake of shade, from the East to Gaul. Pliny, Hist. Natur. l. x. 4. 5. He mentions several of an enormous size, one in the Imperial city, at Velitrae, which Cincinnatus called his nest, in the branches were capable of holding a large table, the proper attendant, and the emperor himself, whom Pliny, in quantity, styles *pater unicus*, an expression which might, with equal reason, be applied to Alaric.

127 The prostrate South to the destroyer yields  
Her bosky tufts, and her cold fields;  
With grim delight the broad of a winter view  
A brighter day, and skies of azure hue;

Scent the new fragrance of the opening rose,  
And quiff the pendant vintage as it grows.

See Gray's Poems, published by Mr. Mason, p. 147. Instead of compiling tables of chronology and natural history, why did not Mr. Gray apply the powers of his genius to finish the philosophic poem, of which he has left such an exquisite specimen?

128 For the perfect description of the straits of Messina, Sicily, Charleides, &c. see Cluverius (Ital. Antiq. l. iv. p. 1247), and Sicula Antiq. l. i. p. 64. (75), who had diligently studied the ancients, and surveyed.

129 Jos.  
130 On  
the occasion  
consult with him on the subject of the Pelagian controversy.

they readily accepted their service against the tyrants and barbarians who infested the provinces beyond the Alps.<sup>131</sup> Adolphus, assuming the character of a Roman general, directed his march from the extremity of Campania to the southern provinces of Gaul. His troops, either by force or agreement, immediately occupied the cities of Narbonne, Thoulouse, and Bourdeaux; and though they were repulsed by count Boniface from the walls of Marseilles, they soon extended their quarters from the Mediterranean to the Ocean. The oppressed provincials might exclaim, that the miserable remnant, which the enemy had spared, was cruelly ravished by their pretended allies; yet some specious colours were not wanting to palliate, or justify, the violence of the Goths. The cities of Gaul, which they attacked, might perhaps be considered as in a state of rebellion against the government of Honorius: the articles of the treaty, or the secret instructions of the court, might sometimes be alleged in favour of the seeming usurpations of Adolphus; and the guilt of any irregular, unsuccessful, act of hostility, might always be imputed, with an appearance of truth, to the ungovernable spirit of a barbarian host, impatient of peace or discipline. The luxury of Italy had been less effectual to soften the temper, than to relax the courage, of the Goths; and they had imbibed the vices, without imitating the arts and institutions, of civilised society.<sup>132</sup>

The professions of Adolphus were probably sincere, and his attachment to the cause of the republic was secured by the ascendancy which a Roman princess had acquired over the heart and understanding of the barbarian king. Placidia, the daughter of the great Theodosius, and of Galla, his second wife, had received a royal education in the palace of Constantinople; but the eventful story of her life is connected with the revolutions which agitated the Western empire under the reign of her brother Honorius. When Rome was first invested by the arms of Alarie, Placidia, who was then about twenty years of age, resided in the city; and her ready consent to the death of her cousin Serena has a cruel and ungrateful appearance, which, according to the circumstances of the action, may be aggravated, or excused, by the consideration of her tender age.<sup>133</sup> The victorious barbarians detained, either as a hostage or a captive,<sup>134</sup> the sister of Honorius; but, while she was exposed to the disgrace of following round Italy the motions of a Gothic camp, she experienced, however, a decent and

respectful treatment. The authority of Jornandes, who praises the beauty of Placidia, may perhaps be counterbalanced by the silence, the expressive silence, of her flatterers: yet the splendour of her birth, the bloom of youth, the elegance of manners, and the dexterous insinuation which she condescended to employ, made a deep impression on the mind of Adolphus; and the Gothic king aspired to call himself the brother of the emperor. The ministers of Honorius rejected with disdain the proposal of an alliance so injurious to every sentiment of Roman pride; and repeatedly urged the restitution of Placidia, as an indispensable condition of the treaty of peace. But the daughter of Theodosius submitted, without reluctance, to the desires of the conqueror, a young and valiant prince, who yielded to Alarie in loftiness of stature, but who excelled in the more attractive qualities of grace and beauty. The marriage of Adolphus and Placidia<sup>135</sup> was consummated before the Goths retired from Italy; and the solemn, perhaps the anniversary, day of their nuptials was afterwards celebrated in the house of Ingenius, one of the most illustrious citizens of Narbonne in Gaul. The bride, attired and adorned like a Roman empress, was placed on a throne of state; and the king of the Goths, who assumed, on this occasion, the Roman habit, contented himself with a less honourable seat by her side. The nuptial gift, which, according to the custom of his nation,<sup>137</sup> was offered to Placidia, consisted of the rare and magnificent spoils of her country. Fifty beautiful youths, in silken robes, carried a basin in each hand; and one of these basins was filled with pieces of gold, the other with precious stones of an inestimable value. Attalus, so long the sport of fortune, and of the Goths, was appointed to lead the chorus of the Hymeneal song; and the degraded emperor might aspire to the praise of a skilful musician. The barbarians enjoyed the insolence of their triumph; and the provincials rejoiced in this alliance, which tempered, by the mild influence of love and reason, the fierce spirit of their Gothic lord.<sup>138</sup>

The hundred basins of gold and gems, presented to Placidia at her nuptial feast, formed an inconsiderable portion of the Gothic treasures; of which some extraordinary specimens may be selected from the history of the successors of Adolphus. Many curious and costly ornaments of pure gold, enriched with jewels, were found in their palace of Narbonne, when it was pillaged, in the sixth century, by the Franks: sixty cups, or chalices;

The Gothic treasures.

<sup>131</sup> Jornandes supposes, without much probability, that Alaric visited and plundered Honorius's court, before he marched into Italy. Yet he agrees with Orosius in supposing, that a treaty of peace was concluded between the Gothic prince and his emperor. See *Fasti Sicilicæ*, p. 171, 181, 185. Jornandes, *de rebus Gothorum*, c. 11, p. 131.

<sup>132</sup> The retreat of the Goths from Italy, and their return to the provinces in Gaul, are dark and doubtful. I have derived my account from Mascon (Hist. of the ancient Germans, l. viii. c. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24), who has illustrated, and connected, the broken chronicles and fragments of the times.

<sup>133</sup> See an account of Placidia in Ducange, *Fasti Byzantini*, p. 72; and Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 260, 286, &c. tom. vi. p. 240.

<sup>134</sup> Zosim. l. v. p. 300.

<sup>135</sup> Zosim. l. v. p. 305. Orosius, *l. vi. c. 40*, p. 577, and the *Chronicles of Morodanis and Alaric*, seem to differ with the Goths did not carry away Placidia, but left her to the emperor.

<sup>136</sup> See the pictures of Adolphus and Placidia, and the account of their marriage, in Jornandes, *de rebus Gothorum*, c. 11, p. 131. With regard to the place, where the Barbarians were stipulated to retire,

generally, or a detailed list of the MSS. of Jornandes, varies between two in ancient MSS. and modern editions. I have followed the former. It is a very curious and accurate list of the basins with their precious spoils. Mascon, *l. viii. c. 20*, p. 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>137</sup> The Visigoths (the subjects of Adolphus) restrained, by subsequent laws, the propensity to divorce. It was not lawful for a husband to make any other settlement for the benefit of his wife during the first year of their marriage, and a father-in-law could not at any time exceed the worth part of his property. The Lombards were somewhat more indulgent; they allowed the spouses to promiscuously alter the will of each other, and to make a new settlement, if they were not satisfied with the first. See the *Historia Longobardorum*, l. i. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

<sup>138</sup> See the pictures of Adolphus and Placidia, and the account of their marriage, in Jornandes, *de rebus Gothorum*, c. 11, p. 131. With regard to the place, where the Barbarians were stipulated to retire,

fifteen *patens*, or plates, for the use of the communion; twenty boxes, or cases, to hold the books of the Gospels: this consecrated wealth<sup>139</sup> was distributed by the son of Clovis among the churches of his dominions, and his pious liberality seems to upbraid some former sacrilege of the Goths. They possessed, with more security of conscience, the famous *missorium*, or great dish for the service of the table, of massy gold, of the weight of five hundred pounds, and of far superior value, from the precious stones, the exquisite workmanship, and the tradition, that it had been presented by Ætius, the patrician, to Torismond king of the Goths. One of the successors of Torismond purchased the aid of the French monarch by the promise of this magnificent gift. When he was seated on the throne of Spain, he delivered it with reluctance to the ambassadors of Dagobert; despoiled them on the road; stipulated, after a long negotiation, the inadequate ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold; and preserved the *missorium*, as the pride of the Gothic treasury.<sup>140</sup> When that treasury, after the conquest of Spain, was plundered by the Arabs, they admired, and they have celebrated, another object still more remarkable; a table of considerable size, of one single piece of solid emerald,<sup>141</sup> encircled with three rows of fine pearls, supported by three hundred and sixty-five feet of gems and massy gold, and estimated at the price of five hundred thousand pieces of gold.<sup>142</sup> Some portion of the Gothic treasures might be the gift of friendship, or the tribute of obedience: but the far greater part had been the fruits of war and rapine, the spoils of the empire, and perhaps of Rome.

After the deliverance of Italy from the oppression of the Goths, some secret counsellor was permitted, amidst the factions of the palace, to heal the wounds of that afflicted country.<sup>143</sup> By a wise and humane regulation, the eight provinces which had been the most deeply injured, Campania, Tuscany, Picenum, Sannium, Apulia, Calabria, Bruttium, and Lucania, obtained an indulgence of five years. the ordinary tribute was reduced to one fifth, and even that fifth was destined to restore, and support, the useful institution of the public posts. By another law, the lands, which had been left without inhabitants or cultivation, were granted, with some diminution of taxes, to the neighbours who should occupy, or the strangers who should solicit them; and the new possessors were secured against the

future claims of the fugitive proprietors. About the same time a general amnesty was published in the name of Honorius, to abolish the guilt and memory of all the *involuntary* offences, which had been committed by his unhappy subjects, during the term of the public disorder and calamity. A decent and respectful attention was paid to the restoration of the capital; the citizens were encouraged to rebuild the edifices which had been destroyed or damaged by hostile fire; and extraordinary supplies of corn were imported from the coast of Africa. The crowds that so lately fled before the sword of the barbarians, were soon recalled by the hopes of plenty and pleasure; and Albinus, præfect of Rome, informed the court, with some anxiety and surprise, that, in a single day, he had taken an account of the arrival of fourteen thousand strangers.<sup>144</sup> In less than seven years, the vestiges of the Gothic invasion were almost obliterated; and the city appeared to resume its former splendour and tranquillity. The venerable matron replaced her crown of laurel, which had been ruffled by the storms of war; and was still amused, in the last moment of her decay, with the prophecies of revenge, of victory, and of eternal dominion.<sup>145</sup>

This apparent tranquillity was soon disturbed by the approach of an hostile armament from the country which afforded the daily subsistence of the Roman people. Heraclian, count of Africa, who, under the most difficult and distressful circumstances, had supported, with active loyalty, the cause of Honorius, was tempted, in the year of his consulship, to assume the character of a rebel, and the title of emperor. The ports of Africa were immediately filled with the naval forces, at the head of which he prepared to invade Italy: and his fleet, when it cast anchor at the mouth of the Tyber, indeed surpassed the fleets of Xerxes and Alexander, if *all* the vessels, including the royal galley, and the smallest boat, did actually amount to the incredible number of three thousand two hundred.<sup>146</sup> Yet with such an armament, which might have subverted, or restored, the greatest empires of the earth, the African usurper made a very faint and feeble impression on the provinces of his rival. As he marched from the port, along the road which leads to the gates of Rome, he was encountered, terrified, and routed, by one of the Imperial captains; and the lord of this mighty host, deserting his fortune and his friends, ignominiously fled with a single ship.<sup>147</sup> When Heraclian

Revolt and  
defeat of  
Heraclian,  
count of Africa.  
A. D. 413.

Francis by Dom  
Gesta Regum  
with an agree-  
ment of Chris-  
tians. If he has any  
meaning, it must be, that they were found in the sack of Rome.

foundation of the church of St. Denis.

countenance the suspicion.

112 Elmam. Hist. Sacraonica, l. i. p. 85. Roderic. Tolet. Hist. Arab. c. 2. Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous les Arabes, tom. i. p. 85. It was called the Table of Solomon, according to the custom of the Orientals, who ascribe to that prince every ancient work of knowledge or magnificence.

143 His three laws are inserted in the Theodosian Code, l. xi.

tit. xxviii. leg. 7. l. xii. tit. xi. leg. 12. l. xv. tit. xiv. leg. 14. The expressions of the last are very remarkable, since they contain not only a pardon, but an apology.

144 Olyn. serves, that the Romans their city.

embarked at Porto the 9th of October, A. D. 416. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 820. In this poetical lunacy, Heraclian (l. i. 115, &c.) addresses Rome in a high strain of congratulation.

Erige crinales lauros, senemque sacrat  
Verticis in virides Roma recinge comas, &c.

146 Orosius composed his history in Africa, only two years after the event, yet his authority seems to be overbalanced by the improbability of the fact. The Chronicle of Marcellinus gives Heraclian 700 ships, and 5000 men, the latter of these numbers is ridiculously corrupt, but the former would please me very much.

147 The Chronicle of Idatius affirms, without the least appearance of truth, that he advanced as far as Carthage, in Umbria, where

landed in the harbour of Carthage, he found that the whole province, disdaining such an unworthy ruler, had returned to their allegiance. The rebel was beheaded in the ancient temple of Memory; his consulship was abolished;<sup>148</sup> and the remains of his private fortune, not exceeding the moderate sum of four thousand pounds of gold, were granted to the brave Constantius, who had already defended the throne, which he afterwards shared with his feeble sovereign. Honorius viewed, with supine indifference, the calamities of Rome and Italy;<sup>149</sup> but the rebellious attempts of Attalus and Heraclian, against his personal safety, awakened, for a moment, the torpid instinct of his nature. He was probably ignorant of the causes and events which preserved him from these impending dangers; and as Italy was no longer invaded by any foreign or domestic enemies, he peaceably existed in the palace of Ravenna, while the tyrants beyond the Alps were repeatedly vanquished in the name, and by the lieutenants, of the son of Theodosius.<sup>150</sup> In the course of a busy and interesting narrative, I might possibly forget to mention the death of such a prince: and I shall therefore take the precaution of observing, in this place, that he survived the last siege of Rome about thirteen years.

Revolutions of Gaul and Spain. A.D. 409-415. The usurpation of Constantine, who received the purple from the legions of Britain, had been successful; and seemed to be secure. His title was acknowledged, from the wall of Antoninus to the columns of Hercules; and, in the midst of the public disorder, he shared the dominion, and the plunder, of Gaul and Spain, with the tribes of barbarians, whose destructive progress was no longer checked by the Rhine or Pyrenees. Stained with the blood of the kinsmen of Honorius, he extorted, from the court of Ravenna, with which he secretly corresponded, the ratification of his rebellious claims. Constantine engaged himself, by a solemn promise, to deliver Italy from the Goths; advanced as far as the banks of the Po; and after alarming, rather than assisting, his pusillanimous ally, hastily returned to the palace of Arles, to celebrate, with intemperate luxury, his vain and ostentatious triumph. But this transient prosperity was soon interrupted and destroyed by the revolt of count Gerontius, the bravest of his generals; who, during the absence of his son Constans, a prince already invested with the Imperial purple, had been left to command in the provinces of Spain. For some reason, of which we are ignorant, Gerontius, instead of assuming the diadem, placed it on the head of his friend Maximus, who fixed his residence at Taragona, while the active count pressed forwards, through the Py-

renees, to surprise the two emperors, Constantine and Constans, before they could prepare for their defence. The son was made prisoner at Vienna, and immediately put to death; and the unfortunate youth had scarcely leisure to deplore the elevation of his family; which had tempted, or compelled him, sacrilegiously to desert the peaceful obscurity of the monastic life. The father maintained a siege within the walls of Arles; but those walls must have yielded to the assailants, had not the city been unexpectedly relieved by the approach of an Italian army. The name of Honorius, the proclamation of a lawful emperor, astonished the contending parties of the rebels. Gerontius, abandoned by his own troops, escaped to the confines of Spain; and rescued his name from oblivion, by the Roman courage which appeared to animate the last moments of his life. In the middle of the night, a great body of his perfidious soldiers surrounded, and attacked his house, which he had strongly barricaded. His wife, a valiant friend of the nation of the Alani, and some faithful slaves, were still attached to his person; and he used, with so much skill and resolution, a large magazine of darts and arrows, that above three hundred of the assailants lost their lives in the attempt. His slaves, when all the missile weapons were spent, fled at the dawn of day; and Gerontius, if he had not been restrained by conjugal tenderness, might have imitated their example; till the soldiers, provoked by such obstinate resistance, applied fire on all sides to the house. In this fatal extremity, he complied with the request of his barbarian friend, and cut off his head. The wife of Gerontius, who conjured him not to abandon her to a life of misery and disgrace, eagerly presented her neck to his sword; and the tragic scene was terminated by the death of the count himself, who, after three ineffectual strokes, drew a short dagger, and sheathed it in his heart.<sup>151</sup> The unprotected Maximus, whom he had invested with the purple, was indebted for his life to the contempt that was entertained of his power and abilities. The caprice of the barbarians, who ravaged Spain, once more seated this Imperial phantom on the throne: but they soon resigned him to the justice of Honorius; and the tyrant Maximus, after he had been shown to the people of Ravenna and Rome, was publicly executed.

The general, Constantius was his name, who raised by his approach the siege of Arles, and dissipated the troops of Gerontius, was born a Roman: and this remarkable distinction is strongly expressive of the decay of military spirit among the subjects of the empire. The strength and majesty which were conspicuous in the person of that general,<sup>152</sup>

Character and name of the general Constantius.

he was overthrown in a great battle, with the loss of fifty thousand men.

<sup>148</sup> See Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. xiv. leg. 15. The laws were performed in his name, even the manumission of slaves, were declared to, they still had been formally performed.

<sup>149</sup> I have dissuaded to mention a very friendly, and probably a false, report (Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 21.) that Honorius was alarmed by the loss of Rome, till he understood that a revolt had taken place in Gaul, which had been lost. Yet even this story is so contrary to the public opinion.

<sup>150</sup> The materials for the lives of all those tyrants are taken from our contemporary historians, two Latins, and four Greeks. See Greg. l. vi. c. 15. p. 651. 34. 35. Renato. Procopius. Procopius. l. i. c. 9. in the Historians of France, l. i. c. 9.

<sup>151</sup> See Constant. l. i. c. 20. 21. George. l. i. c. 20. 21. Phot. p. 159. 161. 162. 163. See also l. i. c. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

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The traces which Suetonius has bestowed on the life of this emperor are so numerous, that it is not possible to give a full account of them. But it is evident, that he was a man of great abilities, and that his death was worthy of her actions.

marked him, in the popular opinion, as a candidate worthy of the throne, which he afterwards ascended. In the familiar intercourse of private life, his manners were cheerful and engaging: nor would he sometimes disdain, in the licence of convivial mirth, to vie with the pantomimes themselves, in the exercises of their ridiculous profession. But when the trumpet summoned him to arms; when he mounted his horse, and, bending down (for such was his singular practice) almost upon the neck, fiercely rolled his large animated eyes round the field, Constantius then struck terror into his foes, and inspired his soldiers with the assurance of victory. He had received from the court of Ravenna the important commission of extirpating rebellion in the provinces of the West; and the pretended emperor Constantine, after enjoying a short and anxious respite, was again besieged in his capital by the arms of a more formidable enemy. Yet this interval allowed time for a successful negotiation with the Franks and Alemanni; and his ambassador, Edobic, soon returned, at the head of an army, to disturb the operations of the siege of Arles. The Roman general, instead of expecting the attack in his lines, boldly, and perhaps wisely, resolved to pass the Rhone, and to meet the barbarians. His measures were conducted with so much skill and secrecy, that, while they engaged the infantry of Constantius in the front, they were suddenly attacked, surrounded, and destroyed, by the cavalry of his lieutenant Ulphilas, who had silently gained an advantageous post in the rear. The remains of the army of Edobic were preserved by flight or submission, and their leader escaped from the field of battle to the house of a faithless friend; who too clearly understood, that the head of his obnoxious guest would be an acceptable and lucrative present for the Imperial general. On this occasion Constantius behaved with the magnanimity of a genuine Roman. Subduing, or suppressing, every sentiment of jealousy, he publicly acknowledged the merit and services of Ulphilas: but he turned with horror from the assassin of Edobic; and sternly intimated his commands, that the camp should no longer be polluted by the presence of an ungrateful wretch, who had violated the laws of friendship and hospitality. The usurper, who beheld, from the walls of Arles, the ruin of his last hopes, was tempted to place some confidence in so generous a conqueror. He required a solemn promise for his security; and after receiving, by the imposition of hands, the sacred character of a Christian presbyter, he ventured to open the gates of the city. But he soon experienced, that the principles of honour and integrity, which might regulate the ordinary conduct of Constantius, were superseded by the loose doctrines of political morality. The Roman general, indeed, refused to sully his laurels with the blood of Constantine; but the abdicated emperor, and his son

Julian, were sent under a strong guard into Italy; and before they reached the palace of Ravenna, they met the ministers of death.

At a time when it was universally confessed, that almost every man in the empire was superior in personal merit to the princes whom the accident of their birth had seated on the throne, a rapid succession of usurpers, regardless of the fate of their predecessors, still continued to arise. This mischief was peculiarly felt in the provinces of Spain and Gaul, where the principles of order and obedience had been extinguished by war and rebellion. Before Constantine resigned the purple, and in the fourth month of the siege of Arles, intelligence was received in the Imperial camp, that Jovinus had assumed the diadem at Mentz, in the Upper Germany, at the instigation of Goar, king of the Alani, and of Gundiarius, king of the Burgundians; and that the candidate, on whom they had bestowed the empire, advanced with a formidable host of barbarians, from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Rhone. Every circumstance is dark and extraordinary in the short history of the reign of Jovinus. It was natural to expect, that a brave and skilful general, at the head of a victorious army, would have asserted, in a field of battle, the justice of the cause of Honorius. The hasty retreat of Constantius might be justified by weighty reasons; but he resigned, without a struggle, the possession of Gaul: and Dardanus, the prætorian præfect, is recorded as the only magistrate who refused to yield obedience to the usurper.<sup>153</sup> When the Goths, two years after the siege of Rome, established their quarters in Gaul, it was natural to suppose that their inclination could be divided only between the emperor Honorius, with whom they had formed a recent alliance, and the degraded Attalus, whom they reserved in their camp for the occasional purpose of acting the part of a musician or a monarch. Yet in a moment of disgust (for which it is not easy to assign a cause, or a date), Adolphus connected himself with the usurper of Gaul; and imposed on Attalus the ignominious task of negotiating the treaty, which ratified his own disgrace. We are again surprised to read, that, instead of considering the Gothic alliance as the firmest support of his throne, Jovinus upbraided, in dark and ambiguous language, the officious importunity of Attalus; that, scorning the advice of his great ally, he invested with the purple his brother Sebastian; and that he most imprudently accepted the service of Sarus, when that gallant chief, the soldier of Honorius, was provoked to desert the court of a prince, who knew not how to reward, or punish. Adolphus, educated among a race of warriors, who esteemed the duty of revenge as the most precious and sacred portion of their inheritance, advanced with a body of ten thousand Goths to encounter the hereditary enemy of the house of Balti. He attacked Sarus at an unguarded

Fall of the usurpers, Jovinus, Sebastian, and Attalus. A. D. 411—416.

Death of the usurper Constantine. A. D. 411, Nov. 28.

<sup>153</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris (l. v. epist. 9. p. 157, and Not. Simond. p. 39), after stigmatising the *incertitudo* of Constantine, the *volubilitas* of Jovinus, the *perfidia* of Gomerius, continues to describe, that, of all the vices of these tyrants were united in the person of Dardanus. Yet the præfect supported a respectable character in the world, and even a

the church; held a devout correspondence with St. Augustine and St. Jerome; and was compensated by the latter (tom. ii. p. 161) with the episcopate of Crastanacensis. Nodding, and Ad. Nodding Christianus.

moment, when he was accompanied only by eighteen or twenty of his valiant followers. United by friendship, animated by despair, but at length oppressed by multitudes, this band of heroes deserved the esteem, without exciting the compassion, of their enemies; and the lion was no sooner taken in the toils,<sup>154</sup> than he was instantly despatched. The death of Sarus dissolved the loose alliance which Adolphus still maintained with the usurpers of Gaul. He again listened to the dictates of love and prudence; and soon satisfied the brother of Placidia, by the assurance that he would immediately transmit, to the palace of Ravenna, the heads of the two tyrants, Jovinus and Sebastian. The king of the Goths executed his promise without difficulty or delay: the helpless brothers, unsupported by any personal merit, were abandoned by their barbarian auxiliaries; and the short opposition of Valentia was expiated by the ruin of one of the noblest cities of Gaul. The emperor, chosen by the Roman senate, who had been promoted, degraded, insulted, restored, again degraded, and again insulted, was finally abandoned to his fate: but when the Gothic king withdrew his protection, he was restrained, by pity or contempt, from offering any violence to the person of Attalus. The unfortunate Attalus, who was left without subjects or allies, embarked in one of the ports of Spain, in search of some secure and solitary retreat: but he was intercepted at sea, conducted to the presence of Honorius, led in triumph through the streets of Rome or Ravenna, and publicly exposed to the gazing multitude, on the second step of the throne of his *invincible* conqueror. The same measure of punishment, with which, in the days of his prosperity, he was accused of menacing his rival, was inflicted on Attalus himself. he was condemned, after the amputation of two fingers, to a perpetual exile in the Isle of Lipari, where he was supplied with the decent necessities of life. The remainder of the reign of Honorius was undisturbed by rebellion; and it may be observed, that, in the space of five years, seven usurpers had yielded to the fortune of a prince, who was himself incapable either of counsel or of action.

The situation of Spain, separated, on all sides, from the enemies of Rome, by the sea, by the mountains, and by intermediate provinces, had secured the long tranquillity of that remote and sequestered country; and we may observe, as a sure symptom of domestic happiness, that, in a period of four hundred years, Spain furnished very few materials to the history of the Roman empire. The footsteps of the barbarians, who, in the reign of Gallienus, had penetrated beyond the Pyrenees, were soon obliterated by the return of peace; and in the fourth century of

the Christian æra, the cities of Emerita, or Merida, of Corduba, Seville, Bracara, and Tarragona, were numbered with the most illustrious of the Roman world. The various plenty of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms, was improved and manufactured by the skill of an industrious people; and the peculiar advantages of naval stores contributed to support an extensive and profitable trade.<sup>155</sup> The arts and sciences flourished under the protection of the emperors; and if the character of the Spaniards was enfeebled by peace and servitude, the hostile approach of the Germans, who had spread terror and desolation from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, seemed to rekindle some sparks of military ardour. As long as the defence of the mountains was intrusted to the hardy and faithful militia of the country, they successfully repelled the frequent attempts of the barbarians. But no sooner had the national troops been compelled to resign their post to the Honorian bands, in the service of Constantine, than the gates of Spain were treacherously betrayed to the public enemy, about ten months before the sack of Rome by the Goths.<sup>156</sup> The consciousness of guilt, and the thirst of rapine, prompted the mercenary guards of the Pyrenees to desert their station; to invite the arms of the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani; and to swell the torrent which was poured with irresistible violence from the frontiers of Gaul to the sea of Africa. The misfortunes of Spain may be described in the language of its most eloquent historian, who has concisely expressed the passionate, and perhaps exaggerated, declamations of cotemporary writers.<sup>157</sup> "The irruption of these nations was followed by the most dreadful calamities: as the barbarians exercised their indiscriminate cruelty on the fortunes of the Romans and the Spaniards, and ravaged with equal fury the cities and the open country. The progress of famine reduced the miserable inhabitants to feed on the flesh of their fellow-creatures; and even the wild beasts, who multiplied, without control, in the desert, were exasperated, by the taste of blood, and the impatience of hunger, boldly to attack and devour their human prey. Pestilence soon appeared, the inseparable companion of famine; a large proportion of the people was swept away; and the groans of the dying excited only the envy of their surviving friends. At length the barbarians, satiated with carnage and rapine, and afflicted by the contagious evils which they themselves had introduced, fixed their permanent seats in the depopulated country. The ancient Galicia, whose limits included the kingdom of Old Castile, was divided between the Suevi and the Vandals; the Alani were scattered over the provinces of Cartagena and Lusitania."

154 The expression may be understood almost literally. Orosius says, *adversus carnem et sanguinem, non contra carnem et sanguinem*; and this method of expressing a defeat, by using an enemy, *latius conato*, was much practised by the historians. *Amian. xxxi. 2*. "If put private into the public, it is the translation of Tullian, *latius de Imperio*, from *latius de*."

155 Without recurring to the more ancient writers, I shall observe three things, which may be gathered from the fourth and sixth centuries, in the history of Spain. 1. That the country was a great source of naval stores, and that the trade of the Mediterranean was carried on by the Spaniards. 2. That the country was a great source of minerals, and that the trade of the Mediterranean was carried on by the Spaniards. 3. That the country was a great source of manufactures, and that the trade of the Mediterranean was carried on by the Spaniards.

156 Goth. p. 707. More particular relations to the fortification and trade of Spain, may be found in Nunez, *Historia de la guerra*, and in Huet, *Historia de los Condes de Aragon*, *lib. 1. cap. 234*. 157 The historians, who are cited, are Orosius, the Gothic and the Chronicle of Isidore. The second of the three, includes the most particular and the most accurate account of the irruption of the Goths, and the state of the country after the irruption of the Goths, which is the most accurate and the most complete.

157 Isidore wishes to prove, that the progress of the Goths was not so rapid as is usually supposed, and is therefore, a great circumstance of the extent of the irruption of the Goths.



" tania, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Ocean; and the fruitful territory of Bœtica was allotted to the Silingi, another branch of the Vandalic nation. After regulating this partition, the conquerors contracted with their new subjects some reciprocal engagements of protection and obedience: the lands were again cultivated; and the towns and villages were again occupied by a captive people. The greatest part of the Spaniards was even disposed to prefer this new condition of poverty and barbarism, to the severe oppressions of the Roman government; yet there were many who still asserted their native freedom; and who refused, more especially in the mountains of Gallicia, to submit to the barbarian yoke."<sup>153</sup>

Adolphus, king of the Goths, marches into Spain.  
A. D. 411.

The important present of the heads of Jovinus and Sebastian had approved the friendship of Adolphus, and restored Gaul to the obedience of his brother Honorius. Peace was incompatible with the situation and temper of the king of the Goths. He readily accepted the proposal of turning his victorious arms against the barbarians of Spain; the troops of Constantius intercepted his communication with the sea-ports of Gaul, and gently pressed his march towards the Pyrenees:<sup>154</sup> he passed the mountains, and surprised, in the name of the emperor, the city of Barcelona. The fondness of Adolphus for his Roman bride was not abated by time or possession; and the birth of a son, surnamed, from his illustrious grandsire, Theodosius, appeared to fix him for ever in the interest of the republic. The loss of that infant, whose remains were deposited in a silver coffin in one of the churches near Barcelona, afflicted his parents; but the grief of the Gothic king was suspended by the labours of the field; and the course of his victories was soon interrupted by domestic treason. He had imprudently received into his service one of the followers of Sarus; a barbarian of a daring spirit, but of a diminutive stature; whose secret desire of revenging the death of his beloved patron, was continually irritated by the sarcasms of his insolent master. Adolphus was assassinated in the palace of Barcelona; the laws of the succession were violated by a tumultuous faction;<sup>155</sup> and a stranger to the royal race, Sigeric, the brother of Sarus himself, was seated on the Gothic throne. The first act of his reign was the inhuman murder of the six children of Adolphus, the issue of a former marriage, whom he tore, without pity, from the feeble arms of a

venerable bishop.<sup>161</sup> The unfortunate Placidia, instead of the respectful compassion, which she might have excited in the most savage breasts, was treated with cruel and wanton insult. The daughter of the emperor Theodosius, confounded among a crowd of vulgar captives, was compelled to march on foot above twelve miles, before the horse of a barbarian, the assassin of an husband whom Placidia loved and lamented.<sup>162</sup>

The Goths conquer and restore Spain.  
A. D. 413-415.

But Placidia soon obtained the pleasure of revenge; and the view of her ignominious sufferings might rouse an indignant people against the tyrant, who was assassinated on the seventh day of his usurpation. After the death of Sigeric, the free choice of the nation bestowed the Gothic sceptre on Wallia; whose warlike and ambitious temper appeared, in the beginning of his reign, extremely hostile to the republic. He marched in arms, from Barcelona to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, which the ancients revered and dreaded as the boundary of the world. But, when he reached the southern promontory of Spain,<sup>163</sup> and, from the rock now covered by the fortress of Gibraltar, contemplated the neighbouring and fertile coast of Africa, Wallia resumed the designs of conquest, which had been interrupted by the death of Alaric. The winds and waves again disappointed the enterprise of the Goths; and the minds of a superstitious people were deeply affected by the repeated disasters of storms and shipwrecks. In this disposition, the successor of Adolphus no longer refused to listen to a Roman ambassador, whose proposals were enforced by the real, or supposed, approach of a numerous army, under the conduct of the brave Constantius. A solemn treaty was stipulated and observed: Placidia was honourably restored to her brother; six hundred thousand measures of wheat were delivered to the hungry Goths;<sup>164</sup> and Wallia engaged to draw his sword in the service of the empire. A bloody war was instantly excited among the barbarians of Spain; and the contending princes are said to have addressed their letters, their ambassadors, and their hostages, to the throne of the Western emperor, exhorting him to remain a tranquil spectator of their contest; the events of which must be favourable to the Romans, by the mutual slaughter of their common enemies.<sup>165</sup> The Spanish war was obstinately supported, during three campaigns, with desperate valour, and various success; and the martial achievements of Wallia diffused through the empire the superior renown of the Gothic hero. He exterminated the Silingi, who had irretrievably

<sup>153</sup> Mariana de Rebus Hispanis, l. v. c. 1. tom. i. p. 116. Hag Comit. 1755. He had read, in Orosius (l. iii. c. 11. p. 523), that the

from comparing Orosius and Jornandes, the Roman and the Gothic historians.

(l. ii. c. 10.)  
heredus

<sup>164</sup> The death of Adolphus was celebrated at Constantinople with illuminations and citizenian games. See Baron. Alexandr. It.

may seem doubtful, whether the Greeks were actuated, on this occasion, by their hatred of the barbarians, or of the Latins.

<sup>165</sup>

<sup>161</sup> Th. the Vandal  
trains  
a pound of

<sup>162</sup> Orosius inserts a copy of these pretended letters. Tu cum conplexus fuero hunc, circumque abduces arripis, non nobis contumelias, sed periculum, totumque vicinus imperii visum queris erit reus hoc, sed si verum id periculum. The idea is just, but it is not possible to sell it to a Goths, entertained, or expressed, by the barbarians.

ruined the elegant plenty of the province of Bœotia. He slew, in battle, the king of the Alani; and the remains of those Scythian wanderers, who escaped from the field, instead of choosing a new leader, humbly sought a refuge under the standard of the Vandals, with whom they were ever afterwards confounded. The Vandals themselves, and the Suevi, yielded to the efforts of the invincible Goths. The promiscuous multitude of barbarians, whose retreat had been intercepted, were driven into the mountains of Gallicia; where they still continued, in a narrow compass, and on a barren soil, to exercise their domestic and implacable hostilities. In the pride of victory, Wallia was faithful to his engagements: he restored his Spanish conquests to the obedience of Honorius; and the tyranny of the Imperial officers soon reduced an oppressed people to regret the time of their barbarian servitude. While the event of the war was still doubtful, the first advantages obtained by the arms of Wallia had encouraged the court of Ravenna to decree the honours of a triumph to their feeble sovereign. He entered Rome like the ancient conquerors of nations; and if the monuments of servile corruption had not long since met with the fate which they deserved, we should probably find that a crowd of poets, and orators, of magistrates, and bishops, applauded the fortune, the wisdom, and the invincible courage, of the emperor Honorius.<sup>106</sup>

Such a triumph might have been justly claimed by the ally of Rome, if Wallia, before he repassed the Pyrenees, had extirpated the seeds of the Spanish war. His victorious Goths, forty-three years after they had passed the Dumbie, were established, according to the faith of treaties, in the possession of the second Aquitain; a maritime province between the Garonne and the Loire, under the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bourdeaux. That metropolis, advantageously situated for the trade of the ocean, was built in a regular and elegant form; and its numerous inhabitants were distinguished among the Gauls by their wealth, their learning, and the politeness of their manners. The adjacent province, which has been fondly compared to the garden of Eden, is blessed with a fruitful soil, and a temperate climate: the face of the country displayed the arts and the rewards of industry; and the Goths, after their martial toils, luxuriously exhausted the rich vineyards of Aquitain.<sup>67</sup> The Gothic limits were enlarged, by the additional gift of some neighbouring dioceses; and the successors of Alric fixed their royal residence at Thoulouse, which included five populous quarters, or cities, within the spacious circuit of its walls. About the same

time, in the last years of the reign of Honorius, the GOTHs, the BURGUNDIANS, and the FRANKS, obtained a permanent seat and dominion in the provinces of Gaul. The liberal grant of the usurper Jovinus to his Burgundian allies, was confirmed by the lawful emperor; the lands of the First, or Upper, Germany, were ceded to those formidable barbarians; and they gradually occupied, either by conquest or treaty, the two provinces which still retain, with the titles of *Duchy* and of *County*, the national appellation of Burgundy.<sup>168</sup> The Franks, the valiant and faithful allies of the Roman republic, were soon tempted to imitate the invaders, whom they had so bravely resisted. Treves, the capital of Gaul, was pillaged by their lawless bands; and the humble colony, which they so long maintained in the district of Toxandria, in Babant, insensibly multiplied along the banks of the Meuse and Scheldt, till their independent power filled the whole extent of the Second, or Lower Germany. These facts may be sufficiently justified by historic evidence; but the foundation of the French monarchy by Pharamond, the conquests, the laws, and even the existence, of that hero, have been justly arraigned by the impartial severity of modern criticism.<sup>169</sup>

The ruin of the opulent provinces of Gaul may be dated from the establishment of these barbarians, whose alliance was dangerous and oppressive, and who were capriciously impelled, by interest or passion, to violate the public peace. A heavy and partial ransom was imposed on the surviving provincials, who had escaped the calamities of war; the fairest and most fertile lands were assigned to the rapacious strangers, for the use of their families, their slaves, and their cattle; and the trembling natives relinquished with a sigh the inheritance of their fathers. Yet these domestic misfortunes, which are seldom the lot of a vanquished people, had been felt and inflicted by the Romans themselves, not only in the insolence of foreign conquest, but in the madness of civil discord. The triumvirs proscribed eighteen of the most flourishing colonies of Italy; and distributed their lands and houses to the veterans who revenged the death of Cæsar, and oppressed the liberty of their country. Two poets, of unequal fame, have deplored, in similar circumstances, the loss of their patrimony; but the legionaries of Augustus appear to have surpassed, in violence and injustice, the barbarians, who invaded Gaul under the reign of Honorius. It was not without the utmost difficulty that Virgil escaped from the sword of the centurion, who had usurped his farm in the neighbourhood of Mantua,<sup>179</sup> but Paulinus of Bourdeaux received a sum of money from his

State of the  
barbarians in  
Gaul.  
A. D. 429, &c.

<sup>166</sup> Roman triumphans vegetatior, is the formal expression of Prosper's formula. The facts which relate to the death of Adol-

aed from Philippus scilicet  
1581-87. Jernandes de  
tates de 1641, 15 and 1580.  
—22. ex ebris Boreaux

It is curious if you can find the name of these Burgundians, who treated their adopted king as their Christian brethren. Masada has insisted that the original of his translation is the fourth manuscript at the end of his edition of the History of the Ancient Germans, vol. ii. p. 257. of the English translation.

106 See Massey, *loc. cit.* 17, 41, 43. Except in a short and superficial mention of the Chronicle of Prosper in volume 1, p. 978<sup>1</sup>, the name

century. The  
quest, for a truly  
solid, was re-  
-sponsible in

179. (1)  $1 - \cos \theta$ ,  $\sin \theta$  (2)  $\frac{1}{2}(1 + \cos \theta)$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}(1 - \cos \theta)$

Gothic purchaser, which he accepted with pleasure and surprise; and, though it was much inferior to the real value of his estate, this act of rapine was disguised by some colours of moderation and equity.<sup>171</sup> The odious name of conquerors, was softened into the mild and friendly appellation of the *guests* of the Romans; and the barbarians of Gaul, more especially the Goths, repeatedly declared, that they were bound to the people by the ties of hospitality, and to the emperor by the duty of allegiance and military service. The title of Honorius and his successors, their laws, and their civil magistrates, were still respected in the provinces of Gaul, of which they had resigned the possession to the barbarian allies; and the kings, who exercised a supreme and independent authority over their native subjects, ambitiously solicited the more honourable rank of master-generals of the Imperial armies.<sup>172</sup> Such was the involuntary reverence which the Roman name still impressed on the minds of those warriors, who had borne away in triumph the spoils of the Capitol.

Whilst Italy was ravaged by the Goths, and a succession of feeble tyrants oppressed the provinces beyond the Alps, the British island separated itself from the body of the Roman empire. The regular forces, which guarded that remote province, had been gradually withdrawn; and Britain was abandoned, without defence, to the Saxon pirates, and the savages of Ireland and Caledonia. The Britons, reduced to this extremity, no longer relied on the tardy and doubtful aid of a declining monarchy. They assembled in arms, repelled the invaders, and rejoiced in the important discovery of their own strength.<sup>173</sup> Afflicted by similar calamities, and actuated by the same spirit, the Armorican provinces (a name which comprehended the maritime countries of Gaul between the Seine and the Loire<sup>174</sup>) resolved to imitate the example of the neighbouring island. They expelled the Roman magistrates, who acted under the authority of the usurper Constantine; and a free government was established among a people who had so long been subject to the arbitrary will of a master. The independence of Britain and Armorica was soon confirmed by Honorius himself, the lawful emperor of the West; and the letters, by which he committed to the new

states the care of their own safety, might be interpreted as an absolute and perpetual abdication of the exercise and rights of sovereignty. This interpretation was, in some measure, justified by the event. After the usurpers of Gaul had successively fallen, the maritime provinces were restored to the empire. Yet their obedience was imperfect and precarious: the vain, inconstant, rebellious disposition of the people, was incompatible either with freedom or servitude;<sup>175</sup> and Armorica, though it could not long maintain the form of a republic,<sup>176</sup> was agitated by frequent and destructive revolts. Britain was irrecoverably lost.<sup>177</sup> But as the emperors wisely acquiesced in the independence of a remote province, the separation was not embittered by the reproach of tyranny or rebellion; and the claims of allegiance and protection were succeeded by the mutual and voluntary offices of national friendship.<sup>178</sup>

This revolution dissolved the artificial fabric of civil and military government; and the independent country, during a period of forty years, till the descent of the Saxons, was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns.<sup>179</sup> I. Zosimus, who alone has preserved the memory of this singular transaction, very accurately observes, that the letters of Honorius were addressed to the *cities* of Britain.<sup>180</sup> Under the protection of the Romans, ninety-two considerable towns had arisen in the several parts of that great province; and, among these, thirty-three cities were distinguished above the rest by their superior privileges and importance.<sup>181</sup> Each of these cities, as in all the other provinces of the empire, formed a legal corporation, for the purpose of regulating their domestic policy; and the powers of municipal government were distributed among annual magistrates, a select senate, and the assembly of the people, according to the original model of the Roman constitution.<sup>182</sup> The management of a common revenue, the exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and the habits of public counsel and command, were inherent to these petty republics; and when they asserted their independence, the youth of the city, and of the adjacent districts, would naturally range themselves under the standard of the magistrate. But the desire of obtaining the advantages, and

round the city. Even in this favor they were cheated by Alford Vane, a famous lawyer, and one of the commissioners, who measured

<sup>a</sup> P-values less than .05 are in bold.

(Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 611), and by the regency of the Abbe Dubos (Hist. de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Françoise dans les Gaules, tom. x. p. 284).

173 Zosimus (l. vi. p. 576. 585) relates in a few words the revolt of Britain and Armenia. Our antiquarians, even the great Camden

<sup>1</sup>The word had been used in a more extensive, and was afterwards con-

Next, Gal-  
onfirm this  
slyter Con-  
alls the Ar-  
see the Flo-

torians of France, tom. 2, p. 613.

176 I thought it necessary to enter my protest against this part of the system of the Abbé Dubos, which Montesquieu has so vigorously opposed. See *Esprit des Loix*, l. xxx, c. 24.

Les Bousiers  
et Prouquis  
Voy. importa

Yet our mode of dominion, and there are some who allow only the interval of a few months between their departure and the arrival of the Saxons.

the Sec  
duced.

duced,  
of the  
179.

*circumstances* in this paragraph are founded only on conjecture and analogy. The stubbornness of our language has sometimes forced me to deviate from the *conditional* into the *indicative* mood.

151 Two cities of Britain were *maritima*, nine *coluntiae*, ten *littora* *intere* *littoris*, twelve *stagnantia* *intere* *maris*. This detail is taken from Richard of Cirencester, de Situ Britanniae, p. 36., and though it may not seem probable, that he wrote from the MSS. of a Roman geographer, he has a genuine knowledge of antiquity, very extraordinary for a monk of the fourteenth century.

154 See *Maifesi Verona Illustrata*, part 1, l. v. p. 83–106.

of escaping the burdens, of political society, is a perpetual and inexhaustible source of discord; nor can it reasonably be presumed, that the restoration of British freedom was exempt from tumult and faction. The pre-eminence of birth and fortune must have been frequently violated by bold and popular citizens; and the haughty nobles, who complained that they were become the subjects of their own servants,<sup>183</sup> would sometimes regret the reign of an arbitrary monarch.

II. The jurisdiction of each city over the adjacent country was supported by the patrimonial influence of the principal senators; and the smaller towns, the villages, and the proprietors of land, consulted their own safety by adhering to the shelter of these rising republics. The sphere of their attraction was proportioned to the respective degrees of their wealth and populousness; but the hereditary lords of ample possessions, who were not oppressed by the neighbourhood of any powerful city, aspired to the rank of independent princes, and boldly exercised the rights of peace and war. The gardens and villas, which exhibited some faint imitation of Italian elegance, would soon be converted into strong castles, the refuge, in time of danger, of the adjacent country;<sup>184</sup> the produce of the land was applied to purchase arms and horses; to maintain a military force of slaves, of peasants, and of licentious followers; and the chieftain might assume, within his own domain, the powers of a civil magistrate. Several of these British chiefs might be the genuine posterity of ancient kings; and many more would be tempted to adopt this honourable genealogy, and to vindicate their hereditary claims, which had been suspended by the usurpation of the Cæsars.<sup>185</sup> Their situation, and their hopes, would dispose them to affect the dress, the language, and the customs of their ancestors. If the *princes* of Britain relapsed into barbarism, while the *cities* studiously preserved the laws and manners of Rome, the whole island must have been gradually divided by the distinction of two national parties; again broken into a thousand subdivisions of war and faction, by the various provocations of interest and resentment. The public strength, instead of being united against a foreign enemy, was consumed in obscure and intestine quarrels; and the personal merit which had placed a successful leader at the head of his equals, might enable him to subdue the freedom of some neighbouring cities; and to claim a rank among the *tyrants*.<sup>186</sup> who infected Britain after the dissolution of the Roman government.

III. The British church might be composed of thirty or forty bishops,<sup>187</sup> with an adequate proportion of the interior

185 *Leges restituit, idcirco nequeat reuocari.*

164 Et servos famulus non sunt. — 165. *Idem* Rutil. 1. 1. 17.

154 In a description of the Sarmatians, Nestor, in the *Annals*, p. 76, describes a castle, with mounds of perims, near the river, enclosed by Dardanus in his own estate, near Sisteron, in the second Narbonne, and named by him Theopolis.

15) The establishment of their power would have been easy under L.

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Manchester, vol. ii, p. 247-257.  
 156 *Ann. de l'Église de France*, 1<sup>re</sup> série, tome 1. Paris, de Bails, Vaucl. 1812, p. 181. Bérus (a fortis) is proven to have been the expression of Jeronim, in the year 411, in the p. 181 and 182 of the same work. By the pilgrims, who resorted every year to the Holy Land, the monks of Bethlem received the earliest and most accurate intelligence.

clergy; and the want of riches (for they seem to have been poor<sup>185</sup>) would compel them to deserve the public esteem, by a decent and exemplary behaviour. The interest, as well as the temper, of the clergy, was favourable to the peace and union of their distracted country: those salutary lessons might be frequently inculcated in their popular discourses; and the episcopal synods were the only councils that could pretend to the weight and authority of a national assembly. In such councils, where the princes and magistrates sat promiscuously with the bishops, the important affairs of the state, as well as of the church, might be freely debated; differences reconciled, alliances formed, contributions imposed, wise resolutions often concerted, and sometimes executed; and there is reason to believe, that, in moments of extreme danger, a *Pendragon*, or Dictator, was elected by the general consent of the Britons. These pastoral cares, so worthy of the episcopal character, were interrupted, however, by zeal and superstition; and the British clergy incessantly laboured to eradicate the Pelagian heresy, which they abhorred, as the peculiar disgrace of their native country.<sup>189</sup>

It is somewhat remarkable, or rather it is extremely natural, that the revolt of Britain and Armorica

Assembly of the seven provinces of Gaul  
A. D. 418.

should have introduced an appearance of liberty into the obedient provinces of Gaul. In a solemn edict,<sup>100</sup> filled with the strongest assurances of that paternal affection which princes so often express, and so seldom feel, the emperor Honorius promulgated his intention of convening an annual assembly of the *seven provinces*—a name peculiarly appropriated to Aquitaine and the ancient Narbonnese, which had long since exchanged their Celtic rudeness for the useful and elegant arts of Italy.<sup>111</sup> Arles, the seat of government and commerce, was appointed for the place of the assembly; which regularly continued twenty-eight days, from the fifteenth of August to the thirteenth of September, of every year. It consisted of the praetorian praefect of the Gauls; of seven provincial governors, one consular, and six presidents; of the magistrates, and perhaps the bishops, of about sixty cities; and of a competent, though indefinite, number of the most honourable and opulent *possessors* of land, who might justly be considered as the representatives of their country. They were empowered to interpret and communicate the laws of their sovereign; to expose the grievances and wishes of their constituents; to moderate the excessive or unequal weight of taxes; and to deliberate on every subject of local or national importance, that could tend to the restoration of the peace and

187 See Bingham's *Fishes Antiquities*, vol. i. l. ix. c. 6 p. 394.

158. It is reported of the British bishops who assembled at the council of London, A.D. 747, that they suppressed a certain bilious and supercilious Severus, Host Sara, in p. 120. Some of their brethren, however, were better disposed.

1st Consult Usler, de Antiq. Ecclies Britannicar. c. 8. 12.

100 See the correct text of this edict, as published by Siromond  
N. et al. (Paris, 1877). Hincmar of Rheims, who is given a  
place to the *Lotharing* had not this sense in the ninth century, as a  
perfect copy (Duke, Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Française

101 It is a debt from the *Nama*, that the senior partners, were the Viceroy and the marquis Alphonse, the first and second Napoléons. No emperor took a further interest in the *Nama*. In the case of the first Napoleon, the Viceroy, I believe, wanted to see the *Nama* desired to introduce the best legation, or legation.

prosperity of the seven provinces. If such an institution, which gave the people an interest in their own government, had been universally established by Trajan or the Antonines, the seeds of public wisdom and virtue might have been cherished and propagated in the empire of Rome. The privileges of the subject would have secured the throne of the monarch; the abuses of an arbitrary administration might have been prevented, in some degree, or corrected, by the interposition of these representative assemblies; and the country would have been defended against a foreign enemy by the arms of natives and freemen. Under the mild and generous influence of liberty, the Roman empire might have remained invincible and immortal; or if its excessive magnitude, and the instability of human affairs, had opposed such perpetual continuance, its vital and constituent members might have separately preserved their vigour and independence. But in the decline of the empire, when every principle of health and life had been exhausted, the tardy application of this partial remedy was incapable of producing any important or salutary effects. The emperor Honorius expresses his surprise, that he must compel the reluctant provinces to accept a privilege which they should ardently have solicited. A fine of three, or even five, pounds of gold, was imposed on the absent representatives; who seem to have declined this imaginary gift of a free constitution, as the last and most cruel insult of their oppressors.

### CHAP. XXXII.

*Arcadius Emperor of the East. — Administration and Disgrace of Eutropius. — Revolt of Gannas. — Persecution of St. John Chrysostom. — Theodosius II. Emperor of the East. — His Sister Pulcheria. — His Wife Eudoxia. — The Persian War, and Duration of Armenia.*

The empire of the East, from the reign of Arcadius to that of Theodosius II., is divided into three periods, the first of which is the reign of Arcadius, the second of Eutropius, and the third of Theodosius II.

THE division of the Roman world between the sons of Theodosius marks the final establishment of the empire of the East, which, from the reign of Arcadius to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, subsisted one thousand and fifty-eight years, in a state of premature and perpetual decay. The sovereign of that empire assumed, and obstinately retained, the vain, and at length fictitious, title of Emperor of the Romans; and the hereditary appellations of Cæsar and Augustus continued to declare, that he was the legitimate successor of the first of men, who had reigned over the first of nations. The palace of Constantinople rivalled, and perhaps excelled, the magnificence of Persia; and the eloquent sermons of St. Chrysostom<sup>1</sup> celebrate, while they condemn, the pompous luxury of the reign

of Arcadius. "The emperor," says he, "wears on his head either a diadem, or a crown of gold, decorated with precious stones of inestimable value. These ornaments, and his purple garments, are reserved for his sacred person alone; and his robes of silk are embroidered with the figures of golden dragons. His throne is of massy gold. Whenever he appears in public, he is surrounded by his courtiers, his guards, and his attendants. Their spears, their shields, their cuirasses, the bridles and trappings of their horses, have either the substance, or the appearance, of gold; and the large splendid boss in the midst of their shield, is encircled with smaller bosses, which represent the shape of the human eye. The two mules that draw the chariot of the monarch, are perfectly white, and shining all over with gold. The chariot itself, of pure and solid gold, attracts the admiration of the spectators, who contemplate the purple curtains, the snowy carpet, the size of the precious stones, and the resplendent plates of gold, that glitter as they are agitated by the motion of the carriage. The Imperial pictures are white, on a blue ground; the emperor appears seated on his throne, with his arms, his horses, and his guards beside him; and his vanquished enemies in chains at his feet." The successors of Constantine established their perpetual residence in the royal city, which he had erected on the verge of Europe and Asia. Inaccessible to the menaces of their enemies, and perhaps to the complaints of their people, they received, with each wind, the tributary productions of every climate; while the impregnable strength of their capital continued for ages to defy the hostile attempts of the barbarians. Their dominions were bounded by the Adriatic and the Tigris; and the whole interval of twenty-five days' navigation, which separated the extreme cold of Scythia from the torrid zone of Ethiopia,<sup>2</sup> was comprehended within the limits of the empire of the East. The populous countries of that empire were the seat of art and learning, of luxury and wealth; and the inhabitants, who had assumed the language and manners of Greeks, styled themselves, with some appearance of truth, the most enlightened and civilised portion of the human species. The form of government was a pure and simple monarchy; the name of the ROMAN REPUBLIC, which so long preserved a faint tradition of freedom, was confined to the Latin provinces; and the princes of Constantinople measured their greatness by the servile obedience of their people. They were ignorant how much this passive disposition enervates and degrades every faculty of the mind. The subjects, who had resigned their will to the absolute commands of a master, were equally incapable of guarding their lives and fortunes against the assaults of the barbarians, or of defending their reason from the terrors of superstition.

<sup>1</sup> Father Montfaucon, who, by the computation of his Benedictine superiors, was compelled to see longæva, tom. i. p. 207, to expiate the labourious edition of St. Chrysostom, is thirteen volumes in folio (Paris, 1735), amused himself with extracting from that precious collection of morals some curious facts, which illustrate the manners of the Theodosian age. See Chrysostom Opera, tom. x. p. 192—196, &c. and his *Trinitas Theologia*, in the *Mémorial de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. vi. p. 111, &c.

<sup>2</sup> According to the loose reckoning, that a ship could sail, with a

fair wind, 1000 stadia, or 125 miles, in the revolution of a day and night, Diodorus Siculus computes ten days from the Falis Mæotis to Rhodus, and four days from Rhodus to Alexandria. The voyage of the Nile from Alexandria to Sene, under the tropic of Cancer, related, is it was said, of the stream, and is more. Diodes Siculus computes a day and night for the voyage. He might, with as much authority, compute the voyage from the verge of the north to the verge of the south, or the Nile to the 47th degree of northern latitude, as he could, within the period of a day.



"that he has exchanged his paternal estate for the government of Bithynia. In the ante-chamber of Eutropius, a large tablet is exposed to public view, which marks the respective prices of the provinces. The different value of Pontus, of Galatia, of Lydia, is accurately distinguished. Lycia may be obtained for so many thousand pieces of gold; but the opulence of Phrygia will require a more considerable sum. The eunuch wishes to obliterate, by the general disgrace, his personal ignominy; and as he has been sold himself, he is desirous of selling the rest of mankind. In the eager contention, the balance, which contains the fate and fortunes of the province, often trembles on the beam; and till one of the scales is inclined, by a superior weight, the mind of the impartial judge remains in anxious suspense.<sup>11</sup> Such" (continues the indignant poet) "are the fruits of Roman valour, of the defeat of Antiochus, and of the triumph of Pompey." This venal prostitution of public honours secured the impunity of future crimes; but the riches, which Eutropius derived from confiscation, were already stained with injustice; since it was decent to accuse, and to condemn, the proprietors of the wealth which he was impatient to confiscate. Some noble blood was shed by the hand of the executioner; and the most inhospitable extremities of the empire were filled with innocent and illustrious exiles. Among the generals and consuls of the East, Abundantius<sup>12</sup> had reason to dread the first effects of the resentment of Eutropius. He had been guilty of the unpardonable crime of introducing that abject slave to the palace of Constantinople: and some degree of praise must be allowed to a powerful and ungrateful favourite, who was satisfied with the disgrace of his benefactor. Abundantius was stripped of his ample fortunes by an Imperial rescript, and banished to Pityus, on the Euxine, the last frontier of the Roman world; where he subsisted by the precarious mercy of the barbarians, till he could obtain, after the fall of Eutropius, a milder exile at Sidon in Phœnicia. The destruction of

Run of Abundantius.

Timasius. Timasius<sup>13</sup> required a more serious and regular mode of attack. That great officer, the master-general of the armies of Theodosius, had signalled his valour by a decisive victory, which he obtained over the Goths of Thessaly; but he was too prone, after the example of his sovereign, to enjoy the luxury of peace, and to abandon his confidence to wicked and designing flatterers. Timasius had despised the public

clamour, by promoting an infamous dependent to the command of a cohort; and he deserved to feel the ingratitude of Bargus, who was secretly instigated by the favourite to accuse his patron of a treasonable conspiracy. The general was arraigned before the tribunal of Arcadius himself; and the principal eunuch stood by the side of the throne to suggest the questions and answers of his sovereign. But as this form of trial might be deemed partial and arbitrary, the further enquiry into the crimes of Timasius was delegated to Saturninus and Procopius; the former of consular rank, the latter still respected as the father-in-law of the emperor Valens. The appearances of a fair and legal proceeding were maintained by the blunt honesty of Procopius; and he yielded with reluctance to the obsequious dexterity of his colleague, who pronounced a sentence of condemnation against the unfortunate Timasius. His immense riches were confiscated, in the name of the emperor, and for the benefit of the favourite; and he was doomed to perpetual exile at Oasis, a solitary spot in the midst of the sandy deserts of Libya.<sup>14</sup> Secluded from all human converse, the master-general of the Roman armies was lost for ever to the world; but the circumstances of his fate have been related in a various and contradictory manner. It is insinuated, that Eutropius despatched a private order for his secret execution.<sup>15</sup> It was reported, that, in attempting to escape from Oasis, he perished in the desert, of thirst and hunger; and that his dead body was found on the sands of Libya.<sup>16</sup> It has been asserted, with more confidence, that his son Syagrius, after successfully eluding the pursuit of the agents and emissaries of the court, collected a band of African robbers; that he rescued Timasius from the place of his exile; and that both the father and son disappeared from the knowledge of mankind.<sup>17</sup> But the ungrateful Bargus, instead of being suffered to possess the reward of guilt, was soon afterwards circumvented and destroyed, by the more powerful villany of the minister himself; who retained sense and spirit enough to abhor the instrument of his own crimes.

The public hatred, and the despair of individuals, continually threatened, or seemed to threaten, the personal safety of Eutropius; as well as of the numerous adherents, who were attached to his fortune, and had been promoted by his venal favour. For their mutual defence, he contrived the safeguard of a law, which violated every principle of humanity and justice.<sup>18</sup>

A cruel and unjust law of treason.  
A. D. 307, Sept. 4.

11

certantur sepe duorum  
per se suspensum ante eorum iudicium

11. See the account of Eutropius, in the text, p. 495. The sentence is made in early recension, but the decisive authority of Asterius of Amasea (first iv. p. 76, and Tili mont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 475) must turn the scale in favour of Timasius.

12. See also, most probably from the History of Eutropius) has given a very unfavourable picture of Timasius. The account of his accuser, the judge, &c. is perfectly agreeable to the practice of ancient and modern courts. (See Zosimus, l. v. p. 298, 299, 300.) I am almost tempted to quote the romance of a great master's Fielding's Works, vol. i. p. 19, Sec. 5, &c. edit. 18, which may be considered as the history of human nature.

14. The great Oasis was one of the spots in the sands of Libya, watered with springs, and capable of producing wheat, barley, and

palm-trees. It was about three days' journey from north to south, about half a day in breadth, and at the distance of about five days march to the west of Alexandria, on the Nile. See D'Anville, Description de l'Égypte, p. 186, 187, 188. The barren desert which encompasses Oasis (Zosimus, l. v. p. 300) has suggested the idea of comparative fertility, and even the epithet of the happy island. (Herodot. lib. ii.)

15. The line of Claudian, in Eutrop. l. i. l. 180.

Almaricus clavis volatilis cedibus Hammon,

evidently alludes to the persuasion of the death of Timasius.

16. See the text, l. vi. c. 7. He speaks from report, &c. says *credulus*.

17. Zosimus, l. v. p. 300. Yet he seems to suspect that this rumour was spread by the friends of Eutropius.

18. See the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. xiv. ad legem Corneliam de Scuris, leg. 5, and the Code of Justinian, l. ix. tit. viii. ad legem Juliam de Nuptiis, leg. 5. The alteration of the title, from murder to treason, was an improvement of the subtle Tribonian. Godofrey, in a formal dissertation, which he has inserted in his Commentary, traces this law of Arcadius, and explains all the difficult passages which had been converted by the jurists of the darker age. See tom. ii. p. 35-111.

I. It is enacted, in the name, and by the authority, of Arcadius, that all those who shall conspire, either with subjects, or with strangers, against the lives of any of the persons whom the emperor considers as the members of his own body, shall be punished with death and confiscation. This species of fictitious and metaphoric treason is extended to protect, not only the *illustriss* officers of the state and army, who are admitted into the sacred consistory, but likewise the principal domestics of the palace, the senators of Constantinople, the military commanders, and the civil magistrates of the provinces : a vague and indefinite list, which, under the successors of Constantine, included an obscure and numerous train of subordinate ministers. II. This extreme severity might perhaps be justified, had it been only directed to secure the representatives of the sovereign from any actual violence in the execution of their office. But the whole body of Imperial dependents claimed a privilege, or rather impunity, which screened them, in the loosest moments of their lives, from the hasty, perhaps the justifiable, resentment of their fellow citizens : and, by a strange perversion of the laws, the same degree of guilt and punishment was applied to a private quarrel, and to a deliberate conspiracy against the emperor and the empire. The edict of Arcadius most positively and most absurdly declares, that in such cases of treason, *thoughts* and *actions* ought to be punished with equal severity ; that the knowledge of a mischievous intention, unless it be instantly revealed, becomes equally criminal with the intention itself ;<sup>1</sup> and that those rash men, who shall presume to solicit the pardon of traitors, shall themselves be branded with public and perpetual infamy. III. " With regard to the sons of the traitors," (continues the emperor) " although they ought to share the punishment, since they will probably imitate the guilt, of their parents ; yet, by the special effect of our Imperial clemency, we grant them their lives. but, at the same time, we declare them incapable of inheriting, either on the father's or on the mother's side, or of receiving any gift or legacy, from the testament either of kinsmen or of strangers. Stigmatised with hereditary infamy, excluded from the hopes of honours or fortune, let them endure the pangs of poverty and contempt, till they shall consider life as a calamity, and death as a comfort and relief." In such words, so well adapted to insult the feelings of mankind, did the emperor, or rather his favourite eunuch, applaud the moderation of a law, which transferred the same unjust and inhuman penalties to the children of all those who had seconded, or who had not disclosed, these trea-

tious conspiracies. Some of the noblest regulations of Roman jurisprudence have been suffered to expire; but this edict, a convenient and forcible engine of ministerial tyranny, was carefully inserted in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian; and the same maxims have been revived in modern ages, to protect the electors of Germany, and the cardinals of the church of Rome.<sup>29</sup>

Yet these sanguinary laws, which spread terror among a disarmed and dispirited people, were of too weak a texture to restrain the bold enterprise of Tribigild<sup>21</sup> the Ostrogoth. The colony of that warlike nation, which had been planted by Theodosius in one of the most fertile districts of Phrygia,<sup>22</sup> impatiently compared the slow returns of laborious husbandry with the successful rapine and liberal rewards of Alarie; and their leader resented, as a personal affront, his own migracious reception in the palace of Constantinople. A soft and wealthy province, in the heart of the empire, was astonished by the sound of war; and the faithful vassal, who had been disregarded or oppressed, was again respected, as soon as he resumed the hostile character of a barbarian. The vineyards and fruitful fields, between the rapid Marsyas and the winding Meander,<sup>23</sup> were consumed with fire; the decayed walls of the cities crumbled into dust, at the first stroke of an enemy; the trembling inhabitants escaped from a bloody massacre to the shores of the Hellespont; and a considerable part of Asia Minor was desolated by the rebellion of Tribigild. His rapid progress was checked by the resistance of the peasants of Pamphylia; and the Ostrogoths, attacked in a narrow pass, between the city of Solgi,<sup>24</sup> a deep morass, and the craggy cliffs of Mount Taurus, were defeated with the loss of their bravest troops. But the spirit of their chief was not daunted by misfortune; and his army was continually recruited by swarms of barbarians and outlaws, who were desirous of exercising the profession of robbery, under the more honourable names of war and conquest. The rumours of the success of Tribigild might for some time be suppressed by fear, or disguised by flattery; yet they gradually alarmed both the court and the capital. Every misfortune was exaggerated in dark and doubtful hints; and the future designs of the rebels became the subject of anxious conjecture. Whenever Tribigild advanced into the inland country, the Romans were inclined to suppose that he meditated the passage of Mount Taurus, and the invasion of Syria. If he descended towards the sea, they imputed, and perhaps suggested, to the Gothic chief, the more dangerous project of arming a fleet in the harbours of

Rebellion of  
Tribes  
A D 549.

19. Bartolus understands a crime and a kind of a sin, as he thought any sign of a precept of conscience. For this opinion, he has been named a passing in hell. For he was a man of the greatest piety and holiness. Elias, in *Jun. Crim. l. v. p. 111*, notes a crime of the name of Bartolus, but in practice I should among the settlements of Baudu. Yet Bartolus was never exposed by the master of the order of Kuchelen, and Eurupus was indirectly guilty of the murder of the virgin Dow. Thus

20. God-fear, in *l. p. 89*. It is, however, somewhat, that it is the most important to the maxims of Bernard Breder, has been artistically added to the golden rule.

[illegible]

and in Europe 27°-28° were accurately observed, that the mountains and cities of the Phrygia extended very far in every side, that their heights were constrained by the confines of the Hittites, of Phrygia, of the Greeks, and at last of the Gauls. His description is 27°-27°, of the frontiers of Phrygia, and of the four cities, with the names of the most picturesque

[illegible]



Ionia, and of extending his depredations along the maritime coast, from the mouth of the Nile to the port of Constantinople. The approach of danger, and the obstinacy of Tribigild, who refused all terms of accommodation, compelled Eutropius to summon a council of war.<sup>25</sup> After claiming for himself the privilege of a veteran soldier, the eunuch intrusted the guard of Thrace and the Hellespont to Gainas, the Goth; and the command of the Asiatic army to his favourite Leo; two generals, who differently, but effectually, promoted the cause of the rebels. Leo,<sup>26</sup> who, from the bulk of his body, and the dulness of his mind, was surnamed the Ajax of the East, had deserted his original trade of a woolcomber, to exercise, with much less skill and success, the military profession; and his uncertain operations were capriciously framed and executed, with an ignorance of real difficulties, and a timorous neglect of every favourable opportunity. The rashness of the Ostrogoths had drawn them into a disadvantageous position between the rivers Melas and Eurymedon, where they were almost besieged by the peasants of Pamphylia; but the arrival of an Imperial army, instead of completing their destruction, afforded the means of safety and victory. Tribigild surprised the unguarded camp of the Romans, in the darkness of the night; seduced the faith of the greater part of the barbarian auxiliaries, and dissipated, without much effort, the troops, which had been corrupted by the relaxation of discipline, and the luxury of the capital. The discontent of Gainas, who had so boldly contrived and executed the death of Rufinus, was irritated by the fortune of his unworthy successor; he accused his own dishonourable patience under the servile reign of an eunuch; and the ambitious Goth was convicted, at least in the public opinion, of secretly fomenting the revolt of Tribigild, with whom he was connected by a domestic, as well as by a national, alliance.<sup>27</sup> When Gainas passed the Hellespont, to unite under his standard the remains of the Asiatic troops, he skillfully adapted his motions to the wishes of the Ostrogoths; abandoning, by his retreat, the country which they desired to invade; or facilitating, by his approach, the desertion of the barbarian auxiliaries. To the Imperial court he repeatedly magnified the valour, the genius, the inexhaustible resources of Tribigild; confessed his own inability to prosecute the war; and extorted the permission of negotiating with his invincible adversary. The conditions of peace were dictated by the haughty rebel; and the peremptory demand of the head of Eutropius, revealed the author and the design of this hostile conspiracy.

The bold satirist, who has indulged his discontent by the partial and passionate censure of the Christian emperors, violates the dignity, rather than the truth, of history, by comparing the son of Theodosius to one of those harmless and simple animals, who scarcely feel that they are the property of their shepherd. Two passions, however, fear and conjugal affection, awakened the languid soul of Arcadius: he was terrified by the threats of a victorious barbarian; and he yielded to the tender eloquence of his wife Eudoxia, who, with a flood of artificial tears, presenting her infant children to their father, implored his justice for some real or imaginary insult, which she imputed to the audacious eunuch.<sup>28</sup> The emperor's hand was directed to sign the condemnation of Eutropius; the magic spell, which during four years had bound the prince and the people, was instantly dissolved; and the acclamations, that so lately hailed the merit and fortune of the favourite, were converted into the clamours of the soldiers and people, who reproached his crimes, and pressed his immediate execution. In this hour of distress and despair, his only refuge was in the sanctuary of the church, whose privileges he had wisely, or profanely, attempted to circumscribe; and the most eloquent of the saints, John Chrysostom, enjoyed the triumph of protecting a prostrate minister, whose choice had raised him to the ecclesiastical throne of Constantinople. The archbishop, ascending the pulpit of the cathedral, that he might be distinctly seen and heard by an innumerable crowd of either sex and of every age, pronounced a seasonable and pathetic discourse on the forgiveness of injuries, and the instability of human greatness. The agonies of the pale and affrighted wretch, who lay grovelling under the table of the altar, exhibited a solemn and instructive spectacle; and the orator, who was afterwards accused of insulting the misfortunes of Eutropius, laboured to excite the contempt, that he might assuage the fury, of the people.<sup>29</sup> The powers of humanity, of superstition, and of eloquence, prevailed. The empress Eudoxia was restrained, by her own prejudices, or by those of her subjects, from violating the sanctuary of the church; and Eutropius was tempted to capitulate, by the milder arts of persuasion, and by an oath, that his life should be spared.<sup>30</sup> Careless of the dignity of their sovereign, the new ministers of the palace immediately published an edict, to declare, that his late favourite had disgraced the names of consul and patrician, to abolish his statues, to confiscate his wealth, and to inflict a perpetual exile in the island of

Fall of Eutropius, A. D. 399.

<sup>25</sup> The council of Eutropius, in Claudian, may be compared to that of Domitian in the fourth Satire of Juvenal. The principal members of the former were, juvenes, proterius, lascivius senes; one of them had been a cook, a second a woolcomber. The language of the original profession exposes their assumed dignity, and their trifling conversation about tragedies, divines, &c. is made still more ridiculous by the importance of the debate.

<sup>26</sup> Claudian (l. ii. 376-461.) has branded him with infamy; and Zosimus, in more temperate language, confirms his reproaches (l. i. p. 461.).

<sup>27</sup> The conspiracy of Gainas and Tribigild, which is attested by the Greek historian, had not reached the ears of Claudian, who attributes the revolt of the Ostrogoths to his own martial spirit and the advice of his wife.

<sup>28</sup> This anecdote, which Philostorgius alone has preserved (l. x. c. 6.), and Guthrie. In-ertat. p. 151-154., is curious and important, since it connects the revolt of the Goths with the secret intrigues of the palace.

<sup>29</sup> See the Homily of Chrysostom, tom. iii. p. 351-356. of which the exordium is particularly beautiful. Sozrates, l. vi. c. 5. Sozomen, l. vi. c. 7. Montfaucou in his *Notitia* (p. 175.) has too hastily supposed that Tribigild had commanded the soldier Evon Claudian, a *Barbar* poet.

effects to declare, that Eutropius would not have been taken, had he not deserted the cause. Zosimus (l. v. p. 317.) on the contrary, pretends, that his enemies forced him *εὐνοῦν* *παύσαι*; *αὐτὸς* from the *sanctuary*. Yet the promise is an evidence of some treaty, and the strong assurance of Claudian (*Prætor* ad l. i. 465.) is a strong example non ferore tuo, and is considered as an evidence of some promise.

Cyprus.<sup>31</sup> A despicable and decrepit eunuch could no longer alarm the fears of his enemies; nor was he capable of enjoying what yet remained, the comforts of peace, of solitude, and of a happy climate. But their implacable revenge still envied him the last moments of a miserable life, and Eutropius had no sooner touched the shores of Cyprus, than he was hastily recalled. The vain hope of eluding, by a change of place, the obligation of an oath, engaged the empress to transfer the scene of his trial and execution, from Constantinople to the adjacent suburb of Chalcedon. The consul Aurelianus pronounced the sentence; and the motives of that sentence expose the jurisprudence of a despotic government. The crimes which Eutropius had committed against the people, might have justified his death; but he was found guilty of harnessing to his chariot the *sacred* animals, who, from their breed, or colour, were reserved for the use of the emperor alone.<sup>32</sup>

While this domestic revolution was transacted, Gainas,<sup>33</sup> openly revolted from his allegiance; united his forces, at Thyatira in Lydia, with those of Tribigild; and still maintained his superior ascendancy over the rebellious leader of the Ostrogoths. The confederate armies advanced, without resistance, to the straits of the Hellespont, and the Bosphorus; and Arcadius was instructed to prevent the loss of his Asiatic dominions, by resigning his authority and his person to the faith of the barbarians. The church of the holy martyr Euphemia, situate on a lofty eminence near Chalcedon,<sup>34</sup> was chosen for the place of the interview. Gainas bowed, with reverence, at the feet of the emperor, whilst he required the sacrifice of Anrelian and Saturninus, two ministers of consular rank; and their naked necks were exposed. By the haughty rebel, to the edge of the sword, till he condescended to grant them a precarious and disgraceful respite. The Goths, according to the terms of the agreement, were immediately transported from Asia into Europe; and their victorious chief, who accepted the title of master-general of the Roman armies, soon filled Constantinople with his troops, and distributed, among his dependents, the honours and rewards of the empire. In his early youth, Gainas had passed the Danube as a suppliant, and a fugitive: his elevation had been the work of valour and fortune; and his indiscreet, or perfidious, conduct, was the cause of his rapid downfall. Notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the arch-bishop, he importunately claimed, for his Arian sectaries, the possession of a peculiar church; and the pride of the Catholics was offended by the public toleration of heresy.

Every quarter of Constantinople was filled with tumult and disorder; and the barbarians gazed with such ardour on the rich shops of the jewellers, and the tables of the bankers, which were covered with gold and silver, that it was judged prudent to remove those dangerous temptations from their sight. They resented the injurious precaution; and some alarming attempts were made, during the night, to attack and destroy with fire the Imperial palace.<sup>36</sup> In this state of mutual and suspicious hostility, the guards, and the people of Constantinople, shut the gates, and rose in arms, to prevent, or to punish, the conspiracy of the Goths. During the absence of Gainas, his troops were surprised and oppressed; seven thousand barbarians perished in this bloody massacre. In the fury of the pursuit, the Catholics uncovered the roof, and continued to throw down flaming logs of wood, till they overwhelmed their adversaries, who had retreated to the church or conventicle of the Arians. Gainas was either innocent of the design, or too confident of his success: he was astonished by the intelligence, that the flower of his army had been ingloriously destroyed; that he himself was declared a public enemy; and that his countryman, Fravitta, a brave and loyal confederate, had assumed the management of the war by sea and land. The enterprises of the rebel, against the cities of Thrace, were encountered by a firm and well-ordered defence: his hungry soldiers were soon reduced to the grass that grew on the margin of the fortifications; and Gainas, who vainly regretted the wealth and luxury of Asia, embraced a desperate resolution of forcing the passage of the Hellespont. He was destitute of vessels; but the wood of the Cheroneus afforded materials for rafts, and his intrepid barbarians did not refuse to trust themselves to the waves. But Fravitta attentively watched the progress of their undertaking.

Dec. 23.

As soon as they had gained the middle of the stream, the Roman galleys,<sup>57</sup> impelled by the full force, of oars, of the current, and of a favourable wind, rushed forwards in compact order, and with irresistible weight; and the Hüllespont was covered with the fragments of the Gothic shipwreck. After the destruction of his hopes, and the loss of many thousands of his bravest soldiers, Gainas, who could no longer aspire to govern, or to subdue, the Romans, determined to resume the independence of a savage life. A light and active body of barbarian horse, disengaged from their infancy and baggage, might perform, in eight or ten days, a march of three hundred miles from the Hüllespont to the Danube;<sup>58</sup> the garrisons of that

72 Zosimus, l. v. p. 515. Philostorgius, l. xi. c. 6.

33 Zosimus (p. 315-317), Socrates (p. 41), Sozomen (p. 41), and Theodoret (p. 47, 73), recount, though with some various circumstances, the conspiracy, defeat, and death of Gaius.

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important frontier had been gradually annihilated; the river, in the month of December, would be deeply frozen; and the unbounded prospect of Scythia was open to the ambition of Gaius. This design was secretly communicated to the national troops, who devoted themselves to the fortunes of their leader; and before the signal of departure was given, a great number of provincial auxiliaries, whom he suspected of an attachment to their native country, were perfidiously massacred. The Goths advanced, by rapid marches, through the plains of Thrace; and they were soon delivered from the fear of a pursuit, by the vanity of Fravitta, who, instead of extinguishing the war, hastened to enjoy the popular applause, and to assume the peaceful honours of the consulship. But a formidable ally appeared in arms to vindicate the majesty of the empire, and to guard the peace and liberty of Scythia.<sup>39</sup> The superior forces of Uldin, king of the Huns, opposed the progress of Gaius; an hostile and ruined country prohibited his retreat; he disdained to capitulate; and after repeatedly attempting to cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he was slain, with his desperate followers, in the field of battle.

A. D. 101.  
January 3. Eleven days after the naval victory of the Hellespont, the head of Gaius, the inestimable gift of the conqueror, was received at Constantinople with the most liberal expressions of gratitude; and the public deliverance was celebrated by festivals and illuminations. The triumphs of Arcadius became the subject of epic poems;<sup>40</sup> and the monarch, no longer oppressed by any hostile terrors, resigned himself to the mild and absolute dominion of his wife, the fair and artful Eudoxia; who has sullied her fame by the persecution of St. John Chrysostom.

After the death of the indolent Nectarius, the successor of Gregory Nazianzen, the church of Constantinople was distracted by the ambition of rival candidates, who were not ashamed to solicit, with gold or flattery, the suffrage of the people, or of the favourite. On this occasion, Eutropius seems to have deviated from his ordinary maxims; and his uncorrupted judgment was determined only by the superior merit of a stranger. In a late journey into the East, he had admired the sermons of John, a native and presbyter of Antioch, whose name has been distinguished by the epithet of Chrysostom, or the Golden Mouth.<sup>41</sup> A private order was despatched to the governor of Syria; and as the people might be unwilling to resign their favourite preacher, he was transported, with speed

and secrecy, in a post-chariot, from Antioch to Constantinople. The unanimous and unsolicited consent of the court, the clergy, and the people, ratified the choice of the minister; and, both as a saint, and as an orator, the new archbishop surpassed the sanguine expectations of the public. Born of a noble and opulent family, in the capital of Syria, Chrysostom had been educated, by the care of a tender mother, under the tuition of the most skilful masters. He studied the art of rhetoric in the school of Libanius; and that celebrated sophist, who soon discovered the talents of his disciple, ingenuously confessed, that John would have deserved to succeed him, had he not been stolen away by the Christians. His piety soon disposed him to receive the sacrament of baptism; to renounce the lucrative and honourable profession of the law; and to bury himself in the adjacent desert, where he subdued the lusts of the flesh by an austere penance of six years. His infirmities compelled him to return to the society of mankind; and the authority of Meletius devoted his talents to the service of the church: but in the midst of his family, and afterward on the archiepiscopal throne, Chrysostom still persevered in the practice of the monastic virtues. The ample revenues, which his predecessors had consumed in pomp and luxury, he diligently applied to the establishment of hospitals; and the multitudes, who were supported by his charity, preferred the eloquent and edifying discourses of their archbishop, to the amusements of the theatre or the circus. The monuments of that eloquence which was admired near twenty years at Antioch and Constantinople, have been carefully preserved; and the possession of near one thousand sermons, or homilies, has authorised the erities<sup>42</sup> of succeeding times to appreciate the genuine merit of Chrysostom. They unanimously attribute to the Christian orator, the free command of an elegant and copious language; the judgment to conceal the advantages which he derived from the knowledge of rhetoric and philosophy; an inexhaustible fund of metaphors and similitudes, of ideas and images, to vary and illustrate the most familiar topics; the happy art of engaging the passions in the service of virtue; and of exposing the folly, as well as the turpitude, of vice, almost with the truth and spirit of a dramatic representation.

The pastoral labours of the archbishop of Constantinople provoked, and gradually united against him, two sorts of enemies; the aspiring clergy, who envied his success, and the obstinate sinners, who were offended by his reproofs. When

His administration and defects.  
A. D. 398-403.

the works of Chrysostom, tom. xii. p. 1-90. edit. Montfaucon. 2. The most exact Erasmus (see his *Annotations*, p. 151-1517. edit. Lugd. Bat.) His vivacity and good sense were his own; his errors, in the uncorrected state of ecclesiastical antiquity, were almost inevitable.

3. Th. 117-1177.  
4. 117-1177.  
5. 117-1177.  
6. 117-1177.

Erasmus discovered several new humours, and again renewed and composed the Life of Chrysostom. (Opera Chrysostomi, tom. xii. p. 1-177.)

42. As I am almost a stranger to the voluminous sermons of Chrysostom, I have given my confidence to the two most judicious and moderate of the ecclesiastical critics, Erasmus (tom. ii. p. 1344) and Beza (Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica, tom. ii. p. 283). The good taste of the former is sometimes vitiated by an excessive love of antiquity, and the good sense of the latter is always restrained by prudential considerations.

39. The narrative of Zosimus, who actually lived Gaius beyond the Danube, must be the work of the enemy of the emperor, and who was killed in Thrace, and by the precise and authentic dates of the Alexandrian, or Paschal, Chronicle, p. 707. The naval victory of the Hellespont, proved to the month April 101, the tenth of the calendar of January. The emperor 23, the head of Gaius was brought to Constantinople the third of the names of January (January 3), in the month, Antivensis.

40. Eusebius Sebasteus acquired much fame by his poem on the Gothic war, in which he had served. Near forty years afterwards, Anonymous recited another poem on the same subject in the presence of the emperor Theodosius. See Socrates, l. vi. c. 13.

41. The sixth book of Socrates, the eighth of Sozomen, and the fifth of Theodoret, afford curious and authentic materials for the life of John Chrysostom. Besides those general historians, I have taken for my guides the four principal biographers of the saint. 1. The author of a partial and passionate vindication of the archbishop of Constantinople, composed in the form of a dialogue, and under the name of his zealous patron, Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis. (Clement, *Eccl. tom. xi. p. 300-357*.) It is inserted among

Chrysostom thundered, from the pulpit of St. Sophia, against the degeneracy of the Christians, his shafts were spent among the crowd, without wounding, or even marking, the character of any individual. When he declaimed against the peculiar vices of the rich, poverty might obtain a transient consolation from his invectives: but the guilty were still sheltered by their numbers; and the reproach itself was dignified by some ideas of superiority and enjoyment. Int as the pyramid rose towards the summit, it insensibly diminished to a point; and the magistrates, the ministers, the favourite eunuchs, the ladies of the court,<sup>43</sup> the empress Eudoxia herself, had a much larger share of guilt, to divide among a smaller proportion of criminals. The personal applications of the audience were anticipated, or confirmed, by the testimony of their own conscience; and the intrepid preacher assumed the dangerous right of exposing both the offence and the offender to the public abhorrence. The secret resentment of the court encouraged the discontent of the clergy and monks of Constantinople, who were too hastily reformed by the fervent zeal of their archbishop. He had condemned, from the pulpit, the domestic females of the clergy of Constantinople, who, under the names of servants, or sisters, afforded a perpetual occasion either of sin or of scandal. The silent and solitary ascetics, who had secluded themselves from the world, were entitled to the warmest approbation of Chrysostom; but he despised and stigmatised, as the disgrace of their holy profession, the crowd of degenerate monks, who, from some unworthy motives of pleasure or profit, so frequently infested the streets of the capital. To the voice of persuasion, the archbishop was obliged to add the terrors of authority; and his ardour, in the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, was not always exempt from passion; nor was it always guided by prudence. Chrysostom was naturally of a choleric disposition.<sup>44</sup> Although he struggled, according to the precepts of the Gospel, to love his private enemies, he indulged himself in the privilege of hating the enemies of God, and of the church; and his sentiments were sometimes delivered with too much energy of countenance and expression. He still maintained, from some considerations of health, or abstinence, his former habits of taking his repasts alone; and this inhospitable custom,<sup>45</sup> which his enemies imputed to pride, contributed, at least, to nourish the infirmity of a morose and unsocial humour. Separated from that familiar intercourse, which facilitates the knowledge and the despatch of business, he reposed an unsuspecting confidence in his deacon Serapion; and seldom applied his speculative

knowledge of human nature to the particular characters, either of his dependants, or of his equals. Conscious of the purity of his intentions, and perhaps of the superiority of his genius, the archbishop of Constantinople extended the jurisdiction of the Imperial city, that he might enlarge the sphere of his pastoral labours; and the conduct which the profane imputed to an ambitious motive, appeared to Chrysostom himself in the light of a sacred and indispensable duty. In his visitation through the Asiatic provinces, he deposed thirteen bishops of Lydia and Phrygia; and indiscreetly declared, that a deep corruption of simony and licentiousness had infected the whole episcopal order.<sup>46</sup> If those bishops were innocent, such a rash and unjust condemnation must excite a well-grounded discontent. If they were guilty, the numerous associates of their guilt would soon discover, that their own safety depended on the ruin of the archbishop; whom they studied to represent as the tyrant of the Eastern church.

This ecclesiastical conspiracy was managed by Theophilus, 47 archbishop of Alexandria, an active and ambitious prelate, who displayed the fruits of rapine in monuments of ostentation. His national dislike to the rising greatness of a city, which degraded him from the second, to the third, rank, in the Christian world, was exasperated by some personal disputes with Chrysostom himself.<sup>48</sup> By the private invitation of the empress, Theophilus landed at Constantinople, with a stout body of Egyptian mariners, to encounter the populace; and a train of dependent bishops, to secure, by their voices, the majority of a synod. The synod was convened in the suburb of Chalcodon, surnamed the *Oak*, where Rufinus had erected a stately church and monastery; and their proceedings were continued during fourteen days, or sessions. A bishop and a deacon accused the archbishop of Constantinople; but the frivolous or improbable nature of the forty-seven articles which they presented against him, may justly be considered as a fair and unexceptionable panegyric. Four successive summonses were signified to Chrysostom; but he still refused to trust either his person, or his reputation, in the hands of his implacable enemies, who, prudently declining the examination of any particular charges, condemned his contumacious disobedience, and hastily pronounced a sentence of deposition. The synod of the *Oak* immediately addressed the emperor to ratify and execute their judgment, and charitably intimated, that the penalties of treason ought to be inflicted on the audacious preacher, who had reviled, under the name of Jazbel, the empress

(This system is  
permeated by  
the empire  
Endoria.  
A. D. 403.

[illegible]

41. Sozomen, and more especially Socrates, have defined the real character of Christianity with a temperate and impartial frankness, very offensive to his blind admirers. These historians lived in the next generation, when party violence was abated, and they conversed with many persons intimately acquainted with the virtues and imperfections of the saint.

45) Paladins (arm. xid. p. 10) are very common. It defends the archbishop. 1 He never tasted wine. 2 The wine was full of blood. 3 He required a peck of dirt. 4 He dressed in black. 5 He kept him fasting till sunset. 6 He detested the noise and the smell of

Expenditures: He paid the expense for the use of the year if he was a resident, in a capital and in the use of the land and the use of the land.

As the Secretary of the Board of Directors of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, I am pleased to inform you that the Board of Directors has approved the plan of reorganization of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, which was submitted to the Board of Directors on June 1, 1927.

4. I have prepared an index to the 1971-72 year-long data on the 1200+ species of birds, mammals, amphibians, reptiles, and fish that were collected during the study.

[illegible][illegible]

Eudoxia herself. The archbishop was rudely arrested, and conducted through the city, by one of the Imperial messengers, who landed him, after a short navigation, near the entrance of the Euxine; from whence, before the expiration of two days, he was gloriously recalled.

The first astonishment of his faithful people had been mute and passive: they suddenly rose with unanimous and irresistible fury. Theophilus escaped; but the promiscuous crowd of monks and Egyptian mariners were slaughtered without pity in the streets of Constantinople.<sup>50</sup> A seasonable earthquake justified the interposition of Heaven; the torrent of sedition rolled forwards to the gates of the palace; and the empress, agitated by fear or remorse, threw herself at the feet of Arcadius, and confessed, that the public safety could be purchased only by the restoration of Chrysostom. The Bosphorus was covered with innumerable vessels; the shores of Europe and Asia were profusely illuminated; and the acclamations of a victorious people accompanied, from the port to the cathedral, the triumph of the archbishop; who too easily consented to resume the exercise of his functions, before his sentence had been legally reversed by the authority of an ecclesiastical synod. Ignorant, or careless, of the impending danger, Chrysostom indulged his zeal, or perhaps his resentment; declaimed with peculiar asperity against female vices; and condemned the profane honours which were addressed, almost in the precincts of St. Sophia, to the statue of the empress. His imprudence tempted his enemies to inflame the haughty spirit of Eudoxia, by reporting, or perhaps inventing, the famous exordium of a sermon, "Herodias is again furious; Herodias again dances; she once more requires the head of John:" an insolent allusion, which, as a woman and a sovereign, it was impossible for her to forgive.<sup>51</sup> The short interval of a perfidious truce was employed to concert more effectual measures for the disgrace and ruin of the archbishop. A numerous council of the Eastern prelates, who were guided from a distance by the advice of Theophilus, confirmed the validity, without examining the justice, of the former sentence; and a detachment of barbarian troops was introduced into the city, to suppress the emotions of the people. On the vigil of Easter, the solemn administration of baptism was rudely interrupted by the soldiers, who alarmed the modesty of the naked catechumens, and violated, by their presence, the awful mysteries of the Christian worship. Arsacius occupied the church of St. Sophia, and the archiepiscopal throne. The Catholics retreated to the baths of Constantinople, and afterwards to the fields: where they

were still pursued and insulted by the guards, the bishops, and the magistrates. The fatal day of the second and final exile of Chrysostom was marked by the conflagration of the cathedral, of the senate-house, and of the adjacent buildings; and this calamity was imputed, without proof, but not without probability, to the despair of a persecuted faction.<sup>52</sup>

Cicero might claim some merit, if his voluntary banishment preserved the peace of the republic; but the submission of Chrysostom was the indispensable duty of a Christian and a subject. Instead of listening to his humble prayer, that he might be permitted to reside at Cyzicus, or Nicomedia, the inflexible empress assigned for his exile the remote and desolate town of Cucusus, among the ridges of Mount Taurus, in the Lesser Armenia. A secret hope was entertained, that the archbishop might perish in a difficult and dangerous march of seventy days in the heat of summer, through the provinces of Asia Minor, where he was continually threatened by the hostile attacks of the Isaurians, and the more implacable fury of the monks. Yet Chrysostom arrived in safety at the place of his confinement; and the three years, which he spent at Cucusus, and the neighbouring town of Arabissus, were the last and most glorious of his life. His character was consecrated by absence and persecution; the faults of his administration were no longer remembered; but every tongue repeated the praises of his genius and virtue: and the respectful attention of the Christian world was fixed on a desert spot among the mountains of Taurus. From that solitude the archbishop, whose active mind was invigorated by misfortunes, maintained a strict and frequent correspondence<sup>53</sup> with the most distant provinces; exhorted the separate congregation of his faithful adherents to persevere in their allegiance; urged the destruction of the temples of Phœniæ, and the extirpation of heresy in the isle of Cyprus; extended his pastoral care to the missions of Persia and Scythia; negotiated, by his ambassadors, with the Roman pontiff, and the emperor Honorius; and boldly appealed, from a partial synod, to the supreme tribunal of a free and general council. The mind of the illustrious exile was still independent; but his captive body was exposed to the revenge of the oppressors, who continued to abuse the name and authority of Arcadius.<sup>54</sup> An order was despatched for the instant removal of Chrysostom to the extreme desert of Pityus; and his guards so faithfully obeyed their cruel instructions, that, before he reached the sea-coast of the Euxine, he expired at Comana, in Pontus, in the sixtieth year of his age. The succeeding

Exile of Chrysostom.  
A. D. 404.  
June 10.

<sup>50</sup> Palladius owns (p. 70.), that if the people of Constantinople had found Theophilus, they would certainly have thrown him into the sea. Socrates mentions (l. vi. c. 17.) a battle between the mob and the sailors of Alexandria, in which many wounds were given, and some lives were lost. The massacre of the monks is observed only by the Pagan Zosimus (l. v. p. 324.), who acknowledges, that Chrysostom had a singular talent to lead the illiterate multitude, *τὸ γὰρ δὲ ἀσώματον ἀναγορεύον οὐλοῦν ἐκπαγεῖν οὐκ ἔμελλε*.

<sup>51</sup> See Socrates, (l. vi. c. 18.) Sozomen, (l. vii. c. 20.) Zosimus (l. v. p. 324. 325.) mentions, in general terms, his invectives against Eudoxia. The homily, which begins with those famous words, is recited as spurious. Montfaucon, tom. xiii. p. 151. Tallemont, Mém. Eccles. tom. xi. p. 607.

<sup>52</sup> We might naturally expect such a charge from Zosimus (l. v. p. 327.) but it is remarkable enough, that it should be confirmed by Socrates, l. vi. c. 18., and the Paschal Chronicle, p. 507.

<sup>53</sup> He displays those specious motives (Post Reditum, c. 13, 14.) in the language of an orator and a politician.

<sup>54</sup> Two hundred and forty-two of the epistles of Chrysostom are still extant (Opera, tom. iii. p. 528—726). They are addressed to a great

further punishment, ad quæ (if possible) to the magnitude of his crimes, may be added on him. St. Jerom, at the request of his friend Theophilus translated this editing performance from Greek into Latin. See Facundus Hermian. Defens. pro m. Capital. l. vi. c. 5. published by Sirmond. Opera, tom. ii. p. 593, 594, 597.

generation acknowledged his innocence and merit. The archbishops of the East, who might blush that their predecessors had been the enemies of Chrysostom, were gradually disposed, by the firmness of the Roman pontiff, to restore the honours of that venerable name.<sup>56</sup>

His relics  
transported to  
Constantinople.  
A. D. 457,  
Jan. 27.

At the pious solicitation of the clergy and people of Constantinople, his relics, thirty years after his death, were transported from their obscure sepulchre to the royal city.<sup>57</sup> The emperor Theodosius advanced to receive them as far as Chalcedon; and, falling prostrate on the coffin, implored, in the name of his guilty parents, Arcadius and Eudoxia, the forgiveness of the injured saint.<sup>58</sup>

The death of  
Arcadius.  
A. D. 455,  
May 1.

Yet a reasonable doubt may be entertained, whether any stain of hereditary guilt could be derived from Arcadius to his successor. Eudoxia was a young and beautiful woman, who indulged her passions, and despised her husband: count John enjoyed, at least, the familiar confidence of the empress; and the public named him as the real father of Theodosius the younger.<sup>59</sup> The birth of a son was accepted, however, by the pious husband, as an event the most fortunate and honourable to himself, to his family, and to the Eastern world: and the royal infant, by an unprecedented favour, was invested with the titles of Cæsar and Augustus. In less than four years afterwards, Eudoxia, in the bloom of youth, was destroyed by the consequences of a miscarriage; and this untimely death confounded the prophecy of a holy bishop,<sup>60</sup> who, amidst the universal joy, had ventured to foretell, that she should behold the long and auspicious reign of her glorious son. The Catholics applauded the justice of Heaven, which avenged the persecution of St. Chrysostom; and perhaps the emperor was the only person who sincerely bewailed the loss of the haughty and rapacious Eudoxia. Such a domestic misfortune afflicted *him* more deeply than the public calamities of the East; <sup>61</sup> the licentious excursions, from Pontus to Palestine, of the Isaurian robbers, whose impunity accused the weakness of the government; and the earthquakes, the conflagrations, the famine, and the flights of locusts,<sup>62</sup> which the popular discontent was equally disposed to attribute to the incapacity of the monarch. At length, in the thirty-first year of his age, after a reign (if we may abuse that word) of thirteen years, three months, and fifteen days, Arcadius expired in the palace of Constantinople. It is impossible to delineate his character; since, in a period very copiously fur-

nished with historical materials, it has not been possible to remark one action that properly belongs to the son of the great Theodosius.

The historian Procopius<sup>63</sup> has indeed illuminated the mind of the <sup>His supposed testament.</sup> dying emperor with a ray of human prudence, or celestial wisdom. Arcadius considered, with anxious foresight, the helpless condition of his son Theodosius, who was no more than seven years of age, the dangerous factions of a minority, and the aspiring spirit of Jezdegerd, the Persian monarch. Instead of tempting the allegiance of an ambitious subject, by the participation of supreme power, he boldly appealed to the magnanimity of a king; and placed, by a solemn testament, the sceptre of the East in the hands of Jezdegerd himself. The royal guardian accepted and discharged this honourable trust with unexampled fidelity; and the infancy of Theodosius was protected by the arms and councils of Persia. Such is the singular narrative of Procopius; and his veracity is not disputed by Agathias,<sup>64</sup> while he presumes to dissent from his judgment, and to arraign the wisdom of a Christian emperor, who, so rashly, though so fortunately, committed his son and his dominions to the unknown faith of a stranger, a rival, and a heathen. At the distance of one hundred and fifty years, this political question might be debated in the court of Justinian; but a prudent historian will refuse to examine the *propriety*, till he has ascertained the *truth*, of the testament of Arcadius. As it stands without a parallel in the history of the world, we may justly require, that it should be attested by the positive and unanimous evidence of cotemporaries. The strange novelty of the event, which excites our distrust, must have attracted their notice; and their universal silence annihilates the vain tradition of the succeeding age.

The maxims of Roman juris- <sup>Administration of Arcadius.</sup> prudence, if they could fairly be transferred from private property to public dominion, would have adjudged to the emperor Honorius the guardianship of his nephew, till he had attained, at least, the fourteenth year of his age. But the weakness of Honorius, and the calamities of his reign, disqualified him from prosecuting this natural claim; and such was the absolute separation of the two monarchies, both in interest and affection, that Constantinople would have obeyed, with less reluctance, the orders of the Persian, than those of the Italian, court. Under a prince, whose weakness is disguised by the external signs of manhood and discretion, the

<sup>56</sup> His name was inserted by the emperor Arcadius in the Dispensation of the church, and in the public prayers. A. D. 455. The emperor was acknowledged as a saint by the Catholics, and his relics were transported to Constantinople. See Fabricius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. 10, c. 20, p. 277, 285.

<sup>57</sup> See Zonaras, lib. 10, c. 15. Theodosius, lib. 5, c. 56. The emperor reconciled the Jews, who had persecuted the Christians, to the Christian religion. There, in his lifetime, the Jews were persecuted by the Catholics, as the true and orthodox religion, and of continuing. Their persecutions gradually grew into a habit, and were continued to the present time.

<sup>58</sup> According to some accounts, Honorius, A. D. 455, c. 2, p. 10, the emperor was transported to Constantinople, and expired, before the body of the emperor was laid out in the palace of Constantinople.

<sup>59</sup> Zonaras, lib. 10, p. 515. The fact of an emperor's son being implicated without possessing a crime, is not a new one, but it is a fact which the witness should write, and the historian should record. It is a fact which the writer of this history has not dared to record. It is a fact which the writer of this history has not dared to record. It is a fact which the writer of this history has not dared to record.

de Theodosius, lib. 10, c. 15, is not aware to brand the reputation of the emperor. The emperor was transported to Constantinople, and expired, before the body of the emperor was laid out in the palace of Constantinople. See Fabricius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. 10, c. 20, p. 277, 285.

<sup>61</sup> Procopius, lib. 10, c. 15, and Gledetius, *Procopius*, p. 177. The emperor was transported to Constantinople, and expired, before the body of the emperor was laid out in the palace of Constantinople. See Fabricius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. 10, c. 20, p. 277, 285.

<sup>62</sup> The emperor was transported to Constantinople, and expired, before the body of the emperor was laid out in the palace of Constantinople. See Fabricius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. 10, c. 20, p. 277, 285.

<sup>63</sup> Procopius, lib. 10, c. 15, and Gledetius, *Procopius*, p. 177. The emperor was transported to Constantinople, and expired, before the body of the emperor was laid out in the palace of Constantinople. See Fabricius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. 10, c. 20, p. 277, 285.

most worthless favourites may secretly dispute the empire of the palace; and dictate to submissive provinces the commands of a master, whom they direct and despise. But the ministers of a child, who is incapable of arming them with the sanction of the royal name, must acquire and exercise an independent authority. The great officers of the state and army, who had been appointed before the death of Arcadius, formed an aristocracy, which might have inspired them with the idea of a free republic; and the government of the Eastern empire was fortunately assumed by the præfect Anthemius,<sup>65</sup> who obtained, by his superior abilities, a lasting ascendancy over the minds of his equals. The safety of the young emperor proved the merit and integrity of Anthemius; and his prudent firmness sustained the force and reputation of an infant reign. Uldin, with a formidable host of barbarians, was encamped in the heart of Thrace; he proudly rejected all terms of accommodation; and, pointing to the rising sun, declared to the Roman ambassadors, that the course of that planet should alone terminate the conquests of the Huns. But the desertion of his confederates, who were privately convinced of the justice and liberality of the Imperial ministers, obliged Uldin to repossess the Danube: the tribe of the Scyri, which composed his rear-guard, was almost extirpated; and many thousand captives were dispersed, to cultivate, with servile labour, the fields of Asia.<sup>66</sup> In the midst of the public triumph, Constantinople was protected by a strong enclosure of new and more extensive walls; the same vigilant care was applied to restore the fortifications of the Illyrian cities; and a plan was judiciously conceived, which, in the space of seven years, would have secured the command of the Danube, by establishing on that river a perpetual fleet of two hundred and fifty armed vessels.<sup>67</sup>

But the Romans had so long been accustomed to the authority of a monarch, that the first, even among the females, of the Imperial family, who displayed any courage or capacity, was permitted to ascend the vacant throne of Theodosius. His sister Pulcheria,<sup>68</sup> who was only two years older than himself, received, at the age of sixteen, the title of *Augusta*; and though her favour might be sometimes clouded by caprice or intrigue, she continued to govern the Eastern empire near forty years; during the long minority of her brother, and, after his death, in her own name, and in the name of Marcian, her nominal husband. From a motive, either of prudence, or religion, she embraced a life of celibacy; and notwithstanding some as-

persions on the chastity of Pulcheria,<sup>69</sup> this resolution, which she communicated to her sisters Arcadia and Marina, was celebrated by the Christian world, as the sublime effort of heroic piety. In the presence of the clergy and people, the three daughters of Arcadius<sup>70</sup> dedicated their virginity to God; and the obligation of their solemn vow was inscribed on a tablet of gold and gems; which they publicly offered in the great church of Constantinople. Their palace was converted into a monastery; and all males, except the guides of their conscience, the saints who had forgotten the distinction of sexes, were scrupulously excluded from the holy threshold. Pulcheria, her two sisters, and a chosen train of favourite damsels, formed a religious community: they renounced the vanity of dress; interrupted, by frequent fasts, their simple and frugal diet; allotted a portion of their time to works of embroidery; and devoted several hours of the day and night to the exercises of prayer and psalmody. The piety of a Christian virgin was adorned by the zeal and liberality of an empress. Ecclesiastical history describes the splendid churches, which were built at the expense of Pulcheria, in all the provinces of the East; her charitable foundations for the benefit of strangers and the poor; the ample donations which she assigned for the perpetual maintenance of monastic societies; and the active severity with which she laboured to suppress the opposite heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. Such virtues were supposed to deserve the peculiar favour of the Deity: and the relics of martyrs, as well as the knowledge of future events, were communicated in visions and revelations to the Imperial saint.<sup>71</sup> Yet the devotion of Pulcheria never diverted her indefatigable attention from temporal affairs; and she alone, among all the descendants of the great Theodosius, appears to have inherited any share of his manly spirit and abilities. The elegant and familiar use which she had acquired, both of the Greek and Latin languages, was readily applied to the various occasions of speaking, or writing, on public business; her deliberations were maturely weighed; her actions were prompt and decisive; and, while she moved without noise or ostentation the wheel of government, she discreetly attributed to the genius of the emperor, the long tranquillity of his reign. In the last years of his peaceful life, Europe was indeed afflicted by the arms of Attila; but the more extensive province of Asia still continued to enjoy a profound and permanent repose. Theodosius the younger was never reduced to the disgraceful necessity of encountering and punishing a rebellious subject:

<sup>65</sup> Socrates, *l. vi. c. 1*. Anthemius was the grandson of Placidia, one of the daughters of Constantine, and the grandfather of the emperor Anthemius.

<sup>66</sup> See *Procopius*, *l. i. c. 10*. After his return from the Persian embassy, he was appointed consul and prætor in prætorio for the East, in the year 403, and held the præfecture about ten years. See his history, and press a method for finding Theodoret, *l. vi. c. 30*. Theopompus, *l. vi. c. 10*.

<sup>67</sup> Socrates, *l. vi. c. 5*. He was one of the most able men of the time. Olympius, in *l. vi. c. 1*, and described the same hope that those places were the rest of the nation.

<sup>68</sup> See *Procopius*, *l. i. c. 10*, and *l. i. c. 10*, and *l. i. c. 10*.

<sup>69</sup> Socrates mentions three charges against a virgin-cent name: the first, that she was a virgin; the second, that she was a virgin; the third, that she was a virgin.

<sup>70</sup> Socrates, *l. vi. c. 1*. See also *Procopius*, *l. i. c. 10*, and *l. i. c. 10*.

<sup>71</sup> Socrates, *l. vi. c. 1*. See also *Procopius*, *l. i. c. 10*, and *l. i. c. 10*.

founder, because he censured her connection with the beautiful Eudocia, and her incest with her brother Theodosius.

<sup>70</sup> See *Procopius*, *l. i. c. 10*. Eudocia, the eldest daughter, either died before Arcadius, or, if she lived till the year 431, she died in the year 431.

<sup>71</sup> She was divorced, by repeated dreams, of the place where the bones of the three martyrs had been buried. The ground had been exactly located to the house and garden of a woman of Constantinople, and a monastery of Macedonian monks, and to a church of the same name, which was destroyed by Theodosius. The ground was then sold by Theodosius, who was consul A. D. 403, for the sum of 1000 gold pieces. If the relics were indeed buried there, the ground was then sold by Theodosius, who was consul A. D. 403, for the sum of 1000 gold pieces. If the relics were indeed buried there, the ground was then sold by Theodosius, who was consul A. D. 403, for the sum of 1000 gold pieces.

and since we cannot applaud the vigour, some praise may be due to the mildness, and prosperity, of the administration of Pulcheria.

The Roman world was deeply interested in the education of its master. A regular course of study and exercise was judiciously instituted; of the military exercises of riding, and shooting with the bow; of the liberal studies of grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy: the most skilful masters of the East ambitiously solicited the attention of their royal pupil; and several noble youths were introduced into the palace, to animate his diligence by the emulation of friendship. Pulcheria alone discharged the important task of instructing her brother in the arts of government; but her precepts may countenance some suspicion of the extent of her capacity, or of the purity of her intentions. She taught him to maintain a grave and majestic deportment; to walk, to hold his robes, to seat himself on his throne, in a manner worthy of a great prince; to abstain from laughter; to listen with condescension; to return suitable answers; to assume, by turns, a serious or a placid countenance; in a word, to represent with grace and dignity the external figure of a Roman emperor. But Theodosius<sup>72</sup> was never excited to support the weight and glory of an illustrious name; and, instead of aspiring to imitate his ancestors, he degenerated (if we may presume to measure the degrees of incapacity) below the weakness of his father and his uncle. Arcadius and Honorius had been assisted by the guardian care of a parent, whose lessons were enforced by his authority, and example. But the unfortunate prince, who is born in the purple, must remain a stranger to the voice of truth; and the son of Arcadius was condemned to pass his perpetual infancy, encompassed only by a servile train of women and eunuchs. The ample leisure, which he acquired by neglecting the essential duties of his high office, was filled by idle amusements, and unprofitable studies. Hunting was the only active pursuit that could tempt him beyond the limits of the palace: but he most assiduously laboured, sometimes by the light of a midnight lamp, in the mechanic occupations of painting and carving; and the elegance with which he transcribed religious books, entitled the Roman emperor to the singular epithet of *Calligraphes*, or a fair writer. Separated from the world by an impenetrable veil, Theodosius trusted the persons whom he loved; he loved those who were accustomed to amuse and flatter his indolence; and as he never perused the papers that were presented for the royal signature, the acts of injustice the most repugnant to his character were frequently perpetrated in his name. The emperor himself was chaste, temperate, liberal,

and merciful; but these qualities, which can only deserve the name of virtues, when they are supported by courage, and regulated by discretion, were seldom beneficial, and they sometimes proved mischievous, to mankind. His mind, enervated by a royal education, was oppressed and degraded by abject superstition: he fasted, he sung psalms, he blindly accepted the miracles and doctrines with which his faith was continually nourished. Theodosius devoutly worshipped the dead and living saints of the Catholic church; and he once refused to eat, till an insolent monk, who had cast an excommunication on his sovereign, condescended to heal the spiritual wound which he had inflicted.<sup>73</sup>

The story of a fair and virtuous maiden, exalted from a private condition to the Imperial throne, might be deemed an incredible romance.

Character and adventures of Eudocia, A. D. 421-440.

if such a romance had not been verified in the marriage of Theodosius. The celebrated Athenais<sup>74</sup> was educated by her father Leontius in the religion and sciences of the Greeks; and so advantageous was the opinion which the Athenian philosopher entertained of his cotemporaries, that he divided his patrimony between his two sons, bequeathing to his daughter a small legacy of one hundred pieces of gold, in the lively confidence that her beauty and merit would be a sufficient portion. The jealousy and avarice of her brothers soon compelled Athenais to seek a refuge at Constantinople; and, with some hopes, either of justice or favour, to throw herself at the feet of Pulcheria. That sagacious princess listened to her eloquent complaint; and secretly destined the daughter of the philosopher Leontius for the future wife of the emperor of the East, who had now attained the twentieth year of his age. She easily excited the curiosity of her brother, by an interesting picture of the charms of Athenais; large eyes, a well-proportioned nose, a fair complexion, golden locks, a slender person, a graceful demeanour, an understanding improved by study, and a virtue tried by distress. Theodosius, concealed behind a curtain in the apartment of his sister, was permitted to behold the Athenian virgin: the modest youth immediately declared his pure and honourable love; and the royal nuptials were celebrated amidst the acclamations of the capital and the provinces. Athenais, who was easily persuaded to renounce the errors of Paganism, received at her baptism the Christian name of Eudocia: but the cautious Pulcheria withheld the title of Augusta, till the wife of Theodosius had approved her fruitfulness by the birth of a daughter, who espoused, fifteen years afterwards, the emperor of the West. The brothers of Eudocia obeyed, with some anxiety, her

<sup>72</sup> There is a remarkable difference between the two ecclesiastical historians, who in general bear so close a resemblance to each other, in their accounts to Pulcheria the government of the empire, and the education of her brother, whom she scarcely endeavours to praise. Sozomen, though he attributes dooms, all honours of Eudocia, to the empress, an elaborate passage in the *Eclogæ* of Theodoret, and the *Philotheus* suppresses the merits of his sister, and is silent of her virtues. The *Philotheus* (lib. vi. c. 7) expresses the influence of Pulcheria in civil and ecclesiastical language; *regis præsentia, imperatricis, consensu, et sanctione, quibusdam suis*. Except p. 35, gives a true character of Theodosius, and I have followed the example of Theodoret, tom. vi. p. 25, in ascribing some strokes from the nose to Greeks.

<sup>73</sup> Theodoret, l. v. c. 37. The bishop of Cyrrhus, one of the first

men of his age for his learning and piety, applauds the obedience of Theodosius to the divine laws.

<sup>74</sup> Sozomen, lib. vi. c. 10, mentions her name Athenais, the daughter of Leontius, an Athenian, who, he says, had great merit, courage, and piety. Theodoret, lib. vi. c. 7, calls her Eudocia, the daughter of John, a philosopher, who lived in the reign of Arcadius. The *Philotheus*, lib. vi. c. 7, calls her Eudocia, the daughter of John, a philosopher, who lived in the reign of Arcadius. The *Philotheus*, lib. vi. c. 7, calls her Eudocia, the daughter of John, a philosopher, who lived in the reign of Arcadius. The *Philotheus*, lib. vi. c. 7, calls her Eudocia, the daughter of John, a philosopher, who lived in the reign of Arcadius.



Imperial summons; but as she could easily forgive their fortunate unkindness, she indulged the tenderness, or perhaps the vanity, of a sister, by promoting them to the rank of consuls and præfects. In the luxury of the palace, she still cultivated those ingenuous arts, which had contributed to her greatness; and wisely dedicated her talents to the honour of religion, and of her husband. Eudocia composed a poetical paraphrase of the first eight books of the Old Testament, and of the prophecies of Daniel and Zachariah; a cento of the verses of Homer, applied to the life and miracles of Christ, the legend of St. Cyprian, and a panegyric on the Persian victories of Theodosius: and her writings, which were applauded by a servile and superstitious age, have not been disdained by the candour of impartial criticism.<sup>75</sup> The fondness of the emperor was not abated by time and possession; and Eudocia, after the marriage of her daughter, was permitted to discharge her grateful vows by a solemn pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Her ostentatious progress through the East may seem inconsistent with the spirit of Christian humility: she pronounced, from a throne of gold and gems, an eloquent oration to the senate of Antioch, declared her royal intention of enlarging the walls of the city, bestowed a donative of two hundred pounds of gold to restore the public baths, and accepted the statues, which were decreed by the gratitude of Antioch. In the Holy Land, her alms and pious foundations exceeded the munificence of the great Helena; and though the public treasure might be impoverished by this excessive liberality, she enjoyed the conscious satisfaction of returning to Constantinople with the chains of St. Peter, the right arm of St. Stephen, and an undoubted picture of the Virgin, painted by St. Luke.<sup>76</sup> But this pilgrimage was the fatal term of the glories of Eudocia. Satiated with empty pomp, and unmindful, perhaps, of her obligations to Pulcheria, she ambitiously aspired to the government of the Eastern empire: the palace was distracted by female discord; but the victory was at last decided, by the superior ascendancy of the sister of Theodosius. The execution of Paulinus, master of the offices, and the disgrace of Cyrus, prætorian præfect of the East, convinced the public, that the favour of Eudocia was insufficient to protect her most faithful friends; and the uncommon beauty of Paulinus encouraged the secret rumour, that his guilt was that of a successful lover.<sup>77</sup> As soon as the empress perceived that the affection of Theodosius was irrevocably lost, she requested the permission of retiring to the distant solitude of Jerusalem. She obtained her request; but the

jealousy of Theodosius, or the vindictive spirit of Pulcheria, pursued her in her last retreat; and Saturninus, count of the domestics, was directed to punish with death two ecclesiastics, her most favoured servants. Eudocia instantly revenged them by the assassination of the count: the furious passions, which she indulged on this suspicious occasion, seemed to justify the severity of Theodosius; and the empress, ignominiously stripped of the honours of her rank,<sup>78</sup> was disgraced, perhaps unjustly, in the eyes of the world. The remainder of the life of Eudocia, about sixteen years, was spent in exile and devotion; and the approach of age, the death of Theodosius, the misfortunes of her only daughter, who was led a captive from Rome to Carthage, and the society of the holy monks of Palestine, insensibly confirmed the religious temper of her mind. After a full experience of the vicissitudes of human life, the daughter of the philosopher Leontius expired, at Jerusalem, in the sixty-seventh year of her age; protesting, with her dying breath, that she had never transgressed the bounds of innocence and friendship.<sup>79</sup>

The gentle mind of Theodosius was never inflamed by the ambition of conquest, or military renown; and the slight alarm of a Persian war scarcely interrupted the tranquillity of the East. The motives of this war were just and honourable. In the last year of the reign of Jezdegerd, the supposed guardian of Theodosius, a bishop, who aspired to the crown of martyrdom, destroyed one of the fire-temples of Susa.<sup>80</sup> His zeal and obstinacy were revenged on his brethren: the Magi excited a cruel persecution; and the intolerant zeal of Jezdegerd was imitated by his son Varanes, or Bahram, who soon afterwards ascended the throne. Some Christian fugitives, who escaped to the Roman frontier, were sternly demanded, and generously refused; and the refusal, aggravated by commercial disputes, soon kindled a war between the rival monarchies. The mountains of Armenia, and the plains of Mesopotamia, were filled with hostile armies; but the operations of two successive campaigns were not productive of any decisive or memorable events. Some engagements were fought, some towns were besieged, with various and doubtful success; and if the Romans failed in their attempt to recover the long lost possession of Nisibis, the Persians were repulsed from the walls of a Mesopotamian city, by the valour of a martial bishop, who pointed his thundering engine in the name of St. Thomas the Apostle. Yet the splendid victories, which the incredible speed of the messenger Palladius repeatedly announced to the

The Persian  
A. D. 424.

<sup>75</sup> Socrates, l. vii. c. 21. Photus, p. 415, 420. The Homeric cento is lost, but the claim is disputed by the critics. p. 352. The *Enchaïrion*, a miscellany, was compiled by another ed in the eleventh century.

<sup>76</sup> It is curious and fond to see the same person at different ages on the same level.

<sup>77</sup> Præfatus in Excerpt. l. x. c. 39. Tillemont, Mem. Ecclesiæ, tom. xii. p. 756-761. Assemanus, Biblioth. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 361. Theodoret blames the rashness of Abbas, but does not clearly understand the causes, which produced our repairing the damage which we have unduly committed.

<sup>78</sup> Only mentions her Persian and Christian names, without adding any state of honour or respect.

<sup>79</sup> For the two pilgrimages of Eudocia, and her long residence at Jerusalem, her devotion, alms, &c. see Socrates (l. vii. c. 17.), and Eusebius (l. i. c. 20, 21, 22). The Paschal Chronicle may sometimes be consulted for the history of Antioch, John

The Abbe l'encue, in a such I have only seen a t. 2, 155 pounds of gold,

<sup>80</sup> Theodoret, l. i. c. 39. Tillemont, Mem. Ecclesiæ, tom. xii. p. 756-761. Assemanus, Biblioth. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 361. Theodoret blames the rashness of Abbas, but does not clearly understand the causes, which produced our repairing the damage which we have unduly committed.

palace of Constantinople, were celebrated with festivals and panegyrics. From these panegyrics the historians<sup>81</sup> of the age might borrow their extraordinary, and, perhaps, fabulous, tales: of the proud challenge of a Persian hero, who was entangled by the net, and despatched by the sword, of Areobindus the Goth; of the ten thousand *Immortals*, who were slain in the attack of the Roman camp; and of the hundred thousand Arabs, or Saracens, who were impelled by a panic terror to throw themselves headlong into the Euphrates. Such events may be disbelieved or disregarded; but the charity of a bishop, Acacius of Amida, whose name might have dignified the saintly calendar, shall not be lost in oblivion. Boldly declaring, that vases of gold and silver are useless to a God who neither eats nor drinks, the generous prelate sold the plate of the church of Amida; employed the price in the redemption of seven thousand Persian captives; supplied their wants with affectionate liberality; and dismissed them to their native country, to inform the king of the true spirit of the religion which he persecuted. The practice of benevolence in the midst of war must always tend to assuage the animosity of contending nations; and I wish to persuade myself, that Acacius contributed to the restoration of peace. In the conference which was held on the limits of the two empires, the Roman ambassadors degraded the personal character of their sovereign, by a vain attempt to magnify the extent of his power; when they seriously advised the Persians to prevent, by a timely accommodation, the wrath of a monarch, who was yet ignorant of this distant war. A truce of one hundred years was solemnly ratified; and, although the revolutions of Armenia might threaten the public tranquillity, the essential conditions of this treaty were respected near four centuries by the successors of Constantine and Artaxaxes.

Armenia di-  
vidid in two,  
the Parthians, and  
the Romans,  
A. D. 431-440

Since the Roman and Parthian standards first encountered on the banks of the Euphrates, the kingdom of Armenia<sup>22</sup> was alternately oppressed by its formidable protectors; and in the course of this history, several events, which inclined the balance of peace and war, have been already related. A disgraceful treaty had resigned Armenia to the ambition of Sapor; and the scale of Persia appeared to preponderate. But the royal race of Arsaces impatiently submitted to the house of Sassan; the turbulent nobles asserted, or betrayed, their hereditary independence; and the nation was still attached to the *Christian* princes of Constantinople. In the beginning of the fifth century, Armenia

was divided by the progress of war and faction;<sup>83</sup> and the unnatural division precipitated the downfall of that ancient monarchy. Chosroes, the Persian vassal, reigned over the eastern and most extensive portion of the country; while the western province acknowledged the jurisdiction of Arsaces, and the supremacy of the emperor Arcadius. After the death of Arsaces the Romans suppressed the regal government, and imposed on their allies the condition of subjects. The military command was delegated to the count of the Armenian frontier; the city of Theodosiopolis<sup>84</sup> was built and fortified in a strong situation, on a fertile and lofty ground, near the sources of the Euphrates; and the dependent territories were ruled by five satraps, whose dignity was marked by a peculiar habit of gold and purple. The less fortunate nobles, who lamented the loss of their king, and envied the honours of their equals, were provoked to negotiate their peace and pardon at the Persian court; and returning, with their followers, to the palace of Artaxata, acknowledged Chosroes for their lawful sovereign. About thirty years afterwards, Artasires, the nephew and successor of Chosroes, fell under the displeasure of the haughty and capricious nobles of Armenia; and they unanimously desired a Persian governor in the room of an unworthy king. The answer of the archbishop Isaac, whose sanction they earnestly solicited, is expressive of the character of a superstitious people. He deplored the manifest and inexcusable vices of Artasires; and declared, that he should not hesitate to accuse him before the tribunal of a Christian emperor, who would punish, without destroying, the sinner. "Our king," continued Isaac, "is too much addicted to licentious pleasures, but he has been purified in the holy waters of baptism. He is a lover of women, but he does not adore the fire or the elements. He may deserve the reproach of lewdness, but he is an undoubted Catholic; and his faith is pure, though his manners are flagitious. I will never consent to abandon my sheep to the rage of devouring wolves; and you would soon repent your rash exchange of the infirmities of a believer, for the specious virtues of an heathen."<sup>85</sup> Exasperated by the firmness of Isaac, the factious nobles accused both the king and the archbishop as the secret adherents of the emperor; and absurdly rejoiced in the sentence of condemnation, which, after a partial hearing, was solemnly pronounced by Bahram himself. The descendants of Arsaces were degraded from the royal dignity,<sup>86</sup> which they had possessed above five hundred and sixty years;<sup>87</sup> and the dominions of the unfortunate Artasires,

§1. Socrates (l. vii, c. 18, 19, 20, 21) is the best authority for the Periclean war. We may likewise consult the principal poets of the age, and those of Marce and of Meles.

82. This account of the ruin of the city of the children of Arame is taken from the third book of the *Archeologia* of Moses of Chorene. Deficient as this is, every one who reads it will find, as I have information, his passion and his prejudice, not strongly expressive of a native and a city, and a people of Fathers, (1. m. c. l. 5.) relate the effects of the wars of this city, and I have extracted the circumstances of the ruin in the same city, and the least inconsistent with Moses of Chorene.

85 The western Armenians used the Greek language and characters in their religious offices, but the use of it as a liturgical tongue was prohibited by the Persians in the Eastern provinces, which were added to the Syrian, all the prelates of the Armenians, led by Mesropes, in the beginning of the fifth century, and the subsequent version of the Bible into the Armenian language, an event which

revived the connection of the church and nation with Constantine.

<sup>14</sup> More, Chapm. l. c. p. 59, p. 709, and p. 718. Prescy. of the l. c. l. c. p. 11. Theodoraopsis stands, or rather, good, about 1000 feet above the level of Argente, the mountain of Argente.

<sup>1</sup> St. Moses Cheltenham, l. c. 173, p. 316. According to the testimony of St. Gregory, the apostle of Armenia, the priesthood is divided into two orders, a sacerdotal order which is sacerdotal, and a clerical order, the influence of the sacerdotal character, and united the nature with

87. A branch of the royal house of Armas still subsisted, with the rank and honors of a feudal seign of Armas de Salgue. See *Mem. Chron. de Portugal*, 71.

under the new and significant appellation of Persarmenia, were reduced into the form of a province. This usurpation excited the jealousy of the Roman government; but the rising disputes were soon terminated by an amicable, though unequal, partition of the ancient kingdom of Armenia; and a territorial acquisition, which Augustus might have despised, reflected some lustre on the declining empire of the younger Theodosius.

### CHAP. XXXIII.

*Death of Honorius.—Valentinian III. Emperor of the East.—Administration of his Mother Placidia.—Eltius and Boniface.—Conquest of Africa by the Vandals.*

Last years and death of Honorius. A. D. 425, Aug. 27.

**DURING** a long and disgraceful reign of twenty-eight years, Honorius, emperor of the West, was separated from the friendship of his brother, and afterwards of his nephew, who reigned over the East; and Constantinople beheld, with apparent indifference and secret joy, the calamities of Rome. The strange adventures of Placidia<sup>1</sup> gradually renewed, and cemented, the alliance of the two empires. The daughter of the great Theodosius had been the captive, and the queen, of the Goths; she lost an affectionate husband; she was dragged in chains by his insulting assassin; she tasted the pleasure of revenge, and was exchanged, in the treaty of peace, for six hundred thousand measures of wheat. After her return from Spain to Italy, Placidia experienced a new persecution in the bosom of her family. She was averse to a marriage, which had been stipulated without her consent; and the brave Constantius, as a noble reward for the tyrants whom he had vanquished, received, from the hand of Honorius himself, the struggling and reluctant hand of the widow of Adolphus. But her resistance ended with the ceremony of the nuptials; nor did Placidia refuse to become the mother of Honorius and Valentinian the third, or to assume and exercise an absolute dominion over the mind of her grateful husband. The generous soldier, whose time had hitherto been divided between social pleasure and military service, was taught new lessons of avarice and ambition. He extorted the title of Augustus; and the servant of Honorius was associated to the empire of the West. The death of Constantius, in the seventh month of his reign, instead of diminishing, seemed to increase, the power of Placidia; and the indecent familiarity<sup>2</sup> of her brother, which might be no more than the symptoms of a childish affection, was universally attributed to incestuous love. On a sudden, by some base intrigues of a steward and a nurse, this excessive fondness was converted into an irreconcilable quarrel: the

debates of the emperor and his sister were not long confined within the walls of the palace; and as the Gothic soldiers adhered to their queen, the city of Ravenna was agitated with bloody and dangerous tumults, which could only be appeased by the forced or voluntary retreat of Placidia and her children. The royal exiles landed at Constantinople, soon after the marriage of Theodosius, during the festival of the Persian victories. They were treated with kindness and magnificence; but as the statues of the emperor Constantius had been rejected by the Eastern court, the title of Augusta could not decently be allowed to his widow. Within a few months after the arrival of Placidia, a swift messenger announced the death of Honorius, the consequence of a dropsy; but the important secret was not divulged, till the necessary orders had been despatched for the march of a large body of troops to the sea-coast of Dalmatia. The shops and the gates of Constantinople remained shut during seven days; and the loss of a foreign prince, who could neither be esteemed nor regretted, was celebrated with loud and affected demonstrations of the public grief.

While the ministers of Constantinople deliberated, the vacant throne of Honorius was usurped by the ambition of a stranger. The name of the rebel was John: he filled the confidential office of *Primicerius*, or principal secretary; and history has attributed to his character more virtues, than can easily be reconciled with the violation of the most sacred duty. Elated by the submission of Italy, and the hope of an alliance with the Huns, John presumed to insult, by an embassy, the majesty of the Eastern emperor; but when he understood that his agents had been banished, imprisoned, and at length chased away with deserved ignominy, John prepared to assert, by arms, the injustice of his claims. In such a cause, the grandson of the great Theodosius should have marched in person; but the young emperor was easily diverted, by his physicians, from so rash and hazardous a design; and the conduct of the Italian expedition was prudently intrusted to Ardaburius, and his son Aspar, who had already signalised their valour against the Persians. It was resolved, that Ardaburius should embark with the infantry; whilst Aspar, at the head of the cavalry, conducted Placidia, and her son Valentinian, along the sea-coast of the Adriatic. The march of the cavalry was performed with such active diligence, that they surprised, without resistance, the important city of Aquileia; when the hopes of Aspar were unexpectedly confounded by the intelligence, that a storm had dispersed the Imperial fleet; and that his father, with only two galleys, was taken and carried a prisoner into the port of Ravenna. Yet this incident, unfortunate as it might seem, facilitated the conquest of Italy. Ardaburius, employed, or abused, the courteous freedom

Elevation and fall of the usurper John. A. D. 425—426.

<sup>1</sup> Moses Choren. l. ii. c. 2. p. 51. one hundred and thirty years before Christ. Without depending on the various and contradictory periods of the reigns of the first kings, we may be assured, that the reign of the Armenian kingdom began after the conquest of the Hittites, A. D. 321 (l. iii. c. 61. p. 212.) and under Varan, or Bazar, king of Persia (l. iii. c. 1. p. 37.) who reigned from A. D. 420 to 440. See Asseman. *Biblioth. Oriental.* tom. iii. p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> See ante, p. 495—500.

<sup>2</sup> *ἡ δὲ ἀνὴρ καταστὰς ἡγεμὼν*, is the expression of Olympiodorus (supra p. 173.), who means, perhaps, to describe the same character which Sallustius bestowed on his daughter Ph. *tenet Quiridis*, i. e. she is the property of herself, quando suus non desideratur. *Prædictus* is a common, or vulgar, language, and is used by the author. But this would be a dangerous expression, if it were used by the author, and the word is not used in the text. The expression is used by the author in the text, and is used in the text.

which he was permitted to enjoy, to revive among the troops a sense of loyalty and gratitude; and, as soon as the conspiracy was ripe for execution, he invited, by private messages, and pressed the approach of, Aspar. A shepherd, whom the popular credulity transformed into an angel, guided the Eastern cavalry, by a secret, and, it was thought, an impassable road, through the morasses of the Po: the gates of Ravenna, after a short struggle, were thrown open; and the defenceless tyrant was delivered to the mercy, or rather to the cruelty, of the conquerors. His right hand was first cut off; and, after he had been exposed, mounted on an ass, to the public derision, John was beheaded in the circus of Aquileia. The emperor Theodosius, when he received the news of the victory, interrupted the horse-races; and singing, as he marched through the streets, a suitable psalm, conducted his people from the Hippodrome to the church, where he spent the remainder of the day in grateful devotion.<sup>3</sup>

In a monarchy, which, according to various precedents, might be considered as elective, or hereditary, or patrimonial, it was impossible that the intricate claims of female and collateral succession should be clearly defined; and Theodosius, by the right of consanguinity or conquest, might have reigned the sole legitimate emperor of the Romans. For a moment, perhaps, his eyes were dazzled by the prospect of unbounded sway; but his indolent temper gradually acquiesced in the dictates of sound policy. He contented himself with the possession of the East; and wisely relinquished the laborious task of waging a distant and doubtful war against the barbarians beyond the Alps; or of securing the obedience of the Italians and Africans, whose minds were alienated by the irreconcilable difference of language and interest. Instead of listening to the voice of ambition, Theodosius resolved to imitate the moderation of his grandfather, and to seat his cousin Valentinian on the throne of the West. The royal infant was distinguished at Constantinople by the title of *Nobilissimus*; he was promoted, before his departure from Thessalonica, to the rank and dignity of *Cæsar*; and, after the conquest of Italy, the patrician Helion, by the authority of Theodosius, and in the presence of the senate, saluted Valentinian the third by the name of Augustus, and solemnly invested him with the diadem, and the Imperial purple.<sup>4</sup> By the agreement of the three families who governed the Roman world, the son of Placidia was betrothed to Eudoxia, the daughter

of Theodosius and Athenais; and, as soon as the lover and his bride had attained the age of puberty, this honourable alliance was faithfully accomplished. At the same time, as a compensation, perhaps, for the expenses of the war, the Western Illyricum was detached from the Italian dominions, and yielded to the throne of Constantinople.<sup>6</sup> The emperor of the East acquired the useful dominion of the rich and maritime province of Dalmatia, and the dangerous sovereignty of Pannonia and Noricum, which had been filled and ravaged above twenty years by a promiscuous crowd of Huns, Ostrogoths, Vandals, and *Barbarians*. Theodosius and Valentinian continued to respect the obligations of their public and domestic alliance; but the unity of the Roman government was finally dissolved. By a positive declaration, the validity of all future laws was limited to the dominions of their peculiar authority; unless he should think proper to communicate them, subscribed with his own hand, for the approbation of his independent colleague.<sup>7</sup>

Valentinian, when he received the title of Augustus, was no more than six years of age; and his long minority was intrusted to the guardian care of a mother, who might assert a female claim to the succession of the Western empire. Placidia envied, but she could not equal, the reputation and virtues of the wife and sister of Theodosius; the elegant genius of Eudocia, the wise and successful policy of Pulcheria. The mother of Valentinian was jealous of the power which she was incapable of exercising; she reigned twenty-five years, in the name of her son; and the character of that unworthy emperor gradually countenanced the suspicion, that Placidia had enervated his youth by a dissolute education, and studiously diverted his attention from every manly and honourable pursuit. Amidst the decay of military spirit, her armies were commanded by two generals, Ætius<sup>9</sup> and Boniface,<sup>10</sup> who may be deservedly named as the last of the Romans. Their union might have supported a sinking empire; their discord was the fatal and immediate cause of the loss of Africa. The invasion and defeat of Attila has immortalised the fame of Ætius; and though time has thrown a shade over the exploits of his rival, the defence of Marseilles, and the deliverance of Africa, attest the military talents of count Boniface. In the field of battle, in partial encounters, in single combats, he was still the terror of the barbarians; the clergy, and particularly his friend Augustin,

Administration of his mother Placidia. A. D. 425-450.

Two generals, Ætius and Boniface.

<sup>3</sup> For these revolutions of the Western empire, see all the modern authors, Florin. p. 177, 185, 186, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>4</sup> The emperor was at the age of six years, when he was crowned. See the account of his coronation, in the history of the reign of Theodosius, p. 177, 185, 186, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>5</sup> See the first book of the history, p. 177, 185, 186, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 7



departure he was informed, that Hermanrie, king of the Suevi, had presumed to ravage the Spanish territories, which he was resolved to abandon. Impatient of the insult, Genseric pursued the hasty retreat of the Suevi as far as Merida; precipitated the king and his army into the river Anas, and calmly returned to the sea-shore, to embark his victorious troops. The

He lands in  
Atitlan,  
A. D. 129,  
May;

He lands in  
Africa,  
A.D. 1492,  
May; vessels which transported the Vanda-  
dals over the modern Straits of  
Gibraltar, a channel only twelve  
miles in breadth, were furnished by the Span-  
iards, who anxiously wished their departure;  
and by the African general, who had implored  
their formidable assistance.<sup>14</sup>

Our fancy, so long accustomed to exaggerate and multiply the martial swarms of barbarians that seemed to issue from the North, will perhaps be surprised by the account of the army which Genseric mustered on the coast of Mauritania. The Vandals, who in twenty years had penetrated from the Elbe to Mount Atlas, were united under the command of their warlike king; and he reigned with equal authority over the Alani, who had passed, within the term of human life, from the cold of Scythia to the excessive heat of an African climate. The hopes of the bold enterprise had excited many brave adventurers of the Gothic nation; and many desperate provincials were tempted to repair their fortunes by the same means which had occasioned their ruin. Yet this various multitude amounted only to fifty thousand effective men; and though Genseric artfully magnified his apparent strength, by appointing eighty *chilarchs*, or commanders of thousands, the fallacious increase of old men, of children, and of slaves, would scarcely have swelled his army to the number of four-score thousand persons.<sup>1</sup> But his own dexterity, and the descendants of Africa, soon fertilized the Vandal powers, by the accession of numerous and active allies. The parts of Mauritania, which border on the great desert, and the Atlantic

The Moors, on the great desert, and the Atlantic Ocean, were filled with a fierce and untractable race of men, whose savage temper had been exasperated, rather than reclaimed, by their dread of the Roman arms. The wandering Moors,<sup>15</sup> as they gradually ventured to approach the sea-shore, and the camp of the Vandals, must have viewed with terror and astonishment the dress, the armour, the martial pride and discipline, of the unknown strangers who had landed on their coast; and the fair com-

plexions of the blue-eyed warriors of Germany formed a very singular contrast with the swarthy or olive hue, which is derived from the neighborhood of the torrid zone. After the first difficulties had in some measure been removed, which arose from the mutual ignorance of their respective language, the Moors, regardless of any future consequence, embraced the alliance of the enemies of Rome, and a crowd of naked savages rushed from the woods and valleys of Mount Atlas, to satiate their revenge on the polished tyrants, who had injuriously expelled them from the native sovereignty of the land.

The persecution of the Donatists<sup>17</sup> was an event not less favourable to the

designs of Genseric. Seventeen years before he landed in Africa, a public conference was held at Carthage, by the order of the magistrate. The Catholics were satisfied, that, after the invincible reasons which they had alleged, the obstinacy of the schismatics must be inexcusable and voluntary; and the emperor Honorius was persuaded to inflict the most rigorous penalties on a faction, which had so long abused his patience and clemency. Three hundred bishops,<sup>18</sup> with many thousands of the inferior clergy, were torn from their churches, stripped of their ecclesiastical possessions, banished to the islands, and proscribed by the laws, if they presumed to conceal themselves in the provinces of Africa. Their numerous congregations, both in cities and in the country, were deprived of the rights of citizens, and of the exercise of religious worship. A regular scale of fines, from ten to two hundred pounds of silver, was curiously ascertained, according to the distinctions of rank and fortune, to punish the crime of assisting at a schismatic conventicle; and if the fine had been levied five times, without subduing the obstinacy of the offender, his future punishment was referred to the discretion of the Imperial court.<sup>19</sup> By these severities, which obtained the warmest approbation of St. Augustine,<sup>20</sup> great numbers of Donatists were reconciled to the Catholic church; but the fanatics, who still persevered in their opposition, were provoked to madness and despair; the distracted country was filled with tumult and bloodshed; the armed troops of Circumcellions alternately pointed their rage against themselves, or against their adversaries; and the calendar of martyrs received on both sides a considerable augmentation.<sup>21</sup> Under these circumstances, Genseric, a Christian, but an enemy of the orthodox communion, showed

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

18 The Donatist bishops, at the conference of Carthage, amounted to 279, and they asserted that their whole number was not less than 480. The Catholics had 284 present, 129 absent, besides sixty-four vacant bishoprics.

1) Five with title of the sixteenth book of the Theodosian Code exhibits a series of the Imperial laws against the Donatists, from the year 400 to the year 428. Of these the 16th law, promulgated by

20. S. Agius, named his opinion with regard to the proper treatment of the two hypotheses, according to the old and modern editions of the *Methodus*, has been inserted by Mr. Locke (vol. i. p. 493.) among the *Comes*, the contents of a contemporary book. Another philosopher, the celebrated Barrow, (vol. ii. p. 435.) has, however, written in his second edition, and in a new edition of his works, which he printed at Hayslewood, in the year 1734, the preface of the *Methodus*.

21 See Tuller and Mary Felt's testimony, pp. 562-566. The FBI also boasted of a "lead" from the two FBI informants, Angelo and Joseph, and provided further information that the two were "in a good mood" but that they were "not" sure that they could turn themselves in this week, although it would but a matter of days.

himself to the Donatists as a powerful deliverer, from whom they might reasonably expect the repeal of the odious and oppressive edicts of the Roman emperors.<sup>22</sup> The conquest of Africa was facilitated by the active zeal, or the secret favour, of a domestic faction; the wanton outrages against the churches and the clergy, of which the Vandals are accused, may be fairly imputed to the fanaticism of their allies; and the intolerant spirit, which disgraced the triumph of Christianity, contributed to the loss of the most important province of the West.<sup>23</sup>

The court and the people were astonished by the strange intelligence, that a virtuous hero, after so many favours, and so many services, had renounced his allegiance, and invited the barbarians to destroy the province intrusted to his command. The friends of Boniface, who still believed that his criminal behaviour might be excused by some honourable motive, solicited, during the absence of Ætius, a free conference with the count of Africa; and Darius, an officer of high distinction, was named for the important embassy.<sup>24</sup> In their first interview at Carthage, the imaginary provocations were mutually explained; the opposite letters of Ætius were produced and compared; and the fraud was easily detected. Placidia and Boniface lamented their fatal error; and the count had sufficient magnanimity to confide in the forgiveness of his sovereign, or to expose his head to her future resentment. His repentance was fervent and sincere; but he soon discovered that it was no longer in his power to restore the edifice which he had shaken to its foundations. Carthage, and the Roman garrisons, returned with their general to the allegiance of Valentinian; but the rest of Africa was still distracted with war and faction; and the inexorable king of the Vandals, disdaining all terms of accommodation, sternly refused to relinquish the possession of his prey. The band of veterans, who marched under the standard of Boniface, were defeated with considerable loss: the victorious barbarians insulted the open country; and Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Regius, were the only cities that appeared to rise above the general inundation.

The long and narrow tract of the African coast was filled with frequent monuments of Roman art and magnificence; and the respective degrees of improvement might be accurately measured by the distance from Carthage and the Mediterranean. A simple reflection will impress every thinking mind with the clearest idea of fertility

and cultivation: the country was extremely populous; the inhabitants reserved a liberal subsistence for their own use; and the annual exportation, particularly of wheat, was so regular and plentiful, that Africa deserved the name of the common granary of Rome and of mankind. On a sudden, the seven fruitful provinces, from Tangier to Tripoli, were overwhelmed by the invasion of the Vandals; whose destructive rage has perhaps been exaggerated by popular animosity, religious zeal, and extravagant declamation. War, in its fairest form, implies a perpetual violation of humanity and justice; and the hostilities of barbarians are inflamed by the fierce and lawless spirit which incessantly disturbs their peaceful and domestic society. The Vandals, where they found resistance, seldom gave quarter; and the deaths of their valiant countrymen were expiated by the ruin of the cities under whose walls they had fallen. Careless of the distinctions of age, or sex, or rank, they employed every species of indignity and torture, to force from the captives a discovery of their hidden wealth. The stern policy of Genesius justified his frequent examples of military execution: he was not always the master of his own passions, or of those of his followers; and the calamities of war were aggravated by the licentiousness of the Moors, and the fanaticism of the Donatists. Yet I shall not easily be persuaded, that it was the common practice of the Vandals to extirpate the olives, and other fruit trees, of a country where they intended to settle: nor can I believe that it was a usual stratagem to slaughter great numbers of their prisoners before the walls of a besieged city, for the sole purpose of infecting the air, and producing a pestilence, of which they themselves must have been the first victims.<sup>25</sup>

The generous mind of count Boniface was tortured by the exquisite distress of beholding the ruin which he had occasioned, and whose rapid progress he was unable to check. After the loss of a battle, he retired into Hippo Regius; where he was immediately besieged by an enemy, who considered him as the real bulwark of Africa. The maritime colony of Hippo,<sup>26</sup> about two hundred miles westward of Carthage, had formerly acquired the distinguishing epithet of *Regius*, from the residence of Numidian kings; and some remains of trade and populousness still adhere to the modern city, which is known in Europe by the corrupted name of Bona. The military labours, and anxious reflections, of count Boniface, were alleviated by the edifying conversation of his

<sup>22</sup> According to St. Augustine and Theodoret, the Donatists were inclined to the principles, or at least to the party, of the Arius, which Genesius supported. *Anti-Nic. Mem. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 98.*

<sup>23</sup> See *Biographie Antiqu. Eccles. A.D. 188, No. 7, A.D. 439, No. 25.* The principal, though more inclined to seek the cause of great events in heaven than on earth, has observed the apparent connection of the Vandals and the Donatists. Under the reign of the barbarians, the seasons of Africa were in obscure peace for one hundred years, at the end of which, we may at once trace them by the light of the imperial persecutions. See *Flémymont, Mem. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 109, &c.*

<sup>24</sup> In a confidential letter to count Boniface, St. Augustine, without examining the grounds of the quarrel, simply exhorts him to discharge the duties of a Christian as a subject, to extricate himself without delay from his dangerous and guilty situation; and even, if he could obtain the consent of his wife, to embrace a life of poverty and penance. *Flémymont, Mem. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 100.* The letter was immediately connected with Darius, the minister of peace. *Id. tom. xiii. p. 125.*

<sup>25</sup> The original complaints of the desolation of Africa are contained, 1. In a letter from Cyprianus, bishop of Carthage, to excuse his absence from the council of Ephesus (q. v. *Ruinart, p. 129, 2.* In the life of St. Augustine by his friend and disciple Possidius (q. v. *Ruinart, p. 127, 3.* In the History of the Vandals, I have quoted by Victor Vicens 1. c. 14, 47, edit. *l'ignart*. The latter picture, which was drawn sixty years after the event, is more expressive of the author's imagination than of the truth of facts.

<sup>26</sup> See *Gellarius, Geograph. Antiqu. tom. i. part. ii. p. 112.* Leo Africanus (q. v. *l'ignart, p. 147, 70.* *l'ignart, d. 3. p. 102, tom. i. p. 151, 152.* Shaw's *Travels, p. 46, 47.* The city of Hippo Regius was not destroyed by the Arabs in the seventh century, but it was destroyed at the time of two sieges, was built with the materials of it, and situated, in the seventh century, where those hundred years ago stood, but not rebuilt, nor re-occupied. The conquest of Africa is now reserved for a pure air, a fertile soil, and plenty of exquisite fruits.

friend St. Augustin; <sup>27</sup> till that bishop, the light and pillar of the Catholic church, was gently released, in the third month of the siege, and in the seventy-sixth year of his age, from the actual and the impending calamities of his country. The youth of Augustin had been stained by the vices and errors which he so ingenuously confesses; but from the moment of his conversion to that of his death, the manners of the bishop of Hippo were pure and austere: and the most conspicuous of his virtues was an ardent zeal against heretics of every denomination; the Manicheans, the Donatists, and the Pelagians, against whom he waged a perpetual controversy. When the city, some months after his death, was burnt by the Vandals, the library was fortunately saved, which contained his voluminous writings; two hundred and thirty-two separate books or treatises on theological subjects, besides a complete exposition of the Psalter and the Gospel, and a copious magazine of epistles and homilies.<sup>28</sup> According to the judgment of the most impartial critics, the superficial learning of Augustin was confined to the Latin language;<sup>29</sup> and his style, though sometimes animated by the eloquence of passion, is usually clouded by false and affected rhetoric. But he possessed a strong, capacious, argumentative mind; he boldly sounded the dark abyss of grace, predestination, free-will, and original sin; and the rigid system of Christianity which he framed or restored,<sup>30</sup> has been entertained, with public applause, and secret reluctance, by the Latin church.<sup>31</sup>

By the skill of Boniface, and perhaps by the ignorance of the Vandals, the siege of Hippo was protracted above fourteen months: the sea was continually open; and when the adjacent country had been exhausted by irregular rapine, the besiegers themselves were compelled by famine to relinquish their enterprise. The importance and danger of Africa were deeply felt by the regent of the West. Placidia implored the assistance of her Eastern ally; and the Italian fleet and army were reinforced by Aspar, who sailed from Constantinople with a powerful armament. As soon as the force of the two empires was united under the command of Boniface, he boldly marched against the Vandals; and the loss of a second battle irrevocably

ably decided the fate of Africa. He embarked with the precipitation of despair; and the people of Hippo were permitted, with their families and effects, to occupy the vacant place of the soldiers, the greatest part of whom were either slain or made prisoners by the Vandals. The count, whose fatal credulity had wounded the vitals of the republic, might enter the palace of Ravenna with some anxiety, which was soon removed by the smiles of Placidia. Boniface accepted with gratitude the rank of patrician, and the dignity of master-general of the Roman armies; but he must have blushed at the sight of those medals, in which he was represented with the name and attributes of victory.<sup>32</sup> The discovery of his fraud, the displeasure of the empress, and the distinguished favour of his rival, exasperated the haughty and perfidious soul of *Ætius*. He hastily returned from Gaul to Italy, with a retinue, or rather with an army, of barbarian followers; and such was the weakness of the government, that the two generals decided their private quarrel in a bloody battle. Boniface was successful; but he received in the conflict a mortal wound from His death.  
A. D. 452. the spear of his adversary, of which he expired within a few days, in such Christian and charitable sentiments, that he exhorted his wife, a rich heiress of Spain, to accept *Ætius* for her second husband. But *Ætius* could not derive any immediate advantage from the generosity of his dying enemy; he was proclaimed a rebel by the justice of Placidia; and though he attempted to defend some strong fortresses erected on his patrimonial estate, the Imperial power soon compelled him to retire into Pannonia, to the tents of his faithful Huns. The republic was deprived, by their mutual discord, of the service of her two most illustrious champions.

It might naturally be expected, after the retreat of Boniface, that the Vandals would achieve, without resistance or delay, the conquest of Africa. Eight years however elapsed, from the evacuation of Hippo to the reduction of Carthage. In the midst of that interval, the ambitious Genseric, in the full tide of apparent prosperity, negotiated a treaty of peace, by which he gave his son Hunneric for an hostage; and consented to leave the Western emperor in the undisturbed possession of the three Mauritanias.<sup>34</sup> This

57 The Face of St. Augustine, by J. J. Moore, pp. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 86

For the first time, the *Journal of American Studies* has been named *Journal of the Year* by the American Association of University Professors. The award is based on the journal's reputation for originality, scholarship, and the quality of its editing. The *Journal* has been named *Journal of the Year* for the first time since 1968, and it is the only journal to have been named *Journal of the Year* for the first time since 1968.

29 In his early work, Forbes (1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653,

70 The request was made, and the following letter was sent to that of St. Augustine. I am pleased to find the same observed in that year in respect of the same thing, and that the request of St. Augustine is the same as the request of St. Augustine.

[illegible]

city of the saint, and the Jansenists are discredited by their resemblance to the heretic. In the scene while the Protestant Arminians stand aloof and ride the mutual peripetia of the disputants (See *Arminians* below) of the Catholic side, Le Clerc, Bollandaghe University, tom. xiv, p. 111, 165.) Perhaps a reader still more independent, more sure of his turn, when he peruses an Arminian Comparison of the Epistle to the Hebrews

72 Duncun, *op. cit.* pp. 136-137. On one side, the head of a *Chelonia* is shown in profile, looking at a scute in one hand, and a plastron in the other, drawn in a triangle, which is drawn at the base of the head. On the other side, a four digit, an unguitractor, is shown without a claw. In other examples can be found the head and a claw of the scute or of the unguitractor. See *Science des Monnaies* by the *Leopoldin*, *op. cit.* p. 172. 1<sup>st</sup> edit. pp. 173. 1<sup>st</sup> edit. pp. 173-174.

54. In a recent book, Vaidya (1983, p. 185) continues the discussion of the importance of the *śāstra* to India. His point is that the *śāstra* is the *śāstra* of the *śāstra*, as the expression of the latter, that is, the *śāstra* of the *śāstra*, is the *śāstra* of the *śāstra*, that is, the *śāstra* of the *śāstra*, is the *śāstra* of the *śāstra*.

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moderation, which cannot be imputed to the justice, must be ascribed to the policy, of the conqueror. His throne was encompassed with domestic enemies; who accused the baseness of his birth, and asserted the legitimate claims of his nephews, the sons of Gonderic. Those nephews, indeed, he sacrificed to his safety; and their mother, the widow of the deceased king, was precipitated, by his order, into the river Ampsaga. But the public discontent burst forth in dangerous and frequent conspiracies; and the warlike tyrant is supposed to have shed more Vandal blood by the hand of the executioner, than in the field of battle.<sup>35</sup> The convulsions of Africa, which had favoured his attack, opposed the firm establishment of his power; and the various seditions of the Moors and Germans, the Donatists and Catholics, continually disturbed, or threatened, the unsettled reign of the conqueror. As he advanced towards Carthage, he was forced to withdraw his troops from the Western provinces; the sea-coast was exposed to the naval enterprises of the Romans of Spain and Italy; and, in the heart of Numidia, the strong inland city of Corta still persisted in obstinate independence.<sup>36</sup> These difficulties were gradually subdued by the spirit, the perseverance, and the cruelty of Genseric; who alternately applied the arts of peace and war to the establishment of his African kingdom. He subscribed a solemn treaty, with the hope of deriving some advantage from the term of its continuance, and the moment of its violation. The vigilance of his enemies was relaxed by the protestations of friendship, which concealed his hostile approach; and Carthage was at length surprised by the Vandals, five hundred and eighty-five years after the destruction of the city and republic by the younger Scipio.<sup>37</sup>

A new city had arisen from its ruins, with the title of a colony; and though Carthage might yield to the royal prerogatives of Constantinople, and perhaps to the trade of Alexandria, or the splendour of Antioch, she still maintained the second rank in the West; as the *Rome* (if we may use the style of contemporaries) of the African world. That wealthy and opulent metropolis displayed, in a dependent condition, the image of a flourishing republic. Carthage contained the manufactures, the arms, and the treasures of the six provinces. A regular subordination of civil honours gradually ascended, from the procurators of the streets and quarters of the city, to the tribunal of the supreme magistrate, who, with the title of proconsul, represented the state and dignity of a consul of ancient Rome. Schools and *gymnasia* were instituted for the

education of the African youth; and the liberal arts and manners, grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, were publicly taught in the Greek and Latin languages. The buildings of Carthage were uniform and magnificent: a shady grove was planted in the midst of the capital; the *new* port, a secure and capacious harbour, was subservient to the commercial industry of citizens and strangers; and the splendid games of the circus and theatre were exhibited almost in the presence of the barbarians. The reputation of the Carthaginians was not equal to that of their country, and the reproach of Punic faith still adhered to their subtle and faithless character.<sup>39</sup> The habits of trade, and the abuse of luxury, had corrupted their manners; but their impious contempt of monks, and the shameless practice of unnatural lusts, are the two abominations which excite the pious vehemence of Salvian, the preacher of the age.<sup>40</sup> The king of the Vandals severely reformed the vices of a voluptuous people; and the ancient, noble, ingenuous, freedom of Carthage (these expressions of Victor are not without energy), was reduced by Genseric into a state of ignominious servitude. After he had permitted his licentious troops to satiate their rage and avarice, he instituted a more regular system of rapine and oppression. An edict was promulgated, which enjoined all persons, without fraud or delay, to deliver their gold, silver, jewels, and valuable furniture or apparel, to the royal officers; and the attempt to secrete any part of their patrimony, was inexorably punished with death and torture, as an act of treason against the state. The lands of the proconsular province, which formed the immediate district of Carthage, were accurately measured, and divided among the barbarians; and the conqueror reserved for his peculiar domain, the fertile territory of Byzacium, and the adjacent parts of Numidia and Getulia.<sup>41</sup>

It was natural enough that Genseric should hate those whom he had injured: the nobility and senators of Carthage were exposed to his jealousy and resentment; and all those who refused the ignominious terms, which their honour and religion forbade them to accept, were compelled by the Arian tyrant to embrace the condition of perpetual banishment. Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the East, were filled with a crowd of exiles, of fugitives, and of ingenuous captives, who solicited the public compassion: and the benevolent epistles of Theodoret still preserve the names and misfortunes of Caestian and Maria.<sup>42</sup> The Syrian bishop deprecates the misfortunes of Caestian, who, from the state of

African exiles and captives.

<sup>35</sup> Victor Vitensis, de Persecut. Vandal. l. ii. c. 5. p. 26. The cruelties of Genseric towards his subjects are strongly expressed in Prosper Chronol. A. D. 447.

<sup>36</sup> See the names of Idutius, Isidore, Prosper, and Marcellinus. They mark the same year, but different days, for the destruction of Carthage.

<sup>37</sup> The picture of Carthage, as it flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries, is taken from the Expositio totius Mundi, p. 17, 18, in the third volume of Huet's *Mémoires*; here, from Ausonius de Clavis Tribus, p. 28, 29, and principally from Salvian, de Gubernatione Dei, l. vii. p. 257, 258. I am surprised that the *Vandalia* should not place either a tomb, or an arsenal, at Carthage, but only a greenhouse, or ferry-manufacture.

<sup>38</sup> The anonymous author of the Expositio totius Mundi, comment. p. 10, in his barbarous Latin the country and the inhabitants of it, after signifying their want of faith, he coolly concludes, *Diffi-*

cile autem inter eos inventor bonus, tamen in multis pauci boni esse possunt. p. 18.

<sup>39</sup> He declares, that the peculiar vices of each country were collected in the sink of Carthage (l. viii. p. 257, 258). In the indulgence of vice, the Africans applauded their many virtues. Et plures virtutes fortitudinis esse credunt, qui maxime virtutes feminines esse proboluntur frequentius (p. 263). The streets of Carthage were now polluted by effeminate wretches, who publicly assumed the countenance, the dress, and the character, of women (p. 264). If a monk appeared in the city, the holy man was pursued with impious scorn and ridicule. detestantibus ridentibus cachinnis (p. 269, 270).

<sup>40</sup> Compare Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 5. p. 159, 160; and Victor Vitensis, de Persecut. Vandal. l. i. c. 5.

<sup>42</sup> Ruffinus (p. 441, 442) has collected from Theodoret, and other authors, the misfortunes, real and fabulous, of the inhabitants of Carthage.

a noble and opulent senator of Carthage, was reduced, with his wife and family, and servants, to beg his bread in a foreign country; but he applauds the resignation of the Christian exile, and the philosophic temper, which, under the pressure of such calamities, could enjoy more real happiness than was the ordinary lot of wealth and prosperity. The story of Maria, the daughter of the magnificent Eudæmon, is singular and interesting. In the sack of Carthage, she was purchased from the Vandals by some merchants of Syria, who afterwards sold her as a slave in their native country. A female attendant, transported in the same ship, and sold in the same family, still continued to respect a mistress whom fortune had reduced to the common level of servitude; and the daughter of Eudæmon received from her grateful affection the domestic services which she had once required from her obedience. This remarkable behaviour divulged the real condition of Maria, who, in the absence of the bishop of Cyrrhus, was redeemed from slavery by the generosity of some soldiers of the garrison. The liberality of Theodoret provided for her decent maintenance; and she passed ten months among the deaconesses of the church; till she was unexpectedly informed, that her father, who had escaped from the ruin of Carthage, exercised an honourable office in one of the Western provinces. Her filial impatience was seconded by the pious bishop: Theodoret, in a letter still extant, recommends Maria to the bishop of Ægæ, a maritime city of Cilicia, which was frequented, during the annual fair, by the vessels of the West; most earnestly requesting, that his colleague would use the maiden with a tenderness suitable to her birth; and that he would intrust her to the care of such faithful merchants, as would esteem it a sufficient gain, if they restored a daughter, lost beyond all human hope, to the arms of her afflicted parent.

Among the insipid legends of ecclesiastical history, I am tempted to distinguish the memorable fable of the SEVEN SLEEPERS;<sup>43</sup> whose imaginary date corresponds with the reign of the younger Theodosius, and the conquest of Africa by the Vandals.<sup>44</sup> When the emperor Decius persecuted the Christians, seven noble youths of Ephesus concealed themselves in a spacious cavern in the side of an adjacent mountain; where they were doomed to perish by the tyrant, who gave orders that the entrance should be firmly secured with a pile of huge stones. They immediately fell into a deep slumber, which was miraculously prolonged,

without injuring the powers of life, during a period of one hundred and eighty-seven years. At the end of that time, the slaves of Adolius, to whom the inheritance of the mountain had descended, removed the stones, to supply materials for some rustic edifice: the light of the sun darted into the cavern, and the seven sleepers were permitted to awake. After a slumber, as they thought of a few hours, they were pressed by the calls of hunger; and resolved that Jamblichus, one of their number, should secretly return to the city, to purchase bread for the use of his companions. The youth (if we may still employ that appellation) could no longer recognise the once familiar aspect of his native country; and his surprise was increased by the appearance of a large cross, triumphantly erected over the principal gate of Ephesus. His singular dress, and obsolete language, confounded the baker, to whom he offered an ancient medal of Decius, as the current coin of the empire; and Jamblichus, on the suspicion of a secret treasure, was dragged before the judge. Their mutual enquiries produced the amazing discovery, that two centuries were almost elapsed since Jamblichus and his friends had escaped from the rage of a Pagan tyrant. The bishop of Ephesus, the clergy, the magistrates, the people, and, as it is said, the emperor Theodosius himself, hastened to visit the cavern of the Seven Sleepers; who bestowed their benediction, related their story, and at the same instant peaceably expired. The origin of this marvellous fable cannot be ascribed to the pious fraud and credulity of the *modern* Greeks, since the authentic tradition may be traced within half a century (if the supposed miracle. James of Sarug, a Syrian bishop, who was born only two years after the death of the younger Theodosius, has devoted one of his two hundred and thirty homilies to the praise of the young men of Ephesus.<sup>45</sup> Their legend, before the end of the sixth century, was translated from the Syriac into the Latin language, by the care of Gregory of Tours. The hostile communions of the East preserve their memory with equal reverence; and their names are honourably inscribed in the Roman, the Habyssinian, and the Russian calendar.<sup>46</sup> Nor has their reputation been confined to the Christian world. This popular tale, which Mahomet might learn when he drove his camels to the fairs of Syria, is introduced, as a divine revelation, into the Koran.<sup>47</sup> The story of the Seven Sleepers has been adopted, and adorned, by the nations, from Bengal to Africa, who profess the Mahometan religion;<sup>48</sup> and some vestiges of a similar tra-

[illegible]

44. The Syriac writers, as they are quoted by Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* tom. i. p. 536, 537, place the destruction of the city of Siceper in the year 736 (A.D. 925), or 748 (A.D. 937), of the reign of the Seleucids. Their Chron. says, that Photius had reigned, assign the date of the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Theodosius, which may coincide either with A.D. 179, or 160. The period which had elapsed since the persecution of Demas is easily ascertained; and nothing less than the ignorance of Malactre, or the

45 James, one of the orthodox fathers of the Syrian Church, was born A.D. 432; he began to compose his sermons A.D. 473; he was made bishop of Hama, a fortified city of Syria, and patriarch of Mesopotamia, A.D. 480, and died A.D. 520. He was a

tom i p. 258, 259. For the hourly *de Pietas Fidei*, see p. 375, 380 though I could wish that Assemani had translated the text of James of Saragossa instead of answering the objections of Barlaam.

and the *Acta Synodalia* of the Bohemian Synods, June, 6, 1645, p. 75-5." It is likewise ruler of suits, in one hundred and twenty-six years, 1644-1770, and in fifty volumes in all, as advanced to birth on the 7th day of October. The suppression of the Jesuits has most probably checked an undertaking, which, through the use of the word superstition, communicates much to be considered and philosophical instruction.

47 See M. Ricci-Alcorno, *Storia della lingua italiana*, 2d ed. (1969), p. 420-427, and for a part in it, p. 415. With such an ample privilege, Mabius has not shown much taste or ingenuity. He has invited the dog Al Rikari of the Seven Sleepers, the product of the sun, who entered his course twice a year, if the night not time of the year, and the group of birds that he preserved their sleep in a tree, for the turning point to the right and left.

18 See D'Hertefelt, *supra* note 1, at 170, 171; Reardon, *supra* note 1, at 171; *supra* note 1, at 171.

dition have been discovered in the remote extremities of Scandinavia.<sup>49</sup> This easy and universal belief, so expressive of the sense of mankind, may be ascribed to the genuine merit of the fable itself. We imperceptibly advance from youth to age, without observing the gradual, but incessant, change of human affairs; and even in our larger experience of history, the imagination is accustomed, by a perpetual series of causes and effects, to unite the most distant revolutions. But if the interval between two memorable eras could be instantly annihilated; if it were possible, after a momentary slumber of two hundred years, to display the *new* world to the eyes of a spectator, who still retained a lively and recent impression of the *old*, his surprise and his reflections would furnish the pleasing subject of a philosophical romance. The scene could not be more advantageously placed, than in the two centuries which elapsed between the reigns of Decius and of Theodosius the younger. During this period, the seat of government had been transported from Rome to a new city on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus; and the abuse of military spirit had been suppressed by an artificial system of tame and ceremonious servitude. The throne of the persecuting Decius was filled by a succession of Christian and orthodox princes, who had extirpated the fabulous gods of antiquity: and the public devotion of the age was impatient to exalt the saints and martyrs of the Catholic church, on the altars of Diana and Hercules. The union of the Roman empire was dissolved: its genius was humbled in the dust; and armies of unknown barbarians, issuing from the frozen regions of the North, had established their victorious reign over the fairest provinces of Europe and Africa.

## CHAP. XXXIV.

*The Character, Conquests, and Court of Attila, King of the Huns. — Death of Theodosius the Younger. — Elevation of Marcian to the Empire of the East.*

THE Western world was oppressed by the Goths and Vandals, who fled before the Huns; but the achievements of the Huns themselves were not adequate to their power and prosperity. Their victorious hords had spread from the Volga to the Danube; but the public force was exhausted by the discord of independent chieftains; their valour was idly

consumed in obscure and predatory excursions; and they often degraded their national dignity, by condescending, for the hopes of spoil, to enlist under the banners of their fugitive enemies. In the reign of ATTILA,<sup>1</sup> the Huns again became the terror of the world; and I shall now describe the character and actions of that formidable barbarian; who alternately insulted and invaded the East and the West, and urged the rapid downfall of the Roman empire.

In the tide of emigration, which <sup>their establishment in modern Hungary.</sup> impetuously rolled from the confines of China to those of Germany, the most powerful and populous tribes may commonly be found on the verge of the Roman provinces. The accumulated weight was sustained for a while by artificial barriers; and the easy condescension of the emperors invited, without satisfying, the insolent demands of the barbarians, who had acquired an eager appetite for the luxuries of civilised life. The Hungarians, who ambitiously insert the name of Attila among their native kings, may affirm with truth, that the hords, which were subject to his uncle Roas, or Rugilas, had formed their encampments within the limits of modern Hungary;<sup>2</sup> in a fertile country, which liberally supplied the wants of a nation of hunters and shepherds. In this advantageous situation, Rugilas, and his valiant brothers, who continually added to their power and reputation, commanded the alternative of peace or war with the two empires. His alliance with the Romans of the West was cemented by his personal friendship for the great Ætius; who was always secure of finding, in the barbarian camp, a hospitable reception, and a powerful support. At his solicitation, and in the name of John the usurper, sixty thousand Huns advanced to the confines of Italy; their march and their retreat were alike expensive to the state; and the grateful policy of Ætius abandoned the possession of Pannonia to his faithful confederates. The Romans of the East were not less apprehensive of the arms of Rugilas, which threatened the provinces, or even the capital. Some ecclesiastical historians have destroyed the barbarians with lightning and pestilence;<sup>3</sup> but Theodosius was reduced to the more humble expedient of stipulating an annual payment of three hundred and fifty pounds of gold, and of disguising this dishonourable tribute by the title of general, which the king of the Huns condescended to accept. The public tranquillity was frequently interrupted by the fierce impatience of the barbarians, and the perfidious intrigues of the Byzantine court. Four dependent nations, among whom we may distinguish the Bavarians, disclaimed the sovereignty

that when Attila invaded Gaul and Italy, married innumerable wives, &c. he was one hundred and twenty years of age. Theoproc. Chron. p. 1. c. 21. in Script. Hungar. tom. 1. p. 76.

2 Hungary has been successively occupied by three Scythian colonies. 1. The Huns of Attila: 2. The Avars, in the sixth century; and, 3. The Turks or Magars, A. D. 896, the immediate and genuine ancestors of the modern Hungarians, whose connection with the two former is extremely faint and remote. The *Pseudo* and *non* lib.

3 Sozomenus, l. vii. c. 13. Theodoret, l. v. c. 36. Tillemont, who always depends on the faith of his ecclesiastical authors, strenuously contends (Hist. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 156, 607), that the wars and personages were not the same.

49 Paul, the deacon of Aquilina (de Gestis Langobardorum, l. i. c. 4. p. 74, 716, edit. 1804), who lived towards the end of the eighth century, has placed in a cavern, under a rock, on the shore of the ocean, the seven sleepers of the North, whose long repose was respected by the barbarians. Their dress declared them to be Romans, and the deacon conjectures, that they were reserved by Providence.

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of the Huns; and their revolt was encouraged and protected by a Roman alliance; till the just claims, and formidable power, of Rugilas, were effectually urged by the voice of Eslaw his ambassador. Peace was the unanimous wish of the senate: their decree was ratified by the emperor; and two ambassadors were named; Plinthas, a general of Scythian extraction, but of consular rank; and the quæstor Epigenes, a wise and experienced statesman, who was recommended to that office by his ambitious colleague.

The death of Rugilas suspended the progress of the treaty. His two nephews, Attila and Bleda, who succeeded to the throne of their uncle, consented to a personal interview with the ambassadors of Constantinople; but as they proudly refused to dismount, the business was transacted on horseback, in a spacious plain near the city of Margus, in the Upper Mæsia. The kings of the Huns assumed the solid benefits, as well as the vain honours, of the negotiation. They dictated the conditions of peace, and each condition was an insult on the majesty of the empire. Besides the freedom of a safe and plentiful market on the banks of the Danube, they required that the annual contribution should be augmented from three hundred and fifty to seven hundred pounds of gold; that a fine, or ransom, of eight pieces of gold, should be paid for every Roman captive, who had escaped from his barbarian master; that the emperor should renounce all treaties and engagements with the enemies of the Huns; and that all the fugitives, who had taken refuge in the court, or provinces, of Theodosius, should be delivered to the justice of their offended sovereign. This justice was rigorously inflicted on some unfortunate youths of a royal race. They were crucified on the territories of the empire, by the command of Attila. and, as soon as the king of the Huns had impressed the Romans with the terror of his name, he indulged them in a short and arbitrary respite, whilst he subdued the rebellious or independent nations of Scythia and Germanv.<sup>4</sup>

His figure and character. Attila, the son of Mundzuk, deduced his noble, perhaps his regal, descent <sup>3</sup> from the ancient Huns, who had formerly contended with the monarchs of China. His features, according to the observation of a Gothic historian, bore the stamp of his national origin; and the portrait of Attila exhibits the genuine deformity of a modern Czarneck; <sup>4</sup> a large head, a swarthy complexion, small deep-set eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a short square body, of nervous strength, though of a disproportioned form. The haughty step and demeanour of the

king of the Huns expressed the consciousness of his superiority above the rest of mankind, and he had a custom of fiercely rolling his eyes, as if he wished to enjoy the terror which he inspired. Yet this savage hero was not inaccessible to pity; his suppliant enemies might confide in the assurance of peace or pardon; and Attila was considered by his subjects as a just and indulgent master. He delighted in war; but, after he had ascended the throne in a mature age, his head, rather than his hand, achieved the conquest of the North; and the fame of an adventurous soldier was usefully exchanged for that of a prudent and successful general. The effects of personal valour are so inconsiderable, except in poetry or romance, that victory, even among barbarians, must depend on the degree of skill, with which the passions of the multitude are combined and guided for the service of a single man. The Scythian conquerors, Attila and Zingis, surpassed their rude countrymen in art, rather than in courage; and it may be observed, that the monarchies, both of the Huns and of the Moguls, were erected by their founders on the basis of popular superstition. The miraculous conception, which fraud and credulity ascribed to the virgin-mother of Zingis, raised him above the level of human nature; and the naked prophet, who, in the name of the Deity, invested him with the empire of the earth, pointed the valour of the Moguls with irresistible enthusiasm.<sup>7</sup> The religious arts of Attila were not less skilfully adapted to the character of his age and country. It was natural enough, that the Scythians should adore, with peculiar devotion, the god of war; but as they were incapable of forming either an abstract idea, or a corporeal representation, they worshipped the tutelary deity under the symbol of an iron cimeter.<sup>8</sup> One of the shepherds of the Huns perceived that a heifer, who was grazing, had wounded herself in the foot, and curiously followed the track of the blood, till he discovered, among the long grass, the point of an ancient sword; which he dug out of the ground, and presented to Attila. That magnanimous, or rather that artful, prince accepted, with pious gratitude, this celestial favour; and, as the rightful possessor of the *sword of Mars*, asserted his divine and indefeasible claim to the dominion of the earth.<sup>9</sup> If the rites of Scythia were practised on this solemn occasion, a lofty altar, or rather pile of faggots, three hundred yards in length and in breadth, was raised in a spacious plain; and the sword of Mars was placed erect on the summit of this rustic altar, which was annually consecrated by the blood of sheep, horses, and of the hundredth captive.<sup>10</sup> Whether human sacrifices formed any part of the

4 See *Priscus*, p. 17, 18, and Hist. des Byzantins de l'Empire rom. v. c. 30, 311. 32, 33.

5. Priscu, p. 39. The modern Hungarians have deduced his genealogy, which ascends, in the thirty fifth degree, to Ilus, the son of Noah, yet they are ignorant of his father's real name. (De Gouge,

Hist. des Huns, tom. ii, p. 297.)  
 b Compare Jomardes, *loc. cit.*, p. 661) with Buffon, *Hist. Naturel.*,  
 tom. iii, p. 580. The former had a right to observe, *ergo*, *signa*  
*restituere*. The character and portrait of Attila are probably  
 transcribed from Cassiodorus.

7. Abulghazi Denist vers Pocock, p. 281. *Geographical History of the Tartars*, by Abulghazi Bah ad-din Khan pers. ed. 17, Paris, 1772, c. 3. Vie de Gengis-khan, par Petit de la Croix, 1762, c. 16. The relations of the missionaries, who visited Tartary in the thirteenth century (see the seventh volume of the *Histoire des Voyages*, t. 7, p. 109).

the popular language and of others. Zingis is styled the son of God, &c.

¶ S. Nec templum apud eos visum, aut de vicinis, ne tunc nunc quidem, cum in totum certum aliquam partem, sed a domibus basilicae constituta, et foras ab eis, eumque de Martini reg. et domibus aeternae civitatis preloso, ver. cariditate, et ut. Anonymi Martini. l. xxxi. c. ad the

He begins with the question of the story, both in his own text and in the question made by the reader. "The right story" is that of the reader, not of the author. The right story is not, and does not have to be, a translation of the author's story, who he has translated into the facts of the text, and then...

10 Herodotus *ex* *et* For the sake of economy, I have calculated by the smallest of means. In the human sacrifice, the cut off

worship of Attila, or whether he propitiated the god of war with the victims which he continually offered in the field of battle, the favourite of Mars soon acquired a sacred character, which rendered his conquests more easy and more permanent; and the barbarian princes confessed, in the language of devotion or flattery, that they could not presume to gaze, with a steady eye, on the divine majesty of the king of the Huns.<sup>11</sup> His brother Bleda, who reigned over a considerable part of the nation, was compelled to resign his sceptre, and his life. Yet even this cruel act was attributed to a supernatural impulse; and the vigour with which Attila wielded the sword of Mars, convinced the world, that it had been reserved alone for his invincible arm.<sup>12</sup> But the extent of his empire affords the only remaining evidence of the number, and importance, of his victories; and the Scythian monarch, however ignorant of the value of science and philosophy, might, perhaps, lament, that his illiterate subjects were destitute of the art which could perpetuate the memory of his exploits.

If a line of separation were drawn between the civilised and the savage climates of the globe; between the inhabitants of cities, who cultivated the earth, and the hunters and shepherds, who dwelt in tents; Attila might aspire to the title of supreme and sole monarch of the barbarians.<sup>13</sup> He alone, among the conquerors of ancient and modern times, united the two mighty kingdoms of Germany and Scythia; and those vague appellations, when they are applied to his reign, may be understood with an ample latitude. Thuringia, which stretched beyond its actual limits as far as the Danube, was in the number of his provinces: he interposed, with the weight of a powerful neighbour, in the domestic affairs of the Franks; and one of his lieutenants chastised, and almost exterminated, the Burgundians of the Rhine. He subdued the islands of the ocean, the kingdom of Scandinavia, encompassed and divided by the waters of the Baltic; and the Huns might derive a tribute of furs from that northern region, which has been protected from all other conquerors by the severity of the climate, and the courage of the natives. Towards the east, it is difficult to circumscribe the dominion of Attila over the Scythian deserts; yet we may be assured, that he reigned on the banks of the Volga; that the king of the Huns was dreaded, not only as a warrior, but as a magician;<sup>14</sup> that he insulted and vanquished the khan of the formidable Geougen; and that he sent ambassadors to negotiate an equal alliance

with the empire of China. In the proud review of the nations who acknowledged the sovereignty of Attila, and who never entertained, during his life time, the thought of a revolt, the Gepidæ and the Ostrogoths were distinguished by their numbers, their bravery, and the personal merit of their chiefs. The renowned Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ, was the faithful and sagacious counsellor of the monarch, who esteemed his intrepid genius, whilst he loved the mild and discreet virtues of the noble Walamir, king of the Ostrogoths. The crowd of vulgar kings, the leaders of so many martial tribes, who served under the standard of Attila, were ranged in the submissive order of guards and domestics, round the person of their master. They watched his nod; they trembled at his frown; and at the first signal of his will, they executed, without murmur or hesitation, his stern and absolute commands. In time of peace, the dependent princes, with their national troops, attended the royal camp in regular succession; but when Attila collected his military force, he was able to bring into the field an army of five, or, according to another account, of seven hundred thousand barbarians.<sup>15</sup>

The ambassadors of the Huns might awaken the attention of Theodosius, by reminding him, that they were his neighbours both in Europe and Asia; since they touched the Danube on one hand, and reached, with the other, as far as the Tannars. In the reign of his father Arcadius, a band of adventurous Huns had ravaged the provinces of the East; from whence they brought away rich spoils and innumerable captives.<sup>16</sup> They advanced, by a secret path, along the shores of the Caspian Sea; traversed the snowy mountains of Armenia; passed the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Halys; recruited their weary cavalry with the generous breed of Cappadocian horses; occupied the hilly country of Cilicia; and disturbed the festal songs, and dances, of the citizens of Antioch. Egypt trembled at their approach; and the monks and pilgrims of the Holy Land prepared to escape their fury by a speedy embarkation. The memory of this invasion was still recent in the minds of the Orientals. The subjects of Attila might execute, with superior forces, the design which these adventurers had so boldly attempted; and it soon became the subject of anxious conjecture, whether the tempest would fall on the dominions of Rome, or of Persia. Some of the great vassals of the king of the Huns, who were themselves in the rank of powerful princes, had been sent

the shoulder and arm of the victor, which they threw up into the air, and drew on, and prestages from the hammer of their falling on the pile.

11. Procopius, p. 55. A more civilised hero, Augustus himself, was pleased, if the person on whom he acted had ever seemed unable to support their divine mission. Sueton. in August. c. 79.

12. The emperor of the East (the Emperor of Europe, tom. vi. p. 428, 429) attempts to pierce Attila from the murder of his brother, and is almost slain in the contest. The concurrent testimony of Jornandes, and the epiphany, p. 130.

13. The empire of the Huns, as it is called, is a potent, and a formidable empire, which is acquired (tom. ii. p. 27) — still, an adequate idea of the empire of Attila.

14. See Hist. de Huns, tom. ii. p. 24. The Geougen believed, that the Huns could excite, at pleasure, storms of wind and rain. This phenomenon was produced by the storm, to whose nature power the loss of a battle was ascribed by the Moors and Arabs of the fourteenth century. See Chénier's Hist. de l'Empire des Huns, tom. i. p. 32, 33.

15. Jornandes, c. 53. p. 661. c. 57. p. 667. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 139, 178. Cornélius has copied the pride of Attila to his subject kings, and his tragedy opens with these two ridiculous lines.

16. Il ne voit pas venus, nos deux rois / Qu'on leur die Qu'ils se font trop attendre, et qu'Attila s'en vaine. The two kings of the Gepidæ and the Ostrogoths are professed politicians and sentimental lovers, and the whole piece exhibits the defects, without the disguise, of the poet.

16. ———— ali per Caspia claustra Armeniæ aures, inopino tranfite claustra Iuvantini Orientis, omnes jam passim in tantum Cappadocia, uoluerunt patrem Argem equorum. Jam nunc et ultra Halys, nec se demittit iniquus Monte Ciliæ. Sine tra tra viderunt Armeni; A Cassandrea curis et luctu plebs cecidit. Proterit invicem sompni, luctus et gemitus. (Cassiodorus in Brevi. l. ii. p. 24, 35. See, likewise, in Eutrop. l. i. p. 217. 71, and the story, p. 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.)

to ratify an alliance and society of arms with the emperor, or rather with the general, of the West. They related, during their residence at Rome, the circumstances of an expedition, which they had lately made into the East. After passing a desert and a morass, supposed by the Romans to be the lake Mæotis, they penetrated through the mountains, and arrived, at the end of fifteen days' march, on the confines of Media; where they advanced as far as the unknown cities of Basic and Cursic. They encountered the Persian army in the plains of Media; and the air, according to their own expression, was darkened by a cloud of arrows. But the Huns were obliged to retire before the numbers of the enemy. Their laborious retreat was effected by a different road; they lost the greatest part of their booty; and at length returned to the royal camp, with some knowledge of the country, and an impatient desire of revenge. In the free conversation of the Imperial ambassadors, who discussed, at the court of Attila, the character and designs of their formidable enemy, the ministers of Constantinople expressed their hope, that his strength might be diverted and employed in a long and doubtful contest with the princes of the house of Sassan. The more sagacious Italians admonished their Eastern brethren of the folly and danger of such a hope; and convinced them, *that* the Medes and Persians were incapable of resisting the arms of the Huns; and, *that* the easy and important acquisition would exalt the pride, as well as power, of the conqueror. Instead of contenting himself with a moderate contribution, and a military title, which equalled him only to the generals of Theodosius, Attila would proceed to impose a disgraceful and intolerable yoke on the necks of the prostrate and captive Romans, who would then be encompassed, on all sides, by the empire of the Huns.<sup>17</sup>

While the powers of Europe and Asia were solicitous to avert the impending danger, the alliance of Atila maintained the Vandals in the possession of Africa. An enterprise had been concerted between the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople, for the recovery of that valuable province; and the ports of Sicily were already filled with the military and naval forces of Theodosius. But the subtle Genseric, who spread his negotiations round the world, prevented their designs, by exciting the king of the Huns to invade the Eastern empire; and a trifling incident soon became the motive, or pretence, of a destructive war.<sup>18</sup> Under the faith of the treaty of Margus, a free market was held on the northern side of the Danube, which was protected by a Roman fortress, surnamed Constantia. A troop of barbarians violated the commercial security; killed, or dispersed, the unsuspecting traders; and levelled the fortress with the ground. The Huns justified this outrage as an act of reprisal;

alleged, that the bishop of Margus had entered their territories, to discover and steal a secret treasure of their kings; and sternly demanded the guilty prelate, the sacrilegious spoil, and the fugitive subjects, who had escaped from the justice of Attila. The refusal of the Byzantine court was the signal of war; and the Marstonians at first applauded the generous firmness of their sovereign. But they were soon intimidated by the destruction of Viminacium and the adjacent towns; and the people was persuaded to adopt the convenient maxim, that a private citizen, however innocent or respectable, may be justly sacrificed to the safety of his country. The bishop of Margus, who did not possess the spirit of a martyr, resolved to prevent the designs which he suspected. He boldly treated with the princes of the Huns; secured, by solemn oaths, his pardon and reward; posted a numerous detachment of barbarians, in silent ambush, on the banks of the Danube; and, at the appointed hour, opened, with his own hand, the gates of his episcopal city. This advantage, which had been obtained by treachery, served as a prelude to more honourable and decisive victories. The Illyrian frontier was covered by a line of castles and fortresses; and though the greatest part of them consisted only of a single tower, with a small garrison, they were commonly sufficient to repel, or to intercept, the inroads of an enemy, who was ignorant of the art, and impatient of the delay, of a regular siege. But these slight obstacles were instantly swept away by the inundation of the Huns.<sup>19</sup> They destroyed, with fire and sword, the populous cities of Sirmium and Singidunum, of Rafiaia and Marcianopolis, of Naissus and Sardica; where every circumstance, in the discipline of the people, and the construction of the buildings, had been gradually adapted to the sole purposes of defence. The whole breadth of Europe, as it extends above five hundred miles from the Euxine to the Adriatic, was at once invaded, and occupied, and desolated, by the myriads of barbarians whom Attila led into the field. The public danger and distress could not, however, provoke Theodosius to interrupt his amusements and devotion, or to appear in person at the head of the Roman legions. But the troops, which had been sent against Genseric, were hastily recalled from Sicily; the garrisons, on the side of Persia, were exhausted; and a military force was collected in Europe, formidable by their arms and numbers, if the generals had understood the science of command, and their soldiers the duty of obedience. The armies of the Eastern empire were vanquished in three successive engagements; and the progress of Attila may be traced by the fields of battle. The two former, on the banks of the Utus, and under the walls of Marcianopolis, were fought in the extensive plains between the Danube and Mount Haemus. As

and ravages Europe, is far as Constantinople.

17 See the original conversation in French, p. 74, 75.  
 18 French, p. 531. His history came to the king and emperor at the court of the emperor Erasmus of Silesia, but the emperor's wife relate to the embassies are the only parts that have remained in French. The original work was accessible, however, to the writers from whom we borrow our imperfect knowledge, Zinzendorf, Stephanus, count Marcellinus, Prospero Tyro, and the authors of the *Tradition*, or *Caschali Chronicle*. *Mémoires de l'Etat (Hist des Peuples de l'Europe*,

the Romans were pressed by a victorious enemy, they gradually, and unskillfully, retired towards the Chersonesus of Thrace; and that narrow peninsula, the last extremity of the land, was marked by their third, and irreparable, defeat. By the destruction of this army, Attila acquired the indisputable possession of the field. From the Hellespont to Thermopylæ, and the suburbs of Constantinople, he ravaged, without resistance and without mercy, the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia. Heraclea and Hadrianople might, perhaps, escape this dreadful irruption of the Huns; but the words, the most expressive of total extirpation and erasure, are applied to the calamities which they inflicted on seventy cities of the Eastern empire.<sup>20</sup> Theodosius, his court, and the unwelcome people, were protected by the walls of Constantinople; but those walls had been shaken by a recent earthquake, and the fall of fifty-eight towers had opened a large and tremendous breach. The damage indeed was speedily repaired; but this accident was aggravated by a superstitious fear, that Heaven itself had delivered the Imperial city to the shepherds of Scythia, who were strangers to the laws, the language, and the religion, of the Romans.<sup>21</sup>

In all their invasions of the civilised empires of the South, the Scythian shepherds have been uniformly actuated by a savage and destructive spirit. The laws of war, that restrain the exercise of national rapine and murder, are founded on two principles of substantial interest: the knowledge of the permanent benefits which may be obtained by a moderate use of conquest; and a just apprehension, lest the desolation which we inflict on the enemy's country, may be retaliated on our own. But these considerations of hope and fear are almost unknown in the pastoral state of nations. The Huns of Attila may, without injustice, be compared to the Moguls and Tartars, before their primitive manners were changed by religion and luxury; and the evidence of Oriental history may reflect some light on the short and imperfect annals of Rome. After the Moguls had subdued the northern provinces of China, it was seriously proposed, not in the hour of victory and passion, but in calm deliberate council, to exterminate all the inhabitants of that populous country, that the vacant land might be converted to the pasture of cattle. The firmness of a Chinese mandarin,<sup>22</sup> who insinuated some principles of rational policy into the mind of Zingis, diverted him from the execution of this horrid design. But in the cities of Asia, which yielded to the Moguls, the inhuman abuse of the rights

of war was exercised, with a regular form of discipline, which may, with equal reason, though not with equal authority, be imputed to the victorious Huns. The inhabitants, who had submitted to their discretion, were ordered to evacuate their houses, and to assemble in some plain adjacent to the city; where a division was made of the vanquished into three parts. The first class consisted of the soldiers of the garrison, and of the young men capable of bearing arms; and their fate was instantly decided: they were either enlisted among the Moguls, or they were massacred on the spot by the troops, who, with pointed spears and bended bows, had formed a circle round the captive multitude. The second class, composed of the young and beautiful women, of the artificers of every rank and profession, and of the more wealthy or honourable citizens, from whom a private ransom might be expected, was distributed in equal or proportionable lots. The remainder, whose life or death was alike useless to the conquerors, were permitted to return to the city; which, in the mean while, had been stripped of its valuable furniture; and a tax was imposed on those wretched inhabitants for the indulgence of breathing their native air. Such was the behaviour of the Moguls, when they were not conscious of any extraordinary rigour.<sup>23</sup> But the most casual provocation, the slightest motive, of caprice or convenience, often provoked them to involve a whole people in an indiscriminate massacre: and the ruin of some flourishing cities was executed with such unrelenting perseverance, that, according to their own expression, horses might run, without stumbling, over the ground where they had once stood. The three great capitals of Khorasan, Maru, Nisabour, and Herat, were destroyed by the armies of Zingis; and the exact account, which was taken of the slain, amounted to four millions three hundred and forty-seven thousand persons.<sup>24</sup> Timur, or Tamerlane, was educated in a less barbarous age, and in the profession of the Mahometan religion; yet, if Attila equalled the hostile ravages of Tamerlane,<sup>25</sup> either the Tartar or the Hun might deserve the epithet of the *Sword of God*.<sup>26</sup>

It may be affirmed, with bolder assurance, that the Huns depopulated the provinces of the empire, by the number of Roman subjects whom they led away into captivity. In the hands of a wise legislator, such an industrious colony might have contributed to diffuse, through the deserts of Scythia, the rudiments of the useful and ornamental arts; but these captives, who had been taken in war,

State of the captives.

<sup>20</sup> See *Supplement to the History of the Progress of the Arts and Sciences*, p. 100. The earthquake, which was felt as far as Constantinople as Antioch and Alexandria, and is celebrated by all the celebrated writers. In the hands of a popular preacher, an earthquake is an engine of admirable effect.

<sup>21</sup> He represented to the emperor of the Moguls, that the four provinces (Petchou, Chanlong, Chensi, and Lachow) which he already possessed, might annually produce, under a moderate administration, 500,000 ounces of silver, 100,000 measures of rice, and with 4,000 pieces of silk. *Gauthier, Hist. de la Dynastie des Mongols*, p. 58, 59. Yelitchousay (such was the name of the mandarin) was a wise and

1,717,000. D'Hérédote, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 780, 781. I use the orthography of D'Anville's maps. It must however be allowed, that the Persians were disposed to exaggerate their losses, and the Moguls, to magnify their exploits.

<sup>23</sup> Cherkedim Ab, his servile panegyrist, would afford us many horrid examples. In his camp before Delhi, Timur massacred 100,000 Indian prisoners, who had *ended* when the army of their mur Hec, *com. in p. 20*. In skulls for the structure. A similar tax was levied and the exact account, from the proper officers, 12,500,000. 12,500,000.

<sup>24</sup> See *Supplement to the History of the Progress of the Arts and Sciences*, p. 100. The earthquake, which was felt as far as Constantinople as Antioch and Alexandria, and is celebrated by all the celebrated writers. In the hands of a popular preacher, an earthquake is an engine of admirable effect.

were accidentally dispersed among the hordes that obeyed the empire of Attila. The estimate of their respective value was formed by the simple judgment of unenlightened, and unprejudiced, barbarians. Perhaps they might not understand the merit of a theologian, profoundly skilled in the controversies of the Trinity and the Incarnation: yet they respected the ministers of every religion; and the active zeal of the Christian missionaries, without approaching the person, or the palace, of the monarch, successfully laboured in the propagation of the Gospel.<sup>27</sup> The pastoral tribes, who were ignorant of the distinction of landed property, must have disregarded the use, as well as the abuse, of civil jurisprudence; and the skill of an eloquent lawyer could excite only their contempt, or their abhorrence.<sup>28</sup> The perpetual intercourse of the Huns and the Goths had communicated the familiar knowledge of the two national dialects; and the barbarians were ambitious of conversing in Latin, the military idiom, even of the Eastern empire.<sup>29</sup> But they disdained the language, and the sciences, of the Greeks; and the vain sophist, or grave philosopher, who had enjoyed the flattering applause of the schools, was mortified to find, that his robust servant was a captive of more value and importance than himself. The mechanic arts were encouraged and esteemed, as they tended to satisfy the wants of the Huns. An architect, in the service of Onegesius, one of the favourites of Attila, was employed to construct a bath: but this work was a rare example of private luxury; and the trades of the smith, the carpenter, the armourer, were much more adapted to supply a wandering people with the useful instruments of peace and war. But the merit of the physician was received with universal favour and respect; the barbarians, who despised death, might be apprehensive of disease; and the haughty conqueror trembled in the presence of a captive, to whom he ascribed, perhaps, an imaginary power, of prolonging, or preserving, his life.<sup>30</sup> The Huns might be provoked to insult the misery of their slaves, over whom they exercised a despotic command; <sup>31</sup> but their manners were not susceptible of a refined system of oppression; and the efforts of courage and diligence were often recompensed by the gift of freedom. The historian Priscus, whose embassy is a source of curious instruction, was accosted, in the camp of Attila, by a stranger, who saluted him in the Greek language, but whose dress and figure displayed the appearance of a wealthy Scythian. In the siege of Viminiciacum, he had lost, according to his own account, his fortune and liberty: he became the slave of Onegesius; but his faithful services, against the Romans and the

Acatzires, had gradually raised him to the rank of the native Huns; to whom he was attached by the domestic pledges of a new wife and several children. The spoils of war had restored and improved his private property; he was admitted to the table of his former lord; and the apostate Greek blessed the hour of his captivity, since it had been the introduction to an happy and independent state; which he held by the honourable tenure of military service. This reflection naturally produced a dispute on the advantages and defects of the Roman government, which was severely arraigned by the apostate, and defended by Priscus in a prolix and feeble declamation. The freedman of Onegesius exposed, in true and lively colours, the vices of a declining empire, of which he had so long been the victim; the cruel absurdity of the Roman princes, unable to protect their subjects against the public enemy, unwilling to trust them with arms for their own defence; the intolerable weight of taxes, rendered still more oppressive by the intricate or arbitrary modes of collection; the obscurity of numerous and contradictory laws; the tedious and expensive forms of judicial proceedings; the partial administration of justice; and the universal corruption, which increased the influence of the rich, and aggravated the misfortunes of the poor. A sentiment of patriotic sympathy was at length revived in the breast of the fortunate exile; and he lamented, with a flood of tears, the guilt or weakness of those magistrates, who had perverted the wisest and most salutary institutions.<sup>32</sup>

The timid, or selfish, policy of the Western Romans had abandoned the Eastern empire to the Huns.<sup>33</sup> The loss of armies, and the want of discipline, or virtue, were not supplied by the personal character of the monarch. Theodosius might still affect the style, as well as the title, of *Invincible Augustus*; but he was reduced to solicit the clemency of Attila, who imperiously dictated these harsh and humiliating conditions of peace: I. The emperor of the East resigned, by an express or tacit convention, an extensive and important territory, which stretched along the southern banks of the Danube, from Singidunum or Belgrade, as far as Novæ, in the diocese of Thrace. The breadth was defused by the vague computation of fifteen days' journey; but, from the proposal of Attila, to remove the situation of the national market, it soon appeared, that he comprehended the ruined city of Naissus within the limits of his dominions. II. The king of the Huns required and obtained, that his tribute or subsidy should be augmented from seven hundred pounds of gold to the

Treaty of peace between Attila and the Eastern empire. A.D. 446.

<sup>27</sup> The missionaries of St. Chrysostom had converted great numbers of the Scythians, who dwelt beyond the Danube, in tents and wagons. Theodorët, l. v. c. 51. Philost. p. 147. The Mahomedans.

<sup>28</sup> The Christians, who embraced the religion of the Romans, have been particularly offended with the Roman laws and lawyers. One of the barbarians, after the effectual precautions of cutting out the tongue of an advocate, and sewing up his mouth, observed, with much satisfaction, that the *super* could no longer hiss. Florin. v. 12.

<sup>29</sup> Priscus, p. 69. It should seem that the Huns preferred the Gothic and Latin languages to their own, which was probably a harsh and barren idiom.

<sup>30</sup> Philip de Comines, in his admirable picture of the last moments

of Lewis XI. (*Mémoires*, v. vi. c. 12.), represents the insolence of his physician, who, in five months, extorted 54,000 crowns, and a rich bishopric, from the stern avaricious grant.

<sup>31</sup> Priscus, (p. 61.) extorts the equity of the Roman laws, which protected the life of a slave. *Quidam solent sibi Tacitus* of the Germans non de capiti et sententiæ sed impetu et rei, ut inurimus nos quod impie. De Moevis Germ. c. 27. The Huns, who were the subjects of Attila, could, and even sold, the power of life and death over their slaves. See a remarkable instance in the second book of Agathias.

<sup>32</sup> See the whole conversation in Priscus, p. 70-72.

<sup>33</sup> Nova itum (Novæ) assim. Thracia. . . . . quæ in Thracia, deualibus ferrentur aux. . . . . Thracia possed his Christianis in the West, and has of course acquired a new name.



annual sum of two thousand one hundred; and he stipulated the immediate payment of six thousand pounds of gold to defray the expenses, or to expiate the guilt, of the war. One might imagine, that such a demand, which scarcely equalled the measure of private wealth, would have been readily discharged by the opulent empire of the East; and the public distress affords a remarkable proof of the impoverished, or at least of the disorderly, state of the finances. A large proportion of the taxes, extorted from the people, was detained and intercepted in their passage, through the foulest channels, to the treasury of Constantinople. The revenue was dissipated by Theodosius, and his favourites, in wasteful and profuse luxury; which was disguised by the names of Imperial magnificence, or Christian charity. The immediate supplies had been exhausted by the unforeseen necessity of military preparations. A personal contribution, rigorously, but capriciously, imposed on the members of the senatorian order, was the only expedient that could disarm, without loss of time, the impatient avarice of Attila: and the poverty of the nobles compelled them to adopt the scandalous resource of exposing to public auction the jewels of their wives, and the hereditary ornaments of their palaces.<sup>34</sup>

III. The king of the Huns appears to have established, as a principle of national jurisprudence, that he could never lose the property, which he had once acquired, in the persons who had yielded either a voluntary, or reluctant, submission to his authority. From this principle he concluded, and the conclusions of Attila were irrevocable laws, that the Huns, who had been taken prisoners in war, should be released without delay, and without ransom; that every Roman captive, who had presumed to escape, should purchase his right to freedom at the price of twelve pieces of gold; and that all the barbarians, who had deserted the standard of Attila, should be restored, without any promise, or stipulation, of pardon. In the execution of this cruel and ignominious treaty, the Imperial officers were forced to massacre several loyal and noble deserters, who refused to devote themselves to certain death; and the Romans forfeited all reasonable claims to the friendship of any Scythian people, by this public confession, that they were destitute either of faith, or power, to protect the suppliants, who had embraced the throne of Theodosius.<sup>35</sup>

The firmness of a single town, so obscure, that, except on this occasion, it has never been mentioned by any historian or geographer, exposed the disgrace of the emperor and empire. Azimus, or Azimuntium, a small city of Thrace on the Illyrian borders,<sup>36</sup>

had been distinguished by the martial spirit of its youth, the skill and reputation of the leaders whom they had chosen, and their daring exploits against the innumerable host of the barbarians. Instead of tamely expecting their approach, the Azimuntines attacked, in frequent and successful sallies, the troops of the Huns; who gradually declined the dangerous neighbourhood; rescued from their hands the spoil and the captives, and recruited their domestic force by the voluntary association of fugitives and deserters. After the conclusion of the treaty, Attila still menaced the empire with implacable war, unless the Azimuntines were persuaded, or compelled, to comply with the conditions which their sovereign had accepted. The ministers of Theodosius confessed with shame, and with truth, that they no longer possessed any authority over a society of men, who so bravely asserted their natural independence; and the king of the Huns condescended to negotiate an equal exchange with the citizens of Azimus. They demanded the restitution of some shepherds, who, with their cattle, had been accidentally surprised. A strict, though fruitless, enquiry was allowed: but the Huns were obliged to swear, that they did not detain any prisoners belonging to the city, before they could recover two surviving countrymen, whom the Azimuntines had reserved as pledges for the safety of their lost companions. Attila, on his side, was satisfied, and deceived, by their solemn asseveration, that the rest of the captives had been put to the sword; and that it was their constant practice, immediately to dismiss the Romans and the deserters, who had obtained the security of the public faith. This prudent and officious dissimulation may be condemned, or excused, by the casuists, as they incline to the rigid decree of St. Augustin, or to the milder sentiment of St. Jerom and St. Chrysostom: but every soldier, every statesman, must acknowledge, that, if the race of the Azimuntines had been encouraged and multiplied, the barbarians would have ceased to trample on the majesty of the empire.<sup>37</sup>

It would have been strange, indeed, if Theodosius had purchased, by the loss of honour, a secure and solid tranquillity; or if his tameness had not invited the repetition of injuries. The Byzantine court was insulted by five or six successive embassies;<sup>38</sup> and the ministers of Attila were uniformly instructed to press the tardy or imperfect execution of the last treaty; to produce the names of fugitives and deserters, who were still protected by the empire; and to declare, with seeming moderation, that unless their sovereign obtained complete and immediate satisfaction, it would be impossible for him, were it

Embassies  
from Attila to  
Constantinople.

<sup>34</sup> According to the description, or rather invective, of Chrysostom, an auction of Byzantine luxury must have been very productive. Every wealthy house possessed a semicircular table of mass silver, such as two men could scarcely lift; a vase of solid gold of the weight of thirty pounds; cups, dishes of the same metal, &c.

<sup>35</sup> The articles of the treaty, expressed without much order or precision, may be found in *Epist. p. 31, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39*. Count Marcellinus disposes some comfort, by observing, 1. That Attila himself solicited the peace and presents, which he had formerly refused. 2. That he was not avaricious, but only desirous of the

<sup>36</sup> *Epist. p. 31, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39*. Count Marcellinus disposes some comfort, by observing, 1. That Attila himself solicited the peace and presents, which he had formerly refused. 2. That he was not avaricious, but only desirous of the

chastus, and the Euxine Sea. The name and walls of Azimuntium might subsist till the reign of Justinian, but the race of its brave defenders had been carefully extirpated by the jealousy of the Roman provinces.

<sup>37</sup> The perpetual dispute of St. Jerom and St. Augustin, who laboured, to different extents, to reconcile the *seemingly* quarrel of the two apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, depends on the solution of an important question (Middleton's Works, vol. ii. p. 510), which has

even his wish, to check the resentment of his warlike tribes. Besides the motives of pride and interest, which might prompt the king of the Huns to continue this train of negotiation, he was influenced by the less honourable view of enriching his favourites at the expense of his enemies. The Imperial treasury was exhausted, to procure the friendly offices of the ambassadors, and their principal attendants, whose favourable report might conduce to the maintenance of peace. The barbarian monarch was flattered by the liberal reception of his ministers; he computed with pleasure the value and splendour of their gifts, rigorously exacted the performance of every promise, which would contribute to their private emolument, and treated as an important business of state, the marriage of his secretary Constantius.<sup>39</sup> That Gallic adventurer, who was recommended by Ælius to the king of the Huns, had engaged his service to the ministers of Constantinople, for the stipulated reward of a wealthy and noble wife; and the daughter of count Saturninus was chosen to discharge the obligations of her country. The reluctance of the victim, some domestic troubles, and the unjust confiscation of her fortune, cooled the ardour of her interested lover; but he still demanded, in the name of Attila, an equivalent alliance; and after many ambiguous delays and excuses, the Byzantine court was compelled to sacrifice to this insolent stranger the widow of Armatius, whose birth, opulence, and beauty, placed her in the most illustrious rank of the Roman matrons. For these importunate and oppressive embassies, Attila claimed a suitable return: he weighed, with suspicious pride, the character and station of the Imperial envoys; but he condescended to promise, that he would advance as far as Sardica, to receive any ministers who had been invested with the consular dignity. The council of Theodosius eluded this proposal, by representing the desolate and ruined condition of Sardica; and even ventured to insinuate, that every officer of the army or household was qualified to treat with the most powerful princes of Scythia. Maximin,<sup>40</sup> a respectable courtier, whose abilities had been long exercised in civil and military employments, accepted with reluctance the troublesome, and, perhaps, dangerous commission, of reconciling the angry spirit of the king of the Huns. His friend, the historian Priscus,<sup>41</sup> embraced the opportunity of observing the barbarian hero in the peaceful and domestic scenes of life: but the secret of the embassy, a fatal and guilty secret, was intrusted only to the interpreter Vigilius. The two last ambassadors of the Huns, Orestes, a noble subject of the Pannonian province, and Edecon, a valiant chieftain of the tribe of the Scythi, returned at the same time from Constantinople to the royal camp. Their obscure names were afterwards illustrated by the extraordinary fortune and the

contrast of their sons; the two servants of Attila became the fathers of the last Roman emperor of the West, and of the first barbarian king of Italy.

The ambassadors, who were followed by a numerous train of men and horses, made their first halt at Sardica, at the distance of three hundred and fifty miles, or thirteen days' journey, from Constantinople. As the remains of Sardica were still included within the limits of the empire, it was incumbent on the Romans to exercise the duties of hospitality. They provided, with the assistance of the provincials, a sufficient number of sheep and oxen; and invited the Huns to a splendid, or, at least, a plentiful, supper. But the harmony of the entertainment was soon disturbed by mutual prejudice and indiscretion. The greatness of the emperor and the empire was warmly maintained by their ministers; the Huns, with equal ardour, asserted the superiority of their victorious monarch. the dispute was inflamed by the rash and unseasonable flattery of Vigilius, who passionately rejected the comparison of a mere mortal with the divine Theodosius; and it was with extreme difficulty that Maximin and Priscus were able to divert the conversation, or to soothe the angry minds of the barbarians. When they rose from table, the Imperial ambassador presented Edecon and Orestes with rich gifts of silk robes and Indian pearls, which they thankfully accepted. Yet Orestes could not forbear insinuating, that he had not always been treated with such respect and liberality; and the offensive distinction, which was implied, between his civil office and the hereditary rank of his colleague, seems to have made Edecon a doubtful friend, and Orestes an irreconcilable enemy. After this entertainment, they travelled about one hundred miles from Sardica to Naissus. That flourishing city, which had given birth to the great Constantine, was levelled with the ground: the inhabitants were destroyed or dispersed; and the appearance of some sick persons, who were still permitted to exist among the ruins of the churches, served only to increase the horror of the prospect. The surface of the country was covered with the bones of the slain; and the ambassadors, who directed their course to the north-west, were obliged to pass the hills of modern Servia, before they descended into the flat and marshy grounds, which are terminated by the Danube. The Huns were masters of the great river: their navigation was performed in large canoes, hollowed out of the trunk of a single tree; the ministers of Theodosius were safely landed on the opposite bank; and their barbarian associates immediately hastened to the camp of Attila, which was equally prepared for the amusements of hunting, or of war. No sooner had Maximin advanced about two miles from the Danube, than he began to

The embassy  
of Maximin  
to Attila.  
A. D. 418.

<sup>39</sup> See Priscus, p. 69, 71, 72, &c. I would far believe, that this adventurer was afterwards elected to the order of St. Basil, as a compensation of the valuable peace; but Priscus, p. 77, this supposition is not confirmed.

<sup>40</sup> See Priscus, p. 122, 123, &c. and Ambrosius, Securus, &c. I do not see the subject of Priscus, p. 122, 123, &c. exactly among the four principal states of the empire, North and South

of the Theod. p. 71. He executed a civil and military commission in the Eastern provinces, and his death was lamented by the savages of Scythia, whose nations he had repulsed. See Priscus, p. 40, 41. 42. This was a native of Pannonia in Thracia, and described by his contemporaries, in honourable place among the supports of the age. His Byzantine history, which related to seven times, was composed in seven books. See Eusebius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

experience the fastidious insolence of the conqueror. He was sternly forbid to pitch his tents in a pleasant valley, lest he should infringe the distant awe that was due to the royal mansion. The ministers of Attila pressed him to communicate the business, and the instructions, which he reserved for the ear of their sovereign. When Maximin temperately urged the contrary practice of nations, he was still more confounded to find, that the resolutions of the Sacred Consistory, those secrets (says Priscus) which should not be revealed to the gods themselves, had been treacherously disclosed to the public enemy. On his refusal to comply with such ignominious terms, the Imperial envoy was commanded instantly to depart; the order was recalled; it was again repeated; and the Huns renewed their ineffectual attempts to subdue the patient firmness of Maximin. At length, by the intercession of Scotta, the brother of Onegesius, whose friendship had been purchased by a liberal gift, he was admitted to the royal presence; but, instead of obtaining a decisive answer, he was compelled to undertake a remote journey towards the north, that Attila might enjoy the proud satisfaction of receiving, in the same camp, the ambassadors of the Eastern and Western empires. His journey was regulated by the guides, who obliged him to halt, to hasten his march, or to deviate from the common road, as it best suited the convenience of the king. The Romans, who traversed the plains of Hungary, suppose that they passed several navigable rivers, either in canoes or portable boats; but there is reason to suspect, that the winding stream of the Teyss, or Tibiscus, might present itself in different places under different names. From the contiguous villages they received a plentiful and regular supply of provisions; mead instead of wine, millet in the place of bread, and a certain liquor named *canais*, which, according to the report of Priscus, was distilled from barley.<sup>42</sup> Such fare might appear coarse and indelicate to men who had tasted the luxury of Constantinople, but, in their accidental distress, they were relieved by the gentleness and hospitality of the same barbarians, so terrible and so merciless in war. The ambassadors had encamped on the edge of a large morass. A violent tempest of wind and rain, of thunder and lightning, overturned their tents, immersed their baggage and furniture in the water, and scattered their retinue, who wandered in the darkness of the night, uncertain of their road, and apprehensive of some unknown danger, till they awakened by their cries the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, the property of the widow of Bleda. A bright illumination, and, in a few moments, a comfortable fire of reeds, was kindled by their officious benevolence: the wants, and even the desires, of the Romans were liberally satisfied; and they

seem to have been embarrassed by the singular politeness of Bleda's widow, who added to her other favours the gift, or at least the loan, of a sufficient number of beautiful and obsequious damsels. The sunshine of the succeeding day was dedicated to repose; to collect and dry the baggage, and to the refreshment of the men and horses: but, in the evening, before they pursued their journey, the ambassadors expressed their gratitude to the bounteous lady of the village, by a very acceptable present of silver cups, red fleeces, dried fruits, and Indian pepper. Soon after this adventure, they rejoined the march of Attila, from whom they had been separated about six days; and slowly proceeded to the capital of an empire, which did not contain, in the space of several thousand miles, a single city.

As far as we may ascertain the vague and obscure geography of Priscus, this capital appears to have been seated between the Danube, the Teyss, and the Carpathian hills, in the plains of Upper Hungary, and most probably in the neighbourhood of Jazberin, Agria, or Tokay.<sup>43</sup> In its origin it could be no more than an accidental camp, which, by the long and frequent residence of Attila, had insensibly swelled into a huge village, for the reception of his court, of the troops who followed his person, and of the various multitude of idle or industrious slaves and retainers.<sup>44</sup> The baths, constructed by Onegesius, were the only edifice of stone; the materials had been transported from Pannonia; and since the adjacent country was destitute even of large timber, it may be presumed, that the meaner habitations of the royal village consisted of straw, of mud, or of canvas. The wooden houses of the more illustrious Huns were built and adorned with rude magnificence, according to the rank, the fortune, or the taste of the proprietors. They seem to have been distributed with some degree of order and symmetry; and each spot became more honourable as it approached the person of the sovereign. The palace of Attila, which surpassed all other houses in his dominions, was built entirely of wood, and covered an ample space of ground. The outward enclosure was a lofty wall, or palisade, of smooth square timber, intersected with high towers, but intended rather for ornament than defence. This wall, which seems to have encircled the declivity of a hill, comprehended a great variety of wooden edifices, adapted to the uses of royalty. A separate house was assigned to each of the numerous wives of Attila; and, instead of the rigid and illiberal confinement imposed by Asiatic jealousy, they politely admitted the Roman ambassadors to their presence, their table, and even to the freedom of an innocent embrace. When Maximin offered his presents to Cereia, the principal

The royal village and palace.

<sup>42</sup> The Huns themselves still continued to despise the labours of agriculture: they abused the province of a servile nation, and the Goths, their industrious neighbours, who cultivated the earth, devoted their neighbourhood, like that of some barbarous nations (Priscus, p. 43). In the same manner the Turks and Persians possess their own substance, and for that of the Caliphs, Tartars, Mongols, and European sovereigns. See *Encyclopædie Historique de la Turquie*, p. 125, 126, &c.

<sup>43</sup> It is evident, that Priscus passed the Danube and the Teyss, and that he did not reach the foot of the Carpathian hills. Agria, Tokay, and Jazberin, are situated in the plains circumscribed by the Danube and the Teyss. The capital of the Huns, according to the account of Priscus, was situated in the plains of Hungary, and not far from the Danube. The capital of the Huns, according to the account of Priscus, was situated in the plains of Hungary, and not far from the Danube.

chosen Tokay, Orskoy, p. 180. and Muscovy, p. 97, is a learned conjecture, founded on the general observation, that the city was situated westward of Bleda and the Danube.

<sup>44</sup> The royal village of Attila may be compared to the city of Babylon, the residence of the successors of Zoroaster, which, though it appears to have been a more solid habitation, did not equal the vast splendour of the town and palace of St. Denis, in the fifth century. See *Historique de la Nation et du Règne de Zoroaster*, tom. vi. p. 280. The temple of Zoroaster, as it is so generally described by Herodotus, p. 147, 148, 149, is the manner of building with the magnificent and luxury of Hindostan.

queen, he admired the singular architecture of her mansion, the height of the round columns, the size and beauty of the wood, which was curiously shaped, or turned, or polished, or carved; and his attentive eye was able to discover some taste in the ornaments, and some regularity in the proportions. After passing through the guards, who watched before the gate, the ambassadors were introduced into the private apartment of Cerca. The wife of Attila received their visit sitting, or rather lying, on a soft couch; the floor was covered with a carpet; the domestics formed a circle round the queen; and her damsels, seated on the ground, were employed in working the variegated embroidery which adorned the dress of the barbaric warriors. The Huns were ambitious of displaying those riches which were the fruit and evidence of their victories—the trappings of their horses, their swords, and even their shoes, were studded with gold and precious stones; and their tables were profusely spread with plates, and goblets, and vases of gold and silver, which had been fashioned by the labour of Grecian artists. The monarch alone assumed the superior pride of still adhering to the simplicity of his Scythian ancestors.<sup>45</sup> The dress of Attila, his arms, and the furniture of his horse, were plain, without ornament, and of a single colour. The royal table was served in wooden cups and platters; flesh was his only food; and the conqueror of the North never tasted the luxury of bread.

When Attila first gave audience to the Roman ambassadors on the banks of the Danube, his tent was encompassed with a formidable guard. The monarch himself was seated in a wooden edifice. His stern countenance, angry gestures, and impatient tone, astonished the firmness of Maximin; but Vigilius had more reason to tremble, since he distinctly understood the menace, that if Attila did not respect the law of nations, he would nail the deceitful interpreter to a cross, and leave his body to the vultures. The barbarian condescended, by producing an accurate list, to expose the bold falsehood of Vigilius, who had affirmed that no more than seventeen deserters could be found. But he arrogantly declared, that he apprehended only the disgrace of contending with his fugitive slaves; since he despised their impotent efforts to defend the provinces which Theodosius had intrusted to their arms: "For what fortress," (added Attila), "what city, in the wide extent of the Roman empire, can hope to exist, secure and impenetrable, if it is our pleasure that it should be crushed from the earth?" He dismissed, however, the interpreter, who returned to Constantinople with his peremptory demand of more complete restitution, and a more splendid embassy. His anger gradually subsided, and his domestic satisfaction, in a marriage which he celebrated on the road with the daughter of Eslam, might perhaps contribute to mollify the native fierceness of his temper. The entrance of Attila into the royal village was marked by a

very singular ceremony. A numerous troop of women came out to meet their hero and their king. They marched before him, distributed into long and regular files: the intervals between the files were filled by white veils of thin linen, which the women on either side bore aloft in their hands, and which formed a canopy for a chorus of young virgins, who chanted hymns and songs in the Scythian language. The wife of his favourite Onegesius, with a train of female attendants, saluted Attila at the door of her own house, on his way to the palace; and offered, according to the custom of the country, her respectful homage, by entreating him to taste the wine and meat, which she had prepared for his reception. As soon as the monarch had graciously accepted her hospitable gift, his domestics lifted a small silver table to a convenient height, as he sat on horseback; and Attila, when he had touched the goblet with his lips, again saluted the wife of Onegesius, and continued his march. During his residence at the seat of empire, his hours were not wasted in the recluse idleness of a seraglio; and the king of the Huns could maintain his superior dignity, without concealing his person from the public view. He frequently assembled his council, and gave audience to the ambassadors of the nations; and his people might appeal to the supreme tribunal, which he held at stated times, and, according to the Eastern custom, before the principal gate of his wooden palace. The Romans, both of the East and of the West, were twice invited to the banquet, where Attila feasted with the princes and nobles of Scythia. Maximin and his colleagues were stopped on the threshold, till they had  
The royal feast.  
witnessed a devout libation to the health and prosperity of the king of the Huns; and were conducted, after this ceremony, to their respective seats in a spacious hall. The royal table and couch, covered with carpets and fine linen, were raised by several steps in the midst of the hall; and a son, an uncle, or perhaps a favourite king, were admitted to share the simple and homely repast of Attila. Two lines of small tables, each of which contained three or four guests, were ranged in order on either hand; the right was esteemed the most honourable, but the Romans ingenuously confess, that they were placed on the left; and that Beric, an unknown chieftain, most probably of the Gothic race, preceded the representatives of Theodosius and Valentinian. The barbarian monarch received from his cup-bearer a goblet filled with wine, and courteously drank to the health of the most distinguished guest; who rose from his seat, and expressed, in the same manner, his loyal and respectful vows. This ceremony was successfully performed for all, or at least for the illustrious persons of the assembly; and a considerable time must have been consumed, since it was twice repeated, as each course or service was placed on the table. But the wine still remained after the meat had been removed, and the Huns continued to indulge their intemper-

45 When the Moguls displayed the smock of Acon in the d'art of Toncat, the murens of Zingis was still covered with the original black.

for a long time, and he was not in the habit of going to the  
command of his own troops, and he was not in the habit of

ance long after the sober and decent ambassadors of the two empires had withdrawn themselves from the nocturnal banquet. Yet, before they retired, they enjoyed a singular opportunity of observing the manners of the nation in their convivial amusements. Two Scythians stood before the couch of Attila, and recited the verses which they had composed, to celebrate his valour and his victories. A profound silence prevailed in the hall; and the attention of the guests was captivated by the vocal harmony, which revived and perpetuated the memory of their own exploits: a martial ardour flashed from the eyes of the warriors, who were impatient for battle; and the tears of the old men expressed their generous despair, that they could no longer partake the danger and glory of the field.<sup>46</sup> This entertainment, which might be considered as a school of military virtue, was succeeded by a farce, that debased the dignity of human nature. A Moorish and a Scythian buffoon successively excited the mirth of the rude spectators, by their deformed figure, ridiculous dress, antic gestures, absurd speeches, and the strange unintelligible confusion of the Latin, the Gothic, and the Hunnic languages; and the hall resounded with loud and licentious peals of laughter. In the midst of this intemperate riot, Attila alone, without a change of countenance, maintained his steadfast and inflexible gravity: which was never relaxed, except on the entrance of Irmac, the youngest of his sons: he embraced the boy with a smile of paternal tenderness, gently pinched him by the cheek, and betrayed a partial affection, which was justified by the assurance of his prophets, that Irmac would be the future support of his family and empire. Two days afterwards the ambassadors received a second invitation; and they had reason to praise the politeness, as well as the hospitality, of Attila. The king of the Huns held a long and familiar conversation with Maximin; but his civility was interrupted by rude expressions, and haughty reproaches; and he was provoked, by a motive of interest, to support, with unbecoming zeal, the private claims of his secretary Constantius. "The emperor" (said Attila) "has long promised him a rich wife: Constantius must not be disappointed; nor should a Roman emperor deserve the name of liar." On the third day, the ambassadors were dismissed; the freedom of several captives was granted, for a moderate ransom, to their pressing entreaties; and, besides the royal presents, they were permitted to accept, from each of the Scythian nobles, the honourable and useful gift of a horse. Maximin returned, by the same road, to Constantinople; and though he was involved in an accidental dispute with Beric, the new ambassador of Attila, he flattered himself that he had contributed, by the laborious journey, to

confirm the peace and alliance of the two nations.<sup>47</sup>

But the Roman ambassador was ignorant of the treacherous design, <sup>Conspiracy of the Romans against the life of Attila.</sup> which had been concealed under the mask of the public faith. The surprise and satisfaction of Edecon, when he contemplated the splendour of Constantinople, had encouraged the interpreter Vigilius to procure for him a secret interview with the eunuch Chrysaphius,<sup>48</sup> who governed the emperor and the empire. After some previous conversation, and a mutual oath of secrecy, the eunuch, who had not, from his own feelings or experience, imbibed any exalted notions of ministerial virtue, ventured to propose the death of Attila, as an important service, by which Edecon might deserve a liberal share of the wealth and luxury which he admired. The ambassador of the Huns listened to the tempting offer; and professed, with apparent zeal, his ability, as well as readiness, to execute the bloody deed: the design was communicated to the master of the offices, and the devout Theodosius consented to the assassination of his invincible enemy. But this perfidious conspiracy was defeated by the dissimulation, or the repentance, of Edecon; and, though he might exaggerate his inward abhorrence for the treason, which he seemed to approve, he dexterously assumed the merit of an early and voluntary confession. If we now review the embassy of Maximin, and the behaviour of Attila, we must applaud the barbarian, who respected the laws of hospitality, and generously entertained and dismissed the minister of a prince who had conspired against his life. But the rashness of Vigilius will appear still more extraordinary, since he returned, conscious of his guilt and danger, to the royal camp; accompanied by his son, and carrying with him a weighty purse of gold, which the favourite eunuch had furnished, to satisfy the demands of Edecon, and to corrupt the fidelity of the guards. The interpreter was instantly seized, and dragged before the tribunal of Attila, where he asserted his innocence with specious firmness, till the threat of inflicting instant death on his son, extorted from him a sincere discovery of the criminal transaction. Under the name of ransom, or confiscation, the rapacious king of the Huns accepted two hundred pounds of gold for the life of a traitor, whom he disdained to punish. He pointed his just indignation against a nobler object. His ambassadors Eslaw and Orestes were immediately despatched to Constantinople, with a peremptory instruction, which it was much safer for them to execute than to disobey. They boldly entered the Imperial presence, with the fatal purse hanging down from the neck of Orestes, who interrogated the eunuch Chrysaphius, as he stood beside the throne, whether he recognised the evidence of his guilt.

He reprimands and forgives the emperor.

<sup>46</sup> If we may believe Plutarch on Demetrius, a Scythian was the custom of the Scythians, when they indulged in the pleasures of the table, to awaken their languid courage by the martial harmony of twanging their bow-strings.

<sup>47</sup> The emperor Constantius, after his death, was buried in a new place, viz. at the foot of the column of Constantine, which was the place of burial of the emperors of the Constantinian dynasty. The emperor Constantius was buried in the same place, viz. at the foot of the column of Constantine, which was the place of burial of the emperors of the Constantinian dynasty.

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But the office of reproof was reserved for the superior dignity of his colleague Eslaw, who gravely addressed the emperor of the East in the following words: "Theodosius is the son of an illustrious and respectable parent: Attila likewise is descended from a noble race; and he has supported, by his actions, the dignity which he inherited from his father Mundzuk. But Theodosius has forfeited his paternal honours, and, by consenting to pay tribute, has degraded himself to the condition of a slave. It is therefore just, that he should reverence the man whom fortune and merit have placed above him; instead of attempting, like a wicked slave, clandestinely to conspire against his master." The son of Arcadius, who was accustomed only to the voice of flattery, heard with astonishment the severe language of truth; he blushed and trembled; nor did he presume directly to refuse the head of Chrysaphius, which Eslaw and Orestes were instructed to demand. A solemn embassy, armed with full powers and magnificent gifts, was hastily sent to deprecate the wrath of Attila; and his pride was gratified by the choice of Nomius and Anatolius, two ministers of consular or patrician rank, of whom the one was great treasurer, and the other was master-general of the armies of the East. He condescended to meet these ambassadors on the banks of the river Drengo; and though he at first affected a stern and haughty demeanour, his anger was insensibly mollified by their eloquence and liberality. He condescended to pardon the emperor, the eunuch, and the interpreter; bound himself by an oath to observe the conditions of peace; released a great number of captives; abandoned the fugitives and deserters to their fate; and resigned a large territory, to the south of the Danube, which he had already exhausted of its wealth and inhabitants. But this treaty was purchased at an expense which might have supported a vigorous and successful war; and the subjects of Theodosius were compelled to redeem the safety of a worthless favourite by oppressive taxes, which they would more cheerfully have paid for his destruction.<sup>49</sup>

Theodosius the Younger dies, A. D. 395, July 26; long survive the most humiliating circumstance of an inglorious life.

As he was riding, or hunting, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, he was thrown from his horse into the river Lycus, the spine of his back was injured by the fall; and he expired some days afterwards, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the forty-third year of his reign.<sup>50</sup> His sister Pulcheria, whose authority had been controlled both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs by the pernicious influence of the eunuchs, was unanimously proclaimed Empress of the East; and the Romans, for the first time, submitted to a female reign. No sooner had Pulcheria as-

cended the throne, than she indulged her own and the public resentment, by an act of popular justice. Without any legal trial, the eunuch Chrysaphius was executed before the gates of the city; and the immense riches which had been accumulated by the rapacious favourite, served only to hasten and to justify his punishment.<sup>51</sup> Amidst the general acclamations of the clergy and people, the empress did not forget the prejudice and disadvantage to which her sex was exposed; and she wisely resolved to prevent their murmurs by the choice of a colleague, who would always respect the superior rank and virgin chastity of his wife. She gave her hand to Marcian, a senator, about sixty years of age; and the nominal husband of Pulcheria was solemnly invested with the Imperial purple. The zeal which he displayed for the orthodox creed, as it was established by the council of Chalcedon, would alone have inspired the grateful eloquence of the Catholics. But the behaviour of Marcian in a private life, and afterwards on the throne, may support a more rational belief, that he was qualified to restore and invigorate an empire, which had been almost dissolved by the successive weakness of two hereditary monarchs. He was born in Thrace, and educated to the profession of arms; but Marcian's youth had been severely exercised by poverty and misfortune, since his only resource, when he first arrived at Constantinople, consisted in two hundred pieces of gold, which he had borrowed of a friend. He passed nineteen years in the domestic and military service of Aspar, and his son Ardaburius; followed those powerful generals to the Persian and African wars; and obtained, by their influence, the honourable rank of tribune and senator. His mild disposition, and useful talents, without alarming the jealousy, recommended Marcian to the esteem and favour, of his patrons: he had seen, perhaps he had felt, the abuses of a venal and oppressive administration; and his own example gave weight and energy to the laws, which he promulgated for the reformation of manners.<sup>52</sup>

and is succeeded by Marcian, Aug. 26.

## CHAP. XXXV.

*Invasion of Gaul by Attila. — He is repulsed by Ælius and the Visigoths. — Attila invades and excruciates Italy. — The Deaths of Attila, Ælius, and Valentinian the Third.*

It was the opinion of Marcian, that war should be avoided, as long as it is possible to preserve a secure and honourable peace; but it was likewise his opinion, that peace cannot be honourable or secure, if the sovereign betrays a pusillanimous aversion to war. This temperate

Attila threatens both empires, and prepares to invade Gaul. A. D. 450.

49. This secret conspiracy, and its important effects, may be traced in the transactions of the year 392, p. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33. The chronology of it is preserved in the lives of Theodosius and Arcadius, and the same account is given in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Sozomenus, p. 100. The first of these three or four years which are mentioned, A. D. 392, is the only one in which the emperor Theodosius was present in the field, and it is the only one in which he was not accompanied by his wife. The second year, A. D. 393, is the only one in which he was not accompanied by his wife. The third year, A. D. 394, is the only one in which he was not accompanied by his wife. The fourth year, A. D. 395, is the only one in which he was not accompanied by his wife.

50. Theodosius died on the 26th of July, 395, at the age of 50. He was buried in the church of St. Peter, and his body was carried to Constantinople. The emperor Arcadius died on the 1st of August, 395, at the age of 40. He was buried in the church of St. Peter, and his body was carried to Constantinople. The emperor Valentinian III died on the 17th of March, 455, at the age of 21. He was buried in the church of St. Peter, and his body was carried to Constantinople.

courage dictated his reply to the demands of Attila, who insolently pressed the payment of the annual tribute. The emperor signified to the barbarians, that they must no longer insult the majesty of Rome by the mention of a tribute; that he was disposed to reward, with becoming liberality, the faithful friendship of his allies; but that, if they should presume to violate the public peace, they should feel that he possessed troops, and arms, and resolution, to repel their attacks. The same language, even in the camp of the Huns, was used by his ambassador Apollonius, whose bold refusal to deliver the presents, till he had been admitted to a personal interview, displayed a sense of dignity, and a contempt of danger, which Attila was not prepared to expect from the degenerate Romans.<sup>1</sup> He threatened to chastise the rash successor of Theodosius; but he hesitated whether he should first direct his invincible arms against the Eastern or the Western empire. While mankind awaited his decision with awful suspense, he sent an equal defiance to the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople; and his ministers saluted the two emperors with the same haughty declaration. "Attila, my lord, and thy lord, commands thee to provide a palace for his immediate reception."<sup>2</sup> But as the barbarian despised, or affected to despise, the Romans of the East, whom he had so often vanquished, he soon declared his resolution of suspending the easy conquest, till he had achieved a more glorious and important enterprise. In the memorable invasions of Gaul and Italy, the Huns were naturally attracted by the wealth and fertility of those provinces; but the particular motives and provocations of Attila can only be explained by the state of the Western empire under the reign of Valentinian, or, to speak more correctly, under the administration of Ætius.<sup>3</sup>

After the death of his rival Boniface, Ætius had prudently retired to the tents of the Huns; and he was indebted to their alliance for his safety and his restoration. Instead of the suppliant language of a guilty exile, he solicited his pardon at the head of sixty thousand barbarians; and the empress Placidia confessed, by a feeble resistance, that the condescension, which might have been ascribed to clemency, was the effect of weakness or fear. She delivered herself, her son Valentinian, and the Western empire, into the hands of an insolent subject; nor could Placidia protect the son-in-law of Boniface, the virtuous and faithful Sebastian, from the implacable persecution, which urged him from one kingdom to another, till he miserably perished in the service of the Vandals. The fortunate Ætius, who was immediately pro-

moted to the rank of patrician, and thrice invested with the honours of the consulship, assumed, with the title of master of the cavalry and infantry, the whole military power of the state; and he is sometimes styled, by contemporary writers, the duke, or general, of the Romans of the West. His prudence, rather than his virtue, engaged him to leave the grandson of Theodosius in the possession of the purple; and Valentinian was permitted to enjoy the peace and luxury of Italy, while the patrician appeared in the glorious light of a hero and a patriot, who supported near twenty years the ruins of the Western empire. The Gothic historian ingenuously confesses, that Ætius was born for the salvation of the Roman republic;<sup>4</sup> and the following portrait, though it is drawn in the fairest colours, must be allowed to contain a much larger proportion of truth than of flattery. "His mother was a wealthy and noble Italian, and his father Gaudentius, who held a distinguished rank in the province of Scythia, gradually rose from the station of a military domestic, to the dignity of master of the cavalry. Their son, who was enrolled almost in his infancy in the guards, was given as a hostage, first to Alaric, and afterwards to the Huns; and he successively obtained the civil and military honours of the palace, for which he was equally qualified by superior merit. The graceful figure of Ætius was not above the middle stature; but his manly limbs were admirably formed for strength, beauty, and agility; and he excelled in the martial exercises of managing a horse, drawing the bow, and darting the javelin. He could patiently endure the want of food or of sleep; and his mind and body were alike capable of the most laborious efforts. He possessed the genuine courage, that can despise not only dangers but injuries; and it was impossible either to corrupt, or deceive, or intimidate, the firm integrity of his soul."<sup>5</sup> The barbarians, who had seated themselves in the Western provinces, were insensibly taught to respect the faith and valour of the patrician Ætius. He soothed their passions, consulted their prejudices, balanced their interests, and checked their ambition. A seasonable treaty, which he concluded with Genseric, protected Italy from the depredations of the Vandals; the independent Britons implored and acknowledged his salutary aid; the Imperial authority was restored and maintained in Gaul and Spain; and he compelled the Franks and the Suevi, whom he had vanquished in the field, to become the useful confederates of the republic.

From a principle of interest, as well as gratitude, Ætius assiduously cultivated the alliance of the Huns.

His connection with the Huns and Alans.

<sup>1</sup> See PRISCUUS, p. 91, 92.

<sup>2</sup> The Alexandrian or Paschal Chronicle, which introduces this haughty message, dates the affronted Emperor, as if he had been a private person; but the dignity that was incapable of affronting, the Emperor was not less capable of avenging.

<sup>3</sup> The emperor, who was considered as desperate, and who was, in fact, a weak and avaricious man, was, in the end, a weak and avaricious man. His adventures at Constantinople, in 447, Gaul, Spain, and Africa, are chiefly marked in the Chronicles of Marcellinus and Idem. In his distress, he was assisted by numerous troops, since he could raise the Huns and Franks, and seize the city of Narbonne.

<sup>4</sup> See PRISCUUS, p. 91, 92.

<sup>5</sup> See PRISCUUS, p. 91, 92.

While he resided in their tents as a hostage, or an exile, he had familiarly conversed with Attila himself, the nephew of his benefactor; and the two famous antagonists appear to have been connected by a personal and military friendship, which they afterwards confirmed by mutual gifts, frequent embassies, and the education of Carpilio, the son of Ætius, in the camp of Attila. By the specious professions of gratitude and voluntary attachment, the patrician might disguise his apprehensions of the Scythian conqueror, who pressed the two empires with his innumerable armies. His demands were obeyed or eluded. When he claimed the spoils of a vanquished city, some vases of gold, which had been fraudulently embezzled, the civil and military governors of Noricum were immediately despatched to satisfy his complaints;<sup>7</sup> and it is evident, from their conversation with Maximin and Priscus, in the royal village, that the valour and prudence of Ætius had not saved the Western Romans from the common ignominy of tribute. Yet his dexterous policy prolonged the advantages of a salutary peace; and a numerous army of Huns and Alani, whom he had attached to his person, was employed in the defence of Gaul. Two colonies of these barbarians were judiciously fixed in the territories of Valence and Orleans;<sup>8</sup> and their active cavalry secured the important passages of the Rhone and of the Loire. These savage allies were not, indeed, less formidable to the subjects than to the enemies of Rome. Their original settlement was enforced with the licentious violence of conquest; and the province through which they marched was exposed to all the calamities of an hostile invasion.<sup>9</sup> Strangers to the emperor or the republic, the Alani of Gaul were devoted to the ambition of Ætius; and though he might suspect, that, in a contest with Attila himself, they would revolt to the standard of their national king, the patrician laboured to restrain, rather than to excite, their zeal and resentment against the Goths, the Burgundians, and the Franks.

The kingdom established by the Visigoths in the southern provinces of Gaul, had gradually acquired strength and maturity; and the conduct of those ambitious barbarians, either in peace or war, engaged the perpetual vigilance of Ætius. After the death of Wallia, the Gothic sceptre devolved to Theodoric, the son of the great Alaric;<sup>10</sup> and his prosperous reign, of more than thirty years, over a turbulent people, may be allowed to prove, that his prudence was

supported by uncommon vigour, both of mind and body. Impatient of his narrow limits, Theodoric aspired to the possession of Arles, the wealthy seat of government and commerce; but the city was saved by the timely approach of Ætius; and the Gothic king, who had raised the siege with some loss and disgrace, was persuaded, for an adequate subsidy, to divert the martial valour of his subjects in a Spanish war. Yet Theodoric still watched, and eagerly seized, the favourable moment of renewing his hostile attempts. The Goths besieged Narbonne, while the Belgic provinces were invaded by the Burgundians; and the public safety was threatened on every side by the apparent union of the enemies of Rome. On every side, the activity of Ætius, and his Scythian cavalry, opposed a firm and successful resistance. Twenty thousand Burgundians were slain in battle; and the remains of the nation humbly accepted a dependent seat in the mountains of Savoy.<sup>11</sup> The walls of Narbonne had been shaken by the battering engines, and the inhabitants had endured the last extremities of famine, when count Litorius, approaching in silence, and directing each horseman to carry behind him two sacks of flour, cut his way through the intrenchments of the besiegers. The siege was immediately raised; and the more decisive victory, which is ascribed to the personal conduct of Ætius himself, was marked with the blood of eight thousand Goths. But in the absence of the patrician, who was hastily summoned to Italy by some public or private interest, count Litorius succeeded to the command; and his presumption soon discovered, that far different talents are required to lead a wing of cavalry, or to direct the operations of an important war. At the head of an army of Huns, he rashly advanced to the gates of Thoulouse, full of careless contempt for an enemy, whom his misfortunes had rendered prudent, and his situation made desperate. The predictions of the augurs had inspired Litorius with the profane confidence that he should enter the Gothic capital in triumph; and the trust which he reposed in his Pagan allies, encouraged him to reject the fair conditions of peace, which were repeatedly proposed by the bishops in the name of Theodoric. The king of the Goths exhibited in his distress the edifying contrast of Christian piety and moderation; nor did he lay aside his sackcloth and ashes till he was prepared to arm for the combat. His soldiers, animated with martial and religious enthusiasm, assaulted the camp of Litorius. The conflict was obstinate; the slaughter

<sup>7</sup> The embassy consisted of Count Bonifacius, of Provence, a friend of Theodoric, and of the emperor's ambassador, Theodoric, who accompanied Ætius in his journey to the court of the emperor. See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>8</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>9</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>10</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>11</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>12</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>13</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>14</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>15</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>16</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>17</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>18</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>19</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>20</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>21</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>22</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>23</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>24</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>25</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>26</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>27</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>28</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>29</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>30</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>31</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>32</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>33</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>34</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>35</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>36</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>37</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>38</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>39</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>40</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>41</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>42</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>43</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>44</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>45</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>46</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>47</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>48</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>49</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>50</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>51</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>52</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>53</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>54</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*

<sup>55</sup> See Prosper, *l. vi. c. 10.*





only cities which existed in the fifth century, and extended his conquests as far as the river Somme, over a desolate country, whose cultivation and populousness are the effects of more recent industry.<sup>22</sup> While Clodion lay encamped in the plains of Artois,<sup>23</sup> and celebrated, with vain and ostentatious security, the marriage, perhaps, of his son, the nuptial feast was interrupted by the unexpected and unwelcome presence of Ætius, who had passed the Somme at the head of his light cavalry. The tables, which had been spread under the shelter of a hill, along the banks of a pleasant stream, were rudely overturned; the Franks were oppressed before they could recover their arms, or their ranks; and their unavailing valour was fatal only to themselves. The loaded wagons, which had followed their march, afforded a rich booty; and the virgin-bride, with her female attendants, submitted to the new lovers, who were imposed on them by the chance of war. This advantage, which had been obtained by the skill and activity of Ætius, might reflect some disgrace on the military prudence of Clodion; but the king of the Franks soon regained his strength and reputation, and still maintained the possession of his Gallic kingdom from the Rhine to the Somme.<sup>24</sup> Under his reign, most probably from the enterprising spirit of his subjects, the three capitals, Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, experienced the effects of hostile cruelty and avarice. The distress of Cologne was prolonged by the perpetual dominion of the same barbarians, who evacuated the ruins of Treves; and Treves, which, in the space of forty years, had been four times besieged and pillaged, was disposed to lose the memory of her afflictions in the vain amusements of the circus.<sup>25</sup> The death of Clodion, after a reign of twenty years, exposed his kingdom to the discord and ambition of his two sons. Meroveus, the younger,<sup>26</sup> was persuaded to implore the protection of Rome; he was received at the Imperial court, as the ally of Valentinian, and the adopted son of the patrician Ætius; and dismissed to his native country, with splendid gifts, and the strongest assurances of friendship and support. During his absence, his elder brother had solicited, with equal ardour, the formidable aid of Attila; and the king of the Huns embraced an alliance, which facilitated the passage of the Rhine, and justified, by a specious and honourable pretence, the invasion of Gaul.<sup>27</sup>

The adventures  
of the princess  
Honorata.

When Attila declared his resolution of supporting the cause of his allies, the Vandals and the Franks,

at the same time, and almost in the spirit of romantic eulogy, the savage monarch professed himself the lover and the champion of the princess Honorata. The sister of Valentinian was educated in the palace of Ravenna; and as her marriage might be productive of some danger to the state, she was raised, by the title of *Augusta*,<sup>28</sup> above the hopes of the most presumptuous subject. But the fair Honorata had no sooner attained the sixteenth year of her age, than she detested the importunate greatness which must for ever exclude her from the comforts of honourable love: in the midst of vain and unsatisfactory pomp, Honorata sighed, yielded to the impulse of nature, and threw herself into the arms of her chamberlain Eugenius. Her guilt and shame (such is the absurd language of imperious man) were soon betrayed by the appearances of pregnancy; but the disgrace of the royal family was published to the world by the imprudence of the empress Placidia; who dismissed her daughter, after a strict and shameful confinement, to a remote exile at Constantinople. The unhappy princess passed twelve or fourteen years in the irksome society of the sisters of Theodosius, and their chosen virgins; to whose crown Honorata could no longer aspire, and whose monastic assiduity of prayer, fasting, and vigils, she reluctantly imitated. Her impatience of long and hopeless celibacy, urged her to embrace a strange and desperate resolution. The name of Attila was familiar and formidable at Constantinople; and his frequent embassies entertained a perpetual intercourse between his camp and the Imperial palace. In the pursuit of love, or rather of revenge, the daughter of Placidia sacrificed every duty and every prejudice; and offered to deliver her person into the arms of a barbarian, of whose language she was ignorant, whose figure was scarcely human, and whose religion and manners she abhorred. By the ministry of a faithful eunuch, she transmitted to Attila a ring, the pledge of her affection; and earnestly conjured him to claim her as a lawful spouse, to whom he had been secretly betrothed. These indecent advances were received, however, with coldness and disdain; and the king of the Huns continued to multiply the number of his wives, till his love was awakened by the more forcible passions of ambition and avarice. The invasion of Gaul was preceded, and justified, by a formal demand of the princess Honorata, with a just and equal share of the Imperial patrimony. His predecessors, the ancient Tanjous, had often addressed, in the same hostile and peremptory

<sup>22</sup> Gregor. Turon. lib. i. c. 9. in tom. ii. p. 166, 167. Fredgar. Epitom. c. 9. p. 207. *Gratia Reg. Francor. c. 9. in tom. ii. p. 411.* Vit. St. Remig. ab Hincmaro, in tom. ii. p. 773.

<sup>23</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Archevêque de Reims, p. 188.*

<sup>25</sup> *Pongier Mages, p. 212.*

The precise spot was a town, or village, called *Alas*, *Helas*, and both the name and the place are still preserved in modern times, viz. at Lens. See *Vales, North, Gall. p. 410.* Longuerue, *Decouvertes de la France*, tom. ii. p. 88.

<sup>26</sup> See a vague account of the action in Solinus, *Panegy. Maximian 214, 220.* The French critics, according to cardinal Béranger, march in Gaul, have drawn a strong argument from the silence of Solinus, who dares not insinuate, that the conquered Franks were compelled to pass the Rhine. *Dubos, tom. i. p. 125.*

<sup>27</sup> Solinus (de filis imperii, lib. i. v. 16) has expressed, in vague and declamatory language, the misfortunes of these three years, which are distinctly ascertained by the learned Masou, *Hist. of the Ancient Germans*, ix. 21.

<sup>28</sup> *Tricetus*, in relating the contest, does not name the two brothers; the second of whom he had seen at Rome, a beardless youth, with long flowing hair. (*Historians of France*, tom. i. p. 667, 668.) The Jewish genealogists are obliged to believe, that they were the sons of some unknown king of the Franks, who resided on the banks of the Moselle; but the arguments of M. de Fontenay, *Mém. de l'Académie de Paris*, tom. i. p. 161, seem to prove, that the sister-son of Clodion was adopted by his two sons, and that the younger was Meroveus, the father of Chlodwig.

<sup>27</sup> Under the Merovingian race, the throne was hereditary; but at the end of the descent from Meroveus, it was explicitly sold to their share of his treasures and territories. See the *Historians of the Franks*, in the sixth and eighth centuries, of the Merovingians.

<sup>28</sup> A novel is extant, which exhibits the unhappy consequence of Honorata, with the title of *Augusta*, and on the subject, the most per legend of *Nova Republica* found the monogram of Christ. See *Ducange, Famil. Byzantinæ*, p. 67, 73.

manner, the daughters of China; and the pretensions of Attila were not less offensive to the majesty of Rome. A firm, but temperate, refusal was communicated to his ambassadors. The right of female succession, though it might derive a specious argument from the recent examples of Placidia and Pulcheria, was strenuously denied; and the indissoluble engagements of Honoria were opposed to the claims of her Scythian lover.<sup>29</sup> On the discovery of her connection with the king of the Huns, the guilty princess had been sent away, as an object of horror, from Constantinople to Italy: her life was spared; but the ceremony of her marriage was performed with some obscure and nominal husband, before she was immured in a perpetual prison, to bewail those crimes and misfortunes, which Honoria might have escaped, had she not been born the daughter of an emperor.<sup>30</sup>

A native of Gaul, and a contemporary, the learned and eloquent Sidonius, who was afterwards bishop of Clermont, had made a promise to one of his friends, that he would compose a regular history of the war of Attila. If the modesty of Sidonius had not discouraged him from the prosecution of this interesting work,<sup>31</sup> the historian would have related, with the simplicity of truth, those memorable events, to which the poet, in vague and doubtful metaphors, has concisely alluded.<sup>32</sup> The kings and nations of Germany and Scythia, from the Volga perhaps to the Danube, obeyed the warlike summons of Attila. From the royal village, in the plains of Hungary, his standard moved towards the West; and, after a march of seven or eight hundred miles, he reached the conflux of the Rhine and the Necker; where he was joined by the Franks, who adhered to his ally, the elder of the sons of Clodion. A troop of light barbarians, who roamed in quest of plunder, might choose the winter for the convenience of passing the river on the ice; but the innumerable cavalry of the Huns required such plenty of forage and provisions, as could be procured only in a milder season; the Hercynian forest supplied materials for a bridge of boats; and the hostile myriads were poured, with resistless violence, into the Belgic provinces.<sup>33</sup> The consternation of Gaul was universal; and the various fortunes of its cities have been adorned by tradition with martyrdoms and miracles.<sup>34</sup> Troyes was saved by the merits of St. Lupus; St. Servatius was removed from the world, that he might not be-

hold the ruin of Tongres; and the prayers of St. G  n  vi  re diverted the march of Attila from the neighbourhood of Paris. But as the greatest part of the Gallic cities were alike destitute of saints and soldiers, they were besieged and stormed by the Huns; who practised, in the example of Metz,<sup>35</sup> their customary maxims of war. They involved, in a promiscuous massacre, the priests who served at the altar, and the infants, who, in the hour of danger, had been providently baptized by the bishop; the flourishing city was delivered to the flames, and a solitary chapel of St. Stephen marked the place where it formerly stood. From the Rhine and the Moselle, Attila advanced into the heart of Gaul; crossed the Seine at Auxerre; and, after a long and laborious march, fixed his camp under the walls of Orleans. He was desirous of securing his conquests by the possession of an advantageous post, which commanded the passage of the Loire; and he depended on the secret invitation of Sangiban, king of the Alani, who had promised to betray the city, and to revolt from the service of the empire. But this treacherous conspiracy was detected and disappointed: Orleans had been strengthened with recent fortifications; and the assaults of the Huns were vigorously repelled by the faithful valour of the soldiers, or citizens, who defended the place. The pastoral diligence of Anianus, a bishop of primitive sanctity and consummate prudence, exhausted every art of religious policy to support their courage, till the arrival of the expected succours. After an obstinate siege, the walls were shaken by the battering rams; the Huns had already occupied the suburbs; and the people, who were incapable of bearing arms, lay prostrate in prayer. Anianus, who anxiously counted the days and hours, despatched a trusty messenger to observe, from the rampart, the face of the distant country. He returned twice, without any intelligence that could inspire hope or comfort; but, in his third report, he mentioned a small cloud, which he had faintly descried at the extremity of the horizon. "It is the aid of God!" exclaimed the bishop, in a tone of pious confidence; and the whole multitude repeated after him, "It is the aid of God." The remote object, on which every eye was fixed, became each moment larger, and more distinct; the Roman and Gothic banners were gradually perceived; and a favourable wind blowing aside the dust, discovered, in deep array, the impatient squadrons of   tius and

<sup>29</sup> See Priscus, p. 39, 40. It might be fairly alleged, that if females could succeed to the throne, Valentinian himself, who had married the

related by Jor.  
et. c. 42. p. 674.  
but they cannot  
e. by an interval

of time and place, her intrigue with Eugenius, and her invitation of Attila.

<sup>31</sup> Exegeras mihi, ut promitterem tibi, Attila bellum stylo me potius innumerum . . . crepam a ribere, sed operis arepti face perspecto, tadtuit inchoasse. Sidon. Apoll. I. viii. Epist. 15. p. 246.

<sup>32</sup> Subito cum rupta tumultu

<sup>33</sup> The contained

who has sometimes abridged, and sometimes transcribed, the larger history of Cassiodorus. Jornandes, a quotation which it would be superfluous to repeat, may be corrected and illustrated by Gregory of Tours, I. 2. c. 5, 6, 7, and the Chronicles of Isidore, Isidore, and the two Prosper. All the ancient testimonies are collected and annotated among the extracts

com. iii. p. 369.

dred year  
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a God  
45. 649.

Theodoric, who pressed forwards to the relief of Orleans.

The facility with which Attila had penetrated into the heart of Gaul, may be ascribed to his insidious policy, as well as to the terror of his arms. His public declarations were skillfully mitigated by his private assurances; he alternately soothed and threatened the Romans and the Goths; and the courts of Ravenna and Thionhouse, mutually suspicious of each other's intentions, beheld, with supine indifference, the approach of their common enemy. *Ætius* was the sole guardian of the public safety; but his wisest measures were embarrassed by a faction, which, since the death of *Placidia*, infested the Imperial palace: the youth of Italy trembled at the sound of the trumpet; and the barbarians, who, from fear or affection, were inclined to the cause of *Attila*, awaited, with doubtful and venal faith, the event of the war. The patrician passed the Alps at the head of some troops, whose strength and numbers scarcely deserved the name of an army.<sup>36</sup> But on his arrival at Arles, or Lyons, he was confounded by the intelligence, that the Visigoths, refusing to embrace the defence of Gaul, had determined to expect, within their own territories, the formidable invader, whom they professed to despise. The senator *Avitus*, who, after the honourable exercise of the prætorian prefecture, had retired to his estate in Auvergne, was persuaded to accept the important embassy, which he executed with ability and success. He represented to Theodoric, that an ambitious conqueror, who aspired to the dominion of the earth, could be resisted only by the firm and unanimous alliance of the powers whom he laboured to oppress. The lively eloquence of *Avitus* inflamed the Gothic warriors, by the description of the injuries which their ancestors had suffered from the Huns; whose implacable fury still pursued them from the Danube to the foot of the Pyrenees. He strenuously urged, that it was the duty of every Christian to save from sacrilegious violation the churches of God, and the relics of the saints: that it was the interest of every barbarian, who had acquired a settlement in Gaul, to defend the fields and vineyards, which were cultivated for his use, against the desolation of the Scythian shepherds. Theodoric yielded to the evidence of truth; adopted the measure at once the most prudent and the most honourable; and declared, that, as the faithful ally of *Ætius* and the Romans, he was ready to expose his life and kingdom for the common safety of Gaul.<sup>37</sup> The Visigoths, who, at that time, were in the mature vigour of

their fame and power, obeyed with alacrity the signal of war; prepared their arms and horses; and assembled under the standard of their aged king, who was resolved, with his two eldest sons, *Torismond* and *Theodoric*, to command in person his numerous and valiant people. The example of the Goths determined several tribes or nations, that seemed to fluctuate between the Huns and the Romans. The indefatigable diligence of the patrician gradually collected the troops of Gaul and Germany, who had formerly acknowledged themselves the subjects, or soldiers, of the republic, but who now claimed the rewards of voluntary service, and the rank of independent allies; the *Lati*, the *Armoricans*, the *Breones*, the *Saxons*, the *Burgundians*, the *Sarmatians* or *Alani*, the *Ripnarians*, and the *Franks* who followed *Meroveus* as their lawful prince. Such was the various army, which, under the conduct of *Ætius* and *Theodoric*, advanced, by rapid marches, to relieve Orleans, and to give battle to the innumerable host of *Attila*.<sup>38</sup>

On their approach, the king of the Huns immediately raised the siege, and sounded a retreat to recal the foremost of his troops from the pillage of a city which they had already entered.<sup>39</sup> The valour of *Attila* was always guided by his prudence; and as he foresaw the fatal consequences of a defeat in the heart of Gaul, he repassed the *Saine*, and expected the enemy in the plains of *Châlons*, whose smooth and level surface was adapted to the operations of his Scythian cavalry. But in this tumultuary retreat, the vanguard of the Romans and their allies continually pressed, and sometimes engaged, the troops whom *Attila* had posted in the rear; the hostile columns, in the darkness of the night, and the perplexity of the roads, might encounter each other without design; and the bloody conflict of the *Franks* and *Gepides*, in which fifteen thousand<sup>40</sup> barbarians were slain, was a prelude to a more general and decisive action. The *Catalaunian fields*<sup>41</sup> spread themselves round *Châlons*, and extend, according to the vague measurement of *Jornaudes*, to the length of one hundred and fifty, and the breadth of one hundred, miles, over the whole province, which is entitled to the appellation of a *champaign country*.<sup>42</sup> This spacious plain was distinguished, however, by some inequalities of ground; and the importance of an height, which commanded the camp of *Attila*, was understood, and disputed, by the two generals. The young and valiant *Torismond* first occupied the summit; the Goths rushed with irresistible weight on the Huns, who laboured to ascend from the

36

Vix loquerat Alpes

Attila, totum, et raram sine milite duces

Robert, in auxilium Getarum male credulus agmen

Incassum propriis presentibus direxit

Pangest. Avit. 328, &amp;c.

37 The policy of *Attila*, of *Ætius*, and of the Visigoths, is imperfectly described in the *Panegyric* of *Avitus*, and the thirty-sixth chapter of *Jornandes*. The poet and the historian are both misled by personal or national prejudices. The former exalts the merit and importance of *Avitus*, ortho, *Avite, salus*, &c. The latter is anxious to show the Goths in the most favourable light. Yet the agreement, when they are fairly interpreted, is a proof of their verity.

38 The review of the army of *Ætius* is made by *Jornandes*, c. 56. p. 664. edit. Grot. tom. ii. p. 25. of the Historians of France, with the notes of the Benedictine editor. The *Lati* were a promiscuous race of barbarians, born or naturalised in Gaul; and the *Ripnari*, or *Ripuarii*, derived their name from their posts on the three rivers, the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Moselle, the *Armoricans* possessed the independent cities between the Seine and the Loire. A colony of

*Saxons* had been planted in the diocese of Bayeux, the *Burgundians* were settled in Savoy, and the *Breones* were a warlike tribe of Rheims.

39 The common editions read *xxx*, but there is some authority of manuscripts (and almost any authority is sufficient) for the more reasonable number of *xxxv*.

40 *Châlons*, or *Buno-Catalaunum*, afterwards *Cataloni*, had formerly made a part of the territory of Rheims, from whence it is distant only twenty-seven miles. See *Vales. Notit. Gall.* p. 156. D'Anville

name, is frequently mentioned since, of which Rheims was duke. *Vales. Notit.* p. 156.

123.

opposite side; and the possession of this advantageous post inspired both the troops and their leaders with a fair assurance of victory. The anxiety of Attila prompted him to consult his priests and haruspices. It was reported, that, after scrutinising the entrails of victims, and scraping their bones, they revealed, in mysterious language, his own defeat, with the death of his principal adversary; and that the barbarian, by accepting the equivalent, expressed his involuntary esteem for the superior merit of Ætius. But the unusual despondency, which seemed to prevail among the Huns, engaged Attila to use the expedient, so familiar to the generals of antiquity, of animating his troops by a military oration; and his language was that of a king, who had often fought and conquered at their head.<sup>43</sup> He pressed them to consider their past glory, their actual danger, and their future hopes. The same fortune, which opened the deserts and morasses of Scythia to their unarmed valour, which had laid so many warlike nations prostrate at their feet, had reserved the joys of this memorable field for the consummation of their victories. The cautious steps of their enemies, their strict alliance, and their advantageous posts, he artfully represented as the effects, not of prudence, but of fear. The Visigoths alone were the strength and nerves of the opposite army; and the Huns might securely trample on the degenerate Romans, whose close and compact order betrayed their apprehensions, and who were equally incapable of supporting the dangers, or the fatigues, of a day of battle. The doctrine of predestination, so favourable to martial virtue, was carefully inculcated by the king of the Huns; who assured his subjects, that the warriors, protected by Heaven, were safe and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy; but that the unerring Fates would strike their victims in the bosom of inglorious peace. "I myself," continued Attila, "will throw the first javelin; and the wretch who refuses to imitate the example of his sovereign, is devoted to inevitable death." The spirit of the barbarians was rekindled by the presence, the voice, and the example, of their intrepid leader; and Attila, yielding to their impatience, immediately formed his order of battle. At the head of his brave and faithful Huns, he occupied in person the centre of the line. The nations subject to his empire, the Rugians, the Heruli, the Thuringians, the Franks, the Burgundians, were extended, on either hand, over the ample space of the Catalaunian fields; the right wing was commanded by Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ; and the three valiant brothers, who reigned over the Ostrogoths, were posted on the left to oppose the kindred tribes of the Visigoths. The disposition of the allies was regulated by a different principle. Sangiban, the faithless king of the Alani, was placed in the centre: where his motions might be strictly watched, and his trea-

chery might be instantly punished. Ætius assumed the command of the left, and Theodoric of the right wing; while Torismond still continued to occupy the heights which appear to have stretched on the flank, and perhaps the rear, of the Scythian army. The nations from the Volga to the Atlantic were assembled on the plain of Châlons; but many of these nations had been divided by faction, or conquest, or emigration; and the appearance of similar arms and ensigns, which threatened each other, presented the image of a civil war.

The discipline and tactics of the Battle of  
Châlons. Greeks and Romans form an interesting part of their national manners. The attentive study of the military operations of Xenophon, or Cæsar, or Frederic, when they are described by the same genius which conceived and executed them, may tend to improve (if such improvement can be wished) the art of destroying the human species. But the battle of Châlons can only excite our curiosity by the magnitude of the object; since it was decided by the blind impetuosity of barbarians, and has been related by partial writers, whose civil or ecclesiastical profession secluded them from the knowledge of military affairs. Cassiodorus, however, had familiarly conversed with many Gothic warriors, who served in that memorable engagement; "a conflict," as they informed him, "fierce, various, obstinate, and bloody; such as "could not be paralleled, either in the present, "or in past ages." The number of the slain amounted to one hundred and sixty-two thousand, or, according to another account, three hundred thousand persons;<sup>44</sup> and these incredible exaggerations suppose a real and effective loss, sufficient to justify the historian's remark, that whole generations may be swept away, by the madness of kings, in the space of a single hour. After the mutual and repeated discharge of missile weapons, in which the archers of Scythia might signalise their superior dexterity, the cavalry and infantry of the two armies were furiously mingled in closer combat. The Huns, who fought under the eyes of their king, pierced through the feeble and doubtful centre of the allies, separated their wings from each other, and wheeling, with a rapid effort, to the left, directed their whole force against the Visigoths. As Theodoric rode along the ranks to animate his troops, he received a mortal stroke from the javelin of Andages, a noble Ostrogoth, and immediately fell from his horse. The wounded king was oppressed in the general disorder, and trampled under the feet of his own cavalry; and this important death served to explain the ambiguous prophecy of the haruspices. Attila already exulted in the confidence of victory, when the valiant Torismond descended from the hills, and verified the remainder of the prediction. The Visigoths, who had been thrown into confusion by the flight, or

<sup>43</sup> I am sensible that these military orations are usually composed by the historian, yet the old Ostrogoths, who had served under Attila, might repeat his discourse to Cassiodorus the ideas, and even the expressions, have an original Scythian cast; and I doubt, whether an Italian of the sixth century would have thought of the *hujus certaminis cæcilia*.

<sup>44</sup> The expressions of Jornandes, or rather of Cassiodorus, are extremely strong. *Bellum atrox, multiplex, immane, pertinax, cui*

simile nulla usquam narrat an . . . nihil esset quoniam in vita sua cum mirabili privaretur aspectu. . . 393; attempts to reconcile the 1 of idatus and Isidore, by supposing, that the larger number of the total destruction of the war, the effects of disease, the slaughter of the unarmed people, &c.

defection, of the Alani, gradually restored their order of battle; and the Huns were undoubtedly vanquished, since Attila was compelled to retreat. He had exposed his person with the richness of a private soldier; but the intrepid troops of the centre had pushed forwards beyond the rest of the line; their attack was faintly supported; their flanks were unguarded; and the conquerors of Scythia and Germany were saved by the approach of the night from a total defeat. They retired within the circle of wagons that fortified their camp; and the dismounted squadrons prepared themselves for a defence, to which neither their arms, nor their temper, were adapted. The event was doubtful, but Attila had secured a last and honourable resource. The saddles and rich furniture of the cavalry were collected, by his order, into a funeral pile; and the magnanimous barbarian had resolved, if his intrenchments should be forced, to rush headlong into the flames, and to deprive his enemies of the glory which they might have acquired by the death or captivity of Attila.<sup>45</sup>

Retreat of Attila. But his enemies had passed the night in equal disorder and anxiety.

The inconsiderate courage of Torismond was tempted to urge the pursuit, till he unexpectedly found himself, with a few followers, in the midst of the Scythian wagons. In the confusion of a nocturnal combat, he was thrown from his horse; and the Gothic prince must have perished like his father, if his youthful strength, and the intrepid zeal of his companions, had not rescued him from this dangerous situation. In the same manner, but on the left of the line, Ætius himself, separated from his allies, ignorant of their victory, and anxious for their fate, encountered and escaped the hostile troops, that were scattered over the plains of Châlons; and at length reached the camp of the Goths, which he could only fortify with a slight rampart of shields, till the dawn of day. The Imperial general was soon satisfied of the defeat of Attila, who still remained inactive within his intrenchments; and when he contemplated the bloody scene, he observed, with secret satisfaction, that the loss had principally fallen on the barbarians. The body of Theodoric, pierced with honourable wounds, was discovered under a heap of the slain: his subjects bewailed the death of their king and father; but their tears were mingled with songs and acclamations, and his funeral rites were performed in the face of a vanquished enemy. The Goths, clashing their arms, elevated on a buckler his eldest son Torismond, to whom they justly ascribed the glory of their success; and the new king accepted the obligation of revenge, as a sacred portion of his paternal inheritance. Yet the Goths themselves were astonished by the fierce and undaunted aspect of their formidable antagonist; and their historian has com-

pared Attila to a lion encompassed in his den, and threatening his hunters with redoubled fury. The kings and nations, who might have deserted his standard in the hour of distress, were made sensible, that the displeasure of their monarch was the most imminent and inevitable danger. All his instruments of martial music incessantly sounded a loud and animating strain of defiance; and the foremost troops who advanced to the assault, were checked, or destroyed, by showers of arrows from every side of the intrenchments. It was determined, in a general council of war, to besiege the king of the Huns in his camp, to intercept his provisions, and to reduce him to the alternative of a disgraceful treaty, or an unequal combat. But the impatience of the barbarians soon disdained these cautious and dilatory measures; and the mature policy of Ætius was apprehensive, that, after the extirpation of the Huns, the republic would be oppressed by the pride and power of the Gothic nation. The patrician exerted the superior ascendancy of authority and reason, to calm the passion, which the son of Theodoric considered as a duty; represented, with seeming affection and real truth, the dangers of absence and delay; and persuaded Torismond to disappoint, by his speedy return, the ambitious designs of his brothers, who might occupy the throne and treasures of Thoulouse.<sup>46</sup> After the departure of the Goths, and the separation of the allied army, Attila was surprised at the vast silence that reigned over the plains of Châlons: the suspicion of some hostile stratagem detained him several days within the circle of his wagons; and his retreat beyond the Rhine confessed the last victory which was achieved in the name of the Western empire. Meroveus and his Franks, observing a prudent distance, and magnifying the opinion of their strength, by the numerous fires which they kindled every night, continued to follow the rear of the Huns, till they reached the confines of Thuringia. The Thuringians served in the army of Attila: they traversed, both in their march and in their return, the territories of the Franks; and it was perhaps in this war that they exercised the cruelties, which, about four-score years afterwards, were revenged by the son of Clovis. They massacred their hostages, as well as their captives: two hundred young maidens were tortured with exquisite and unrelenting rage; their bodies were torn asunder by wild horses, or their bones were crushed under the weight of rolling wagons; and their unburied limbs were abandoned on the public roads, as a prey to dogs and vultures. Such were those savage ancestors, whose imaginary virtues have sometimes excited the praise and envy of civilised ages! 47

Neither the spirit, nor the forces, nor the reputation, of Attila, were impaired by the failure of the Gal-

Invasion of  
Italy by Attila,  
A. D. 452.

[illegible]

er, he of whom he obtained a bride of ten thousand pieces of gold, as the prophet Isaiah had foretold.

lie expedition. In the ensuing spring, he repeated his demand, of the princess Honoria, and her patrimonial treasures. The demand was again rejected, or eluded; and the indignant lover immediately took the field, passed the Alps, invaded Italy, and besieged Aquileia with an innumerable host of barbarians. Those barbarians were unskilled in the methods of conducting a regular siege, which, even among the ancients, required some knowledge, or at least some practice, of the mechanic arts. But the labour of many thousand provincials and captives, whose lives were sacrificed without pity, might execute the most painful and dangerous work. The skill of the Roman artists might be corrupted to the destruction of their country.

The walls of Aquileia were assaulted by a formidable train of battering rams, moveable turrets, and engines, that threw stones, darts, and fire;<sup>43</sup> and the monarch of the Huns employed the forcible impulse of hope, fear, emulation, and interest, to subvert the only barrier which delayed the conquest of Italy. Aquileia was at that period one of the richest, the most populous, and the strongest of the maritime cities of the Adriatic coast. The Gothic auxiliaries, who appear to have served under their native princes Maric and Antala, communicated their intrepid spirit; and the citizens still remembered the glorious and successful resistance, which their ancestors had opposed to a fierce, inexorable barbarian, who disgraced the majesty of the Roman purple. Three months were consumed without effect in the siege of Aquileia; till the want of provisions, and the clamours of his army, compelled Attila to relinquish the enterprise; and reluctantly to issue his orders, that the troops should strike their tents the next morning, and begin their retreat. But as he rode round the walls, pensive, angry, and disappointed, he observed a stork, preparing to leave her nest, in one of the towers, and to fly with her infant family towards the country. He seized, with the ready penetration of a statesman, this trifling incident, which chance had offered to superstition; and exclaimed, in a loud and cheerful tone, that such a domestic bird, so constantly attached to human society, would never have abandoned her ancient seats, unless those towers had been devoted to impending ruin and solitude.<sup>44</sup> The favourable omen inspired an assurance of victory; the siege was renewed, and prosecuted with fresh vigour; a large breach was made in the part of the wall from whence the stork had taken her flight; the Huns mounted to the assault with irresistible

fury; and the succeeding generation could scarcely discover the ruins of Aquileia.<sup>45</sup> After this dreadful chastisement, Attila pursued his march; and as he passed, the cities of Altinum, Concordia, and Padua, were reduced into heaps of stones and ashes. The inland towns, Vicenza, Verona, and Bergamo, were exposed to the rapacious cruelty of the Huns. Milan and Pavia submitted, without resistance, to the loss of their wealth; and applauded the unusual clemency, which preserved from the flames the public, as well as private, buildings; and spared the lives of the captive multitude. The popular traditions of Comum, Turin, or Modena, may justly be suspected; yet they concur with more authentic evidence to prove, that Attila spread his ravages over the rich plains of modern Lombardy; which are divided by the Po, and bounded by the Alps and Apennine.<sup>46</sup> When he took possession of the royal palace of Milan, he was surprised, and offended, at the sight of a picture, which represented the Cæsars seated on their throne, and the princes of Scythia prostrate at their feet. The revenge which Attila inflicted on this monument of Roman vanity, was harmless and ingenious. He commanded a painter to reverse the figures, and the attitudes; and the emperors were delineated on the same canvas, approaching in a suppliant posture to empty their bags of tributary gold before the throne of the Scythian monarch.<sup>47</sup> The spectators must have confessed the truth and propriety of the alteration; and were perhaps tempted to apply, on this singular occasion, the well-known fable of the dispute between the lion and the man.<sup>48</sup>

It is a saying worthy of the famous pride of Attila, that the grass <sup>Foundation of the republic of Venice</sup> never grew on the spot where his horse had trod. Yet the savage destroyer undesignedly laid the foundations of a republic, which revived, in the feudal state of Europe, the art and spirit of commercial industry. The celebrated name of Venice, or Venetia,<sup>49</sup> was formerly diffused over a large and fertile province of Italy, from the confines of Pannonia to the river Adria, and from the Po to the Rætian and Julian Alps. Before the irruption of the barbarians, fifty Venetian cities flourished in peace and prosperity: Aquileia was placed in the most conspicuous station: but the ancient dignity of Padua was supported by agriculture and manufactures; and the property of five hundred citizens, who were entitled to the equestrian rank, must have amounted, at the strictest computation, to one million seven hundred thousand pounds. Many families of Aquileia,

43. Machinis constructis, omnibusque tormentorum generibus abutentibus. Jornandes, c. 42, p. 75. The fourth century, the Goths battered the cities of Italy with large engines, constructed by the Vandalians or Christians in their service, which threw stones from 120 to 300 pounds weight. In the defence of their country, the Chinese used gunpowder, and even bombs, above an hundred years before they were known in Europe. See the Chinese history, 6th vol. of the original. But the Greek historians are guilty of an inexcusable mistake, in placing the siege of Aquileia after the death of Brutus.

44. Jornandes, about an hundred years after, it affirms, that Aquileia was so completely ruined, that its ruins remained, at present, reliquies. See Jornandes de Reb. Goth. c. 14, p. 75. Paul. Diacon. l. iii. c. 14, p. 75. Leupold, Hist. l. iii. c. 2. The name of Aquileia was sometimes applied to Forum Julii (ciudad del Friuli), the more recent capital of the Venetian province.

45. In describing this war of Attila, a war so famous, but so imperfectly known, I have taken for my guides two learned Italians, who

considered the subject with some peculiar advantages. Sigonius, de Imperio Orientali, l. viii. in his Works, tom. i. p. 317-312, and Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. i. p. 251-257. See the edition.

46. This anecdote may be found under two different titles (Metastasio and Raposo), of the most illustrious compilation of Suidas.

47. 53.

The lion and the man. The lion, in the original, is the emblem of the empire, and the man, of the republic. The lion, in the original, is the emblem of the empire, and the man, of the republic.

48. Paul the Deacon, de Gestis Langobard. l. ii. c. 14, p. 784, describes the provinces of Italy about the end of the eighth century. Probus non solum stat, sed quoque terrarum proleptat. The lion forms the first part - 553, in which it capable of enlarged views and minute disquisitions.

Padua, and the adjacent towns, who fled from the sword of the Huns, found a safe, though obscure, refuge in the neighbouring islands.<sup>55</sup> At the extremity of the Gulf, where the Adriatic feebly imitates the tides of the ocean, near an hundred small islands are separated by shallow water from the continent, and protected from the waves by several long slips of land, which admit the entrance of vessels through some secret and narrow channels.<sup>56</sup> Till the middle of the fifth century, these remote and sequestered spots remained without cultivation, with few inhabitants, and almost without a name. But the manners of the Venetian fugitives, their arts and their government, were gradually formed by their new situation; and one of the epistles of Cassiodorus,<sup>57</sup> which describes their condition about seventy years afterwards, may be considered as the primitive monument of the republic. The minister of Theodoric compares them, in his quaint declamatory style, to water fowl, who had fixed their nests on the bosom of the waves; and though he allows, that the Venetian provinces had formerly contained many noble families, he insinuates, that they were now reduced by misfortune to the same level of humble poverty. Fish was the common, and almost the universal, food of every rank: their only treasure consisted in the plenty of salt, which they extracted from the sea; and the exchange of that commodity, so essential to human life, was substituted in the neighbouring markets to the currency of gold and silver. A people, whose habitations might be doubtfully assigned to the earth or water, soon became alike familiar with the two elements; and the demands of avarice succeeded to those of necessity. The islanders, who, from Grado to Chiozza, were intimately connected with each other, penetrated into the heart of Italy, by the secure, though laborious, navigation of the rivers and inland canals. Their vessels, which were continually increasing in size and number, visited all the harbours of the Gulf; and the marriage, which Venice annually celebrates with the Adriatic, was contracted in her early infancy. The epistle of Cassiodorus, the prætorian præfect, is addressed to the maritime tribunes: and he exhorts them, in a mild tone of authority, to animate the zeal of their countrymen for the public service, which required their assistance to transport their magazines of wine and oil from the province of Istria to the royal city of Ravenna. The ambiguous office of these magistrates is explained by the tradition, that, in the twelve principal islands, twelve tribunes, or judges, were created by an annual

and popular election. The existence of the Venetian republic under the Gothic kingdom of Italy, is attested by the same authentic record, which annihilates their lofty claim of original and perpetual independence.<sup>58</sup>

The Italians, who had long since renounced the exercise of arms, were surprised, after forty years' peace, by the approach of a formidable barbarian, whom they abhorred, as the enemy of their religion, as well as of their republic. Amidst the general consternation, Ætius alone was incapable of fear; but it was impossible that he should achieve alone, and unassisted, any military exploits worthy of his former renown. The barbarians who had defended Gaul, refused to march to the relief of Italy; and the succours promised by the Eastern emperor were distant and doubtful. Since Ætius, at the head of his domestic troops, still maintained the field, and harassed or retarded the march of Attila, he never showed himself more truly great, than at the time when his conduct was blamed by an ignorant and ungrateful people.<sup>59</sup> If the mind of Valentinian had been susceptible of any generous sentiments, he would have chosen such a general for his example and his guide. But the timid grandson of Theodosius, instead of sharing the dangers, escaped from the sound of war; and his hasty retreat from Ravenna to Rome, from an impregnable fortress to an open capital, betrayed his secret intention of abandoning Italy, as soon as the danger should approach his Imperial person. This shameful abdication was suspended, however, by the spirit of doubt and delay, which commonly adheres to pusillanimous counsels, and sometimes corrects their pernicious tendency. The Western emperor, with the senate and people of Rome, embraced the more salutary resolution of deprecating, by a solemn and suppliant embassy, the wrath of Attila. This important commission was accepted by Avienus, who, from his birth and riches, his consular dignity, the numerous train of his clients, and his personal abilities, held the first rank in the Roman senate. The specious and artful character of Avienus<sup>60</sup> was admirably qualified to conduct a negotiation either of public or private interest: his colleague, Trigeunus, had exercised the prætorian prefecture of Italy; and Leo, bishop of Rome, consented to expose his life for the safety of his flock. The genius of Leo<sup>61</sup> was exercised and displayed in the public misfortunes; and he has deserved the appellation of *Great*, by the successful zeal with which he laboured to establish his opinions and

Attila gives peace to the Romans.

<sup>55</sup> This emigration is not attested by any contemporary evidence; but the fact is proved by the extent, and the numerous name, of the preserved by tradition. The names of Aquilone, or Aquila, of Eridanos, those of Padua, or Eridanos, or Eridanos, where the city of Venice was afterwards built, &c.

<sup>56</sup> The topography and antiquities of the Venetian islands, from Grado to Chioggia, or the lagoons, is a curious detail, in the *Descriptio Chorographica de Italia Medii*, &c. p. 131, 132.

<sup>57</sup> Cassiodorus, *Variar. Lib. II. Epist. 21. M. lib.* (Venetian Edition, part 1. p. 210-254) is translated and explained this curious letter, in the spirit of a learned antiquarian and a faithful exact, who, thus described Venice as the only refuge of the Romans, republic. He fixes the date of the epistle, and consequently the prætorian, of Cassiodorus, A. D. 525; and the magister's authority has the more weight, as he had prepared a dissertation on the works and actions, published a dissertation on the true orthography of his name. See *Osservazioni Letterarie*, tom. ii. p. 290-330.

<sup>58</sup> See, in the second volume of *Amelot de la Houssaye*, l'histoire du Gouvernement de Venise, a translation of the famous *statuto*. This book, which has been exalted far above its merits, is stained, in every

line, with the disingenuous malevolence of party. But the principal evidence, genuine and unperverted, is brought together, and the reader will see a book, not a romance.

<sup>59</sup> Suetonius, *Not. ad Jul. An. 109*, p. 19, has published a curious passage from the *Itinéraire de Procope*. Attila, in entering Italy, was in the night of the 10th of July, in the city of Padua, intended, had died, and so on. It is a curious piece, but not very important. See *Itinéraire de Procope*, &c. p. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>60</sup> See the original portraits of Avienus, and his real Poëtics, contained in a printed list in the *Præfatio*, p. 12, of Solinus. He had studied the sciences of the Greeks and the Romans, but he attached himself to Basilides, as the more ancient and tested

<sup>61</sup> The character and principles of Leo have been traced in one hundred and forty letters, in which he has expressed the views of his school, and his political, moral, and religious opinions. See Dupuy, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Érudits*, tom. i. p. 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.





the nations of Germany and Scythia. The bold Ardaric felt and represented the disgrace of this servile partition; and his subjects, the warlike Gepidae, with the Ostrogoths, under the conduct of three valiant brothers, encouraged their allies to vindicate the rights of freedom and royalty. In a bloody and decisive conflict on the banks of the river Netad, in Pannonia, the lance of the Gepidae, the sword of the Goths, the arrows of the Huns, the Suevic infantry, the light arms of the Heruli, and the heavy weapons of the Alani, encountered or supported each other; and the victory of Ardaric was accompanied with the slaughter of thirty thousand of his enemies. Ellac, the eldest son of Attila, lost his life and crown in the memorable battle of Netad: his early valour had raised him to the throne of the Acatzires, a Scythian people, whom he subdued; and his father, who loved the superior merit, would have envied the death, of Ellac.<sup>79</sup> His brother Dengisich, with an army of Huns, still formidable in their flight and ruin, maintained his ground above fifteen years on the banks of the Danube. The palace of Attila, with the old country of Dacia, from the Carpathian hills to the Euxine, became the seat of a new power, which was erected by Ardaric, king of the Gepidae. The Pannonian conquests, from Vienna to Sirmium, were occupied by the Ostrogoths; and the settlements of the tribes, who had so bravely asserted their native freedom, were irregularly distributed, according to the measure of their respective strength. Surrounded and oppressed by the multitude of his father's slaves, the kingdom of Dengisich was confined to the circle of his wagons; his desperate courage urged him to invade the Eastern empire; he fell in battle; and his head, ignominiously exposed in the Hippodrome, exhibited a grateful spectacle to the people of Constantinople. Attila had fondly or superstitiously believed, that Imac, the youngest of his sons, was destined to perpetuate the glories of his race. The character of that prince, who attempted to moderate the rashness of his brother Dengisich, was more suitable to the declining condition of the Huns; and Imac, with his subject hordes, retired into the heart of the Lesser Scythia. They were soon overwhelmed by a torrent of new barbarians, who followed the same road which their own ancestors had formerly discovered. The *Geougen*, or *Avars*, whose residence is assigned by the Greek writers to the shores of the ocean, impelled the adjacent tribes; till at length the Igours of the North, issuing from the cold Siberian regions, which produce the most valuable furs, spread themselves over the desert, as far as the Boristhenes and the Caspian Gates; and finally extinguished the empire of the Huns.<sup>81</sup>

Valentinian murders the emperor. Such an event might contribute to the safety of the Eastern empire,

under the reign of a prince who conciliated the friendship, without forfeiting the esteem, of the barbarians. But the emperor of the West, the feeble and dissolute Valentinian, who had reached his thirty-fifth year without attaining the age of reason or courage, abused this apparent security, to undermine the foundations of his own throne, by the murder of the patrician *Ætius*. From the instinct of a base and jealous mind, he hated the man who was universally celebrated as the terror of the barbarians, and the support of the republic; and his new favourite, the eunuch *Macræus*, awakened the emperor from the supine lethargy, which might be disguised, during the life of *Placidia*,<sup>72</sup> by the excuse of filial piety. The fame of *Ætius*, his wealth and dignity, the numerous and martial train of barbarian followers, his powerful dependants, who filled the civil offices of the state, and the hopes of his son *Gaudentius*, who was already contracted to *Eudoxia*, the emperor's daughter, had raised him above the rank of a subject. The ambitious designs, of which he was secretly accused, excited the fears, as well as the resentment, of *Valentinian*. *Ætius* himself, supported by the consciousness of his merit, his services, and perhaps his innocence, seems to have maintained a haughty and indiscreet behaviour. The patrician offended his sovereign by an hostile declaration; he aggravated the offence, by compelling him to ratify, with a solemn oath, a treaty of reconciliation and alliance; he proclaimed his suspicions, he neglected his safety, and from a vain confidence that the enemy, whom he despised, was incapable even of a mean crime, he rashly ventured his person in the palace of Rome. Whilst he urged, perhaps with intemperate vehemence, the marriage of his son, *Valentinian*, drawing his sword, the first word he had ever drawn, plunged it in the breast of a general who had saved his empire: his courtiers and eunuchs ambitiously struggled to imitate their master; and *Ætius*, pierced with an hundred wounds, fell dead in the royal presence. *Boethius*, the prætorian præfect, was killed at the same moment; and before the event could be divulged, the principal friends of the patrician were summoned to the palace, and separately murdered. The horrid deed, palliated by the specious names of justice and necessity, was immediately communicated by the emperor to his soldiers, his subjects, and his allies. The nations, who were strangers or enemies to *Ætius*, generously deplored the unworthy fate of a hero: the barbarians, who had been attached to his service, dissembled their grief and resentment: and the public contempt, which had been so long entertained for *Valentinian*, was at once converted into deep and universal abhorrence. Such sentiments seldom

70 See Jorandes, de Rebus Diet. v. c. 70, p. 683, 686, 687, 688. His distinction of the mineral acids is curious and important. Nava et admirandum rerū fuisse spectrum, quia cetera erat aqua, pignatum Gothum ense hincum. Gerdum in vulnere sic fuit cuncta tela frangente, suumque pedes. Humum sagittae, primum, Aluum gravi, Heridum levi, armatis, et sic introire. I am not precisely informed of the action of the rest of the acids.

71 Two modern historians have thrown a new light on the ruin and division of the empire of Ashshur. M. de Bunsen, *Les Assyriens* and *l'empire d'Assyrie* (Paris, 1853), and M. de

On goes, by his extraordinary knowledge of the Chinese language and writer. See *Hist. des Indes*, tom. 1, p. 516-519.

[illegible]

pervade the walls of a palace; yet the emperor was confounded by the honest reply of a Roman, whose approbation he had not disdained to solicit. "I am ignorant, sir, of your motives or provocations; I only know, that you have acted like a man who cuts off his right hand with his left."<sup>73</sup>

The luxury of Rome seems to have attracted the long and frequent visits of Valentinian; who was consequently more despised at Rome than in any other part of his dominions. A republican spirit was insensibly revived in the senate, as their authority, and even their supplies, became necessary for the support of his feeble government. The stately demeanour of an hereditary monarch offended their pride; and the pleasures of Valentinian were injurious to the peace and honour of noble families. The birth of the empress Eudoxia was equal to his own, and her charms and tender affection deserved those testimonies of love, which her inconstant husband dissipated in vague and unlawful amours. Petronius Maximus, a wealthy senator of the Anician family, who had been twice consul, was possessed of a chaste and beautiful wife: her obstinate resistance served only to irritate the desires of Valentinian; and he resolved to accomplish them, either by stratagem or force. Deep gaming was one of the vices of the court: the emperor, who, by chance or contrivance, had gained from Maximus a considerable sum, uncourteously exacted his ring as a security for the debt; and sent it by a trusty messenger to his wife, with an order, in her husband's name, that she should immediately attend the empress Eudoxia. The unsuspecting wife of Maximus was conveyed in her litter to the Imperial palace; the emissaries of her impatient lover conducted her to a remote and silent bedchamber; and Valentinian violated, without remorse, the laws of hospitality. Her tears, when she returned home; her deep affliction; and her bitter reproaches against a husband, whom she considered as the accomplice of his own shame, excited Maximus to a just revenge; the desire of revenge was stimulated by ambition; and he might reasonably aspire, by the free sullage of the Roman senate, to the throne of a detested and despicable rival. Valentinian, who supposed that every human breast was devoid, like his own, of friendship and gratitude, had imprudently admitted among his guards several domestics and followers of Ætius. Two of these, of barbarian race, were persuaded to execute a sacred and honourable duty, by punishing with death the assassin of their patron; and their intrepid courage did not long expect a favour-

able moment. Whilst Valentinian amused himself in the Field of Mars, with the spectacle of some military sports, they suddenly rushed upon him with drawn weapons, despatched the guilty Hæraclius, and stabbed the emperor to the heart, without the least opposition from his numerous train, who seemed to rejoice in the tyrant's death. Such was the fate of Valentinian the Third,<sup>74</sup> the last Roman emperor of the family of Theodosius. He faithfully imitated the hereditary weakness of his cousin and his two uncles, without inheriting the gentleness, the purity, the innocence, which alleviated, in their characters, the want of spirit and ability. Valentinian was less excusable, since he had passions, without virtues: even his religion was questionable; and though he never deviated into the paths of heresy, he scandalised the pious Christians by his attachment to the profane arts of magic and divination.

As early as the time of Cicero <sup>Symptoms of decay and ruin.</sup> and Varro, it was the opinion of the Roman augurs, that the *twelve vultures*, which Romulus had seen, represented the *twelve centuries*, assigned for the fatal period of his city.<sup>75</sup> This prophecy, disregarded perhaps in the season of health and prosperity, inspired the people with gloomy apprehensions, when the twelfth century, clouded with di-grace and misfortune, was almost elapsed; <sup>76</sup> and even posterity must acknowledge, with some surprise, that the arbitrary interpretation of an accidental or fabulous circumstance, has been seriously verified in the downfall of the Western empire. But its fall was announced by a clearer omen than the flight of vultures: the Roman government appeared every day less formidable to its enemies, more odious and oppressive to its subjects.<sup>77</sup> The taxes were multiplied with the public distress; economy was neglected in proportion as it became necessary; and the injustice of the rich shifted the unequal burden from themselves to the people, whom they defrauded of the *indulgences* that might sometimes have alleviated their misery. The severe inquisition, which confiscated their goods, and tortured their persons, compelled the subjects of Valentinian to prefer the more simple tyranny of the barbarians, to fly to the woods and mountains, or to embrace the vile and abject condition of mercenary servants. They abjured and abhorred the name of Roman citizens, which had formerly excited the ambition of mankind. The Armorican provinces of Gaul, and the greatest part of Spain, were thrown into a state of disorderly independence, by the confederations of the Bagaudæ; and the Imperial ministers pursued with proscriptive laws, and ineffectual arms, the rebels

<sup>73</sup> Ætius Placidus prætorius senex amicus, is the expression of Sidonius Apollinaris, l. 2. c. 1. The poet knew the world, and was not inclined to flatter a minister who had injured or disgraced Avitus and Majorian, the more able heroes of his song.

<sup>74</sup> With regard to the cause and circumstances of the deaths of Ætius and Valentinian, our information is dark and imperfect. Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4. p. 156, 157, 158) is a fabulous writer for the events which precede his own reign. His narrative must therefore be supposed and corrected by five or six Chronicles, none of which were composed in Rome or Italy, and which can only express, in broken sentences, the popular rumours, as they were conveyed to Gaul, Spain, Africa, Constantinople, or Alexandria.

<sup>75</sup> This interpretation of Vetter, a celebrated antiquary, was quoted by Varro, in the fourth book of his Antiquities. Censorinus, de Die Natali, c. 17. p. 96, 97, edit. Havercum.

<sup>76</sup> According to Varro, the twelfth century would expire A. D. 417,

but the uncertainty of the true era of Rome might allow some latitude of act, opinion or delay. The poets of the age, Claudian (de Bell. Getico, l. 20.) and Sidonius (in Panegy. Avit. 537.), may be admitted as fair witnesses of the popular opinion.

Jam repugant auro, iam retroque volat  
Vultures, incedunt prætoris secula mens.

Jam propere  
Implicat

<sup>77</sup> The fifth book  
and vehement incentives. His immoderate freedom serves to prove the weakness, as well as the corruption, of the Roman government. His book was published after the loss of Africa (A. D. 439.), and before Attila's war (A. D. 451.).

whom they had made.<sup>78</sup> If all the barbarian conquerors had been annihilated in the same hour, their total destruction would not have restored the empire of the West; and if Rome still survived, she survived the loss of freedom, of virtue, and of honour.

CHAP. XXXVI.

*Sack of Rome by Genseric, King of the Vandals. — His naval Depredations. — Succession of the last Emperors of the West, Maximus, Avitus, Majorian, Severus, Anthemius, Olybrius, Glycerius, Nepos, Augustulus. — Total Extinction of the Western Empire. — Reign of Odoacer, the first barbarian King of Italy.*

Naval power of  
the United States  
A D 159—155.

THE loss or desolation of the provinces, from the ocean to the Alps, impaired the glory and greatness of Rome: her internal prosperity was irretrievably destroyed by the separation of Africa. The rapacious Vandals confiscated the patrimonial estates of the senators, and intercepted the regular subsidies, which relieved the poverty, and encouraged the idleness, of the plebeians. The distress of the Romans was soon aggravated by an unexpected attack; and the province, so long cultivated for their use by industrious and obedient subjects, was armed against them by an ambitious barbarian. The Vandals and Alani, who followed the successful standard of Genseric, had acquired a rich and fertile territory, which stretched along the coast above ninety days' journey from Timgiet to Tripoli; but their narrow limits were pressed and confined, on either side, by the sandy desert and the Mediterranean. The discovery and conquest of the black nations, that might dwell beneath the torrid zone, could not tempt the rational ambition of Genseric: but he cast his eyes towards the sea; he resolved to create a naval power, and his bold resolution was executed with steady and active perseverance. The woods of Mount Atlas afforded an inexhaustible nursery of timber; his new subjects were skilled in the arts of navigation and ship-building; he animated his daring Vandals to embrace a mode of warfare which would render every maritime country accessible to their arms; the Moors and Africans were allured by the hopes of plunder; and, after an interval of six centuries, the fleets that issued from the port of Carthage again claimed the empire of the Mediterranean. The success of the Vandals, the conquest of Sicily, the sack of Palermo, and the frequent descents on the coast of Lucania, awakened and alarmed the mother of Valentinian, and the sister of Theodosius. Alliances were formed; and armaments, expensive and ineffectual, were prepared, for the destruction of the common enemy; who reserved

his courage to encounter those dangers which his policy could not prevent or elude. The designs of the Roman government were repeatedly baffled by his artful delays, ambiguous promises, and apparent concessions; and the interposition of his formidable confederate, the king of the Huns, recalled the emperors from the conquest of Africa to the care of their domestic safety. The revolutions of the palace, which left the Western empire without a defender, and without a lawful prince, dispelled the apprehensions, and stimulated the avarice, of Genseric. He immediately equipped a numerous fleet of Vandals and Moors, and cast anchor at the mouth of the Tyber, about three months after the death of Valentinian, and the elevation of Maximus to the Imperial throne.

The private life of the senator Petronius Maximus<sup>1</sup> was often alleged as a rare example of human felicity. His birth was noble and illustrious, since he descended from the Anician family; his dignity was supported by an adequate patrimony in land and money; and these advantages of fortune were accompanied with liberal arts and decent manners, which adorn or imitate the inestimable gifts of genius and virtue. The luxury of his palace and table was hospitable and elegant. Whenever Maximus appeared in public, he was surrounded by a train of grateful and obsequious clients;<sup>2</sup> and it is possible that, among these clients, he might deserve and possess some real friends. His merit was rewarded by the favour of the prince and senate: he thrice exercised the office of prætorian præfect of Italy; he was twice invested with the consulship, and he obtained the rank of patrician. These civil honours were not incompatible with the enjoyment of leisure and tranquillity; his hours, according to the demands of pleasure or reason, were accurately distributed by a water-clock; and this avarice of time may be allowed to prove the sense which Maximus entertained of his own happiness. The injury which he received from the emperor Valentinian, appears to excuse the most bloody revenge. Yet a philosopher might have reflected, that, if the resistance of his wife had been sincere, her chastity was still inviolate, and that it could never be restored if she had consented to the will of the adulterer. A patriot would have hesitated, before he plunged himself and his country into those inevitable calamities, which must follow the extinction of the royal house of Theodosius. The imprudent Maximus disregarded these salutary considerations; he gratified his resentment and ambition; he saw the bleeding corpse of Valentinian at his feet; and he heard himself saluted Emperor by the unanimous voice of the senate and people. But the day of his inauguration was the last day of his happiness. He was imprisoned (such is the lively expres-

The character and fate of the emperor Maximus. A.D. 35, March 17.

1. *Sextus* is Apollonius composed the thirteenth epistle of the second book, to present the portrait of his friend *Servius*, who entertained a singular, though generous, enthusiasm for the deposed emperor. His title will suggest a comparison with the praise of a recent emperor, and so it flows much into the character of *Maximus*.

[illegible]

sion of Sidonius) in the palace; and after passing a sleepless night, he sighed that he had attained the summit of his wishes, and aspired only to descend from the dangerous elevation. Oppressed by the weight of the diadem, he communicated his anxious thoughts to his friend and quæstor Fulgentius; and when he looked back with unavailing regret on the secure pleasures of his former life, the emperor exclaimed, "O fortunate Damocles, thy reign began and ended with the same dinner:" a well-known allusion, which Fulgentius afterwards repeated as an instructive lesson for princes and subjects.

His death.

A. D. 455,  
June 12.

The reign of Maximus continued about three months. His hours, of which he had lost the command,

were disturbed by remorse, or guilt, or terror; and his throne was shaken by the seditions of the soldiers, the people, and the confederate barbarians. The marriage of his son Palladius with the eldest daughter of the late emperor, might tend to establish the hereditary succession of his family; but the violence which he offered to the empress Eudoxia, could proceed only from the blind impulse of lust or revenge. His own wife, the cause of these tragic events, had been seasonably removed by death; and the widow of Valentinian was compelled to violate her decent mourning, perhaps her real grief, and to submit to the embraces of a presumptuous usurper, whom she suspected as the assassin of her deceased husband. These suspicions were soon justified by the indiscreet confession of Maximus himself; and he wantonly provoked the hatred of his reluctant bride, who was still conscious that she descended from a line of emperors. From the East, however, Eudoxia could not hope to obtain any effectual assistance: her father and her aunt Pulcheria were dead; her mother languished at Jerusalem in disgrace and exile; and the sceptre of Constantinople was in the hands of a stranger. She directed her eyes towards Carthage; secretly implored the aid of the king of the Vandals; and persuaded Genseric to improve the fair opportunity of disguising his rapacious designs by the specious names of honour, justice, and compassion.<sup>4</sup> Whatever abilities Maximus might have shown in a subordinate station, he was found incapable of administering an empire; and though he might easily have been informed of the naval preparations which were made on the opposite shores of Africa, he expected with supine indifference the approach of the enemy, without adopting any measures of defence, of negotiation, or of a timely retreat. When the Vandals disembarked at the mouth of the Tyber,

the emperor was suddenly roused from his lethargy by the clamours of a trembling and exasperated multitude. The only hope which presented itself to his astonished mind was that of a precipitate flight, and he exhorted the senators to imitate the example of their prince. But no sooner did Maximus appear in the streets, than he was assaulted by a shower of stones: a Roman, or a Burgundian, soldier, claimed the honour of the first wound; his mangled body was ignominiously cast into the Tyber; the Roman people rejoiced in the punishment which they had inflicted on the author of the public calamities; and the domestics of Eudoxia signalled their zeal in the service of their mistress.<sup>5</sup>

On the third day after the tumult, Genseric boldly advanced from the port of Ostia to the gates of the defenceless city. Instead of a sally of the Roman youth, there issued from the gates an unarmed and venerable procession of the bishop at the head of his clergy.<sup>6</sup> The fearless spirit of Leo, his authority and eloquence, again mitigated the fierceness of a barbarian conqueror: the king of the Vandals promised to spare the unresisting multitude, to protect the buildings from fire, and to exempt the captives from torture; and although such orders were neither seriously given, nor strictly obeyed, the mediation of Leo was glorious to himself, and in some degree beneficial to his country. But Rome and its inhabitants were delivered to the licentiousness of the Vandals and Moors, whose blind passions revenged the injuries of Carthage. The pillage lasted fourteen days and nights; and all that yet remained of public or private wealth, of sacred or profane treasure, was diligently transported to the vessels of Genseric. Among the spoils, the splendid relics of two temples, or rather of two religions, exhibited a memorable example of the vicissitudes of human and divine things. Since the abolition of Paganism, the Capitol had been violated and abandoned; yet the statues of the gods and heroes were still respected, and the curious roof of gilt bronze was reserved for the rapacious hands of Genseric.<sup>7</sup> The holy instruments of the Jewish worship, the gold table, and the gold candlestick with seven branches, originally framed according to the particular instructions of God himself, and which were placed in the sanctuary of his temple, had been ostentatiously displayed to the Roman people in the triumph of Titus. They were afterwards deposited in the temple of Peace; and at the end of four hundred years, the spoils of Jerusalem were transferred from

Sack of Rome  
by the Vandals.  
A. D. 455,  
June 15-29.

<sup>4</sup> Distinctus ensus cui sumus omnia  
Servare pendet, non stulte spero  
Julienem illud duntaxat suorum  
Non dixim eam uti que cantus  
Somnum reliquit. Horat. Carm. III. 1.  
Sidonius concludes his letter with the story of Damocles, which  
Cassiodorus repeats in the same manner.

<sup>5</sup> Infiducio ubi Burgundio duera  
Extorquet trepidus mactandi principis iras  
Sedon. in Faugier. Avit. 442  
A remarkable line, which insinuates that Rome and Maximus were  
betrayed by their Burgundian mercenaries.

<sup>6</sup> The apparent success of pope Leo may be justified by Prosper, and the *Historia Mediana*. But the improbable notion of Baronius (A. D. 455, No. 17), that Genseric spared the three apostolical chairs, is supported only by the doubtful testimony of the *Idem*.

<sup>7</sup> It was not  
was not  
found  
of Leo  
and a singularque viget et habet incensum artem manifeste prove,  
that this splendid covering was not removed either by the Christians  
or the Goths. (See Donatus, Roma Antiqua, l. iii. c. 6. p. 125.) It  
should seem that the roof of the Capitol was decorated with gilt  
iron.

Rome to Carthage by a barbarian who derived his origin from the shores of the Baltic. These ancient monuments might attract the notice of curiosity, as well as of avarice. But the Christian churches, enriched and adorned by the prevailing superstition of the times, afforded more plentiful materials for sacrilege; and the pious liberality of pope Leo, who melted six silver vases, the gift of Constantine, each of an hundred pounds' weight, is an evidence of the damage which he attempted to repair. In the forty-five years, that had elapsed since the Gothic invasion, the pomp and luxury of Rome were in some measure restored; and it was difficult either to escape, or to satisfy, the avarice of a conqueror, who possessed leisure to collect, and ships to transport, the wealth of the capital. The Imperial ornaments of the palace, the magnificent furniture and wardrobe, the sideboards of massy plate, were accumulated with disorderly rapine: the gold and silver amounted to several thousand talents; yet even the brass and copper were laboriously removed. Eudoxia herself, who advanced to meet her friend and deliverer, soon bewailed the imprudence of her own conduct. She was rudely stripped of her jewels; and the unfortunate empress, with her two daughters, the only surviving remains of the great Theodosius, was compelled, as a captive, to follow the haughty Vandal; who immediately hoisted sail, and returned with a prosperous navigation to the port of Carthage.<sup>9</sup> Many thousand Romans of both sexes, chosen for some useful or agreeable qualifications, reluctantly embarked on board the fleet of Genseric; and their distress was aggravated by the unfeeling barbarians, who, in the division of the booty, separated the wives from their husbands, and the children from their parents. The charity of Deogratias, Bishop of Carthage,<sup>10</sup> was their only consolation and support. He generously sold the gold and silver plate of the church to purchase the freedom of some, to alleviate the slavery of others, and to assist the wants and infirmities of a captive multitude, whose health was impaired by the hardships which they had suffered in their passage from Italy to Africa. By his order, two spacious churches were converted into hospitals; the sick were distributed in convenient beds, and liberally supplied with food and medicines; and the aged prelate repeated his visits both in the day and night, with an assiduity that surpassed his strength, and a tender sympathy which enhanced the value of his services. Compare this scene with the field of Cannæ; and judge between Hannibal and the successor of St. Cyprian.<sup>11</sup>

The deaths of Ætius and Valentinian had relaxed the ties which held the barbarians of Gaul in peace and subordination. The sea-coast was infested by the Saxons; the Alemanni and the Franks advanced from the Rhine to the Seine; and the ambition of the Goths seemed to meditate more extensive and permanent conquests. The emperor Maximus relieved himself, by a judicious choice, from the weight of these distant cares; he silenced the solicitations of his friends, listened to the voice of fame, and promoted a stranger to the general command of the forces in Gaul. Avitus,<sup>12</sup> the stranger whose merit was so nobly rewarded, descended from a wealthy and honourable family in the diocese of Auvergne. The convulsions of the times urged him to embrace, with the same ardour, the civil and military professions; and the indefatigable youth blended the studies of literature and jurisprudence with the exercise of arms and hunting. Thirty years of his life were laudably spent in the public service; he alternately displayed his talents in war and negotiation; and the soldier of Ætius, after executing the most important embassies, was raised to the station of prætorian præfect of Gaul. Either the merit of Avitus excited envy, or his moderation was desirous of repose, since he calmly retired to an estate, which he possessed in the neighbourhood of Clermont. A copious stream, issuing from the mountain, and falling headlong in many a loud and foaming cascade, discharged its waters into a lake about two miles in length, and the villa was pleasantly seated on the margin of the lake. The bath, the peristæes, the summer and winter apartments, were adapted to the purposes of luxury and use; and the adjacent country afforded the various prospects of woods, pastures, and meadows.<sup>13</sup> In this retreat, where Avitus amused his leisure with books, rural sports, the practice of husbandry, and the society of his friends,<sup>14</sup> he received the Imperial diploma, which constituted him master-general of the cavalry and infantry of Gaul. He assumed the military command; the barbarians suspended their fury; and whatever means he might employ, whatever concessions he might be forced to make, the people enjoyed the benefits of actual tranquillity. But the fate of Gaul depended on the Visigoths; and the Roman general, less attentive to his dignity than to the public interest, did not disdain to visit Thoulouse in the character of an ambasador. He was received with courteous hospitality by Theodoric, the king of the Goths; but while Avitus laid the foundations of a solid alliance with that powerful nation, he was astonished by the ju-

The emperor  
Augustus.  
A.D. 155,  
July 19.

[illegible][illegible]

12 The private life and elevation of Jesus Christ to deity, etc.

By means of the pen, from the pulpit pronounced by Salomón  
 Rodríguez, the first of the series of the "Canciones de Salomón" (1902)  
 composed by the poet, and which were published in the "Revista de Avellaneda"  
 The poet, in the "Canciones de Salomón" (1902) in the "Revista de Avellaneda"  
 The poet, in the "Canciones de Salomón" (1902) in the "Revista de Avellaneda"

1. To show that  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \sum_{k=1}^n f\left(\frac{k}{n}\right) = \int_0^1 f(x) dx$  for a continuous function  $f$  on  $[0, 1]$ , we use the definition of the Riemann integral. For any  $\epsilon > 0$ , there exists a partition  $P$  of  $[0, 1]$  such that the mesh of  $P$  is less than  $\delta$  and the difference between the upper and lower Riemann sums is less than  $\epsilon$ . Let  $n$  be large enough so that  $\frac{1}{n} < \delta$ . Then the partition  $P$  is refined by the partition  $\{0, \frac{1}{n}, \frac{2}{n}, \dots, \frac{n}{n}\}$ . The difference between the upper and lower Riemann sums for this partition is also less than  $\epsilon$ . Therefore,  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \sum_{k=1}^n f\left(\frac{k}{n}\right) = \int_0^1 f(x) dx$ .

telligence, that the emperor Maximus was slain, and that Rome had been pillaged by the Vandals. A vacant throne, which he might ascend without guilt or danger, tempted his ambition;<sup>15</sup> and the Visigoths were easily persuaded to support his claim by their irresistible suffrage. They loved the person of Avitus; they respected

his virtues; and they were not insensible of the advantage, as well as honour, of giving an emperor to the West. The season was now approaching, in which the annual assembly of the seven provinces was held at Arles; their deliberations might perhaps be influenced by the presence of Theodoric, and his martial brothers; but their choice would naturally incline to the most illustrious of their countrymen. Avitus, after a decent resistance, accepted the Imperial diadem from the representatives of Gaul; and his election was ratified by the acclamations of the barbarians and provincials. The formal consent of Marcian, emperor of the East, was solicited and obtained: but the senate, Rome, and Italy, though humbled by their recent calamities, submitted with a secret murmur to the presumption of the Gallic usurper.

Theodoric, to whom Avitus was indebted for the purple, had acquired the Gothic sceptre by the murder of his elder brother Torismond; and he justified this atrocious deed by the design which his predecessor had formed of violating his alliance with the empire.<sup>16</sup> Such a crime might not be incompatible with the virtues of a barbarian; but the manners of Theodoric were gentle and humane; and posterity may contemplate without terror the original picture of a Gothic king, whom Siodonius had intimately observed, in the hours of peace and of social intercourse. In an epistle, dated from the court of Thoulouse, the orator satisfies the curiosity of one of his friends, in the following description.<sup>17</sup> "By the majesty of his appearance, Theodoric would command the respect of those who are ignorant of his merit; and although he is born a prince, his merit would dignify a private station. He is of a middle stature, his body appears rather plump than fat, and in his well-proportioned limbs, agility is united with muscular strength.<sup>18</sup> If you examine his countenance, you will distinguish a high forehead, large shaggy eyebrows, an aquiline nose, thin lips, a regular set of white teeth, and a fair complexion, that blushes more frequently from modesty than from anger. The ordinary distribution of his time, as far as it is exposed to the public view, may be concisely represented. Before day-break, he repairs, with a small train, to his domestic chapel, where the service is performed

"by the Arian clergy; but those who presume to interpret his secret sentiments, consider this assiduous devotion as the effect of habit and policy. The rest of the morning is employed in the administration of his kingdom. His chair is surrounded by some military officers of decent aspect and behaviour: the noisy crowd of his barbarian guards occupies the hall of audience; but they are not permitted to stand within the veils, or curtains, that conceal the council-chamber from vulgar eyes. The ambassadors of the nations are successively introduced: Theodoric listens with attention, answers them with discreet brevity, and either announces or delays, according to the nature of their business, his final resolution. About eight (the second hour) he rises from his throne, and visits, either his treasury, or his stables. If he chooses to hunt, or at least to exercise himself on horseback, his bow is carried by a favourite youth; but when the game is marked, he bends it with his own hand, and seldom misses the object of his aim: as a king, he disdains to bear arms in such ignoble warfare; but as a soldier, he would blush to accept any military service which he could perform himself. On common days, his dinner is not different from the repast of a private citizen; but every Saturday, many honourable guests are invited to the royal table, which, on these occasions, is served with the elegance of Greece, the plenty of Gaul, and the order and diligence of Italy.<sup>19</sup> The gold or silver plate is less remarkable for its weight, than for the brightness and curious workmanship: the taste is gratified without the help of foreign and costly luxury; the size and number of the cups of wine are regulated with a strict regard to the laws of temperance; and the respectful silence that prevails, is interrupted only by grave and instructive conversation. After dinner, Theodoric sometimes indulges himself in a short slumber; and as soon as he wakes, he calls for the dice and tables, encourages his friends to forget the royal majesty, and is delighted when they freely express the passions, which are excited by the incidents of play. At this game, which he loves as the image of war, he alternately displays his eagerness, his skill, his patience, and his cheerful temper. If he loses, he laughs: he is modest and silent, if he wins. Yet, notwithstanding this seeming indifference, his courtiers choose to solicit any favour in the moments of victory; and I myself, in my applications to the king, have derived some benefit from my losses.<sup>20</sup> About the ninth hour (three o'clock) the tide of business again returns, and flows incessantly till after sunset, when the signal of the royal supper

<sup>15</sup> Seventy lines of panegyric (561-575), which describe the impetuosity of Theodoric and of Gaul, struggling to overcome the modest reluctance of Avitus, are blown away by three words of an honest historian. *Reverentiam obsequii Imperatoris*. (Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 11, in tom. i. p. 168.)

<sup>16</sup> Isidore, archbishop of Seville, who was himself of the blood royal of the Goths, who studied, and almost justifies that Gothic (p. 738), the crime which their slave Jornandes had basely dissembled (c. 45, p. 6, 7).

<sup>17</sup> This elaborate description (l. i. c. 2-7) was dictated by Greg. Turon. l. i. c. 2, p. 168. The king, and his friends, were seated in the basilica separately.

<sup>18</sup> I have suppressed, in this portrait of Theodoric, several minute circumstances, and technical phrases, which could be tolerable, or indeed intelligible, to those only, who, like the contemporaries of Avitus, were exposed

(p. 14.) abundantiam Gallicanarum, privatam diligentiam, re-

<sup>20</sup> *ut tunc cum ego aliquod obsequium felicitate vinceo, et mihi tabula perit ut causa salvetur.* Siodonius of Auvergne was not a subject of Theodoric, but he might be compelled to solicit either justice or favour at the court of Thoulouse.

“dismisses the weary crowd of suppliants and  
“pleaders. At the supper, a more familiar re-  
“past, buffoons and pantomimes are sometimes  
“introduced, to divert, not to offend, the com-  
“pany, by their ridiculous wit: but female  
“singers, and the soft effeminate modes of  
“music, are severely banished, and such martial  
“tunes as animate the soul to deeds of valour  
“are alone grateful to the ear of Theodorie.  
“He retires from table; and the nocturnal  
“guards are immediately posted at the entrance  
“of the treasury, the palace, and the private  
“apartments.”

When the king of the Visigoths encouraged Avitus to assume the purple, he offered his person and his forces, as a faithful soldier of the republic.<sup>21</sup> The exploits of Theodoric soon convinced the world, that he had not degenerated from the warlike virtues of his ancestors. After the establishment of the Goths in Aquitain, and the passage of the Vandals into Africa, the Suevi, who had fixed their kingdom in Gallieia, aspired to the conquest of Spain, and threatened to extinguish the feeble remains of the Roman dominion. The provincials of Carthagenæ and Taragona, afflicted by an hostile invasion, represented their injuries and their apprehensions. Count Fronto was despatched, in the name of the emperor Avitus, with advantageous offers of peace and alliance; and Theodoric interposed his weighty mediation, to declare, that, unless his brother-in-law, the king of the Suevi, immediately retired, he should be obliged to arm in the cause of justice and of Rome. "Tell him," replied the haughty Rechiarius, "that I despise his friendship and his aims; but that I shall soon try, whether he will dare to expect my arrival under the walls of Thoulonse." Such a challenge urged Theodoric to prevent the bold designs of his enemy: he passed the Pyrenees at the head of the Visigoths; the Franks and Burgundians served under his standard; and though he professed himself the dutiful servant of Avitus, he privately stipulated, for himself and his successors, the absolute possession of the Spanish conquests. The two armies, or rather the two nations, encountered each other on the banks of the river Urbicus, about twelve miles from Astorga; and the decisive victory of the Goths appeared for a while to have extirpated the name and kingdom of the Suevi. From the field of battle Theodoric advanced to Braga, their metropolis, which still retained the splendid vestiges of its ancient commerce and dignity. His entrance was not polluted with blood; and the Goths respected the chastity of their female captives, more especially of the consecrated virgins: but the greatest part of the clergy and people were made slaves, and even the churches and altars were confounded

in the universal pillage. The unfortunate king of the Suevi had escaped to one of the ports of the ocean; but the obstinacy of the winds opposed his flight: he was delivered to his implacable rival; and Rechiarius, who neither desired nor expected mercy, received, with manly constancy, the death which he would probably have inflicted. After this bloody sacrifice to policy or resentment, Theodoric carried his victorious arms as far as Merida, the principal town of Lusitania, without meeting any resistance, except from the miraculous powers of St. Eulalia; but he was stopped in the full career of success, and recalled from Spain, before he could provide for the security of his conquests. In his retreat towards the Pyrenees, he revenged his disappointment on the country through which he passed; and, in the sack of Pollentia and Astorga, he showed himself a faithless ally, as well as a cruel enemy. Whilst the king of the Visigoths fought and vanquished in the name of Avitus, the reign of Avitus had expired; and both the honour and the interest of Theodoric were deeply wounded by the disgrace of a friend, whom he had seated on the throne of the Western empire.<sup>23</sup>

The pressing solicitations of the senate and people persuaded the emperor Avitus to fix his residence at Rome, and to accept the consulship for the ensuing year. On the first day of January, his son-in-law, Sidorius Apollinaris, celebrated his praises in a panegyric of six hundred verses; but this composition, though it was rewarded with a brass statue,<sup>24</sup> seems to contain a very moderate proportion either of genius or of truth. The poet, if we may degrade that sacred name, exaggerates the merit of a sovereign and a father; and his prophecy of a long and glorious reign was soon contradicted by the event. Avitus, at a time when the Imperial dignity was reduced to a pre-eminence of toil and danger, indulged himself in the pleasures of Italian luxury: age had not extinguished his amorous inclinations; and he is accused of insulting, with indiscreet and ungenerous raillery, the husbands whose wives he had seduced or violated.<sup>25</sup> But the Romans were not inclined, either to excuse his faults, or to acknowledge his virtues. The several parts of the empire became every day more alienated from each other; and the stranger of Gaul was the object of popular hatred and contempt. The senate asserted their legitimate claim in the election of an emperor; and their authority, which had been originally derived from the old constitution, was again fortified by the actual weakness of a declining monarchy. Yet even such a monarchy might have resisted the votes of an unarmed senate, if their discontent had not been supported, or perhaps inflamed, by the count Ricimer, one of the principal commanders

21 Theodorick bar-enfold given a solemn and voluntary promise of fidelity, which was witnessed and held in full view and signed.

Princeton, N.J.

Sulzer, Panegyric, Ayt. 511.

22 Qu e q i e s i n ū p e ' a g i , a c t a t s e B r a c a r a d v e s

From the design of the king of the Swes, it is evident that the navigation from the ports of Gubari to the Mediterranean was known and practised. The ships of Borsara, a Bactrian port, resorted to the coast, without daring to lose themselves in the Atlantic.

2<sup>o</sup> The Successor is the most authentic part of the Chronicle of István, who, as a son of István I, was in itself a spectator and a participant. It is not a copy of the 1<sup>o</sup> text, but a new composition, with plenty of original additions.

24. I have no other property or effects belonging to Trauma Theatre, except the rights in the trademarks and/or logos. Sidor April has expressed an interest in the trademarks and/or logos of Trauma Theatre. Any use of the trademarks and/or logos of Trauma Theatre must be approved by me.





peror.<sup>6</sup> May the propitious Deity direct and prosper the counsels and events, of my administration, to your advantage, and to the public welfare ! For my own part, I did not aspire, I have submitted, to reign ; nor should I have discharged the obligations of a citizen, if I had refused, with base and selfish ingratitude, to support the weight of those labours, which were imposed by the republic. Assist, therefore, the prince whom you have made ; partake the duties which you have enjoined ; and may our common endeavours promote the happiness of an empire, which I have accepted from your hands ! Be assured, that, in our times, justice shall resume her ancient vigour, and that virtue shall become not only innocent but meritorious. Let none, except the authors themselves, be apprehensive of *delations*,<sup>7</sup> which, as a subject, I have always condemned, and, as a prince, will severely punish. Our own vigilance, and that of our father, the patrician Richner, shall regulate all military affairs, and provide for the safety of the Roman world, which we have saved from foreign and domestic enemies.<sup>8</sup> You now understand the maxims of my government : you may confide in the faithful love and sincere assurances of a prince, who has formerly been the companion of your life and dangers ; who still glories in the name of senator ; and who is anxious, that you should never repent of the judgment which you have pronounced in his favour." The emperor, who, amidst the ruins of the Roman world, revived the ancient language of law and liberty, which Trajan would not have disclaimed, must have derived those generous sentiments from his own heart ; since they were not suggested to his imitation by the customs of his age, or the example of his predecessors.<sup>9</sup>

The private and public actions of Majorian are very imperfectly known; but his laws, remarkable for an original cast of thought and expression, faithfully represent the character of a sovereign, who loved his people, who sympathized in their distress, who had studied the causes of the decline of the empire, and who was capable of applying (as far as such reformation was practicable) judicious and effectual remedies to the public disorders.<sup>40</sup> His regulations concerning the finances manifestly tended to remove, or at least to mitigate, the most intolerable grievances. 1. From the first hour of his reign, he was solicitous (I translate his own words) to relieve the *heavy* fortunes of the provincials, oppressed by the accumulated weight of indig-

tions and superindictions.<sup>41</sup> With this view, he granted an universal amnesty, a final and absolute discharge of all arrears of tribute, of all debts, which, under any pretence, the fiscal officers might demand from the people. This wise dereliction of obsolete, vexatious, and unprofitable claims, improved and purified the sources of the public revenue; and the subject, who could now look back without despair, might labour with hope and gratitude for himself and for his country. II. In the assessment and collection of taxes, Majorian restored the ordinary jurisdiction of the provincial magistrates; and suppressed the extraordinary commissions which had been introduced, in the name of the emperor himself, or of the praetorian prefects. The favourite servants, who obtained such irregular powers, were insolent in their behaviour, and arbitrary in their demands: they affected to despise the subordinate tribunals, and they were discontented, if their fees and profits did not twice exceed the sum which they condescended to pay into the treasury. One instance of their extortion would appear incredible, were it not authenticated by the legislator himself. They exacted the whole payment in gold: but they refused the current coin of the empire, and would accept only such ancient pieces as were stamped with the names of Faustina or the Antonines. The subject, who was unprovided with these curious medals, had recourse to the expedient of compounding with their rapacious demands; or, if he succeeded in the research, his imposition was doubled, according to the weight and value of the money of former times.<sup>42</sup> III. "The municipal corporations (says the emperor), the lesser senates (so antiquity has justly styled them), deserve to be considered as the heart" of the cities, and the sinews of the republic. "And yet so low are they now reduced, by the injustice of magistrates, and the venality of collectors, that many of their members, renouncing their dignity and their country, have taken refuge in distant and obscure exile." He urges, and even compels, their return to their respective cities; but he removes the grievance which had forced them to desert the exercise of their municipal functions. They are directed, under the authority of the provincial magistrates, to resume their office of levying the tribute; but, instead of being made responsible for the whole sum assessed on their district, they are only required to produce a regular account of the payments which they have actually received, and of the defaulters who are still indebted to the public. IV. But

36 Imperatorum non facimus. P. C. et non volumus arbitrio et fortissimo exercituum, sed legum ac iustitiae. N. et L. V. etiam in cap. 54 ad eundem ad Theodosius. Solinus proclaims the unanimous voice of the emperors.

— — — — — For the year ending 1905

Ordin omnia res

This language is ancient and constitutional, and we may observe, that the clergy were not yet considered as a distinct order of the state.

37. Either ditomies, or ditomes, would afford a tolerable reading, but there is much more sense and spirit in the latter, to which I have therefore given the preference.

35. Ab externis hoste et a dome fieri a latibantibus. he the latter. Majorian must understand the treason of Aëtius, whose death he consequently avoided. A minor traitor. On the other hand, Sidonius is fearful and obscure, he shies at the word traitor. The nations of Aëtius, i. e., that he might escape the dangerous matter of Aëtius (34-35).

79. See the whole edict or epistle of Maximian to the senate (Nov. II, tit. iv, p. 741). Yet the expression, *regnum, deus, imperator*, is not that of the age, and does not mix kindly with the word *republica*, which he frequently uses.

<sup>44</sup> See the case of Majorian (who are one of the in number, but very poor and scarce, at the end of the Theodosian Code, Novell 11 p. 12-17). Theodoret has not given any commentary on these and the other cases.

Il fessio per un numero variabile di moltiplicazioni esatte,  
one fortuna, e l'extracurriculari con soluzioni oneiras attive,  
80. Axel M., con il 10. 2. 71.

12 He learned to read, at p. 726-727. The fund, by diligent enquiry that next of the Antiquary, weighed and measured and determined the value of the stone, and the value of the stone.

and eighteen, and those of the thirteenth, forty-eight, e.g., 4 groups. Majorities are given to all countries excepting one or two. The number of islands is a percentage of the whole, but in the standards.

Majorian was not ignorant, that these corporate bodies were too much inclined to retaliate the injustice and oppression which they had suffered, and he therefore revives the useful office of the *defenders of cities*. He exhorts the people to elect, in a full and free assembly, some man of discretion and integrity, who would dare to assert their privileges, to represent their grievances, to protect the poor from the tyranny of the rich, and to inform the emperor of the abuses that were committed under the sanction of his name and authority.

The edifices of Rome.

The spectator, who casts a mournful view over the ruins of ancient Rome, is tempted to accuse the memory of the Goths and Vandals, for the mischief which they had neither leisure, nor power, nor perhaps inclination, to perpetrate. The tempest of war might strike some lofty turrets to the ground; but the destruction which undermined the foundations of those massy fabrics, was prosecuted, slowly and silently, during a period of ten centuries; and the motives of interest, that afterwards operated without shame or control, were severely checked by the taste and spirit of the emperor Majorian. The decay of the city had gradually impaired the value of the public works. The Circus and theatres might still excite, but they seldom gratified, the desires of the people: the temples, which had escaped the zeal of the Christians, were no longer inhabited either by gods or men; the diminished crowds of the Romans were lost in the immense space of their baths and porticoes; and the stately libraries and halls of justice became useless to an indolent generation, whose repose was seldom disturbed, either by study or business. The monuments of consular, or Imperial, greatness were no longer revered, as the immortal glory of the capital: they were only esteemed as an inexhaustible mine of materials, cheaper, and more convenient, than the distant quarry. Specious petitions were continually addressed to the easy magistrates of Rome, which stated the want of stones or bricks for some necessary service: the fairest forms of architecture were rudely defaced for the sake of some paltry, or pretended, repairs: and the degenerate Romans, who converted the spoil to their own emolument, demolished, with sacrilegious hands, the labours of their ancestors. Majorian, who had often sighed over the desolation of the city, applied a severe remedy to the growing evil.<sup>43</sup> He reserved to the prince and senate the sole cognisance of the extreme cases which might justify the destruction of an ancient edifice; imposed a fine of fifty pounds of gold (two thousand pounds sterling) on every magistrate who should presume to grant such illegal and scandalous licence; and threatened to chastise the criminal obedience of their subordinate officers, by a severe whipping, and the amputation of both their hands. In the last instance, the legislator

might seem to forget the proportion of guilt and punishment; but his zeal arose from a generous principle, and Majorian was anxious to protect the monuments of those ages, in which he would have desired and deserved to live. The emperor conceived, that it was his interest to increase the number of his subjects, that it was his duty to guard the purity of the marriage-bed: but the means which he employed to accomplish these salutary purposes, are of an ambiguous, and perhaps exceptionable, kind. The pious maids, who consecrated their virginity to Christ, were restrained from taking the veil, till they had reached their fortieth year. Widows under that age were compelled to form a second alliance within the term of five years, by the forfeiture of half their wealth to their nearest relations, or to the state. Unequal marriages were condemned or annulled. The punishment of confiscation and exile was deemed so inadequate to the guilt of adultery, that, if the criminal returned to Italy, he might, by the express declaration of Majorian, be slain with impunity.<sup>44</sup>

While the emperor Majorian assiduously laboured to restore the happiness and virtue of the Romans, he encountered the arms of Genseric, from his character and situation, their most formidable enemy. A fleet of Vandals and Moors landed at the mouth of the Liris, or Garigliano: but the Imperial troops surprised and attacked the disorderly barbarians, who were encumbered with the spoils of Campania; they were chased with slaughter to their ships, and their leader, the king's brother-in-law, was found in the number of the slain.<sup>45</sup> Such vigilance might announce the character of the new reign; but the strictest vigilance, and the most numerous forces, were insufficient to protect the long-extended coast of Italy from the depredations of a naval war. The public opinion had imposed a nobler and more arduous task on the genius of Majorian. Rome expected from him alone the restitution of Africa; and the design, which he formed, of attacking the Vandals in their new settlements, was the result of bold and judicious policy. If the intrepid emperor could have infused his own spirit into the youth of Italy; if he could have revived, in the Field of Mars, the manly exercises in which he had always surpassed his equals; he might have marched against Genseric at the head of a Roman army. Such a reformation of national manners might be embraced by the rising generation; but it is the misfortune of those princes who laboriously sustain a declining monarchy, that, to obtain some immediate advantage, or to avert some impending danger, they are forced to countenance, and even to multiply, the most pernicious abuses. Majorian, like the weakest of his predecessors, was reduced to the disgraceful expedient of substituting barbarian auxiliaries in the place of his

Majorian prepares to invade Africa. A.D. 457.

<sup>43</sup> The whole edict (Novell. Majorian. tit. vi. p. 55) is curious. "Antiquarum aedium dissipatur species a constructione, et ut aliquando reparatur, magna dirimuntur. Hinc, iam occasio nascitur, ut etiam uniusque privatum aedificium construat, per gratiam publicam." "non dubitet," &c. in the fourteenth century, Petrarche, tom. i. p. 11.

not be unmindful of the decline and fall of the city of Rome; an interest.

<sup>44</sup> In a recent published obscene widow, was soon afterwards repealed by his successor Severus. (Novell. Severi tit. i. p. 57.)

<sup>45</sup> Sidon. Pangyr. Majorian. 522-340.

unwarlike subjects: and his superior abilities could only be displayed in the vigour and dexterity with which he wielded a dangerous instrument, so apt to recoil on the hand that used it. Besides the confederates, who were already engaged in the service of the empire, the fame of his liberality and valour attracted the nations of the Danube, the Borysthænes, and perhaps of the Tanais. Many thousands of the bravest subjects of Attila, the Gepidæ, the Ostrogoths, the Rugians, the Burgundians, the Sævi, the Alani, assembled in the plains of Liguria; and their formidable strength was balanced by their mutual animosities.<sup>46</sup> They passed the Alps in a severe winter. The emperor led the way, on foot, and in complete armour; sounding, with his long staff, the depth of the ice, or snow, and encouraging the Scythians, who complained of the extreme cold, by the cheerful assurance, that they should be satisfied with the heat of Africa. The citizens of Lyons had presumed to shut their gates: they soon implored, and experienced, the clemency of Majorian. The vanquished Theodoric in the field; and admitted to his friendship and alliance, a king whom he had found not unworthy of his arms. The beneficial, though precarious, reunion of the greatest part of Gaul and Spain, was the effect of persuasion, as well as of force;<sup>47</sup> and the independent Bagaudæ, who had escaped, or resisted, the oppression of former reigns, were disposed to confide in the virtues of Majorian. His camp was filled with barbarian allies; his throne was supported by the zeal of an affectionate people; but the emperor had foreseen, that it was impossible, without a maritime power, to achieve the conquest of Africa. In the first Punic war, the republic had exerted such incredible diligence, that, within sixty days after the first stroke of the axe had been given in the forest, a fleet of one hundred and sixty galleys proudly rode at anchor in the sea.<sup>48</sup> Under circumstances much less favourable, Majorian equalled the spirit and perseverance of the ancient Romans. The woods of the Apennine were felled; the arsenals and manufactures of Ravenna and Misenum were restored; Italy and Gaul vied with each other in liberal contributions to the public service; and the Imperial navy of three hundred large galleys, with an adequate proportion of transports and smaller vessels, was collected in the secure and capacious harbour of Carthæna in Spain.<sup>49</sup> The intrepid countenance of Majorian animated his troops with a confidence of victory; and if we might credit the historian Procopius, his courage sometimes hurried him beyond the

bounds of prudence. Anxious to explore, with his own eyes, the state of the Vindals, he ventured, after disguising the colour of his hair, to visit Carthage, in the character of his own ambassador: and Generis was afterwards mortified by the discovery that he had entertained and dismissed the emperor of the Romans. Such an anecdote may be rejected as an improbable fiction; but it is a fiction which would not have been imagined, unless in the life of a hero.<sup>50</sup>

Without the help of a personal interview, Genseric was sufficiently acquainted with the genius and designs of his adversary. He practised his customary arts of fraud and delay, but he practised them without success. His applications for peace became each hour more submissive, and perhaps more sincere; but the inflexible Majorian had adopted the ancient maxim, that Rome could not be safe, as long as Carthage existed in a hostile state. The king of the Vandals distrusted the valour of his native subjects, who were enervated by the luxury of the South;<sup>51</sup> he suspected the fidelity of the vanquished people, who abhorred him as an Arian tyrant; and the desperate measure, which he executed, of reducing Mauritania into a desert,<sup>52</sup> could not defeat the operations of the Roman emperor, who was at liberty to land his troops on any part of the African coast. But Genseric was saved from impending and inevitable ruin by the treachery of some powerful subjects; envious, or apprehensive, of their master's success. Guided by their secret intelligence, he surprised the unguarded fleet in the bay of Carthage: many of the ships were sunk, or taken, or burnt; and the preparations of three years were destroyed in a single day.<sup>53</sup> After this event, the behaviour of the two antagonists showed them superior to their fortune. The Vandal, instead of being elated by this accidental victory, immediately renewed his solicitations for peace. The emperor of the West, who was capable of forming great designs, and of supporting heavy disappointments, consented to a treaty, or rather to a suspension of arms; in the full assurance that, before he could restore his navy, he should be supplied with provocations to justify a second war. Majorian returned to Italy, to prosecute his labours for the public happiness; and, as he was conscious of his own integrity, he might long remain ignorant of the dark conspiracy which threatened his throne and his life. The recent misfortune of Carthage sullied the glory which had dazzled the eyes of the multitude: almost every description of civil and military officers were exas-

46 The review of the army, and passage of the Alps, contain the most terrible passages of the *Pharsalia*. The *Mon. Bat.* (Hist. des Empereurs, X<sup>e</sup> siècle) is a more satisfactory commentary than other sources on the *Pharsalia*.

much light on the history of Mormonism. Jones decisively suppressed the debate and silence of the Mormons, who were seriously persecuted in California, and encouraged the migration of thousands of Mormons.

49 Inferno duplici, textu, dum, fore clarem  
Inferno superbo, manu, creditur in aq̄or

The number of ships, which Priests used at Troy, is manifest, by an indubitable comparison with the fleets of Agamemnon, Arctus, and Augustus.

<sup>30</sup> *Proceedings of the Real Vandal* 11, c. 9, p. 104. When Genseric captured the unknown ghost of the stone of Firthings, the arms washed in the river as ord. Mayrnan had tinged his yellow rocks with a black colour.

In rebus nobis uicem perdidit omne,  
Quod uelut ante habuerat illi

He afterwards applies to Genetrix, unjustly as it should seem, the words of his subject:

He burnt the villages, and poisoned the springs. (Pr. civ. p. 42.)

Dubos (Hist. de France, tom. i. p. 17) observes, that the Carizines with the Mages, landed in the north-east of Asia, by the destructive search. Two centuries afterwards, a new Carizine dug in the same place, and with great care, at eight or hundred fathoms of earth.

By our last result,  $\mathcal{P}^{\text{fin}}(\mathbb{R})$  is a  $\sigma$ -algebra. Therefore,  $\mathcal{P}^{\text{fin}}(\mathbb{R})$  is a  $\sigma$ -algebra. However, the name of the field is

perated against the Reformer, since they all derived some advantage from the abuses which he endeavoured to suppress; and the patrician Ricimer impelled the inconstant passions of the barbarians against a prince whom he esteemed and hated. The virtues of Majorian could not protect him from the impetuous sedition, which broke out in the camp near Tortona, at the foot of the Alps. He was compelled to abdicate the Imperial purple: five days after his abdication,

it was reported that he died of a dysentery;<sup>54</sup> and the humble tomb, which covered his remains, was

consecrated by the respect and gratitude of succeeding generations.<sup>55</sup> The private character of Majorian inspired love and respect. Malicious calumny and satire excited his indignation, or, if he himself were the object, his contempt: but he protected the freedom of wit, and, in the hours which the emperor gave to the familiar society of his friends, he could indulge his taste for pleasantry, without degrading the majesty of his rank.<sup>56</sup>

It was not perhaps without some regret, that Ricimer sacrificed his friend to the interest of his ambition: but he resolved, in a second choice, to avoid the imprudent preference of superior virtue and merit. At his command, the obsequious senate of Rome bestowed the Imperial title on Libius Severus, who ascended the throne of the West without emerging from the obscurity of a private condition. History scarcely deigned to notice his birth, his elevation, his character, or his death. Severus expired, as soon as his life became inconvenient to his patron;<sup>57</sup> and it would be useless to discriminate his nominal reign in the vacant interval of six years, between the death of Majorian, and the elevation of Anthemius. During that period, the government was in the hand of Ricimer alone; and although the modest barbarian disclaimed the name of king, he accumulated treasures, formed a separate army, negotiated private alliances, and ruled Italy with the same independent and despotic authority, which was afterwards exercised by Odoacer and Theodoric. But his dominions were bounded by the Alps; and two Roman generals, Marcellinus and Ægidius, maintained their allegiance to the republic, by rejecting, with disdain, the phantom which he styled an emperor. Marcellinus still adhered to the old religion; and the devout Pagans, who secretly disobeyed the laws of the

church and state, applauded his profound skill in the science of divination. But he possessed the more valuable qualifications of learning, virtue, and courage;<sup>58</sup> the study of the Latin literature had improved his taste; and his military talents had recommended him to the esteem and confidence of the great Ætius, in whose ruin he was involved. By a timely flight, Marcellinus escaped the rage of Valentinian, and boldly asserted his liberty amidst the convulsions of the Western empire. His voluntary, or reluctant, submission to the authority of Majorian, was rewarded by the government of Sicily, and the command of an army, stationed in that island to oppose, or to attack, the Vandals; but his barbarian mercenaries, after the emperor's death, were tempted to revolt by the artful liberality of Ricimer. At the head of a band of faithful followers, the intrepid Marcellinus occupied the province of Dalmatia, assumed the title of patrician of the West, secured the love of his subjects by a mild and equitable reign, built a fleet, which claimed the dominion of the Adriatic, and alternately alarmed the coasts of Italy and of Africa.<sup>59</sup>

Ægidius, the master-general of Gaul, who equalled, or at least who imitated, the heroes of ancient Rome,<sup>60</sup> proclaimed his immortal resentment against the assassins of his beloved master. A brave and numerous army was attached to his standard; and, though he was prevented by the arts of Ricimer, and the arms of the Visigoths, from marching to the gates of Rome, he maintained his independent sovereignty beyond the Alps, and rendered the name of Ægidius respectable both in peace and war. The Franks, who had punished with exile the youthful follies of Childeric, elected the Roman general for their king; his vanity, rather than his ambition, was gratified by that singular honour; and when the nation, at the end of four years, repented of the injury which they had offered to the Merovingian family, he patiently acquiesced in the restoration of the lawful prince. The authority of Ægidius ended only with his life, and the suspicions of poison and secret violence, which derived some countenance from the character of Ricimer, were eagerly entertained by the passionate credulity of the Gauls.<sup>61</sup>

The kingdom of Italy, a name to which the Western empire was gradually reduced, was afflicted, under the reign of Ricimer, by the incessant depre-

<sup>54</sup> Procop de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 8. p. 194. The testimony of Idatius is fair and impartial. "Majorianum de felix Romanus re-

<sup>55</sup> See the Epigrams of Ennodius, No. cxcvii. after Sirmond. Opera, tom. i. p. 145. It is fair and objective, but Ennodius was in the bishop of Pavia fifty years after the death of Majorian, and his praise deserves credit and regard.

<sup>56</sup> Sidonius gives a tedious account (l. ii. Epist. xi. p. 25. 31.) of a supper at Arles, to which he was invited by Majorian, a short time before his death. He had no intention of praising a deceased emperor; but a casual disinterested praise, a Seneca of Arles, ut erat, antequam servata, cum se communi manducasset, p. 121. outwings the six hundred lines of his usual panegyric.

<sup>57</sup> Sidonius (Panegyric. Anthem. 317.) dissolves him to heaven. Augustus Augustus nunc licet Severus dixerit nomen.

And an old list of the emperors, composed about the time of Justinian, gives his name, and fixes his residence at Arles. (Schedæ N. et al. Sidon. p. 113, 112.)

<sup>58</sup> Tilknot who gave account of the crimes of Infidels, attributes this (which Sidonius has preserved) to a historian. (Hist. de. Eng. etc., tom. i. p. 27.)

<sup>59</sup> Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. In various circumstances of the life of Marcellinus, it is not easy to reconcile the Greek historian with the Latin Chronicles of the times.

<sup>60</sup> I must apply to Ætius the praises which Sidonius (Panegyric. August. 575.) bestows on a man whose master general, who commanded the rear-guard of Majorian, Idatius, from public report, commends his Christian piety, and Præscus mentions (p. 12.) his military virtues.

<sup>61</sup> Greg. Turon. l. vi. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 168. The Pere Daniel, in his history of the Franks, says, "The Franks, who had punished with exile the youthful follies of Childeric, elected the Roman general for their king; his vanity, rather than his ambition, was gratified by that singular honour; and when the nation, at the end of four years, repented of the injury which they had offered to the Merovingian family, he patiently acquiesced in the restoration of the lawful prince." The Franks, who had punished with exile the youthful follies of Childeric, elected the Roman general for their king; his vanity, rather than his ambition, was gratified by that singular honour; and when the nation, at the end of four years, repented of the injury which they had offered to the Merovingian family, he patiently acquiesced in the restoration of the lawful prince. The Franks, who had punished with exile the youthful follies of Childeric, elected the Roman general for their king; his vanity, rather than his ambition, was gratified by that singular honour; and when the nation, at the end of four years, repented of the injury which they had offered to the Merovingian family, he patiently acquiesced in the restoration of the lawful prince.

dations of the Vandal pirates.<sup>62</sup> In the spring of each year they equipped a formidable navy in the port of Carthage; and Genseric himself, though in a very advanced age, still commanded in person the most important expeditions. His designs were concealed with impenetrable secrecy, till the moment that he hoisted sail. When he was asked by his pilot, what course he should steer; "Leave the determination to the winds (replied the barbarian, with pious arrogance); they will transport us to the guilty coast, whose inhabitants have provoked the divine justice:" but if Genseric himself deigned to issue more precise orders, he judged the most wealthy to be the most criminal. The Vandals repeatedly visited the coasts of Spain, Liguria, Tuscany, Campania, Lucania, Brutium, Apulia, Calabria, Venetia, Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, and Sicily. They were tempted to subdue the island of Sardinia, so advantageously placed in the centre of the Mediterranean; and their arms spread desolation, or terror, from the columns of Hercules to the mouth of the Nile. As they were more ambitious of spoil than of glory, they seldom attacked any fortified cities, or engaged any regular troops in the open field. But the celerity of their motions enabled them, almost at the same time, to threaten and to attack the most distant objects, which attracted their desires; and as they always embarked a sufficient number of horses, they had no sooner landed, than they swept the dismayed country with a body of light cavalry. Yet, notwithstanding the example of their king, the native Vandals and Alani insensibly declined this toilsome and perilous warfare; the hardy generation of the first conquerors was almost extinguished, and their sons, who were born in Africa, enjoyed the delicious baths and gardens which had been acquired by the valour of their fathers. Their place was readily supplied by a various multitude of Moors and Romans, of captives and outlaws; and those degenerate wretches, who had already violated the laws of their country, were the most eager to promote the atrocious acts which disgrace the victories of Genseric. In the treatment of his unhappy prisoners, he sometimes consulted his avarice, and sometimes indulged his cruelty; and the massacre of five hundred noble citizens of Zant or Zacynthus, whose mangled bodies he cast into the Ionian Sea, was imputed, by the public indignation, to his latest posterity.

Such crimes could not be excused by any provocations; but the war, which the king of the Vandals prosecuted against the Roman empire,

Negotiations with the Emperor A.D. 464, &c.

<sup>62</sup> The first invasion of Carthage, which had been made by the Romans, was in the year 464, by the Emperor Valentinian III. and his mother Eudoxia. The Vandals, who were then in the possession of the island, were defeated by the Romans, and the city was taken. The Vandals, who were then in the possession of the island, were defeated by the Romans, and the city was taken. The Vandals, who were then in the possession of the island, were defeated by the Romans, and the city was taken.

<sup>63</sup> The first invasion of Carthage, which had been made by the Romans, was in the year 464, by the Emperor Valentinian III. and his mother Eudoxia. The Vandals, who were then in the possession of the island, were defeated by the Romans, and the city was taken. The Vandals, who were then in the possession of the island, were defeated by the Romans, and the city was taken.

was justified by a specious and reasonable motive. The widow of Valentinian, Eudoxia, whom he had led captive from Rome to Carthage, was the sole heiress of the Theodosian house; her elder daughter, Eudocia, became the reluctant wife of Hunneic, his eldest son; and the stern father, asserting a legal claim, which could not easily be refuted or satisfied, demanded a just proportion of the Imperial patrimony. An adequate, or at least a valuable, compensation, was offered by the Eastern emperor, to purchase a necessary peace. Eudoxia and her younger daughter, Placidia, were honourably restored, and the fury of the Vandals was confined to the limits of the Western empire. The Italians, destitute of a naval force, which alone was capable of protecting their coasts, implored the aid of the more fortunate nations of the East; who had formerly acknowledged, in peace and war, the supremacy of Rome. But the perpetual division of the two empires had alienated their interest and their inclinations; the faith of a recent treaty was alleged; and the Western Romans, instead of arms and ships, could only obtain the assistance of a cold and ineffectual mediation. The haughty Ricimer, who had long struggled with the difficulties of his situation, was at length reduced to address the throne of Constantinople, in the humble language of a subject; and Italy submitted, as the price and security of the alliance, to accept a master from the choice of the emperor of the East.<sup>64</sup> It is not the purpose of the present chapter, or even of the present volume, to continue the distinct series of the Byzantine history; but a concise view of the reign and character of the emperor Leo, may explain the last efforts that were attempted to save the falling empire of the West.<sup>65</sup>

Since the death of the younger Theodosius, the domestic repose of Constantinople had never been interrupted by war or faction. Pulcheria had bestowed her hand, and the sceptre of the East, on the modest virtue of Marcian: he gratefully revered her august rank and virgin chastity; and, after her death, he gave his people the example of the religious worship, that was due to the memory of the Imperial saint.<sup>66</sup> Attentive to the prosperity of his own dominions, Marcian seemed to behold, with indifference, the misfortunes of Rome; and the obstinate refusal of a brave and active prince, to draw his sword against the Vandals, was ascribed to a secret promise, which had formerly been exacted from him when he was a captive in the power of Genseric. The death of Marcian, after a reign of seven

<sup>64</sup> The first invasion of Carthage, which had been made by the Romans, was in the year 464, by the Emperor Valentinian III. and his mother Eudoxia. The Vandals, who were then in the possession of the island, were defeated by the Romans, and the city was taken. The Vandals, who were then in the possession of the island, were defeated by the Romans, and the city was taken.

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years, would have exposed the East to the danger of a popular election; if the superior weight of a single family had not been able to incline the balance in favour of the candidate whose interest they supported. The patrician Aspar might have placed the diadem on his own head, if he would have subscribed the Nicene creed.<sup>67</sup> During three generations, the armies of the East were successively commanded by his father, by himself, and by his son Ardaburius: his barbarian guards formed a military force that overawed the palace and the capital; and the liberal distribution of his immense treasures rendered Aspar as popular, as he was powerful. He recommended the obscure name of Leo of Thrace, a military tribune, and the principal steward of his household. His nomination was unanimously ratified by the senate; and the servant of Aspar received the Imperial crown from the hands of the patriarch or bishop, who was permitted to express, by this unusual ceremony, the suffrage of the Deity.<sup>68</sup> This emperor, the first of the name of Leo, has been distinguished, by the title of the *Great*, from a succession of princes, who gradually fixed in the opinion of the Greeks a very humble standard of heroic, or at least of royal, perfection. Yet the temperate firmness with which Leo resisted the oppression of his benefactor, showed that he was conscious of his duty and of his prerogative. Aspar was astonished to find that his influence could no longer appoint a prefect of Constantinople: he presumed to reproach his sovereign with a breach of promise, and insolently slaking his purple, "It is not proper (said he), that the man who is invested with this garment, should be guilty of lying." "Nor is it proper (replied Leo), that a prince should be compelled to resign his own judgment, and the public interest, to the will of a subject."<sup>69</sup> After this extraordinary scene, it was impossible that the reconciliation of the emperor and the patrician could be sincere; or, at least, that it could be solid and permanent. An army of Isaurians<sup>70</sup> was secretly levied, and introduced into Constantinople; and while Leo undermined the authority, and prepared the disgrace, of the family of Aspar, his mild and cautious behaviour restrained them from any rash and desperate attempts, which might have been fatal to themselves, or their enemies. The measures of peace and war were affected by this internal revolution. As long as Aspar detested the majesty of the throne, the secret correspondence of religion and interest engaged him to favour the cause of Genesic. When Leo had delivered himself from that ignominious servitude, he listened to the complaints of the Italians; resolved to extirpate the tyranny of the Vandals; and declared his alliance with his colleague, Anthe-

mius, whom he solemnly invested with the diadem and purple of the West.

The virtues of Anthemius have <sup>Anthemius, emperor of the West</sup> perhaps been magnified, since he could <sup>A. D. 467-172.</sup> deduce from the usurper Procopius, has been swelled into a line of emperors.<sup>71</sup> But the merit of his immediate parents, their honours, and their riches, rendered Anthemius one of the most illustrious subjects of the East. His father, Procopius, obtained, after his Persian embassy, the rank of general and patrician; and the name of Anthemius was derived from his maternal grandfather, the celebrated prefect, who protected, with so much ability and success, the infant reign of Theodosius. The grandson of the prefect was raised above the condition of a private subject, by his marriage with Euphemia, the daughter of the emperor Marcian. This splendid alliance, which might supersede the necessity of merit, hastened the promotion of Anthemius to the successive dignities of count, of master-general, of consul, and of patrician; and his merit or fortune claimed the honours of a victory, which was obtained on the banks of the Danube, over the Huns. Without indulging an extravagant ambition, the son-in-law of Marcian might hope to be his successor; but Anthemius supported the disappointment with courage and patience; and his subsequent elevation was universally approved by the public, who esteemed him worthy to reign, till he ascended the throne.<sup>72</sup> The emperor of the West marched from Constantinople, attended by several counts of high distinction, and a body of guards almost equal to the strength and numbers of a regular army: he entered Rome <sup>A. D. 467.</sup> in triumph, and the choice of Leo <sup>April 12.</sup> was confirmed by the senate, the people, and the barbarian confederates of Italy.<sup>73</sup> The solemn inauguration of Anthemius was followed by the nuptials of his daughter and the patrician Ricimer; a fortunate event, which was considered as the firmest security of the union and happiness of the state. The wealth of two empires was ostentatiously displayed; and many senators completed their ruin, by an expensive effort to disguise their poverty. All serious business was suspended during this festival; the courts of justice were shut; the streets of Rome, the theatres, the places of public and private resort, resounded with hymeneal songs and dances; and the royal bride, clothed in silken robes, with a crown on her head, was conducted to the palace of Ricimer, who had changed his military dress for the habit of a consul and a senator. On this memorable occasion, Sidonius, whose early ambition had been so fatally blasted, appeared as the orator of Auvergne, among the provincial deputies who addressed the throne with congratula-

<sup>67</sup> From this disability of Aspar to ascend the throne, it may be inferred that the state of Aspar was perpetual and undidable, while that of barbarism disappeared in the second generation.

<sup>68</sup> Theophanes, p. 105. This appears to be the first origin of a ceremony, which, at the Christian prince, of the world, has since been adopted, and from which the clergy have deduced the most formidable consequences.

<sup>69</sup> Cedrenus, p. 315. The emperor, who was conversant with the writers of better days, has preserved the remarkable words of Aspar: *ἄνθρωπος ὁποῖον ἐστὶν ἀνδρὶ καὶ βασιλεὶς ἀκούει*. *How does it appear to a man and a king?*

<sup>70</sup> The power of the Isaurians against the Eastern empire, on the two succeeding reigns of Zeno and Anastasius, but increased the destruction of these barbarians, who maintained their independence about two hundred and thirty years.

<sup>71</sup>

— Tali in cavis ab urbe

Procopius, *de morte imperatoris*, c. 1. p. 105.

*Antemius* c. 1. p. 105.

The poet (Sidon. *Panegyric* Anthemius, 67-706. then proceeds to relate the private life and fortunes of the future emperor, with which he must have been very conversant, acquainted.

<sup>72</sup> Sidonius discovers, with tolerable ingenuity, that this dispendious addition new lustre to the virtues of Anthemius (110). See, however, the poet's own words, and particularly a couplet of other (12). See, however, the poet's own words, and particularly a couplet of other (12). See, however, the poet's own words, and particularly a couplet of other (12).

<sup>73</sup> The poet again celebrates the unanimity of all orders of the state (113-115). and the Clemency of Isaurians mentions the forces which attended the march.







consumed, he threw himself in his armour into the sea, disdainfully rejected the esteem and pity of Genso, the son of Genserik, who pressed him to accept honourable quarter, and sunk under the waves; exclaiming, with his last breath, that he would never fall alive into the hands of those impious dogs. Actuated by a far different spirit, Basiliscus, whose station was the most remote from danger, disgracefully fled in the beginning of the engagement, returned to Constantinople with the loss of more than half of his fleet and army, and sheltered his guilty head in the sanctuary of St. Sophia, till his sister, by her tears and entreaties, could obtain his pardon from the indignant emperor. Heraclius effected his retreat through the desert; Marcellinus retired to Sicily, where he was assassinated, perhaps at the instigation of Ricimer, by one of his own captains; and the king of the Vandals, expressed his surprise and satisfaction, that the Romans themselves should remove from the world his most formidable antagonists.<sup>2</sup> After the failure of this great expedition, Genserik again became the tyrant of the sea: the coasts of Italy, Greece, and Asia, were again exposed to his revenge and avarice; Tripoli and Sardinia returned to his obedience; he added Sicily to the

A. D. 477. number of his provinces; and, before he died, in the fulness of years and of glory, he beheld the final extinction of the empire of the West.<sup>10</sup>

During his long and active reign, the African monarch had studiously cultivated the friendship of the barbarians of Europe, whose arms he might employ to a seasonable and effectual diversion against the two empires. After the death of Attila, he renewed his alliance with the Visigoths of Gaul; and the sons of the elder Theodoric, who successively reigned over that warlike nation, were easily persuaded, by the sense of interest, to forget the cruel affront which Genseric had inflicted on their sister.<sup>31</sup> The death of the emperor Majorian deliv'ed Theodoric the Second from the restraint of fear, and perhaps of honour; he violated his recent treaty with the Romans; and the ample territory of Narbonne, which he firmly united to his dominions, became the immediate reward of his perfidy. The selfish policy of Ricmer encouraged him to invade the provinces which were in the possession of Egidius, his rival; but the active count, by the defence of Arles, and the victory of Orleans, saved Gaul, and checked, during his lifetime, the progress of the Visigoths. His ambition was soon kindled; and the design of a singling out the Roman em-

pire in Spain and Gaul was conceived, and almost completed, in the reign of Euric, who assassinated his brother Theodoric, and displayed, with a more savage temper, superior abilities both in peace and war. He passed the Pyrenees at the head of a numerous army, subdued the cities of Saragossa and Pampeluna, vanquished in battle the martial nobles of the Tarragonese province, carried his victorious arms into the heart of Lusitania, and permitted the Suevi to hold the kingdom of Galicia under the Gothic monarchy of Spain.<sup>12</sup> The efforts of Euric were not less vigorous, or less successful, in Gaul; and throughout the country that extends from the Pyrenees to the Rhone and the Loire, Berry, and Auvergne, were the only cities, or dioceses, which refused to acknowledge him as their master.<sup>13</sup> In the defence of Clermont, their principal town, the inhabitants of Auvergne sustained, with inflexible resolution, the miseries of war, pestilence, and famine; and the Visigoths, relinquishing the fruitless siege, suspended the hopes of that important conquest. The youth of the province were animated by the heroic, and almost incredible, valour of Ecdicius, the son of the emperor Avitus;<sup>14</sup> who made a desperate sally with only eighteen horsemen, boldly attacked the Gothic army, and, after maintaining a flying skirmish, retired safe and victorious within the walls of Clermont. His charity was equal to his courage: in a time of extreme scarcity, four thousand poor were fed at his expense; and his private influence levied an army of Burgundians for the deliverance of Auvergne. From his virtues alone the faithful citizens of Gaul derived any hopes of safety or freedom; and even such virtues were insufficient to avert the impending ruin of their country, since they were anxious to learn from his authority and example, whether they should prefer the alternative of exile, or servitude.<sup>15</sup> The public confidence was lost; the resources of the state were exhausted; and the Gauls had too much reason to believe, that Anthemius, who reigned in Italy, was incapable of protecting his distressed subjects beyond the Alps. The feeble emperor could only procure for their defence the service of twelve thousand British auxiliaries. Rithamus, one of the independent kings, or chieftains, of the island, was persuaded to transport his troops to the continent of Gaul; he sailed up the Loire, and established his quarters in Berry, where the people complained of these oppressive allies, till they were destroyed, or dispersed, by the arms of the Visigoths.<sup>16</sup>

One of the last acts of jurisdiction, which the Roman senate exercised

1. In the case of a Y-linked trait, the trait is passed from father to son. For example, the trait of having a hairy earlobe is Y-linked. If a man has a hairy earlobe, he will pass the trait to all of his sons. If a woman has a hairy earlobe, she will not pass the trait to any of her children.

[illegible]



negotiate with the prince, whose alliance he had condescended to accept. The peaceful and prosperous reign which Anthemius had promised to the West, was soon clouded by misfortune and discord. Ricimer, apprehensive, or impatient, of a superior, retired from Rome, and fixed his residence at Milan; an advantageous situation, either to invite, or to repel, the war-like tribes that were seated between the Alps and the Danube.<sup>102</sup> Italy was gradually divided into two independent and hostile kingdoms; and the nobles of Liguria, who trembled at the near approach of a civil war, fell prostrate at the feet of the patrician, and conjured him to spare their unhappy country. "For my own part," replied Ricimer, in a tone of insolent moderation, "I am still inclined to embrace the friendship of the Galatian;<sup>103</sup> but who will undertake to appease his anger, or to mitigate the pride, which always rises in proportion to our submission?" They informed him, that Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia,<sup>104</sup> united the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove; and appeared confident, that the eloquence of such an ambassador must prevail against the strongest opposition, either of interest or passion. Their recommendation was approved; and Epiphanius, assuming the benevolent office of mediation, proceeded without delay to Rome, where he was received with the honours due to his merit and reputation. The oration of a bishop in favour of peace, may be easily supposed he argued, that, in all possible circumstances, the forgiveness of injuries must be an act of mercy, or magnanimity, or prudence; and he seriously admonished the emperor to avoid a contest with a fierce barbarian, which might be fatal to himself, and must be ruinous to his dominions. Anthemius acknowledged the truth of his maxims; but he deeply felt, with grief and indignation, the behaviour of Ricimer; and his passion gave eloquence and energy to his discourse. "What favours," he warmly exclaimed, "have we refused to this ungrateful man? what provocations have we not endured? Regardless of the majesty of the purple, I gave my daughter to a Goth; I sacrificed my own blood to the safety of the republic. The liberality which ought to have secured the eternal attachment of Ricimer has exasperated him against his benefactor. What wars has he not excited against the empire? How often has he instigated, and assisted, the fury of hostile nations? Shall I now accept his perfidious friendship? Can I hope that he will respect the engagements of a treaty, who has already violated the duties of a son?" But the anger of Anthemius evaporated in these passionate exclamations. He insensibly yielded to the proposals of Epiphanius; and the

bishop returned to his diocese with the satisfaction of restoring the peace of Italy, by a reconciliation,<sup>105</sup> of which the sincerity and continuance might be reasonably suspected. The clemency of the emperor was extorted from his weakness; and Ricimer suspended his ambitious designs, till he had secretly prepared the engines with which he resolved to subvert the throne of Anthemius. The mask of peace and moderation was then thrown aside. The army of Ricimer was fortified by a numerous reinforcement of Burgundians and Oriental Suci; he disclaimed all allegiance to the Greek emperor, marched from Milan to the gates of Rome, and fixing his camp on the banks of the Anio, impatiently expected the arrival of Olybrius, his Imperial candidate.

The senator Olybrius, of the Anician family, might esteem himself the lawful heir of the Western empire. He had married Placidia, the younger daughter of Valentinian, after she was restored by Genseric; who still detained her sister Eudoxia, as the wife, or rather as the captive, of his son. The king of the Vandals supported, by threats and solicitations, the fair pretensions of his Roman ally; and assigned, as one of the motives of the war, the refusal of the senate and people to acknowledge their lawful prince, and the unworthy preference which they had given to a stranger.<sup>106</sup> The friendship of the public enemy might render Olybrius still more unpopular to the Italians; but when Ricimer meditated the ruin of the emperor Anthemius, he tempted, with the offer of a diadem, the candidate who could justify his rebellion by an illustrious name, and a royal alliance. The husband of Placidia, who, like most of his ancestors, had been invested with the consular dignity, might have continued to enjoy a secure and splendid fortune in the paternal residence of Constantinople; nor does he appear to have been tormented by such a genius, as cannot be amused or occupied, unless by the administration of an empire. Yet Olybrius yielded to the importunities of his friends, perhaps of his wife; rashly plunged into the dangers and calamities of a civil war; and, with the secret connivance of the emperor Leo, accepted the Italian purple, which was bestowed, and resumed, at the capricious will of a barbarian. He landed without obstacle (for Genseric was master of the sea) either at Ravenna or the port of Ostia, and immediately proceeded to the camp of Ricimer, where he was received as the sovereign of the Western world.<sup>107</sup>

The patrician, who had extended his posts from the Anio to the Milvian bridge, already possessed two quarters of Rome, the Vatican and

Olybrius emperor of the West, A.D. 473, Mar. 24.

See the Roman A.D. 473, Mar. 24.

<sup>102</sup> Ricimer, under the reign of Anthemius, declined and drove in battle, Ricimer, king of the Alps, from his capital, Pavia. His sister had married the king of the Burgundians, and he had obtained an intimate connection with the Suevi, coming established at Pannonia and Noricum.

<sup>103</sup> Galatian confederations. Since the first notes to Pavia, it applies the application to Anthemius, he is the emperor, who was probably born in the province of Galatia, whose confederations, the Galatians, were supposed to, under the name of a savage and a corrupted people.

<sup>104</sup> Epiphanius was born in Sicily, at Pavia, A.D. 407. He was a theologian, and a writer of many books. His actions and his writings have been unknown to posterity, as he died, or his successors had not written his life (Baronius, Opera, tom. 4, p. 100).

<sup>105</sup> Ricimer, under the reign of Anthemius, declined and drove in battle, Ricimer, king of the Alps, from his capital, Pavia. His sister had married the king of the Burgundians, and he had obtained an intimate connection with the Suevi, coming established at Pannonia and Noricum.

the Janiculum, which are separated by the Tyber from the rest of the city; and it may be conjectured, that an assembly of seceding senators initiated, in the choice of Olybrius, the forms of a legal election. But the body of the senate and people firmly adhered to the cause of Anthemius; and the more effectual support of a Gothic army enabled him to prolong his reign, and the public distress, by a resistance of three months, which produced the concomitant evils of famine and pestilence. At length, Ricimer made a furious assault on the bridge of Hadrian, or St. Angelo; and the narrow pass was defended with equal valour by the Goths, till the death of Gildimer their leader. The victorious troops, breaking down every barrier, rushed with irresistible violence into the heart of the city, and Rome (if we may use the language of a contemporary pope) was subverted by the civil fury of Anthemius and Ricimer.<sup>101</sup> The unfortunate Anthemius was dragged from his concealment, and inhumanly massacred by the command of his son-in-law; who thus added a third, or perhaps a fourth, emperor to the number of his victims. The soldiers, who united the rage of factious citizens with the savage manners of barbarians, were indulged, without control, in the licence of rapine and murder: the crowd of slaves and plebeians, who were unconcerned in the event, could only gain by the indiscriminate pillage; and the face of the city exhibited the strange contrast of stern cruelty, and dissolute intemperance.<sup>102</sup>

Forty days after this calamitous event, the subject, not of glory, but of guilt, Italy was delivered, by a painful disease, from the tyrant Ricimer, who bequeathed the command of his army to his nephew Gundobald, one of the princes of the Burgundians. In the same year, all the principal actors in this great revolution were removed from the stage; and the whole reign of Olybrius, whose death does not betray any symptoms of violence, is included within the term of seven months. He left one daughter, the offspring of his marriage with Placidia; and the family of the great Theodosius, transplanted from Spain to Constantinople, was propagated in the female line as far as the eighth generation.<sup>103</sup>

While the vacant throne of Italy was abandoned to lawless barbarians,<sup>104</sup> the election of a new colleague was seriously agitated in the council of Leo. The empress Verina, studious

to promote the greatness of her own family, had married one of her nieces to Julius Nepos, who succeeded his uncle Marcellinus in the sovereignty of Dalmatia, a more solid possession than the title which he was persuaded to accept, of emperor of the West. But the measures of the Byzantine court were so languid and irresolute, that many months elapsed after the death of Anthemius, and even of Olybrius, before their destined successor could show himself, with a respectable force, to his Italian subjects. During that interval, Glycerius, an obscure soldier, was invested with the purple by his patron Gundobald; but the Burgundian prince was unable, or unwilling, to support his nomination by a civil war: the pursuits of domestic ambition recalled him beyond the Alps,<sup>105</sup> and his client was permitted to exchange the Roman sceptre for the bishopric of Salona. After extinguishing such a competitor, the emperor Nepos was acknowledged by the senate, by the Italians, and by the provincials of Gaul; his moral virtues, and military talents, were loudly celebrated; and those who derived any private benefit from his government, announced, in prophetic strains, the restoration of the public felicity.<sup>106</sup> Their hopes (if such hopes had been entertained) were confounded within the term of a single year; and the treaty of peace, which ceded Auvergne to the Visigoths, is the only event of his short and inglorious reign. The most faithful subjects of Gaul were sacrificed, by the Italian emperor, to the hope of domestic security;<sup>107</sup> but his repose was soon invaded by a furious selition of the barbarian confederates, who, under the command of Orestes, their general, were in full march from Rome to Ravenna. Nepos trembled at their approach; and, instead of placing a just confidence in the strength of Ravenna, he hastily escaped to his ships, and retired to his Dalmatian principality, on the opposite coast of the Adriatic. By this shameful abdication, he protracted his life about five years, in a very ambiguous state, between an emperor and an exile: till he was assassinated at Salona by the ungrateful Glycerius, who was translated, perhaps as the reward of his crime, to the archbishopric of Milan.<sup>108</sup>

The nations, who had asserted their independence after the death of Attila, were established, by the right of possession or conquest, in the boundless countries to the north of the Danube; or in the Roman provinces between the river and the

The partition  
Orestes,  
A. D. 475.

<sup>101</sup> The fall of the Western empire, or rather of the Roman empire, is a subject which has attracted the attention of many writers. The most accurate and judicious of these writers is Mr. Hume, who has treated this subject in his History of England, vol. vi. c. 1. The most complete and useful of these writers is Mr. Gibbon, who has treated this subject in his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. vi. c. 1. The most interesting of these writers is Mr. Macaulay, who has treated this subject in his History of England, vol. vi. c. 1.

<sup>102</sup> See the account of the death of Anthemius in the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. vi. c. 1. The account of the death of Anthemius in the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. vi. c. 1.

<sup>103</sup> See the account of the death of Anthemius in the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. vi. c. 1. The account of the death of Anthemius in the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. vi. c. 1.

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<sup>106</sup> See the account of the death of Anthemius in the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. vi. c. 1. The account of the death of Anthemius in the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. vi. c. 1.

<sup>107</sup> See the account of the death of Anthemius in the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. vi. c. 1. The account of the death of Anthemius in the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. vi. c. 1.

Alps. But the bravest of their youth enlisted in the army of *confederates*, who formed the defence and the terror of Italy;<sup>117</sup> and in this promiscuous multitude, the names of the Heruli, the Scyri, the Alani, the Thuringi, and the Rugians, appear to have predominated. The example of these warriors was imitated by Orestes,<sup>118</sup> the son of Tatullus, and the father of the last Roman emperor of the West. Orestes, who has been already mentioned in this history, had never deserted his country. His birth and fortunes rendered him one of the most illustrious subjects of Pannonia. When that province was ceded to the Huns, he entered into the service of Attila, his lawful sovereign, obtained the office of his secretary, and was repeatedly sent ambassador to Constantinople, to represent the person, and signify the commands, of the impious monarch. The death of that conqueror restored him to his freedom; and Orestes might haughtily refuse either to follow the sons of Attila into the Scythian desert, or to obey the Ostrogoths, who had usurped the dominion of Pannonia. He preferred the service of the Italian princes, the successors of Valentinian; and, as he possessed the qualifications of courage, industry, and experience, he advanced with rapid steps in the military profession, till he was elevated, by the favour of Nepos himself, to the dignities of patrician, and master-general of the troops. These troops had been long accustomed to reverence the character and authority of Orestes, who affected their manners, conversed with them in their own language, and was intimately connected with their national chiefs; and, by long habits of familiarity and friendship. At his solicitation they rose in arms against the obscure Greek, who presumed to claim the sovereignty; and when Orestes, from some secret motive, declined the purple, they conspired, with the same facility, to acknowledge, as his son and partner, as the emperor of the West. By the abdication of

<sup>117</sup> Our knowledge of the constitution, which supported the Western empire, is derived from the fragments of the *Constitutiones* of the Emperor Theodosius, and the *Notitia* of the Emperor Honorius. The *Notitia* is a list of the military establishments of the Western empire, and is a valuable source of information. The *Constitutiones* are a collection of laws, which were issued by the Emperor Theodosius, and are a valuable source of information. The *Notitia* is a list of the military establishments of the Western empire, and is a valuable source of information. The *Constitutiones* are a collection of laws, which were issued by the Emperor Theodosius, and are a valuable source of information.

divided among them. Orestes, with a spirit, which, in another situation, might be entitled to our esteem, chose rather to encounter the rage of an armed multitude, than to subscribe the ruin of an innocent people. He rejected the audacious demand; and his refusal was favourable to the ambition of Odoacer; a bold barbarian, who assured his fellow-soldiers, that, if they dared to associate under his command, they might soon extort the justice which had been denied to their dutiful petitions. From all the camps and garrisons of Italy, the confederates, actuated by the same resentment and the same hopes, impatiently flocked to the standard of this popular leader; and the unfortunate patrician, overwhelmed by the torrent, hastily retreated to the strong city of Pavia, the episcopal seat of the holy Epiphanius. Pavia was immediately besieged, the fortifications were stormed, the town was pillaged; and although the bishop might labour, with much zeal and some success, to save the property of the church, and the chastity of female captives, the tumult could only be appeased by the execution of Orestes.<sup>119</sup> His brother Paul was slain in an action near Ravenna; and the helpless Augustulus, who could no longer command the respect, was reduced to implore the clemency, of Odoacer.

That successful barbarian was the son of Edecon; who, in some remarkable transactions, particularly described in a preceding chapter, had been the colleague of Orestes himself. The honour of an ambassador should be exempt from suspicion; and Edecon had listened to a conspiracy against the life of his sovereign. But this apparent guilt was expiated by his repentance; his talents as efficient and cunning courtier, he enjoyed the favour of Attila; and the troops under his command, who guarded in their turn the royal village, consisted in a tribe of Scyri, his immediate and hereditary subjects. In the revolt of the nations, they still adhered to the Huns; and, more than twelve years afterwards, the name of Edecon is honourably mentioned, in their unequal contest with the Ostrogoths; which was terminated, after two bloody battles, by the defeat and dispersion of the Scyri.<sup>120</sup> Their gallant leader, who did not survive this national calamity, left two sons, Onulf and Odoacer, to struggle with adversity, and to maintain as they might, by rapine or service, the faithful followers of their exile. Onulf directed his steps towards Constantinople, where he solicited, by the recommendation of a generous benefactor, the fame which he had acquired in arms. His brother Odoacer led a wandering life among the barbarians of Noricum, with a rural and a fortune equal to the most desperate adventures; and when he had tried his chance, he piously visited the cell of Symeon, the popular saint of the country, to solicit his approbation and blessing.

Odoacer, king of Italy, A. D. 476—490.

<sup>117</sup> Our knowledge of the constitution, which supported the Western empire, is derived from the fragments of the *Constitutiones* of the Emperor Theodosius, and the *Notitia* of the Emperor Honorius. The *Notitia* is a list of the military establishments of the Western empire, and is a valuable source of information. The *Constitutiones* are a collection of laws, which were issued by the Emperor Theodosius, and are a valuable source of information.

<sup>119</sup> The death of Orestes is mentioned by the historian Procopius, who states that he was executed by the soldiers of Odoacer. The death of Orestes is also mentioned by the historian Zosimus, who states that he was executed by the soldiers of Odoacer.



Campania; and the country-house of the elder Scipio at Liternum exhibited a lasting model of their rustic simplicity.<sup>128</sup> The delicious shores of the bay of Naples were crowded with villas; and Sylla applauded the masterly skill of his rival, who had seated himself on the lofty promontory of Misenum, that commands, on every side, the sea and land, as far as the boundaries of the horizon.<sup>129</sup> The villa of Manius was purchased, within a few years, by Lucullus, and the price had increased from two thousand five hundred, to more than fourscore thousand pounds sterling.<sup>130</sup> It was adorned by the new proprietor with Grecian arts, and Asiatic treasures; and the houses and gardens of Lucullus obtained a distinguished rank in the list of Imperial palaces.<sup>131</sup> When the Vandals became formidable to the sea-coast, the Lucullan villa, on the promontory of Misenum, gradually assumed the strength and appellation of a strong castle, the obscure retreat of the last emperor of the West. About twenty years after that great revolution, it was converted into a church and monastery to receive the bones of St. Severinus. They securely reposed, amidst the broken trophies of Cimbric and Armenian victories, till the beginning of the tenth century; when the fortifications, which might afford a dangerous shelter to the Saracens, were demolished by the people of Naples.<sup>132</sup>

**Decay of the Roman spirit.** Odoacer was the first barbarian who reigned in Italy, over a people who had once asserted their just superiority above the rest of mankind. The disgrace of the Romans still excites our respectful compassion, and we fondly sympathise with the imaginary grief and indignation of their degenerate posterity. But the calamities of Italy had gradually subdued the proud consciousness of freedom and glory. In the age of Roman virtue, the provinces were subject to the arms, and the citizens to the laws, of the republic; till those laws were subverted by civil discord, and both the city and the provinces became the servile property of a tyrant. The forms of the constitution, which alleviated or disguised their abject slavery, were abolished by time and violence; the Italians alternately lamented the presence or the absence of the sovereigns, whom they detested or despised; and the succession of five centuries inflicted the various evils of military licence, capricious despotism, and elaborate oppression. During the same period, the barbarians had emerged from obscurity and contempt, and the warriors of Germany and

Scythia were introduced into the provinces, as the servants, the allies, and at length the masters, of the Romans, whom they insulted or protected. The hatred of the people was suppressed by fear; they respected the spirit and splendour of the martial chiefs who were invested with the honours of the empire; and the fate of Rome had long depended on the sword of those formidable strangers. The stern Richmer, who trampled on the ruins of Italy, had exercised the power, without assuming the title, of a king; and the patient Romans were insensibly prepared to acknowledge the royalty of Odoacer and his barbaric successors.

The king of Italy was not unworthy of the high station to which his valour and fortune had exalted him: his savage manners were polished by the habits of conversation; and he respected, though a conqueror and a barbarian, the institutions, and even the prejudices, of his subjects. After an interval of seven years, Odoacer restored the consulship of the West. For himself, he modestly, or proudly, declined an honour which was still accepted by the emperors of the East; but the curule chair was successively filled by eleven of the most illustrious senators;<sup>133</sup> and the list is adorned by the respectable name of Basilus, whose virtues claimed the friendship and grateful applause of Sidonius, his client.<sup>134</sup> The laws of the emperors were strictly enforced, and the civil administration of Italy was still exercised by the praetorian prefect, and his subordinate officers. Odoacer devolved on the Roman magistrates the odious and oppressive task of collecting the public revenue, but he reserved for himself the merit of seasonable and popular indulgence.<sup>135</sup> Like the rest of the barbarians, he had been instructed in the Arian heresy; but he revived the monastic and episcopal characters; and the silence of the Catholics attests the toleration which they enjoyed. The peace of the city required the interposition of his prefect Basilus in the choice of a Roman pontiff: the decree which restrained the clergy from alienating their lands, was ultimately designed for the benefit of the people, whose devotion would have been taxed to repair the dilapidations of the church.<sup>136</sup> Italy was protected by the arms of its conqueror; and its frontiers were respected by the barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had so long insulted the feeble race of Theodosius. Odoacer passed the Hadriatic, to chastise the assassins of the emperor Nepos, and to acquire the maritime

<sup>128</sup> See the account of the villa of Scipio in Pliny's *Natural History*, lib. viii. c. 12. The villa of Scipio was situated on the coast of Campania, and was one of the most magnificent of the kind. It was destroyed by the Vandals, and the site was afterwards used as a fortress.

<sup>129</sup> See the account of the villa of Manius in Pliny's *Natural History*, lib. viii. c. 13. The villa of Manius was situated on the coast of Campania, and was one of the most magnificent of the kind. It was destroyed by the Vandals, and the site was afterwards used as a fortress.

<sup>130</sup> From a statement made by the historian, it appears that the villa of Manius was purchased by Lucullus for the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds sterling.

<sup>131</sup> Lucullus was a Roman statesman and general, who lived during the first century B.C. He was known for his wealth and his patronage of the arts.

<sup>132</sup> See the account of the destruction of the villa of Manius in the *Annals of the Emperor Justinian*, lib. i. c. 12.

<sup>133</sup> The names of the senators who held the consulship of the West under Odoacer are: Basilus, Placidius, and others.

<sup>134</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris was a Gallo-Roman poet and statesman, who lived during the fifth century.

<sup>135</sup> Odoacer's policy was to maintain peace and order in Italy, and to protect the interests of the Roman people.

<sup>136</sup> The decree which restrained the clergy from alienating their lands was issued by Odoacer in the year 476.

<sup>137</sup> See the account of the decree in the *Annals of the Emperor Justinian*, lib. i. c. 12.





and degenerate world, to perpetual solitude, or religious society. Like the first Christians of Jerusalem,<sup>3</sup> they resigned the use, or the property, of their temporal possessions; established regular communities of the same sex, and a similar disposition; and assumed the names of *Hermits*, *Monks*, and *Anachorets*, expressive of their lonely retreat in a natural or artificial desert. They soon acquired the respect of the world, which they despised; and the loudest applause was bestowed on this Divine Philosophy,<sup>4</sup> which surpassed, without the aid of science or reason, the laborious virtues of the Grecian schools. The monks might indeed contend with the Stoics, in the contempt of fortune, of pain, and of death; the Pythagorean silence and submission were revived in their scrupulous discipline; and they disdained, as futile as the Cynics themselves, all the forms and decencies of civil society. But the votaries of this Divine Philosophy aspired to imitate a purer and more perfect model. They trod in the footsteps of the prophets, who had retired to the desert;<sup>5</sup> and they restored the devout and contemplative life, which had been instituted by the Essenes, in Palestine and Egypt. The philosophic eye of Pliny had surveyed with astonishment a solitary people, who dwelt among the palm-trees near the Dead Sea; who subsisted without money, who were propagated without women; and who derived from the disgust and repentance of mankind, a perpetual supply of voluntary associates.<sup>6</sup>

Egypt, the fruitful parent of superstition, afforded the first example of the monastic life. Antony, an illiterate youth of the lower parts of Thebes, distributed his patrimony, deserted his family and native home, and executed his *ascetic* penance with original and intrepid tameness. After a long and painful novitiate, among the tombs, and in a ruined tower, he boldly advanced into the desert three days' journey to the eastward of the Nile; discovered a lonely spot, which possessed the advantages of shade and water, and fixed his last residence on Mount

Colzim, near the Red Sea; where an ancient monastery still preserves the name and memory of the saint.<sup>10</sup> The curious devotion of the Christians pursued him to the desert; and when he was obliged to appear at Alexandria, in the face of mankind, he supported his fame with discretion and dignity. He enjoyed the friendship of Athanasius, whose doctrine he approved, and the Egyptian peasant respectfully declined a respectful invitation from the emperor Constantine. The venerable patriarch (for Antony attained the age of one <sup>A.D. 356</sup> hundred and five years) beheld the numerous progeny which had been formed by his example and his lessons. The prolific colonies of monks multiplied with rapid increase on the sands of Libya, upon the rocks of Thebais, and in the cities of the Nile. To the south of Alexandria, the mountain, and adjacent desert, of Nitria, were peopled by five thousand anachorets; and the traveller may still investigate the ruins of fifty monasteries, which were planted in that barren soil by the disciples of Antony.<sup>11</sup> In the Upper Thebais, the vacant island of Tabenne<sup>12</sup> was occupied by Pachomius and fourteen hundred of his brethren. That holy abbot successively founded nine monasteries of men, and one of women; and the festival of Easter sometimes collected fifty thousand religious persons, who followed his *angelic* rule of discipline.<sup>13</sup> The stately and populous city of Oxyrinchus, the seat of Christian orthodoxy, had devoted the temples, the public edifices, and even the ramparts, to pious and charitable uses; and the bishop, who might preach in twelve churches, computed ten thousand females and twenty thousand males of the monastic profession.<sup>14</sup> The Egyptians, who gloried in this marvellous revolution, were disposed to hope, and to believe, that the number of the monks was equal to the remainder of the people;<sup>15</sup> and posterity might repeat the saying, which had formerly been applied to the sacred animals of the same country. That, in Egypt, it was less difficult to find a god than a man.

Atlantides introduced into Rome the know-

3 Cassan (Cittat xvii, 5) claims this origin for the institution of the *cinquante*, which gradually decayed till it was restored by Anthony and his disciples.

<sup>1</sup> Περὶ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως τοῦ κόσμου, *Παρά Θεου ἡ μεταβολή*, p. 60. These are the expressive words of "salvation," which unopiously and agreeably describes the Christian's progress in his philosophy. See also Thesaur. Folio. tom. iv. p. 1141. Some modern writers, Lipsius tom. iv. p. 418; Manducati ad Philosoph. stoic. m. 171, and La Methe de Vayer tom. ix. de la Vertu des Payens, p. 228-29<sup>23</sup> have compared the Cornutes to the Pythagoreans, and the Vinctus to the Epicurians.

A 116 g female drove the specimen to a regular site of deposition, from a plot of *F. thymifolia* at L'Esperance, Berens, A.D. 1984, in Bowles Nature's Sanctuary, Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada, on a north-south axis, and the plot was visited by the female *M. thymifolia* on a bi-monthly work, from 1981-1987. During 1987-1988, the male *M. thymifolia* of Saskatchewan, the plot was visited by the female of *F. thymifolia*. The male *F. thymifolia* *M. thymifolia* from 1982-1990, and the female of *M. thymifolia* from 1981-1987, were found in the Church of St.

6. *Plin. Hist. Natur. v. 15.* In his soils, or in toto orbe propter ceteras mris, sine ulla femina, immo uicere sibi ita, sine penitus, sociis plurimum. In par se uorum tantum exortu et de uolens a terra est in qua neque nisi itur. In uicandis his uorum uis penitentiore est. He places them not beyond the noxious influence of the lake, and even, I think, and Mocha is the nearest town to the

the lake, and near Eucalyphi and Mithra is the nearest town. The lake, and monastery of St Saba, could not be far distant from this place. See Ireland. Palestine. tom. i. p. 291. tom. ii. p. 792. Syria. 550. 590.

7 See Athanas. Ep. tom. i. p. 470—508. and the Vit. Patrum. p. 267. with Rous. in the Armenian. The former is the Greek original, the latter a very ancient Latin version by Eusebius, the friend of St. Jerome.

[illegible]

that Antony could read and write in the Coptic, his native tongue, and that he was a student in the *lexicon* *litterarum*. The philosopher Symeon, p. 10, took it for granted that the natural genius of Antony did not require the alphabet.

There were, however, at the same time, as we have seen (Vit. Patr. i. p. 37). In the first place, some number of so-called Egyptian monks (Βασκίται, *bascaitai*, see Vit. Patr. iii. p. 141, 143, and vi. p. 182) who lived in places he called to twenty-two English monks (Εγγλέται, *engleitai*, p. 277), the number consisted about three quarters of monks, who were

20 The description of the monastery is given by Jer in *Itiner.* i, p. 218, 24: in *It. It.* it is not noted. See also *Moslems in Levant*, vol. x, p. 122-220. The account about Amr, he reconquered the father-land from Isfahy, and the desert from his experience.

11. *Chrysomelidae*: 166 and 185 species. *Hispania* (Spain) and *Vulgaria* (Italy) 71 and 81 species. *Males* (Maldives) 1 species. *Polynesia* (South Pacific Islands and New Caledonia) 1 species. *Indo-Malaya* (South and South-East Asia) 1 species. *Secoidea* (New Guinea) 1 species. *Desmids* (Australia) 74 species.

12. *Chrysomelidae*: 13 species. *Neotropicalis* (Central America and the Caribbean) 1 species. *Indo-Malaya* (South and South-East Asia) 1 species. *Polynesia* (South Pacific Islands) 1 species. *Males* (Maldives) 1 species. *Hispania* (Spain) 1 species. *Vulgaria* (Italy) 1 species. *Secoidea* (New Guinea) 1 species. *Desmids* (Australia) 1 species.

15 See in the early Royal manuscript of the *Artes* H. Bédarride, *Revue de l'histoire de la science de la France* (Paris), 1904, 1, 1, 1.

[illegible]

Propagation  
of the monastic  
life at Rome.  
A. D. 511.

ledge and practice of the monastic life; and a school of this new philosophy was opened by the disciples of Antony, who accompanied their prime to the holy threshold of the Vatican. The strange and savage appearance of these Egyptians excited, at first, horror and contempt, and, at length, applause and zealous imitation. The senators, and more especially the matrons, transformed their palaces and villas into religious houses; and the narrow institution of six Vestals was eclipsed by the frequent monasteries, which were seated on the ruins of ancient temples, and in the midst of the Roman forum.<sup>15</sup> Inflamed by the example of Antony, a Syrian youth,

Hilarion in  
Palestine.  
A. D. 345.

whose name was Hilarion,<sup>17</sup> fixed his dreary abode on a sandy beach, between the sea and a morass, about seven miles from Gaza. The austere penance in which he persisted forty-eight years, diffused a similar enthusiasm; and the holy man was followed by a train of two or three thousand anchorites, whenever he visited the innumerable monasteries of Palestine. The fame of Basil<sup>18</sup> is immortal in the monastic history of the East. With a

Basil in  
Pontus.  
A. D. 360.

mind, that had tasted the learning and eloquence of Athens; with an ambition, scarcely to be satisfied by the archbishopric of Cæsarea, Basil retired to a savage solitude in Pontus; and deigned, for a while, to give laws to the spiritual colonies which he profusely scattered along the coast of the Black Sea. In the

Martin in  
Gaul.  
A. D. 370.

West, Martin of Tours,<sup>19</sup> a soldier, an hermit, a bishop, and a saint, established the monasteries of Gaul; two thousand of his disciples followed him to the grave; and his eloquent historian challenges the deserts of Thebais, to produce, in a more favourable climate, a champion of equal virtue. The progress of the monks was not less rapid, or universal, than that of Christianity itself. Every province, and, at last, every city, of the empire, was filled with their increasing multitudes; and the bleak and barren isles, from Larino to Lipari, that arise out of the Tuscan Sea, were chosen by the anchorites, for the place of their voluntary exile. An easy and perpetual intercourse by sea and land connected the provinces of the Roman world; and the life of Hilarion displays the facility with which an indigent hermit of Palestine might traverse Egypt,

embark for Sicily, escape to Epirus, and finally settle in the island of Cyprus.<sup>20</sup> The Latin Christians embraced the religious institutions of Rome. The pilgrims, who visited Jerusalem, eagerly copied, in the most distant climates of the earth, the faithful model of the monastic life. The disciples of Antony spread themselves beyond the tropic, over the Christian empire of Ethiopia.<sup>21</sup> The monastery of Banchor,<sup>22</sup> in Flintshire, which contained above two thousand brethren, dispersed a numerous colony among the barbarians of Ireland;<sup>23</sup> and Iona, one of the Hebrides, which was planted by the Irish monks, diffused over the northern regions a doubtful ray of science and superstition.<sup>24</sup>

These unhappy exiles from social life were impelled by the dark and implacable genius of superstition. Their mutual resolution was supported by the example of millions, of either sex, of every age, and of every rank; and each proselyte, who entered the gates of a monastery, was persuaded, that he trod the steep and thorny path of eternal happiness.<sup>25</sup> But the operation of these religious motives was variously determined by the temper and situation of mankind. Reason might subdue, or passion might suspend, their influence; but they acted most forcibly on the infirm minds of children and females; they were strengthened by secret remorse, or accidental misfortune; and they might derive some aid from the temporal considerations of vanity or interest. It was naturally supposed, that the pious and humble monks, who had renounced the world, to accomplish the work of their salvation, were the best qualified for the spiritual government of the Christians. The reluctant hermit was torn from his cell, and seated, amidst the acclamations of the people, on the episcopal throne: the monasteries of Egypt, of Gaul, and of the East, supplied a regular succession of saints and bishops; and ambition soon discovered the secret road which led to the possession of wealth and honours.<sup>26</sup> The popular monks, whose reputation was connected with the fame and success of the order, assiduously laboured to multiply the number of their fellow-captives. They imitated themselves into noble and opulent families; and the specious arts of flattery and seduction were employed to secure those proselytes, who might bestow wealth or dignity on the monastic profession. The indignant

Causes of its  
rapid progress.

<sup>15</sup> The first mention of the monastic life in Rome is by St. Antony, who is said to have lived in the city of Rome, and to have been the first to introduce the monastic life into Rome.

<sup>16</sup> See the history of the monastic life in the East, and the progress of it in the West, in the works of St. Basil, and the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, by St. Jerome, and St. Augustine.

<sup>17</sup> Hilarion is mentioned by St. Jerome, and St. Augustine, as one of the first hermits of the East. He is said to have lived in the desert of Egypt, and to have been the first to introduce the monastic life into the East.

<sup>18</sup> Basil is mentioned by St. Jerome, and St. Augustine, as one of the first hermits of the East. He is said to have lived in the desert of Egypt, and to have been the first to introduce the monastic life into the East.

<sup>19</sup> Martin is mentioned by St. Jerome, and St. Augustine, as one of the first hermits of the West. He is said to have lived in the desert of Gaul, and to have been the first to introduce the monastic life into the West.

<sup>20</sup> See the history of the monastic life in the East, and the progress of it in the West, in the works of St. Basil, and the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, by St. Jerome, and St. Augustine.

<sup>21</sup> See the history of the monastic life in the East, and the progress of it in the West, in the works of St. Basil, and the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, by St. Jerome, and St. Augustine.

<sup>22</sup> See the history of the monastic life in the East, and the progress of it in the West, in the works of St. Basil, and the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, by St. Jerome, and St. Augustine.

<sup>23</sup> See the history of the monastic life in the East, and the progress of it in the West, in the works of St. Basil, and the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, by St. Jerome, and St. Augustine.

<sup>24</sup> See the history of the monastic life in the East, and the progress of it in the West, in the works of St. Basil, and the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, by St. Jerome, and St. Augustine.

<sup>25</sup> See the history of the monastic life in the East, and the progress of it in the West, in the works of St. Basil, and the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, by St. Jerome, and St. Augustine.

<sup>26</sup> See the history of the monastic life in the East, and the progress of it in the West, in the works of St. Basil, and the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, by St. Jerome, and St. Augustine.

<sup>27</sup> See the history of the monastic life in the East, and the progress of it in the West, in the works of St. Basil, and the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, by St. Jerome, and St. Augustine.

<sup>28</sup> See the history of the monastic life in the East, and the progress of it in the West, in the works of St. Basil, and the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, by St. Jerome, and St. Augustine.

<sup>29</sup> See the history of the monastic life in the East, and the progress of it in the West, in the works of St. Basil, and the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, by St. Jerome, and St. Augustine.

<sup>30</sup> See the history of the monastic life in the East, and the progress of it in the West, in the works of St. Basil, and the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, by St. Jerome, and St. Augustine.

<sup>31</sup> See the history of the monastic life in the East, and the progress of it in the West, in the works of St. Basil, and the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, by St. Jerome, and St. Augustine.

father bewailed the loss, perhaps of an only son;<sup>27</sup> the credulous mad was betrayed by vanity to violate the laws of nature; and the matron aspired to imaginary perfection, by renouncing the virtues of domestic life. Paula yielded to the persuasive eloquence of Jerom;<sup>28</sup> and the profane title of mother-in-law of God, tempted that illustrious widow to consecrate the virginity of her daughter Eustochium. By the advice, and in the company, of her spiritual guide, Paula abandoned Rome and her infant son; retired to the holy village of Bethlehem; founded an hospital and four monasteries; and acquired, by her abins and penance, an eminent and conspicuous station in the Catholic church. Such rare and illustrious penitents were celebrated as the glory and example of their age; but the monasteries were filled by a crowd of obscure and abject plebeians,<sup>29</sup> who gained in the cloister much more than they had sacrificed in the world. Peasants, slaves, and mechanics, might escape from poverty and contempt, to a safe and honourable profession; whose apparent hardships are mitigated by custom, by popular applause, and by the secret relaxation of discipline.<sup>31</sup> The subjects of Rome, whose persons and fortunes were made responsible for unequal and exorbitant tributes, retired from the oppression of the Imperial government; and the pusillanimous youth preferred the penance of a monastic, to the dangers of a military, life. The affrighted provincials of every rank, who fled before the barbarians, found shelter and subsistence; whole legions were buried in these religious sanctuaries; and the same cause, which relieved the distress of individuals, impaired the strength and fortitude of the empire.<sup>32</sup>

The monastic profession of the ancients<sup>1</sup> was an act of voluntary devotion. The inconstant fanatic was threatened with the eternal vengeance of the God whom he deserted; but the doors of the monastery were still open for repentance. Those monks, whose conscience was fortified by reason or passion, were at liberty to resume the character of men and citizens; and even the spouses of Christ might accept the legal embraces of an

earthly lover.<sup>34</sup> The examples of scandal, and the progress of superstition, suggested the propriety of more forcible restraints. After a sufficient trial, the fidelity of the novice was secured by a solemn and perpetual vow; and his irrevocable engagement was ratified by the laws of the church and state. A guilty fugitive was pursued, arrested, and restored to his perpetual prison; and the interposition of the magistrate oppressed the freedom and merit, which had alleviated, in some degree, the abject slavery of the monastic discipline.<sup>35</sup> The actions of a monk, his words, and even his thoughts, were determined by an inflexible rule,<sup>36</sup> or a capricious superior: the slightest offences were corrected by disgrace or confinement, extraordinary fasts or bloody flagellation; and disobedience, murmur, or delay, were ranked in the catalogue of the most heinous sins.<sup>37</sup> A blind submission to the commands of the abbot, however absurd, or even criminal, they might seem, was the ruling principle, the first virtue, of the Egyptian monks; and their patience was frequently exercised by the most extravagant trials. They were directed to remove an enormous rock; assiduously to water a barren staff, that was planted in the ground, till, at the end of three years, it should vegetate and blossom like a tree; to walk into a fiery furnace; or to cast their infant into a deep pond: and several saints, or madmen, have been immortalised in monastic story, by their thoughtless, and fearless, obedience.<sup>38</sup> The freedom of the mind, the source of every generous and rational sentiment, was destroyed by the habits of credulity and submission; and the monk, contracting the vices of a slave, devoutly followed the faith and passions of his ecclesiastical tyrant. The peace of the Eastern church was invaded by a swarm of fanatics, incapable of fear, or reason, or humanity; and the Imperial troops acknowledged, without shame, that they were much less apprehensive of an encounter with the fiercest barbarians.<sup>39</sup>

Superstition has often framed and consecrated the fantastic garments of the monks;<sup>40</sup> but their apparent singularity

27 Dr. Middleton (*Vol. 1*, p. 110) liberally censures the combi-  
and writings of Chrysostom, one of the most eloquent and successful  
and is thus for the present life.

St. Jerome's devout ladies form a very considerable portion of his works; the first church dedicated to his memory, the abbey of Puy, founded in 493, was devoted to him, and extracted from his works 40 chapters for the use of the 40 virgins. The number of his works is changing rapidly, and if all his works remained with us, we should have a great deal more than 400 volumes.

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The authors are grateful to Prof. A. G. Kiselev for his interest in the work.

32 See, e.g., *United States v. Hays*, 111 F.3d 1004, 1008 (9th Cir. 1997) (affirming the District Court's finding that the defendant's "unlawful" conduct was "substantially different" from the "lawful" conduct of the defendant's co-defendant, who was a member of the same criminal organization).

57 The monthly average temperature of the city of Paris is 50° F. The average temperature of the city of New York is 52° F. The average temperature of the city of London is 51° F. The average temperature of the city of Moscow is 48° F. The average temperature of the city of Tokyo is 53° F. The average temperature of the city of Sydney is 54° F. The average temperature of the city of Melbourne is 55° F. The average temperature of the city of Brisbane is 56° F. The average temperature of the city of Perth is 57° F. The average temperature of the city of Adelaide is 58° F. The average temperature of the city of Hobart is 59° F. The average temperature of the city of Darwin is 60° F. The average temperature of the city of Cairns is 61° F. The average temperature of the city of Townsville is 62° F. The average temperature of the city of Rockhampton is 63° F. The average temperature of the city of Bundaberg is 64° F. The average temperature of the city of Gladstone is 65° F. The average temperature of the city of Mackay is 66° F. The average temperature of the city of Townsville is 67° F. The average temperature of the city of Cairns is 68° F. The average temperature of the city of Darwin is 69° F. The average temperature of the city of Hobart is 70° F. The average temperature of the city of Adelaide is 71° F. The average temperature of the city of Perth is 72° F. The average temperature of the city of Brisbane is 73° F. The average temperature of the city of Melbourne is 74° F. The average temperature of the city of Sydney is 75° F. The average temperature of the city of Tokyo is 76° F. The average temperature of the city of Moscow is 77° F. The average temperature of the city of London is 78° F. The average temperature of the city of New York is 79° F. The average temperature of the city of Paris is 80° F.

71 The example of Milions from tom. p. 250, and the design of Cassin and his friends (see xxxv, 1), are among the proofs of their freedom, which is brought about only by Erasmus of his life at St. Jerome. See the *Chron. Hist. des Sacraments* tom. vi, p. 271, 270.

<sup>55</sup> See the laws of 6 April (No. 115), 20 April (No. 123) and 1 May (No. 130) in the *Journal Officiel* (No. 5), 1947, and the annual residence of France in Deutsches Reich, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616

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$\mathbb{R}^n$  Theorem 1.1 of [1] states that if  $\mathcal{C}$  is a convex set in  $\mathbb{R}^n$  and  $W$  is a linear map from  $\mathbb{R}^n$  to  $\mathbb{R}^m$  such that  $W(\mathcal{C})$  is a convex set in  $\mathbb{R}^m$  and  $W$  is injective on  $\mathcal{C}$ , then  $W$  is a linear isomorphism from  $\mathcal{C}$  to  $W(\mathcal{C})$ . In this paper, we prove that if  $\mathcal{C}$  is a convex set in  $\mathbb{R}^n$  and  $W$  is a linear map from  $\mathbb{R}^n$  to  $\mathbb{R}^m$  such that  $W(\mathcal{C})$  is a convex set in  $\mathbb{R}^m$  and  $W$  is injective on  $\mathcal{C}$ , then  $W$  is a linear isomorphism from  $\mathcal{C}$  to  $W(\mathcal{C})$ .

the  $\mathcal{H}_\infty$  norm of the closed-loop system. The  $\mathcal{H}_\infty$  norm of a system is the maximum singular value of the frequency response matrix. The  $\mathcal{H}_\infty$  norm of a system is a measure of the maximum gain of the system. The  $\mathcal{H}_\infty$  norm of a system is a measure of the maximum gain of the system. The  $\mathcal{H}_\infty$  norm of a system is a measure of the maximum gain of the system.

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sometimes proceeds from their uniform attachment to a simple and primitive model, which the revolutions of fashion have made ridiculous in the eyes of mankind. The father of the Benedictines expressly disclaims all idea of choice or merit; and soberly exhorts his disciples to adopt the coarse and convenient dress of the countries which they may inhabit.<sup>41</sup> The monastic habits of the ancients varied with the climate, and their mode of life; and they assumed, with the same indifference, the sheepskin of the Egyptian peasants, or the cloak of the Grecian philosophers. They allowed themselves the use of linen in Egypt, where it was a cheap and domestic manufacture; but in the West, they rejected such an expensive article of foreign luxury.<sup>42</sup> It was the practice of the monks either to cut or shave their hair; they wrapped their heads in a cowl, to escape the sight of profane objects; their legs and feet were naked, except in the extreme cold of winter; and their slow and feeble steps were supported by a long staff. The aspect of a genuine anchorite was horrid and disgusting; every sensation that is offensive to man, was thought acceptable to God; and the angelic rule of Tabenne condemned the salutary custom of bathing the limbs in water, and of anointing them with oil.<sup>43</sup> The austere monks slept on the ground, on a hard mat, or a rough blanket; and the same bundle of palm-leaves served them as a seat in the day, and a pillow in the night. Their original cells were low narrow huts, built of the slightest materials; which formed, by the regular distribution of the streets, a large and populous village, enclosing, within the common wall, a church, an hospital, perhaps a library, some necessary offices, a garden, and a fountain or reservoir of fresh water. Thirty or forty brethren composed a family of separate discipline and diet; and the great monasteries of Egypt consisted of thirty or forty families.

Pleasure and guilt are synonymous terms in the language of the monks; and they had discovered, by experience, that rigid fasts and abstemious diet are the most effectual preservatives against the impure desires of the flesh.<sup>44</sup> The rules of abstinence, which they imposed, or practised, were not uniform or perpetual; the cheerful festival of the Pentecost was balanced by the extraordinary mortification of Lent; the fervour of new mo-

nasteries was insensibly relaxed; and the voracious appetite of the Gauls could not imitate the patient and temperate virtue of the Egyptians.<sup>45</sup> The disciples of Antony and Pachomius were satisfied with their daily pittance,<sup>46</sup> of twelve ounces of bread, or rather biscuit,<sup>47</sup> which they divided into two frugal repasts of the afternoon, and of the evening. It was esteemed a merit, and almost a duty, to abstain from the boiled vegetables, which were provided for the refectory; but the extraordinary frugality of the abbot sometimes indulged them with the luxury of cheese, fruit, salad, and the small dried fish of the Nile.<sup>48</sup> A more ample latitude of sea and river fish was gradually allowed or assumed; but the use of flesh was long confined to the sick or travellers; and when it gradually prevailed in the less rigid monasteries of Europe, a singular distinction was introduced; as if birds, whether wild or domestic, had been less profane than the grosser animals of the field. Water was the pure and innocent beverage of the primitive monks; and the founder of the Benedictines regrets the daily portion of half a pint of wine, which had been extorted from him by the intemperance of the age.<sup>49</sup> Such an allowance might be easily supplied by the vineyards of Italy; and his victorious disciples, who passed the Alps, the Rhine, and the Baltic, required, in the place of wine, a moderate compensation of strong beer or cyder.

The candidate who aspired to the evangelical virtue of evangelical poverty, after being injured at his first entrance into a regular community, the idea, and even the name, of all separate or exclusive possession. The brethren were supported by their manual labour; and the duty of labour was strenuously recommended as a penance, as an exercise, and as the most laudable means of securing their daily subsistence.<sup>50</sup> The garden, and fields, which the industry of the monks had often rescued from the forest or the moor, were diligently cultivated by their hands. They performed, without reluctance, the menial offices of slaves and domestic; and the several trades that were necessary to provide their clothes, their utensils, and their lodging, were exercised within the precincts of the great monasteries. The monastic studies have tended, for the most part, to darken rather than to dispel the cloud of superstition. Yet the enthusiasm or zeal of some

habit of Egypt. See the *Life of St. Antony*, p. 10. *History of the Monks*, p. 10.

<sup>41</sup> *Life of St. Antony*, p. 10. *History of the Monks*, p. 10.

<sup>42</sup> *Life of St. Antony*, p. 10. *History of the Monks*, p. 10.

<sup>43</sup> *Life of St. Antony*, p. 10. *History of the Monks*, p. 10.

<sup>44</sup> *Life of St. Antony*, p. 10. *History of the Monks*, p. 10.

<sup>45</sup> *Life of St. Antony*, p. 10. *History of the Monks*, p. 10.

<sup>46</sup> *Life of St. Antony*, p. 10. *History of the Monks*, p. 10.

<sup>47</sup> *Life of St. Antony*, p. 10. *History of the Monks*, p. 10.

<sup>48</sup> *Life of St. Antony*, p. 10. *History of the Monks*, p. 10.

<sup>49</sup> *Life of St. Antony*, p. 10. *History of the Monks*, p. 10.

<sup>50</sup> *Life of St. Antony*, p. 10. *History of the Monks*, p. 10.

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*Life of St. Antony*, p. 10. *History of the Monks*, p. 10.

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learned solitaries has cultivated the ecclesiastical, and even the profane, sciences; and posterity must gratefully acknowledge, that the monuments of Greek and Roman literature have been preserved and multiplied by their indefatigable pens.<sup>52</sup> But the more humble industry of the monks, especially in Egypt, was contented with the silent, sedentary, occupation, of making wooden sandals, or of twisting the leaves of the palm-tree into mats and baskets. The superfluous stock, which was not consumed in domestic use, supplied, by trade, the wants of the community: the boats of Tabenne, and the other monasteries of Thebais, descended the Nile as far as Alexandria; and, in a Christian market, the sanctity of the workmen might enhance the intrinsic value of the work.

**Their riches.**

But the necessity of manual labour was insensibly superseded. The novice was tempted to bestow his fortune on the saints, in whose society he was resolved to spend the remainder of his life; and the pernicious indulgence of the laws permitted him to receive, for their use, any future accessions of legacy or inheritance.<sup>53</sup> Melania contributed her plate, three hundred pounds' weight of silver, and Paula contracted an immense debt, for the relief of their favourite monks; who kindly imparted the merits of their prayers and penance to a rich and liberal sinner.<sup>54</sup> Time continually increased, and accidents could seldom diminish, the estates of the popular monasteries, which spread over the adjacent country and cities; and, in the first century of their institution, the infidel Zosimus has maliciously observed, that, for the benefit of the poor, the Christian monks had reduced a great part of mankind to a state of beggary.<sup>55</sup> As long as they maintained their original fervour, they approved themselves, however, the faithful and benevolent stewards of the charity which was intrusted to their care. But their discipline was corrupted by prosperity; they gradually assumed the pride of wealth, and at last indulged the luxury of expense. Their public luxury might be excused by the magnificence of religious worship, and the decent motive of erecting durable habitations for an immortal society. But every age of the church has accused the licentiousness of the degenerate monks; who no longer remembered the object of their institution, embraced the vain and sensual pleasures of the world, which they had renounced,<sup>56</sup> and scandalously abused the riches which had been

acquired by the austere virtues of their founders.<sup>37</sup> Their natural descent, from such painful and dangerous virtue, to the common vices of humanity, will not, perhaps, excite much grief or indignation in the mind of a philosopher.

The lives of the primitive monks

They were consumed in penance and solitude, undisturbed by the various occupations which fill the time, and exercise the faculties, of reasonable, active, and social beings. Whenever they were permitted to step beyond the precincts of the monastery, two jealous companions were the mutual guards and spies of each other's actions; and after their return, they were condemned to forget, or, at least, to suppress, whatever they had seen or heard in the world. Strangers, who professed the orthodox faith, were hospitably entertained in a separate apartment; but their dangerous conversation was restricted to some chosen elders of approved discretion and fidelity. Except in their presence, the monastic slave might not receive the visits of his friends or kindred; and it was deemed highly meritorious, if he afflicted a tender sister, or an aged parent, by the obstinate refusal of a word or look.<sup>38</sup> The monks themselves passed their lives, without personal attachments, among a crowd, which had been formed by accident, and was detained, in the same prison, by force, or prejudice. Recluse fanatics have few ideas or sentiments to communicate; a special licence of the abbot regulated the time and duration of their familiar visits; and, at their silent meals, they were enveloped in their cowls, inaccessible, and almost invisible, to each other.<sup>39</sup> Study is the resource of solitude. But education had not prepared and qualified for any liberal studies the mechanics and peasants, who filled the monastic communities. They might work; but the vanity of spiritual perfection was tempted to disdain the exercise of manual labour; and the industry must be faint and languid, which is not excited by the sense of personal interest.

According to their faith and zeal, Their devotion  
they might employ the day, which and visions.

they might employ the day, when they passed in their cells, either in vocal or mental prayer: they assembled in the evening, and they were awakened in the night, for the public worship of the monastery. The precise moment was determined by the stars, which are seldom clouded in the serene sky of Egypt; and a rustic horn, or trumpet, the signal of devotion, twice interrupted the vast silence of the desert.

52 M. Jallon (Etrades Montaigne, tome 1, p. 17-75) has collected many curious facts to show the literary labors of his predecessors, both in the East and West. He is concerned in the account of a certain *Chrysostomus* who lived in the fifth century, and by the disciples of Martin (Saint Severus de Aut. Martin, c. p. 122). Cassiodorus has allowed an ample scope for the studies of the monks, and as I all not be scandalized, if the present volumes be undered from Chrysostom and Augustine, by Hieron and Virgil.

<sup>45</sup> See Thomson D'sigma de 1722, c. 20, p. 118 ff. 114, 146, 151 – 170. I have examined the text of the *Paratitan*, and conclude that the Monk's D'sigma *de* 1722 is the text which monk-*de* will refer to on themselves, and mostly deprives them of all right of inheritance.

<sup>46</sup> See Thomson *idem* c. p. 170, 185. The monk Paulo made a sub-*in* answer to Melchior, who wished to specify the value of his gift: "Do you offer it to me, or to God? If to God, *per*, who says," pounds the mount into a balance, need not be referred of the "weight of your pile." (Pallad. Hist. Lausac. c. 14, in the Vit. Patrum, I, viii p. 114.)

τοῖς τοῦ πολεως μερος της γης οικουσασιν, προσειλε των μεταδουλις  
ταυτα πτωχων, πολλας (ως εστι) πτωχους καταστρεψαντες Ζωον  
l. v. p. 51i. Yet the wealth of the Eastern monks was far surpassed  
by the princely greatness of the Benedictines.

36 The sixth general council (the Quinisext in Trullo, Canon 111).

in *Beverside*, tom. 1, p. 217 restrains women from passing the night in a wife, or men in a bundle, non est &c. The seventh general commandment *Nicene*, tom. 1, in *Beverside*, tom. 1, p. 324, prohibits the creation of double monachism, in monasteries of both sexes, but it appears from Bol union, that the prohibition was not effective. — On the irregular practices and expenses of the clergy and monks. — See *Thomson*, tom. 1, p. 1751–1765.

7. I have somewhere heard or read the frank confession of a Benedictine about "My vow of poverty I give me an hundred thousand crowns a year, my vow of obedience I have sold me to the rank of a sovereign prince."—I forget the consequences of his vow of chastity.

50 The 7th, 8th, 20th, 34th, 71st, 51th, 73th, 101st, 50th, and 95th articles of the Rule of Pachomius do impose most enforceable laws of abstinence and mortification.

40 The diurnal and nocturnal prayers of the monks are carefully discussed by Cassian, in the third and fourth books of his *Institutions*, and he constantly prefers the liturgy which in angel had dictated to the monasteries of Tabennesi.

Even sleep, the last refuge of the unhappy, was rigorously measured: the vacant hours of the monk heavily rolled along, without business or pleasure; and, before the close of each day, he had repeatedly accused the tedious progress of the sun.<sup>61</sup> In this comfortable state, superstition still pursued and tormented her wretched votaries.<sup>62</sup> The repose which they had sought in the cloister was disturbed by a tardy repentance, profane doubts, and guilty desires; and, while they considered each natural impulse as an unpardonable sin, they perpetually trembled on the edge of a flaming and bottomless abyss. From the painful struggles of disease and despair, these unhappy victims were sometimes relieved by madness or death; and, in the sixth century, an hospital was founded at Jerusalem for a small portion of the austere penitents, who were deprived of their senses.<sup>63</sup> Their visions, before they attained this extreme and acknowledged term of frenzy, have afforded ample materials of supernatural history. It was their firm persuasion, that the air, which they breathed, was peopled with invisible enemies; with innumerable demons, who watched every occasion, and assumed every form, to terrify, and above all to tempt, their unguarded virtue. The imagination, and even the senses, were deceived by the illusions of distempered fanaticism; and the hermit, whose midnight prayer was oppressed by involuntary slumber, might easily confound the phantoms of horror or delight, which had occupied his sleeping and his waking dreams.<sup>64</sup>

The Cenobites and Anachoreta.

The monks were divided into two classes: the *Cenobites*, who lived under a common, and regular, discipline; and the *Anachoreta*, who indulged their unsocial, independent, fanaticism.<sup>65</sup> The most devout, or the most ambitious, of the spiritual brethren, renounced the convent, as they had renounced the world. The fervent monasteries of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, were surrounded by a *Laura*,<sup>66</sup> a distant circle of solitary cells; and the extravagant penance of the Hermits was stimulated by applause and emulation.<sup>67</sup> They sunk under the painful weight of crosses and chains; and their emaciated limbs were confined by collars, bracelets, gauntlets, and greaves, of massy and rigid iron. All superfluous incubance of dress they contemptuously cast away; and some savage saints of both sexes have been

admired, whose naked bodies were only covered by their long hair. They aspired to reduce themselves to the rude and miserable state in which the human brute is scarcely distinguished above his kindred animals: and a numerous sect of Anachorets derived their name from their humble practice of grazing in the fields of Mesopotamia with the common herd.<sup>68</sup> They often usurped the den of some wild beast whom they affected to resemble; they buried themselves in some gloomy cavern, which art or nature had scooped out of the rock; and the marble quarries of Thebais are still inscribed with the monuments of their penance.<sup>69</sup> The most perfect Hermits are supposed to have passed many days without food, many nights without sleep, and many years without speaking; and glorious was the *man* (I abuse that name) who contrived any cell, or seat, of a peculiar construction, which might expose him, in the most inconvenient posture, to the inclemency of the seasons.

Among these heroes of the monastic life, the name and genius of Simeon Stylites<sup>70</sup> have been immortalised by the singular invention of an ærial penance. At the age of thirteen, the young Syrian deserted the profession of a shepherd, and threw himself into an austere monastery. After a long and painful novitiate, in which Simeon was repeatedly saved from pious suicide, he established his residence on a mountain, about thirty or forty miles to the east of Antioch. Within the space of a *mantra*, or circle of stones, to which he had attached himself by a ponderous chain, he ascended a column, which was successively raised from the height of nine, to that of sixty, feet from the ground.<sup>71</sup> In this last, and lofty station, the Syrian Anachoret resisted the heat of thirty summers, and the cold of as many winters. Habit and exercise instructed him to maintain his dangerous situation without fear or giddiness, and successively to assume the different postures of devotion. He sometimes prayed in an erect attitude, with his outstretched arms in the figure of a cross; but his most familiar practice was that of bending his meagre skeleton from the forehead to the feet; and a curious spectator, after numbering twelve hundred and forty-four repetitions, at length desisted from the endless account. The progress of an ulcer in his thigh<sup>72</sup> might shorten, but it could not disturb, this celestial life; and

Simeon Stylites, A. D. 308-451.

<sup>61</sup> Cassian, from his own experience, describes the *nocturn*, or listlessness of mind and body, to which a monk was exposed, when he sought to find himself alone. *Paraphrase* *ecclésiastique* et *historique* *ecclésiastique*, et *solus* *veit* *ad* *occursum* *taribus* *proprietatem* *crebris* *in* *inter* *instaur* *et* *l*.

<sup>62</sup> The temptations and sufferings of St. Simeon were communicated by that unfortunate youth to his friend St. Chrisostom. See *Middleton's Works*, vol. i. p. 107-110. Something similar introduces the life of every saint; and the famous Inigo, or Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuits (*Vie d'Inigo de Guiposcoa*, tom. i. p. 29-35) may serve

<sup>63</sup> See Theodoret in *Vit. Patrum*, l. ix. p. 488-494. Antonin (*in Vit. Patrum*, l. i. p. 176-177), Cosmas (*in Aseman. Reliqu. Oriental.* tom. i. p. 239-243), Evagrius (*l. i. c. 13, 14*), and Tilenon (*Mem. Eccles.* tom. ix. p. 347-348).

<sup>64</sup> The name of the circumstance of two cubits, or three feet, which Evagrius assigns for the summit of the column, is inconsistent with reason, with facts, and with the rules of architecture. The people who saw it from below might be easily deceived.

<sup>65</sup> I must not conceal a piece of ancient scandal concerning the origin of this ulcer. It has been reported, that the Devil, assuming an angelic form, invited him to ascend, like Rahab, into a fiery chariot. The saint bravely raised his foot, and Satan seized the moment of mischief; this chastisement on his vanity.

(Discipline de l'Écclésiastique, l. i. c. 12) more briefly celebrates the monk, and hermits of P. l'estime.

<sup>66</sup> Sozomen, l. vi. c. 37. The great St. Ephrem composed a panegyric on these *stylites*, or grazing monks. (Tillemont, *Mem. Eccles.* tom. viii. p. 292.)

<sup>67</sup> See Theodoret in *Vit. Patrum*, l. ix. p. 488-494. Antonin (*in Vit. Patrum*, l. i. p. 176-177), Cosmas (*in Aseman. Reliqu. Oriental.* tom. i. p. 239-243), Evagrius (*l. i. c. 13, 14*), and Tilenon (*Mem. Eccles.* tom. ix. p. 347-348).

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<sup>66</sup> *Thesaur. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 205-219. *Thesaur.*

the patient Hermit expired, without descending from his column. A prince, who should capriciously inflict such tortures, would be deemed a tyrant; but it would surpass the power of a tyrant, to impose a long and miserable existence on the reluctant victims of his cruelty. This voluntary martyrdom must have gradually destroyed the sensibility both of the mind and body; nor can it be presumed that the fanatics, who torment themselves, are susceptible of any lively affection for the rest of mankind. A cruel unfeeling temper has distinguished the monks of every age and country: their stern indifference, which is seldom mollified by personal friendship, is inflamed by religious hatred; and their merciless zeal has strenuously administered the holy office of the Inquisition.

only the contempt and pity of a philosopher, were respected, and almost adored, by the prince and people. Successive crowds of pilgrims from Gaul and India saluted the divine pillar of Simeon: the tribes of Saracens disputed in arms the honour of his benediction; the queens of Arabia and Persia gratefully confessed his supernatural virtue; and the angelic Hermit was consulted by the younger Theodosius, in the most important concerns of the church and state. His remains were transported from the mountain of Telenissa, by a solemn procession of the patriarch, the master-general of the East, six bishops, twenty-one counts or tribunes, and six thousand soldiers; and Antioch revered his bones, as her glorious ornament and impregnable defence. The fame of the apostles and martyrs was gradually eclipsed by these recent and popular Anachorètes; the Christian world fell prostrate before their shrines; and the miracles ascribed to their relics exceeded, at least in number and duration, the spiritual exploits of their lives. But the golden legend of their lives<sup>73</sup> was embellished by the artful credulity of their interested brethren; and a blindest age was easily persuaded, that the slightest caprice of an Egyptian or a Syrian monk, had been sufficient to interrupt the eternal laws of the universe. The favourites of Heaven were accustomed to cure inveterate diseases with a touch, a word, or a distant message; and to expel the most obstinate demons from the souls, or bodies, which they possess'd. They familiarly accosted, or imperiously commanded, the lions and serpents of the desert; infused vegetation into a sapless trunk; suspended iron on the surface of the water, passed the Nile on the back of a crocodile, and refreshed themselves in a fiery furnace. These extravagant tales, which display the fiction, without the genius, of poetry, have seriously affected the reason, the faith, and the morals, of the Christians.

Superstition  
of the age.

Their credulity debased and vitiated  
the faculties of the mind ; they cor-

rupted the evidence of history ; and superstition gradually extinguished the hostile light of philosophy and science. Every mode of religious worship which had been practised by the saints, every mysterious doctrine which they believed, was fortified by the sanction of divine revelation, and all the manly virtues were oppressed by the servile and pusillanimous reign of the monks. If it be possible to measure the interval between the philosophic writings of Cicero and the sacred legend of Theodoret, between the character of Cato and that of Simeon, we may appreciate the memorable revolution which was accomplished in the Roman empire within a period of five hundred years.

II. The progress of Christianity has been marked by two glorious and decisive victories: over the learned and luxurious citizens of the Roman empire; and over the walllike barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who subverted the empire, and embraced the religion of the Romans. The Goths were the foremost of these savage proselytes; and the nation was indebted for its conversion to a countryman, or, at least, to a subject, worthy to be ranked among the inventors of useful arts, who have deserved the remembrance and gratitude of posterity. A great number of Roman provincials had been led away into captivity by the Gothic bands, who ravaged Asia in the time of Gallienus: and of these captives, many were Christians, and several belonged to the ecclesiastical order. Those involuntary missionaries dispersed as slaves in the villages of Dacia, successively laboured for the salvation of their masters. The seeds, which they planted, of the evangelic doctrine, were gradually propagated; and before the end of a century, the pious work was achieved by the labours of Ulpilas, whose ancestors had been transported beyond the Danube from a small town of Cappadocia.

Uphilas, the bishop and apostle of the Goths,<sup>74</sup> acquired their love and reverence by his blameless life and indefatigable zeal; and they received, with implicit confidence, the doctrines of truth and virtue, which he preached and practised. He executed the arduous task of translating the Scriptures into their native tongue, a dialect of the German, or Teutonic, language; but he prudently suppressed the four books of Kings, as they might tend to irritate the fierce and sanguinary spirit of the barbarians. The rude, imperfect, idiom of soldiers and shepherds, so ill qualified to communicate any spiritual ideas, was improved and modulated by his genius; and Uphilas, before he could frame his version, was obliged to compose a new alphabet of twenty-four letters; four of which he invented, to express the peculiar sounds that were unknown to the Greek, and Latin, pronunciation.<sup>75</sup> But the prosperous state of the Gothic church was

## II. CONVERSION OF THE BAR- BARIANS.

Uphilas, apos-  
tle of the Goths.  
A. D. 360, &c.

<sup>73</sup> I know not how to select or specify the miracles contained in the *Vita Patrum* of Rosweide, as the number very much exceeds the

Philostorgius 1, p. 69. The heresy of Philostorgius appears to have given him a general impression of the situation.

[illegible]



soon afflicted by war and intestine discord, and the chieftains were divided by religion as well as by interest. Fritigern, the friend of the Romans, became the proselyte of Ulphilas; while the haughty soul of Athanaric disdained the yoke of the empire, and of the Gospel. The faith of the new converts was tried by the persecution which he excited. A wagon, bearing aloft the shapeless image of Thor, perhaps, or of Woden, was conducted in solemn procession through the streets of the camp; and the rebels, who refused to worship the god of their fathers, were immediately burnt, with their tents and families. The character of Ulphilas recommended him to the esteem of the Eastern court, where he twice appeared as the minister of peace; he pleaded the cause of the distressed Goths, who implored the protection of Valens; and the name of *Moses* was applied to this spiritual guide, who conducted his people, through the deep waters of the Danube, to the Land of Promise.<sup>75</sup> The devout shepherds, who were attached to his person, and tractable to his voice, acquiesced in their settlement, at the foot of the Maeian mountains, in a country of woodlands and pastures, which supported their flocks and herds, and enabled them to purchase the corn and wine of the more plentiful provinces. These harmless barbarians multiplied in obscure peace, and the profession of Christianity.<sup>77</sup>

The Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, &c. embrace Christianity. A. D. 100, &c. Their fiercer brethren, the formidable Visigoths, universally adopted the religion of the Romans, with which they maintained a perpetual intercourse, of war, of friendship, or of conquest. In their long and victorious march from the Danube to the Atlantic Ocean, they converted their allies: they educated the rising generation; and the devotion which reigned in the camp of Alaric, or the court of Thoulouse, might edify, or disgrace, the palaces of Rome and Constantinople.<sup>78</sup> During the same period, Christianity was embraced by almost all the barbarians, who established their kingdoms on the ruins of the Western empire; the Burgundians in Gaul, the Suevi in Spain, the Vandals in Africa, the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, and the various bands of mercenaries, that raised Odovacer to the throne of Italy. The Franks and the Saxons still persevered in the errors of Paganism; but the Franks obtained the monarchy of Gaul by their submission to the example of Clovis; and the Saxon conquerors of Britain were reduced from their savage superstition by the missionaries of Rome. These barbarian proselytes displayed an ardent and successful zeal in the propagation of the faith. The Merovingian kings, and their successors, Charlemagne and the Ottonians, extended, by their laws and victories, the dominion of the cross. England produced the apostle of Germany; and the evangelic light was gra-

dually diffused, from the neighbourhood of the Rhine, to the nations of the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Baltic.<sup>79</sup>

The different motives which influenced the reason, or the passions, of the barbarian converts, cannot easily be ascertained. They were often capricious and accidental; a dream, an omen, the report of a miracle, the example of some priest, or hero, the charms of a believing wife, and, above all, the fortunate event of a prayer, or vow, which, in a moment of danger, they had addressed to the God of the Christians.<sup>80</sup> The early prejudices of education were insensibly erased by the habits of frequent and familiar society; the moral precepts of the Gospel were protected by the extravagant virtues of the monks; and a spiritual theology was supported by the visible power of relics, and the pomp of religious worship. But the rational and ingenious mode of persuasion, which a Saxon bishop<sup>81</sup> suggested to a popular saint, might sometimes be employed by the missionaries, who laboured for the conversion of infidels. "Admit," says the sagacious disputant, "whatever they are pleased to assert of the fabulous, and canal, genealogy of their gods and goddesses, who are propagated from each other. From this principle deduce their imperfect nature, and human infirmities, the assurance they were *born*, and the probability that they will *die*. At what time, by what means, from what cause, were the eldest of the gods or goddesses produced? Do they still continue, or have they ceased to propagate? If they have ceased, summon your antagonists to declare the reason of this strange alteration. If they still continue, the number of the gods must become infinite; and shall we not risk, by the indiscreet worship of some impotent deity, to excite the resentment of his jealous superior? The visible heavens and earth, the whole system of the universe, which may be conceived by the mind, is it created or eternal? If created, how, or where, could the gods themselves exist before the creation? If eternal, how could they assume the empire of an independent and pre-existing world? Urge these arguments with compulsion and molestation; insinuate, at seasonable intervals, the truth, and beauty, of the Christian revelation; and endeavour to make the unbelievers ashamed, without making them angry." This metaphysical reasoning, too refined perhaps for the barbarians of Germany, was fortified by the grosser weight of authority and popular consent. The advantage of temporal prosperity had deserted the Pagan cause, and passed over to the service of Christianity. The Romans themselves, the most powerful and enlightened nation of the globe, had renounced their ancient superstition;

<sup>75</sup> Philostorgius erroneously places this passage under the reign of Constantine, but I am much inclined to believe that it preceded the great conversion.

<sup>77</sup> We are obliged to Jornandes (de Rebus Getarum, c. 10, p. 688) for a short and lively picture of these heretic Goths. "Gothi in universum immensum, cum suis pontifice apostolice primarie velis. The world, if they are not mere tautology, imply some temporal jurisdiction."

<sup>78</sup> At non ita Gothi non ita Vandali, males in et doctoresque expulsi, meliora tamen ex in hac parte quam nostri. Julianus de Gubern. Dei 1. vi. p. 243.

<sup>79</sup> Mabe in his details described the progress of Christianity to the North, to the north-west, to the north-east. The subject would admit of more historical, critical, and even philosophical history.

<sup>80</sup> See the story of the Northmen, p. 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

and, if the ruin of their empire seemed to accuse the efficacy of the new faith, the disgrace was already retrieved by the conversion of the victorious Goths. The valiant and fortunate barbarians, who subdued the provinces of the West, successively received, and reflected, the same edifying example. Before the age of Charlemagne, the Christian nations of Europe might exult in the exclusive possession of the temperate climates, of the fertile lands, which produced corn, wine, and oil; while the savage idolaters, and their helpless idols, were confined to the extremities of the earth, the dark and frozen regions of the North.<sup>82</sup>

Christianity, which opened the <sup>Effluvia of their</sup> gates of heaven to the barbarians, introduced an important change in their moral and political condition. They received, at the same time, the use of letters, so essential to a religion whose doctrines are contained in a sacred book, and while they studied the divine truth, their minds were insensibly enlarged by the distant view of history, of nature, of the arts, and of society. The version of the Scriptures into their native tongue, which had facilitated their conversion, must excite, among their clergy, some curiosity to read the original text, to understand the sacred liturgy of the church, and to examine, in the writings of the fathers, the chain of ecclesiastical tradition. These spiritual gifts were preserved in the Greek and Latin languages, which concealed the inestimable monuments of ancient learning. The immortal productions of Virgil, Cicero, and Læty, which were accessible to the Christian barbarians, maintained a silent intercourse between the reign of Augustus, and the times of Clovis and Charlemagne. The emulation of mankind was encouraged by the remembrance of a more perfect state; and the flame of science was secretly kept alive, to warm and enlighten the barbaric age of the Western world. In the most corrupt state of Christianity, the barbarians might learn justice from the *laws*, and mercy from the *Gospel*, and the knowledge of their duty was insufficient to guide their actions, or to regulate their passions, they were sometimes restrained by conscience, and frequently punished by remorse. But the direct authority of religion was less effectual, than the holy communion which united them with their Christian brethren in spiritual friendship. The influence of these sentiments contributed to secure their fidelity in the service, or the alliance, of the Romans, to allviate the horrors of war, to moderate the insolence of conquest, and to preserve, in the downfall of the empire, a permanent respect for the name and institutions of Rome. In the days of Paganism, the priests of Gaul and Germany reigned over the people, and controlled the jurisdiction of the magistrates;

and the zealous proselytes transferred an equal, or more ample, measure of devout obedience, to the pontiffs of the Christian faith. The sacred character of the bishops was supported by their temporal possessions; they obtained an honourable seat in the legislative assemblies of soldiers and freemen; and it was their interest, as well as their duty, to mollify, by peaceful counsels, the fierce spirit of the barbarians. The perpetual correspondence of the Latin clergy, the frequent pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem, and the growing authority of the popes, cemented the union of the Christian republic; and gradually produced the similar manners, and common jurisprudence, which have distinguished, from the rest of mankind, the independent, and even hostile, nations of modern Europe.

But the operation of these causes <sup>They are involved in the Arian heresy.</sup> was checked and retarded by the unfortunate accident, which infused a deadly poison into the cup of Salvation. Whatever might be the early sentiments of Ulfphilas, his connections with the empire and the church were faded during the reign of Arrianism. The apostle of the Goths subscribed the creed of Rimini; professed with freedom, and perhaps with sincerity, that the Son was not equal, or consubstantial to the Father;<sup>83</sup> communicated these errors to the clergy and people; and infected the barbaric world with a heresy,<sup>84</sup> which the great Theodosius proscribed and extinguished among the Romans. The temper and understanding of the new proselytes were not adapted to metaphysical subtleties; but they strenuously maintained, what they had piously received, as the pure and genuine doctrines of Christianity. The advantage of preaching and expounding the Scriptures in the Teutonic language, promoted the apostolic labours of Ulfphilas and his successors; and they ordained a competent number of bishops and presbyters for the instruction of the kindred tribes. The Ostrogoths, the Burgundians, the Suevi, and the Vandals, who had listened to the eloquence of the Latin clergy,<sup>85</sup> preferred the more intelligible lessons of their domestic teachers; and Arrianism was adopted as the national faith of the warlike converts, who were seated on the ruins of the Western empire. This irreconcilable difference of religion was a perpetual source of jealousy and hatred; and the reproach of *Barbarian* was embittered by the more odious epithet of *Heretic*. The heroes of the North, who had submitted, with some reluctance, to believe that all their ancestors were in hell,<sup>86</sup> were astonished and exasperated to learn, that they themselves had only changed the mode of their eternal condemnation. Instead of the smooth applause, which Christian kings are accustomed to expect from their loyal prelates, the orthodox bishops and their clergy were

<sup>82</sup> The sword of Charlemagne itself wrought to the argument, but when Haral wrote this in 1040, A. D. 1247, the Magyars, who returned from India to Spain, had been referred it against the Christians.

<sup>83</sup> The opinions of Ulfphilas and the Goths seemed to favour Arrianism, since they would not say that the Son was consubstantial, but that he was of the same substance with the Father. The same opinion was held by the Arians of the East, who were called Eusebians, from Eusebius of Caesarea, who was the first to propagate it.

<sup>84</sup> The Arian heresy was first introduced into the West by Ulfphilas, who was a Goth, and a native of Scythia. It was first received by the Goths, who were called Arians, and then by the other barbarians, who were called Eusebians, from Eusebius of Caesarea, who was the first to propagate it.

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in a state of opposition to the Arian courts; and their indiscreet opposition frequently became criminal, and might sometimes be dangerous.<sup>87</sup> The pulpit, that safe and sacred organ of sedition, resounded with the names of Pharaoh and Holofernes;<sup>88</sup> the public discontent was inflamed by the hope or promise of a glorious deliverance; and the seditious saints were tempted to promote the accomplishment of their own predictions.

General toleration.

Notwithstanding these provocations, the Catholics of Gaul, Spain, and Italy, enjoyed, under the reign of the Arians, the free, and peaceful, exercise of their religion. Their haughty masters respected the zeal of a numerous people, resolved to die at the foot of their altars; and the example of their devout constancy was admired and imitated by the barbarians themselves. The conquerors evaded, however, the disgraceful reproach, or confession, of fear, by attributing their toleration to the liberal motives of reason and humanity; and while they affected the language, they imperceptibly imbibed the spirit, of genuine Christianity.

The peace of the church was sometimes interrupted. The Catholics were indiscreet, the barbarians were impatient; and the partial acts of severity or injustice which had been recommended by the Arian clergy, were exaggerated by the orthodox writers. The guilt of persecution may be imputed to Euric, king of the Visigoths; who suspended the exercise of ecclesiastical, or, at least, of episcopal, functions; and punished the popular bishops of Aquitain with imprisonment, exile, and confiscation.<sup>89</sup> But the cruel and absurd enterprise of subduing the minds of a whole people, was undertaken by the Vandals alone. Genseric himself, in his

Genseric.

A. D. 429-477. early youth, had renounced the orthodox communion; and the apostate could neither grant, nor expect, a sincere forgiveness. He was exasperated to find, that the Africans, who had fled before him in the field, still presumed to dispute his will in synods and churches; and his ferocious mind was incapable of fear, or of compassion. His Catholic subjects were oppressed by intolerant laws and arbitrary punishments. The language of Genseric was furious and formidable; the knowledge of his intentions might justify the most unfavourable interpretation of his actions; and the Arians were reproached with the frequent executions, which stained the palace, and the dominions, of the tyrant. Arms and ambition were, however, the ruling passions of the monarch of the sea.

Huneric.

A. D. 477. But Huneric, his inglorious son, who seemed to inherit only his vices, tormented the Catholics with the same unrelenting fury which had been fatal to his brother, his nephews, and the friends and favourites of his

father: and, even to the Arian patriarch, who was inhumanly burnt alive in the midst of Carthage. The religious war was preceded and prepared by an insidious truce; persecution was made the serious and important business of the Vandal court; and the loathsome disease, which hastened the death of Huneric, revenged the injuries, without contributing to the deliverance, of the church. The throne of Africa was successively filled by the two nephews of Huneric; by Gundamund, who reigned about

Gundamund.

A. D. 481.

twelve, and by Thrasimund, who governed the nation about twenty-seven years. Their administration was hostile and oppressive to the orthodox party. Gundamund appeared to emulate, or even to surpass, the cruelty of his uncle; and, if at length he relented, if he recalled the bishops, and restored the freedom of Athanasian worship, a premature death intercepted the benefits of his tardy clemency. His brother, Thrasimund, was the great-

Thrasimund.

A. D. 496.

est and most accomplished of the Vandal kings, whom he excelled in beauty, prudence, and magnanimity of soul. But this magnanimous character was degraded by his intolerant zeal and deceitful clemency. Instead of threats and tortures, he employed the gentle, but efficacious, powers of seduction. Wealth, dignity, and the royal favour, were the liberal rewards of apostasy; the Catholics, who had violated the laws, might purchase their pardon by the renunciation of their faith; and whenever Thrasimund meditated any rigorous measure, he patiently waited till the indiscretion of his adversaries furnished him with a specious opportunity. Bigotry was his last sentiment in the hour of death; and he exacted from his successor a solemn oath, that he would never tolerate the sectaries of Athanasius. But his successor, Hilderic, the gentle son

Hilderic.

A. D. 525.

of the savage Huneric, preferred the duties of humanity and justice, to the vain obligation of an impious oath; and his accession was gloriously marked by the restoration of peace and universal freedom. The throne of that virtuous, though feeble monarch, was usurped by his cousin Gelimer, a zealous Arian, but the Vandal kingdom, before he could enjoy or abuse his power, was subverted by the arms of Belisarius; and the orthodox party retaliated the injuries which they had endured.<sup>90</sup>

Gelimer.

A. D. 530.

The passionate declamations of the Catholics, the sole historians of this persecution, cannot afford any distinct series of causes and events; any impartial view of characters, or councils; but the most remarkable circumstances, that deserve either credit or notice, may be referred to the following heads. I. In the original law, which is still extant,<sup>91</sup> Huneric expressly declares,

A general view of the persecution in Africa.

<sup>87</sup> The Epistole of Sabinus, bishop of Clermont, under the Visigoths, and of Avitus, bishop of Vienne, under the Burgundians, explain, sometimes in dark hints, the general dispositions of the Catholics. The history of Clovis and Theodoric will suggest some particular facts.

<sup>88</sup> Genseric confessed the resemblance, he the severity with which he punished such dark secret dissensions. Victor Vitensis, l. 7. p. 10. So such are the contemporary complaints of Sabinus, bishop of Clermont (l. viii. p. 12). Victor Vitensis, l. 7. p. 10. Sabinus, bishop of Clermont, who quotes this Epistole (l. vi. p. 2). in an air, p. 174. exports an irreparable assertion, that of the one vacancies in Aquitain, some had been produced by episcopal martyrdoms.

<sup>90</sup> The original monuments of the Vandal persecution are preserved in the five books of the History of Victor Vitensis (de Persecutione). The Life of Thrasimund, in the 7. s. p. 196. 197. 198. 199. Dom Barnart, the last editor of Victor, has added apparatus of Catholics to the Majesty cult.

and the declaration appears to be correct, that he had faithfully transcribed the regulations and penalties of the Imperial edicts; against the heretical congregations, the clergy, and the people, who dissented from the established religion. If the rights of conscience had been understood, the Catholics must have condemned their past conduct, or acquiesced in their actual sufferings. But they still persisted to refuse the indulgence which they claimed. While they trembled under the lash of persecution, they praised the *laudable* severity of Hunneric himself, who burnt or banished great numbers of Manicheans;<sup>92</sup> and they rejected, with horror, the ignominious compromise, that the disciples of Arius, and of Athanasius, should enjoy a reciprocal and similar toleration in the territories of the Romans, and in those of the Vandals.<sup>91</sup> 11. The practice of a conference, which the Catholics had so frequently used to insult and punish their obstinate antagonists, was retorted against themselves.<sup>94</sup> At the command of Hunneric, four hundred and sixty-six orthodox bishops assembled at Carthage; but when they were admitted into the hall of audience, they had the mortification of beholding the Arian Cyrila exalted on the patriarchal throne. The disputants were separated, after the mutual and ordinary reproaches of noise and silence, of delay and precipitation, of military force and of popular clamour. One martyr and one confessor were selected among the Catholic bishops; twenty-eight escaped by flight, and eighty-eight by conformity; forty-six were sent into Corsica to cut timber for the royal navy; and three hundred and two were banished to the different parts of Africa, exposed to the insults of their enemies, and carefully deprived of all the temporal and spiritual comforts of life.<sup>95</sup> The hardships of ten years' exile must have reduced their numbers; and if they had complied with the law of Theodorus, which prohibited any episcopal consecrations, the orthodox church of Africa must have expired with the lives of its actual members. They disobeyed; and their disobedience was punished by a second exile of two hundred and twenty bishops into Sardinia; where they languished fifteen years, till the accession of the gracious Hilderic.<sup>96</sup> The two islands were judiciously chosen by the malice of their Arian tyrants. Seneca, from his own experience, has deplored and exaggerated the miserable state of Corsica,<sup>97</sup> and the plenty of Sardinia was overbalanced by the unwholesome quality of the air.<sup>98</sup> 111. The zeal of Constance, and his successors, for the conversion of the Catholics, must have rendered

them still more jealous to guard the purity of the Vandal faith. Before the churches were finally shut, it was a crime to appear in a barbarian dress; and those who presumed to neglect the royal mandate, were rudely dragged backwards by their long hair.<sup>99</sup> The Palatine officers, who refused to profess the religion of their prince, were ignominiously stripped of their honours and employments; banished to Sardinia and Sicily; or condemned to the servile labours of slaves and peasants in the fields of Utica. In the districts which had been peculiarly allotted to the Vandals, the exercise of the Catholic worship was more strictly prohibited; and severe penalties were denounced against the guilt both of the missionary and the proselyte. By these arts, the faith of the barbarians was preserved, and their zeal was inflamed: they discharged, with devout fury, the office of spies, informers, or executioners; and whenever their cavalry took the field, it was the favourite amusement of the march, to defile the churches, and to insult the clergy of the adverse faction.<sup>100</sup> 1V. The citizens who had been educated in the luxury of the Roman province, were delivered, with exquisite cruelty, to the Moors of the desert. A venerable train of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, with a faithful crowd of four thousand and ninety-six persons, whose guilt is not precisely ascertained, were torn from their native homes, by the command of Hunneric. During the night, they were confined, like a herd of cattle, amidst their own ordure; during the day they pursued their march over the burning sands; and if they faunted under the heat and fatigue, they were goaded, or dragged along, till they expired in the hands of their tormentors.<sup>101</sup> These unhappy exiles, when they reached the Moorish huts, might excite the compassion of a people, whose native humanity was neither improved by reason, nor corrupted by fanaticism; but if they escaped the dangers, they were condemned to share the distress of a savage life. V. It is incumbent on the authors of persecution previously to reflect, whether they are determined to support it in the last extreme. They excite the flame which they strive to extinguish; and it soon becomes necessary to chastise the contumacy, as well as the crime, of the offender. The fine, which he is unable or unwilling to discharge, exposes his person to the severity of the law, and his contempt of lighter penalties suggests the use and propriety of capital punishment. Through the veil of fiction and declamation, we may clearly perceive, that the

torces, his own power, and the force of his faith. See also the note on this subject, in the next page.

<sup>92</sup> Victor, l. i. p. 101. The same is said by the author of the *Life of St. Augustine*, who mentions the same thing in the *Life of St. Augustine*, l. i. p. 101.

<sup>93</sup> Victor, l. i. p. 101. The charge of perjury is not a new one; it is a charge which has been made against many of the bishops of the church.

<sup>94</sup> See the list of the Arian bishops in Victor, l. i. p. 101. The same is said by the author of the *Life of St. Augustine*, who mentions the same thing in the *Life of St. Augustine*, l. i. p. 101.

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<sup>99</sup> Victor, l. i. p. 101. The same is said by the author of the *Life of St. Augustine*, who mentions the same thing in the *Life of St. Augustine*, l. i. p. 101.

with Max. Victor, l. i. p. 101. Only seven bishops are mentioned as having been converted to the Catholic faith.

<sup>92</sup> Victor, l. i. p. 101. The same is said by the author of the *Life of St. Augustine*, who mentions the same thing in the *Life of St. Augustine*, l. i. p. 101.

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<sup>99</sup> Victor, l. i. p. 101. The same is said by the author of the *Life of St. Augustine*, who mentions the same thing in the *Life of St. Augustine*, l. i. p. 101.



scripts.<sup>116</sup> It was first alleged by the Catholic bishops whom Hunnicer summoned to the conference of Carthage.<sup>117</sup> An allegorical interpretation, in the form, perhaps, of a marginal note, invaded the text of the Latin Bibles, which were renewed and corrected in a dark period of ten centuries.<sup>118</sup> After the invention of printing,<sup>119</sup> the editors of the Greek Testament yielded to their own prejudices, or those of the times;<sup>120</sup> and the pious fraud, which was embraced with equal zeal at Rome and at Geneva, has been infinitely multiplied in every country and every language of modern Europe.

The example of fraud must excite suspicion ; and the specious miracles by which the African Catholics have defended the truth and justice of their cause, may be ascribed, with more reason, to their own industry, than to the visible protection of Heaven. Yet the historian, who views this religious conflict with an impartial eye, may condescend to mention one preternatural event, which will edify the devout, and surprise the incredulous. Tipasa,<sup>121</sup> a maritime colony of Mauritania, sixteen miles to the east of Cæsarea, had been distinguished, in every age, by the orthodox zeal of its inhabitants. They had braved the fury of the Donatists ;<sup>122</sup> they resisted, or eluded, the tyranny of the Arians. The town was deserted on the approach of an heretical bishop : most of the inhabitants who could procure ships passed over to the coast of Spain ; and the unhappy remnant, refusing all communion with the usurper, still presumed to hold their pious, but illegal, assemblies. Their disobedience exasperated the enmity of Huneric. A military court was despatched from Carthage to Tipasa ; he collected the Catholics in the Forum, and, in the presence of the whole province, deprived the guilty of their right hands and their tongues. But the holy confessors continued to speak without tongues ; and this miracle is attested by Victor, an African bishop, who published an history of the persecution within two years after the event.<sup>123</sup> “ If any one,” says Victor, “ should doubt of the truth, let him repair to “ Constantinople, and listen to the clear and “ perfect language of Restitutius, the sub-deacon, “ one of these glorious sufferers, who is now “ lodged in the palace of the emperor Zeno, “ and is respected by the devout empress.” At Constantinople we are astonished to find a cool,

a learned, and unexceptionable witness, without interest, and without passion. Æneas of Gaza, a Platonic philosopher, has accurately described his own observations on these African sufferers. "I saw them myself: I heard them speak: I diligently enquired by what means such an articulate voice could be formed without any organ of speech: I used my eyes to examine the report of my ears. I opened their mouth, and saw that the whole tongue had been completely torn away by the roots; an operation which the physicians generally suppose to be mortal." <sup>124</sup> The testimony of Æneas of Gaza might be confirmed by the superfluous evidence of the emperor Justinian, in a perpetual edict; of count Marcellinus, in his Chronicle of the times; and of pope Gregory the First, who had resided at Constantinople, as the minister of the Roman pontiff. <sup>125</sup> They all lived within the compass of a century; and they all appeal to their personal knowledge, or the public notoriety, for the truth of a miracle, which was repeated in several instances, displayed on the greatest theatre of the world, and submitted, during a series of years, to the calm examination of the senses. This supernatural gift of the African confessors, who spoke without tongues, will command the assent of those, and of those only, who already believe, that their language was pure and orthodox. But the stubborn mind of an infidel is guarded by secret, incurable, suspicion; and the Arian, or Socinian, who has seriously rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, will not be shaken by the most plausible evidence of an Athanasian miracle.

The Vandals and the Ostrogoths persevered in the profession of Arianism till the final ruin of the kingdoms which they had founded in Africa and Italy. The barbarians of Gaul submitted to the orthodox dominion of the Franks; and Spain was restored to the Catholic church by the voluntary conversion of the Visigoths.

This salutary revolution<sup>125</sup> was hastened by the example of a royal martyr, whom our calmer reason may style an ungrateful rebel. Leovigild, the Gothic monarch of Spain, deserved the respect of his enemies, and the love of his subjects : the Catholics enjoyed a free toleration, and his Arian synods attempted, without much

Revolt and martyrdom of Hermenegild in 582.  
A.D. 577-584.

115 Of all the MSS. now extant about five-hundred in number, some

The orthography of Robert Dahlm and Berlin are unworthy to form an exception. See Eulder's Works, vol. i, p. 227-25; 209, 210; and M. de M. v. s. fouringmann's letters, in vol. vi. and x. of the Journal of that society.

117. Of course, popularly, the *fratres* who engaged and published the production of faith in the name of their brethren. They style this text, moreover, (*Vita et Veritas*, see *Texts and Versions*, 11, p. 51). It is quoted soon afterwards by the *Vita in Indis*, *Vigilans* and *Fugitivus*.

118 In the thirteenth and twelfth centuries the Bibles were corrected by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and by Neodes, cardinal and librarian of the Roman church, a cardinal orthodox in opinion (Westen, *Prolegomena* p. 81, 82). Nevertheless, since these corrections, the passage is still winning in twenty-five Latin MSS. (Westen *ad loc.*), the oldest and the fairest, two qualities seldom united, except in manuscripts.

119 The art which the Germans had invented, was applied in Italy to the profane writers of Rome and Greece. The original Greek of the New Testament was published at Zurich, in the year 1516.

The New Testament was published about the same time (A.D. 1418). Title 1239 by the industry of Erasmus, and the maintenance of the national Annals. The Commentaries by Plot on the Universal History of the World. See Maurer's *Annal. Typograph.* Bonn ii. p. 28. 50, 600. Quentz. See Maurer's *Annal. Typograph.* Bonn ii. p. 28. 123, 137, and Westcott's *Commentaries* i. 119, 127.

plutensian editors: the typographical fraud, or error, of Robert Stephens, in the placing a crocheted, and the deliberate falsehood, or strange misapprehension, of Theodore Rex.

1cl Min. Hist. N. Ind., v. 1. Itinerar. Weselings, p. 15. Col-  
larius, Geograph. Antiquum in part. ii p. 117. This Lypso (which  
must not be confused with a other in Numid.) was a town of  
some note, since Vespa. Gen. reduced it, with the rest of the

1.1. Opusculum: *Me'vitarim de Shilshim*. Donatist. f. 16. p. 38.

124. It was *Geizus* in the *qhrstn*, in Boboth. *Poln* is, *tor* *wt*, p. 40, 16. It was a *Christm*, and composed this *Monagne* (the *Theqhrism*) on the *Imam* (rality) of the *Sout*, and the *Resurrecti* on

145 Justinian Codex, l. 1. tit. xxv. Marcellus, in Chron. p. 55.  
in the same Commentar. Schaefer Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. ii.

in the last *Temporibus* (under *Temporibus* in *Index* volume 1, c. 7, p. 106). *Gregor Magnus*, *Dialog.* iii. 32. None of these witnesses have specified the number of the confessors, which is fixed at sixty in an old menology (apud *Barut.*, p. 186). I would them lost their speech by fornication. Let the miracle be enhanced by the singular instance of a boy who had never spoken before his tongue

[10] See the two general histories of Spain, Marrara, *Historia de Rubén Hispano*, (1961), I, v. 1, p. 132-133, and [11] [French translation] *Le roman de Rubén*, (1971), M. 000, 1, p. 132, that he is a humanist in the style of Erasmus. [12] For his, an industrious compiler, reviews his facts, and rectifies his chronology.



tholic communion ; the faith, at least of the rising generation, was fervent and sincere ; and the devout liberality of the barbarians enriched the churches and monasteries of Spain. Seventy bishops, assembled in the council of Toledo, received the submission of their conquerors ; and the zeal of the Spaniards improved the Nicene creed, by declaring the procession of the Holy Ghost, from the Son, as well as from the Father ; a weighty point of doctrine, which produced, long afterwards, the schism of the Greek and Latin churches.<sup>133</sup> The royal proselyte immediately saluted and consulted pope Gregory, surnamed the Great, a learned and holy prelate, whose reign was distinguished by the conversion of heretics and infidels. The ambassadors of Recared respectfully offered on the threshold of the Vatican his rich presents of gold and gems, they accepted, as a lucrative exchange, the hairs of St. John the Baptist ; a cross, which enclosed a small piece of the true wood ; and a key, that contained some particles of iron which had been scraped from the chains of St. Peter.<sup>134</sup>

The same Gregory, the spiritual conqueror of Britain, encouraged the pious Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, to propagate the Nicene faith among the victorious savages, whose recent Christianity was polluted by the Arian heresy. Her devout labours still left room for the industry and success of future missionaries; and many cities of Italy were still disputed by hostile bishops. But the cause of Arianism was gradually suppressed by the weight of truth, of interest, and of example; and the controversy, which Egypt had derived from the Platonic school, was terminated, after a war of three hundred years, by the final conversion of the Lombards of Italy.<sup>110</sup>

The first missionaries who preached the Gospel to the barbarians, appealed to the evidence of reason, and claimed the benefit of toleration.<sup>136</sup> But no sooner had they established their spiritual dominion, than they exhorted the Christian kings to extirpate, without mercy, the remains of Roman or barbaric superstition. The successors of Clovis inflicted one hundred lashes on the peasants who refused to destroy their idols; the crime of sacrificing to the demons was punished, by the Anglo-Saxon laws, with the heavier penalties of imprisonment and confiscation; and even the wise Alfred adopted, as an indispensable duty, the extreme rigour of the Mosaeic institutions.<sup>137</sup> But the punishment and the crime were gradually abolished among a Christian people: the theological disputes of

the schools were suspended by propitious ignorance; and the intolerant spirit, which could find neither idolaters nor heretics, was reduced to the persecution of the Jews. That exiled nation had founded some synagogues in the cities of Gaul; but Spain, since the time of Hadrian, was filled with their numerous colonies.<sup>138</sup> The wealth which they accumulated by trade, and the management of the finances, invited the pious avarice of their masters; and they might be oppressed without danger, as they had lost the use, and even the remembrance, of arms. Sisebut, a Gothic king, who reigned in the beginning of the seventh century, proceeded at once to the last extremes of persecution.<sup>139</sup> Ninety thousand Jews were compelled to receive the sacrament of baptism; the fortunes of the obstinate infidels were confiscated, their bodies were tortured; and it seems doubtful whether they were permitted to abandon their native country. The excessive zeal of the Catholic king was moderated, even by the clergy of Spain, who solemnly pronounced an inconsistent sentence: *that* the sacraments should not be forcibly imposed; but *that* the Jews who had been baptized should be constrained, for the honour of the church, to persevere in the external practice of a religion which they disbelieved, and detested. Their frequent relapses provoked one of the successors of Sisebut to banish the whole nation from his dominions; and a council of Toledo published a decree, that every Gothic king should swear to maintain this salutary edict. But the tyrants were unwilling to dismiss the victims, whom they delighted to torture, or to deprive themselves of the industrious slaves, over whom they might exercise a lucrative oppression. The Jews still continued in Spain, under the weight of the civil and ecclesiastical laws, which in the same country have been faithfully transcribed in the Code of the Inquisition. The Gothic kings, and bishops at length discovered, that injuries will produce hatred, and that hatred will find the opportunity of revenge. A nation, the secret or professed enemies of Christianity, still multiplied in servitude and distress; and the intrigues of the Jews promoted the rapid success of the Arabian conquerors.<sup>140</sup>

As soon as the barbarians withdrew their powerful support, the unpopular heresy of Arius sunk into contempt and oblivion. But the Greeks still retained their subtle and loquacious disposition : the establishment of an obscure doctrine suggested new questions, and new disputes ; and it was always in the power of an ambitious prelate, or a

### Conclusion.

135. This addition to the *Notre*, or rather *Confession* of the creed, was first made at the eighth session of Louvain, A.D. 1562, but it was expressive of the popular doctrine of Gerard Vossius, born A.D. 1577, de *expos. Symboli*.

134 See Gregor. Magn. l. vii. Epist. 120, apud Baronium. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 1090. No. 25, 26.

135 Paul Wernetfride Gests. Lungebund 1 v. c. 11 p. 85, edit. Grot.) allows that Aramis is still present under the reign of Bocharis (A. D. 636-642). The pious *id est* does not attempt to mark the precise date of the national conversion, which was accomplished,

176 Quomodo adhaec conversione ita cognoscatur esse rex perhi-

betur, ut nullum tamen cogitet ad Christianismum. — Dico autem enim a doctoribus doctoribusque sine salutis servitio Christianismum.

Leges Anglo-Saxonice, p. II. 31. Signis sacrificium immolaverit  
in curia sua morte moratur.

155 The Jews pretend that they were introduced into Spain by the fleets of Solomon, and the arms of Nebuchadnezzar, that Hannan transported forty thousand families of the tribe of Judah, and ten thousand of the tribe of Benjamin, &c. Bagnae, Hist. des Juifs, tom. vi. c. 9. p. 240.

170 Isidore, at that time archbishop of Seville, mentions, disapproves, and congratulates, the zeal of Sisobut (Chron. Goth. p. 728). Baronius (v. 11. c. 11. No. 11) assigns the number on the evidence

of Ammon l v c 22 but the evidence is weak, and I have not been able to verify the quotation. Historians of France, tom. iii.

<sup>1</sup> 150 Basnage *op. cit.* vol. 6, p. 388—403; faithfully represents the state of the law. The material have added from the *op. cit.* of





tant ocean, who painted their naked bodies with its carulean colour, implored his protection; and the Saxons respected the maritime provinces of a prince, who was destitute of any naval force. The tall Burgundians submitted to his authority; nor did he restore the captive Franks, till he had imposed on that fierce nation the terms of an unequal peace. The Vandals of Africa cultivated his useful friendship; and the Ostrogoths of Pannonia were supported by his powerful aid against the oppression of the neighbouring Huns. The North (such are the lofty strains of the poet) was agitated, or appeased, by the nod of Euric; the great king of Persia consulted the oracle of the West; and the aged god of the Tyber was protected by the swelling genius of the Garonne.<sup>6</sup> The fortune of nations has often depended on accidents; and France may ascribe her greatness to the premature death of the Gothic king, at a time when his son Alaric was an helpless infant, and his adversary Clovis<sup>7</sup> an ambitious and valiant youth.

While Childeric, the father of Clovis, lived in exile in Germany, he was hospitably entertained by the queen, as well as by the king, of the Thuringians. After his restoration, Basina escaped from her husband's bed to the arms of her lover, freely declaring, that if she had known a man wiser, stronger, or more beautiful, than Childeric, that man should have been the object of her preference.<sup>8</sup> Clovis was the offspring of this voluntary union; and, when he was no more than fifteen years of age, he succeeded, by his father's death, to the command of the Salian tribe. The narrow limits of his kingdom were confined to the island of the Batavians, with the ancient dioceses of Tongres and Arras,<sup>10</sup> and at the baptism of Clovis, the number of his warriors could not exceed five thousand. The kindred tribes of the Franks, who had scattered themselves along the Belgic rivers, the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine, were governed by their independent kings, of the Merovingian race; the equals, the allies, and sometimes the enemies, of the Salic prince. But the Germans, who obeyed, in peace, the hereditary jurisdiction of their chiefs, were free to follow the standard of a popular and victorious general; and the superior merit of Clovis attracted the respect and allegiance of the national confederacy. When he first took the field, he had neither gold nor silver in his coffers, nor wine and corn in his magazines.<sup>11</sup> but he imitated the example of Cæsar, who, in the same

country, had acquired wealth by the sword, and purchased soldiers with the fruits of conquest. After each successful battle or expedition, the spoils were accumulated in one common mass; every warrior received his proportionable share; and the royal prerogative submitted to the equal regulations of military law. The untamed spirit of the barbarians was taught to acknowledge the advantages of regular discipline.<sup>11</sup> At the annual review of the month of March, their arms were diligently inspected; and when they traversed a peaceful territory, they were prohibited from touching a blade of grass. The justice of Clovis was inexorable; and his careless or disobedient soldiers were punished with instant death. It would be superfluous to praise the valour of a Frank: but the valour of Clovis was directed by cool and con-uminate prudence.<sup>12</sup> In all his transactions with mankind, he calculated the weight of interest, of passion, and of opinion; and his measures were sometimes adapted to the sanguinary manners of Germans, and sometimes moderated by the milder genius of Rome, and Christianity. He was interrupted in the career of victory, since he died in the forty-fifth year of his age: but he had already accomplished, in a reign of thirty years, the establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul.

The first exploit of Clovis was the defeat of Syagrius, the son of Ægidius; and the public quarrel might, on this occasion, be inflamed by private resentment. The glory of the father still insulted the Merovingian race; the power of the son might excite the jealous ambition of the king of the Franks. Syagrius inherited, as a patrimonial estate, the city and diocese of Soissons, the desolate remnant of the second Belgic, Rheims and Troyes, Bourmois and Amiens, would naturally submit to the count or patrician;<sup>14</sup> and after the dissolution of the Western empire, he might reign with the title, or at least with the authority, of king of the Romans.<sup>15</sup> As a Roman, he had been educated in the liberal studies of rhetoric and jurisprudence; but he was engaged by accident and policy in the familiar use of the Germanic idiom. The independent barbarians resorted to the tribunal of a stranger, who possessed the singular talent of explaining, in their native tongue, the dictates of reason and equity. The diligence and affability of their judge rendered him popular, the impartial wisdom of his decrees obtained their voluntary obedience, and the reign of Syagrius over the Franks and Burgundians, seemed to revive the original institu-

6 Salomon, l. vii. Ep. t. 3. 9. in tom i p. 540. Jomardes de Rebus Actus, t. 17. p. 64. ju-tines, in some maners, this portrait of the Gothic hu-ma

7 I use the familiar appellation of *Phas*, from the Latin *Phasiana*, or *Phasianus*, but de C. expresses only the generic character, and the true name is not different from *Phas*, or *Phas*. (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xx. p. 68.)

the first of the *Adèle Dubois* (First Critique of Pffahlessement de la Monarchie Française) of 1790, in which she attacked the king for his part in despoiling the province of Lorraine, for his part in the destruction of the province of Lorraine, and of ascertaining the genuine rights of his subjects.

In Euklissia, according to neogentilis cymum Pignarorum proter-

category of souls (I. v. c. 1. in tom. II. p. 272) contrast the

poverty of Clois with the wealth of his grandsons. Yet Remigius at last is a millionaire, his fortune is sufficient for the redemption of all his relatives.

12. So. Gregory found 27.77 percent of the 181,182. The famous shot of the case of So. an experts with the power and the character of 11.65. As a type of more cases at the same scale portrayed by Boukharov's, D. 1905, and the other play it was a 1905.

In the Duke of Normandy's testamentary will, the bequeathed weight and date might date to 1200, but the text "Monsieur l'Évêque de Lisieux nous l'a vu" (p. 147) and the personal seal of Geoffroi

11 M. Dietrich and the author who measured the pressure of the Ar<sub>2</sub> and of SO<sub>2</sub> gases at 178° and 183° K. and at pressures of 100 to 1000 mm. The results of these measurements are given in Table I. The values of the critical constants of the Ar<sub>2</sub> and of SO<sub>2</sub> gases and of the critical temperatures of the solid phases of these gases are given in Table II. The critical temperatures of the solid phases of the Ar<sub>2</sub> and of SO<sub>2</sub> gases are given in Table III.

tion of civil society.<sup>16</sup> In the midst of these peaceful occupations, Syagrius received, and boldly accepted, the hostile defiance of Clovis; who challenged his rival, in the spirit, and almost in the language, of chivalry, to appoint the day, and the field,<sup>17</sup> of battle. In the time of Cæsar, Soissons would have poured forth a body of fifty thousand horse; and such an army might have been plentifully supplied with shields, cuirasses, and military engines, from the three arsenals, or manufactures, of the city.<sup>18</sup> But the courage and numbers of the Gallic youth were long since exhausted; and the loose bands of volunteers, or mercenaries, who marched under the standard of Syagrius, were incapable of contending with the national valour of the Franks. It would be ungenerous, without some more accurate knowledge of his strength and resources, to condemn the rapid flight of Syagrius, who escaped, after the loss of a battle, to the distant court of Thoulouse. The feeble minority of Alaric could not assist, or protect, an unfortunate fugitive; the pusillanimous Goths<sup>19</sup> were intimidated by the menaces of Clovis; and the Roman king, after a short confinement, was delivered into the hands of the executioner. The Belgic cities surrendered to the king of the Franks; and his dominions were enlarged towards the East by the ample diocese of Tongres,<sup>20</sup> which Clovis subdued in the tenth year of his reign.

The name of the Alemanni has been absurdly derived from their imaginary settlement on the banks of the *Leman* lake.<sup>21</sup> That fortunate district, from the lake to Avenche, and Mount Jura, was occupied by the Burgundians.<sup>22</sup> The northern parts of Helvetia had indeed been subdued by the ferocious Alemanni, who destroyed with their own hands the fruits of their conquest. A province, improved and adorned by the arts of Rome, was again reduced to a savage wilderness; and some vestige of the stately Vindonissa may still be discovered in the fertile and populous valley of the Aar.<sup>23</sup> From the source of the Rhine, to its conflux with the Mein and the Moselle, the formidable swarms of the Alemanni commanded either side of the river, by the right of ancient possession, or recent victory. They had spread themselves into Gaul, over the modern provinces of Alsace and Lorraine; and their bold invasion of the kingdom of Cologne

summoned the Salic prince to the defence of his Ripuarian allies. Clovis encountered the invaders of Gaul in the plain of Tolbiac; and twenty-four miles from Cologne; and the two fiercest nations of Germany were mutually animated by the memory of past exploits, and the prospect of future greatness. The Franks, after an obstinate struggle, gave way; and the Alemanni, raising a shout of victory, impetuously pressed their retreat. But the battle was restored by the valour, the conduct, and perhaps by the piety, of Clovis; and the event of the bloody day decided for ever the alternative of empire or servitude. The last king of the Alemanni was slain in the field, and his people were slaughtered and pursued, till they threw down their arms, and yielded to the mercy of the conqueror. Without discipline it was impossible for them to rally: they had contemptuously demolished the walls and fortifications which might have protected their distress; and they were followed into the heart of their forests, by an enemy not less active, or intrepid, than themselves. The great Theodoric congratulated the victory of Clovis, whose sister Albothea the king of Italy had lately married; but he mildly interceded with his brother in favour of the suppliants and fugitives, who had implored his protection. The Gallic territories, which were possessed by the Alemanni, became the prize of their conqueror; and the haughty nation, invincible, or rebellious, to the arms of Rome, acknowledged the sovereignty of the Merovingian kings, who graciously permitted them to enjoy their peculiar manners and institutions, under the government of official, and, at length, of hereditary, dukes. After the conquest of the Western provinces, the Franks alone maintained their ancient habitations beyond the Rhine. They gradually subdued, and civilised, the exhausted countries, as far as the Elbe, and the mountains of Bohemia; and the peace of Europe was secured by the obedience of Germany.<sup>24</sup>

Till the thirtieth year of his age, Clovis continued to worship the gods of his ancestors.<sup>25</sup> His disbelief, or rather disregard, of Christianity, might encourage him to pillage with less remorse the churches of an hostile territory: but his subjects of Gaul enjoyed the free exercise of religious worship; and the bishops entertained a more favourable hope of the idolater, than of the heretics. The

Conversion of  
Clovis.  
A.D. 496.

<sup>16</sup> Sidonius (l. v. Epist. 5. in tom. i. p. 794), who styles him the Solon, the Amphion of the barbarians, addresses this unassuming king in the tone of friendship and equality. From his offices of arbitration, the crafty Dejeves had raised himself to the throne of the Medes. (Herodot. l. i. c. 96-100.)

cannot justify the French prejudice of Gregory (l. ii. c. 27. in tom. ii. p. 175), at Gothorum pavore est.

<sup>20</sup> Dubos has satisfied me (tom. i. p. 277-285.) that Gregory of Tours, his transcriber, or his readers, have rejected, as contending the German kingdom of Thuringia, beyond the Rhine, and the Gallic city of Turgaria, on the Meuse, which was more anciently the country of the Eburones, and more recently the diocese of Liege.

<sup>21</sup> Populi habitantes juxta Lemannum lacum, Alemanni dicuntur. Servius, ad Virg. Georgic. iv. 275. Dion Bouquet tom. i. p. 812. has only alleged the more recent and corrupt text of Isidore of Beville.

<sup>22</sup> Gregory of Tours sends St. Lupicinus inter illa Jurensis deserti

secreta, que, inter Burgundum Alemannorumque sita, Aventicum adja cent civitat. in tom. i. p. 618. M. de Wattenille (Hist. de la

1 is. p. 176, 177. 1821, the d the epistle of Theodoric p. 4), represent the defeat of the Alemanni. Some of their tribes settled in Rhaetia, under the name of the colonies and their the Alemanni under (Hist. of the Ancient Gaulman (de Reb.

Merovingian prince had contracted a fortunate alliance with the fair Clotilda, the niece of the king of Burgundy, who, in the midst of an Arian court, was educated in the profession of the Catholic faith. It was her interest, as well as her duty, to achieve the conversion<sup>26</sup> of a Pagan husband; and Clovis insensibly listened to the voice of love and religion. He consented (perhaps such terms had been previously stipulated) to the baptism of his eldest son; and though the sudden death of the infant excited some superstitious fears, he was persuaded, a second time, to repeat the dangerous experiment. In the distress of the battle of Tolbiac, Clovis loudly invoked the God of Clotilda and the Christians; and victory disposed him to hear, with respectful gratitude, the eloquent<sup>27</sup> Remigius,<sup>28</sup> bishop of Rheims, who forcibly displayed the temporal and spiritual advantages of his conversion. The king declared himself satisfied of the truth of the Catholic faith; and the political reasons which might have suspended his public profession, were removed by the devout or loyal acclamations of the Franks, who showed themselves alike prepared to follow their heroic leader, to the field of battle, or to the baptismal font. The important ceremony was performed in the cathedral of Rheims, with every circumstance of magnificence and solemnity, that could impress an awful sense of religion on the minds of its rude proselytes.<sup>29</sup> The new Constantine was immediately baptized, with three thousand of his warlike subjects; and their example was imitated by the remainder of the *gentle barbarians*, who, in obedience to the victorious prelate, adored the cross which they had burnt, and burnt the idols which they had formerly adored.<sup>30</sup> The mind of Clovis was susceptible of transient fervour: he was exasperated by the pathetic tale of the passion and death of Christ; and, instead of weighing the salutary consequences of that mysterious sacrifice, he exclaimed, with indeliberate fury, "Had I been present at the head of my valiant Franks, I would have revenged his injuries."<sup>31</sup> But the savage conqueror of Gaul was incapable of examining the proofs of a religion, which depends on the laborious investigation of historic evidence, and speculative theology. He was still more incapable of feeling the mild influence of the Gospel, which persuades and purifies the heart of a genuine convert. His ambitious reign was a perpetual violation of moral and Christian duties: his hands were stained with blood, in

peace as well as in war; and as soon as Clovis had dismissed a synod of the Gallican church, he calmly assassinated *all* the princes of the Merovingian race.<sup>32</sup> Yet the king of the Franks might sincerely worship the Christian God, as a Being more excellent and powerful than his national deities; and the signal deliverance and victory of Tolbiac encouraged Clovis to confide in the future protection of the Lord of Hosts. Martin, the most popular of the saints, had filled the Western world with the fame of those miracles, which were incessantly performed at his holy sepulchre of Tours. His visible or invisible aid promoted the cause of a liberal and orthodox prince; and the profane remark of Clovis himself, that St. Martin was an expensive friend,<sup>33</sup> need not be interpreted as the symptom of any permanent, or rational, scepticism. But earth, as well as heaven, rejoiced in the conversion of the Franks. On the memorable day, when Clovis ascended from the baptismal font, he alone, in the Christian world, deserved the name and prerogatives of a Catholic king. The emperor Anastasius entertained some dangerous errors concerning the nature of the divine incarnation; and the barbarians of Italy, Africa, Spain, and Gaul, were involved in the Arian heresy. The eldest, or rather the only, son of the church, was acknowledged by the clergy as their lawful sovereign, or glorious deliverer; and the arms of Clovis were strenuously supported by the zeal and favour of the Catholic faction.<sup>34</sup>

Under the Roman empire, the wealth and jurisdiction of the bishops, their sacred character, and perpetual office, their numerous dependents, popular eloquence, and provincial assemblies, had rendered them always respectable, and sometimes dangerous. Their influence was augmented with the progress of superstition, and the establishment of the French monarchy may, in some degree, be ascribed to the firm alliance of an hundred prelates, who reigned in the discontented, or independent, cities of Gaul. The slight foundations of the *Armorican* republic had been repeatedly shaken or overthrown; but the same people still guarded their domestic freedom; asserted the dignity of the Roman name; and bravely resisted the predatory inroads, and regular attacks, of Clovis, who laboured to extend his conquests from the Seine to the Loire. Their successful opposition introduced an equal and honourable union.

Submission of the Armoricans and the Roman troops. A. D. 497, &c.

<sup>26</sup> Gregory of Tours relates the marriage and conversion of Clovis (l. i. c. 28-31 in tom. ut. p. 117-125). Even Fredegarus, or the namesake Historiographer (in tom. ut. p. 708-800), the author of the *Gesta Francorum* (in tom. ut. p. 548-552), and Amon himself (l. i. c. 13 in tom. ut. p. 32-40), may be heard without objection. Tradition might long preserve some curious circumstances of these important transactions.

<sup>27</sup> A teacher, who returned from Rheims to Auvergne, had stolen a copy of his Declaration from the secretary or his colleague of the modern bishop Sulpicius Apollinaris (see Epist. 7). Four copies of it remain, which are still extant (in tom. ut. p. 51, 52, 53), do not come good with the splendid praise of Sulpicius.

<sup>28</sup> Hincmar, one of the successors of Remigius (A. D. 845-882), has composed his life (in tom. ut. p. 573-580). The authenticity of ancient MSS. of the church of Rheims might inspire some confidence, which is destroyed, however, by the selfish and audacious hints of Hincmar. It is remarkable enough, that Remigius was consecrated at the age of twenty-two (A. D. 475), filled the episcopal chair seventy-four years. (Fagi. critica, in Baron. tom. ut. p. 354, 573.)

<sup>29</sup> A poet (see the fragments of his poetry in the appendix to the *Œuvres de Virgile*) still used, Hincmar, this fable de Vertu.

<sup>30</sup> Gregory has undermined, with profound respect and consummate dexterity.

<sup>31</sup> *Mitis depone colla, Silembar adora quod incendisti, incende quod auratus.* (Greg. Turon. l. i. c. 31 in tom. ut. p. 127.)

<sup>32</sup> *Si ego ipse cum Francis misis fuisset, injurias eius vindicasset.* This rash expression, which Gregory has prudently concealed, is celebrated by Fredegarus (Epistola, c. 21 in tom. ut. p. 408), Amon (l. i. c. 16 in tom. ut. p. 39), and the *Chroniques de St. Denis* (l. i. c. 40 in tom. ut. p. 124), as an admirable allusion to Christian zeal.

<sup>33</sup> Gregory (l. i. c. 40-43 in tom. ut. p. 125-128), after coolly relating the repeated crimes, and offered ransom, of Clovis, concludes, perhaps, undesignedly, with a lesson, which ambition will never hear, "His ita transactis . . . obit."

<sup>34</sup> After the Gothic victory, I have made such offerings to St. Martin of the same order as that to which his war-horse is the first of the hundred pieces of gold, but the enchanted steel could not move from the stable till the price of his redemption had been doubled. This miracle provoked the king to exclaim, *Verbe Domini sunt domus in auro, sed carus in negotio.* (Gesta Francorum, lib. i. c. p. 554, 555.)

<sup>35</sup> See the epistle from pope Anastasius to the royal convert (in tom. ut. p. 60, 51). Avitus, bishop of Vienne, addressed to him the same subject (p. 49), and many of the Latin bishops would assure him of their joy and attachment.

The Franks esteemed the valour of the Armoricans,<sup>35</sup> and the Armoricans were reconciled by the religion of the Franks. The military force, which had been stationed for the defence of Gaul, consisted of one hundred different bands of cavalry or infantry; and these troops, while they assumed the title and privileges of Roman soldiers, were renewed by an incessant supply of the barbarian youth. The extreme fortifications, and scattered fragments, of the empire, were still defended by their hopeless courage. But their retreat was intercepted, and their communication was impracticable: they were abandoned by the Greek princes of Constantinople, and they piously disclaimed all connection with the Arian usurpers of Gaul. They accepted, without shame or reluctance, the generous capitulation, which was proposed by a Catholic hero; and this spurious, or legitimate, progeny of the Roman legions, was distinguished in the succeeding age by their arms, their ensigns, and their peculiar dress and institutions. But the national strength was increased by these powerful and voluntary accessions; and the neighbouring kingdoms dreaded the numbers, as well as the spirit, of the Franks. The reduction of the Northern provinces of Gaul, instead of being decided by the chance of a single battle, appears to have been slowly effected by the gradual operation of war and treaty; and Clovis acquired each object of his ambition, by such efforts, or such concessions, as were adequate to its real value. His savage character, and the virtues of Henry IV., suggest the most opposite ideas of human nature; yet some resemblance may be found in the situation of two princes, who conquered France by their valour, their policy, and the merits of a seasonable conversion.<sup>36</sup>

The Burgundian war, A.D. 499.

The kingdom of the Burgundians, which was defined by the course of two Gallic rivers, the Saône and the Rhône, extended from the forest of Vosges to the Alps and the Sea of Marseilles.<sup>37</sup> The sceptre was in the hands of Gundobald. That valiant and ambitious prince had reduced the number of royal candidates by the death of two brothers, one of whom was the father of Clovis,<sup>38</sup> but his imperfect prudence still permitted Godegisil, the youngest of his brothers, to possess the dependent principality of Geneva. The Arian monarch was justly alarmed by the satisfaction, and the hopes, which seemed to animate his clergy and people, after the conversion of Clovis; and Gundobald convened at Lyons an assembly of his bishops, to reconcile, if it were possible, their religious and political discontents. A vain conference

was agitated between the two factions. The Arians upbraided the Catholics with the worship of three Gods: the Catholics defended their cause by theological distinctions; and the usual arguments, objections, and replies, were reiterated with obstinate clamour; till the king revealed his secret apprehensions, by an abrupt but decisive question, which he addressed to the orthodox bishops. "If you truly profess the Christian religion, why do you not restrain the king of the Franks? He has declared war against me, and forms alliances with my enemies for my destruction. A sanguinary and covetous mind is not the symptom of a sincere conversion; let him show his faith by his works." The answer of Avitus, bishop of Vienna, who spoke in the name of his brethren, was delivered with the voice and countenance of an angel. "We are ignorant of the motives and intentions of the king of the Franks: but we are taught by Scripture, that the kingdoms which abandon the divine law, are frequently subverted; and that enemies will arise on every side against those who have made God their enemy. Return, with thy people, to the law of God, and he will give peace and security to thy dominions." The king of Burgundy, who was not prepared to accept the condition, which the Catholics considered as essential to the treaty, delayed and dismissed the ecclesiastical conference; after reproaching his bishops, that Clovis, their friend and proselyte, had privately tempted the allegiance of his brother.<sup>39</sup>

Victory of Clovis, A.D. 500.

The allegiance of his brother was already seduced; and the obedience of Godegisil, who joined the royal standard with the troops of Geneva, more effectually promoted the success of the conspiracy. While the Franks and Burgundians contended with equal valour, his seasonable desertion decided the event of the battle; and as Gundobald was faintly supported by the disaffected Gauls, he yielded to the arms of Clovis, and hastily retreated from the field, which appears to have been situate between Langres and Dijon. He distrusted the strength of Dijon, a quadrangular fortress, encompassed by two rivers, and by a wall thirty feet high, and fifteen thick, with four gates, and thirty-three towers;<sup>40</sup> he abandoned to the pursuit of Clovis the important cities of Lyons and Vienna; and Gundobald still fled with precipitation, till he had reached Avignon, at the distance of two hundred and fifty miles from the field of battle. A long siege, and an artful negotiation, admonished the king of the Franks of the danger and difficulty of his

<sup>35</sup> Instead of the *A-Saxones*, an unknown people, who now appear in the text of Procopius, *Hist. III. c. 24*, Valois has restored the proper name of the *Aquasones*, and this error correction has been almost universally adopted. Yet an unprejudiced reader would naturally suppose, that Procopius means to describe a tribe of Germans, in the vicinity of Rome, and not a confederacy of Gallic cities, which had revolted from the empire.

<sup>36</sup> The important discussion of Procopius (de *Bell. Goth. c. 1, c. 11*), in *tom. i. p. 29, 30* illustrates the origin of the Frisian monarchs. Yet I must observe, 1. That the Greek historian betrays in this case a ignorance of the geography of the West. 2. That these names and provinces, which do not here seem issuing trace, are the names of the cities of Lyons, the *Saône*, &c.

<sup>37</sup> *Strabo* (in *l. c.*) mentions that Arminius had previously mentioned to the Greek historian (in *c. 24*) a town in *p. 175*. The name of Marseilles, as far as the Durane, was afterwards reduced to the *Ustrades*, and the signatures of twenty-five bishops are appended to a treaty sent the kingdom of Burgundy, A.D. 519. (*Procop. de Bell. Goth. in tom. iv. p. 104, 105*). Yet I would except *Vindobona*.

The hope, who lived under the *Pal. in Alam.* and would naturally resort to the words of the *pal. in Alam.* (*Procop. de Bell. Goth. in tom. i. p. 29, 30*) and many instances rise to the Burgundian monarchs.

<sup>38</sup> *Procop. de Bell. Goth. in tom. i. p. 29, 30*, who very reasonably distrusts the testimony of the *Strabo* (in *l. c.*) who published a passage from *Strabo* (in *l. c.*) to prove that Gundobald applied to the king of the Franks to assist him in his war against the *Ustrades*, *p. 29, 30*.

<sup>39</sup> See the original author, in *tom. i. p. 29, 30*. *Avitus*, the principal actor, and probably the secretary, of the meeting, was Bishop of Vienna. A short account of his person and works may be found in *l. c.* (*Procop. de Bell. Goth. in tom. i. p. 29, 30*).

<sup>40</sup> Gregory of Tours (*de Glor. Fr. in tom. i. p. 175*) indulges his pen, and rather traces the same more elegant writer, in the Description of Dijon, a castle which he declares the site of a city. He depended on the bishops of Lyons, till the twelfth century, and afterwards became the capital of the dukes of Burgundy. (*Longueville, Description de la France, part. i. p. 250*).

enterprise. He imposed a tribute on the Burgundian prince, compelled him to pardon and reward his brother's treachery, and proudly returned to his own dominions with the spoils and captives of the southern provinces. This splendid triumph was soon clouded by the intelligence, that Gundobald had violated his recent obligations, and that the unfortunate Godigesil, who was left at Vienna with a garrison of five thousand Franks,<sup>41</sup> had been besieged, surprised, and massacred by his inhuman brother. Such an outrage might have exasperated the patience of the most peaceful sovereign; yet the conqueror of Gaul dissembled the injury, released the tribute, and accepted the alliance, and military service, of the king of Burgundy. Clovis no longer possessed those advantages which had assured the success of the preceding war; and his rival, instructed by adversity, had found new resources in the affections of his people. The Gauls or Romans applauded the mild and impartial laws of Gundobald, which almost raised them to the same level with their conquerors. The bishops were reconciled, and flattered, by the hopes, which he artfully suggested, of his approaching conversion; and though he eluded their accomplishment to the last moment of his life, his moderation secured the peace, and suspended the ruin, of the kingdom of Burgundy.<sup>42</sup>

I am impatient to pursue the final ruin of that kingdom, which was accomplished under the reign of Sigismond, the son of Gundobald. The Catholic Sigismond has acquired the honours of a saint and martyr;<sup>43</sup> but the hands of the royal saint were stained with the blood of his innocent son, whom he inhumanly sacrificed to the pride and resentment of a stepmother. He soon discovered his error, and bewailed the irparable loss. While Sigismond embraced the corpse of the unfortunate youth, he received a severe admonition from one of his attendants: "It is not his situation, O king! it is thine which deserves pity and lamentation." The reproaches of a guilty conscience were alleviated, however, by his liberal donations to the monastery of Agaunum, or St. Maurice, in Vallais; which he himself had founded in honour of the imaginary martyrs of the Theban legion.<sup>44</sup> A full chorus of perpetual psalmody was instituted by the pious king; he assiduously practised the austere devotion of the monks; and it was his humble prayer, that Heaven would inflict in this world the punishment of his sins. His prayer was heard: the avengers were at hand; and the provinces of Burgundy were overwhelmed by an army of victorious Franks. After the event of

an unsuccessful battle, Sigismond, who wished to protract his life that he might prolong his penance, conceded himself in the desert in a religious habit, till he was discovered and betrayed by his subjects, who solicited the favour of their new masters. The captive monarch, with his wife and two children, were transported to Orleans, and buried alive in a deep well, by the stern command of the sons of Clovis; whose cruelty might derive some excuse from the maxims, and examples, of their barbarous age. Their ambition, which urged them to achieve the conquest of Burgundy, was inflamed, or disguised, by filial piety; and Clotilda, whose sanctity did not consist in the forgiveness of injuries, pressed them to revenge her father's death on the family of his assassin. The rebellious Burgundians, for they attempted to break their chains, were still permitted to enjoy their national laws under the obligation of tribute and military service; and the Merovingian princes peaceably reigned over a kingdom, whose glory and greatness had been first overthrown by the arms of Clovis.<sup>45</sup>

The first victory of Clovis had The Gothic war. A.D. 507. insulted the honour of the Goths. They viewed his rapid progress with jealousy and terror; and the youthful fame of Alaric was oppressed by the more potent genius of his rival. Some disputes inevitably arose on the edge of their contiguous dominions; and after the delays of fruitless negotiation, a personal interview of the two kings was proposed and accepted. This conference of Clovis and Alaric was held in a small island of the Loire, near Amboise. They embraced, familiarly conversed, and feasted together; and separated with the warmest professions of peace, and brotherly love. But their apparent confidence concealed a dark suspicion of hostile and treacherous designs; and their mutual complaints solicited, eluded, and disclaimed, a final arbitration. At Paris, which he already considered as his royal seat, Clovis declared to an assembly of the princes and warriors, the pretence, and the motive, of a Gothic war. "It grieves me to see that the Arians still possess the fairest portion of Gaul. Let us march against them with the aid of God; and, having vanquished the heretics, we will possess, and divide, their fertile provinces."<sup>46</sup> The Franks, who were inspired by hereditary valour and recent zeal, applauded the generous design of their monarch; expressed their resolution to conquer or die, since death and conquest would be equally profitable; and solemnly protested that they would never shave their beards, till victory should absolve them from that inconcinnous vow. The enterprise

41. The Epistomer of Gregory of Tours, *tom. i. p. 151*, ascribed this number of Franks to the garrison which he had left at Vienna. The exact number of the soldiers of Clovis, and of the Franks, in the army of the Goths, who were defeated by him, is not mentioned.

42. In this Burgundian war I have followed Gregory of Tours, *lib. 32, 33*, in part; *ib. p. 178, 179*, and some other writers, who ascribe this war to the reign of Sigismond, king of Burgundy, *ib. p. 178, 179*. But Gregory of Tours, *lib. 32, 33*, is not consistent in his account of the war. He says, *ib. p. 178, 179*, that the king of Burgundy, Sigismond, was killed by the Franks, and that his son, Godigesil, was killed by his brother, Godigesil. This is a contradiction. The Abbe Dubois (*Hist. de France*, *tom. ii. p. 124-125*) has discovered the cause of the error.

43. See his life, *ib. tom. ii. p. 400*. A martyr's feast, strangers has this saint celebrated from the earliest ages, and is common in all the churches of the West.

44. Before the end of the fifth century, the church of St. Maurice, and his Theban legion, were celebrated, as a place of pilgrimage. A prodigious number of both sexes had resorted to

some deeds of darkness, who were slain, *ib. p. 178*. By the regular command of Sigismond, the king of Burgundy, the king of the Goths, Alaric, was killed, and his body was buried in the church of St. Maurice. See the remarks of Gregory of Tours, *lib. 32, 33*, and the original of the second, third, and fourth, *ib. p. 178, 179*.

45. Marcellinus, bishop of Avinion, *tom. ii. p. 151*, has marked the different dates, and progress of the Gothic war, in *tom. ii. p. 151, 152*. He expressed the personal friendship of Clovis and Alaric, and the friendship of the king of the Goths, Alaric, with the king of the Franks, Clovis, in *tom. ii. p. 151, 152*. He also mentions the death of Alaric, and the death of his wife, Clotilda, in *tom. ii. p. 151, 152*.

46. Gregory of Tours, *lib. 32, 33*, *tom. ii. p. 178, 179*, ascribes this war to the reign of Sigismond, king of Burgundy, and to the reign of Clovis, king of the Franks. He also mentions the death of Alaric, and the death of his wife, Clotilda, in *tom. ii. p. 178, 179*.









measure of policy rather than of justice ; to alleviate the yoke, and regain the affections, of their Gallic subjects.<sup>1</sup> Thus, by a singular coincidence, the Germans framed their artless institutions, at a time when the elaborate system of Roman jurisprudence was finally consummated. In the *Salic laws*, and the *Pandects of Justinian*, we may compare the first rudiments, and the full maturity, of civil wisdom ; and whatever prejudices may be suggested in favour of barbarism, our calmer reflections will ascribe to the Romans the superior advantages, not only of science and reason, but of humanity and justice. Yet the laws of the barbarians were adapted to their wants and desires, their occupations and their capacity ; and they all contributed to preserve the peace, and promote the improvement, of the society, for whose use they were originally

the resentment of the sons, and kinsmen, of the enemy, whom he had sacrificed to his selfish or angry passions. The magistrate, conscious of his weakness, interposed, not to punish, but to reconcile ; and he was satisfied if he could persuade, or compel, the contending parties to pay, and to accept, the moderate fine which had been ascertained, as the price of blood.<sup>2</sup> The fierce spirit of the Franks would have opposed a more rigorous sentence ; the same fierceness despised these intellectual restraints ; and, when their simple manners had been corrupted by the wealth of Gaul, the public peace was continually violated by acts of hasty or deliberate guilt. In every just government the same penalty is inflicted, or at least is imposed, for the murder of a peasant, or a prince. But the national inequality established by the Franks, in their

various subjects, permitted each people, and each family, of their empire, freely to enjoy their domestic institutions ;<sup>3</sup> nor were the Romans excluded from the common benefits of this legal

legislation they solemnly pronounced, that the life of a Roman was of smaller value than that of a barbarian. The *Androsia*,<sup>4</sup> a name expressive of the most illustrious birth or dignity





marks of a profane and defenceless neighbour. The common, or public, rights of nature, such as they had always been deemed by the Roman jurisprudence,<sup>93</sup> were severely restrained by the German conquerors, whose amusement, or rather passion, was the exercise of hunting. The vague dominion, which MAN has assumed over the wild inhabitants of the earth, the air, and the waters, was confined to some fortunate individuals of the human species. Gaul was again overspread with woods; and the animals, who were reserved for the use, or pleasure, of the lord, might ravage, with impunity, the fields of his industrious vassals. The chase was the sacred privilege of the nobles and their domestic servants. Plebeian transgressors were legally chastised with stripes and imprisonment;<sup>94</sup> but in an age which admitted a slight composition for the life of a citizen, it was a capital crime to destroy a stag or a wild bull within the precincts of the royal forests.<sup>95</sup>

According to the maxims of ancient war, the conqueror became the lawful master of the enemy whom he had subdued and spared;<sup>96</sup> and the fruitful cause of personal slavery, which had been almost suppressed by the peaceful sovereignty of Rome, was again revived and multiplied by the perpetual hostilities of the independent barbarians. The Goth, the Burgundian, or the Frank, who returned from a successful expedition, dragged after him a long train of sheep, of oxen, and of human captives, whom he treated with the same brutal contempt. The youths of an elegant form and ingenuous aspect, were set apart for the domestic service; a doubtful situation, which alternately exposed them to the favourable, or cruel, impulse of passion. The useful mechanics and servants (smiths, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, cooks, gardeners, dyers, and workmen in gold and silver, &c.) employed their skill for the use, or profit, of their master. But the Roman captives who were destitute of art, but capable of labour, were condemned, without regard to their former rank, to tend the cattle, and cultivate the lands of the barbarians. The number of the hereditary bond-men, who were attached to the Gallic estates, was continually increased by new supplies; and the servile people, according to the situation and temper of their lords, was sometimes raised by precarious indulgence, and more frequently depressed by capricious despotism.<sup>97</sup> An absolute power of life and death was exercised by these lords;

and when they married their daughters, a train of useful servants, chained on the wagons to prevent their escape, was sent as a nuptial present into a distant country.<sup>98</sup> The majesty of the Roman laws protected the liberty of each citizen, against the rash effects of his own distress, or despair. But the subjects of the Merovingian kings might alienate their personal freedom; and this act of legal suicide, which was familiarly practised, is expressed in terms most disgraceful and afflicting to the dignity of human nature.<sup>99</sup> The example of the poor, who purchased life by the sacrifice of all that can render life desirable, was gradually imitated by the feeble and the devout, who, in times of public disorder, pusillanimously crowded to shelter themselves under the battlements of a powerful chief, and around the shrine of a popular saint. Their submission was accepted by these temporal, or spiritual, patrons; and the hasty transaction irrecoverably fixed their own condition, and that of their latest posterity. From the reign of Clovis, during five successive centuries, the laws and manners of Gaul uniformly tended to promote the increase, and to confirm the duration, of personal servitude. Time and violence almost obliterated the intermediate ranks of society; and left an obscure and narrow interval between the noble and the slave. This arbitrary and recent division has been transformed by pride and prejudice into a national distinction, universally established by the arms and the laws of the Merovingians. The nobles, who claimed their genuine, or fabulous, descent, from the independent and victorious Franks, have asserted and abused, the indefeasible right of conquest, over a prostrate crowd of slaves and plebeians, to whom they imputed the imaginary disgrace of a Gallic, or Roman, extraction.

The general state and revolutions of France, a name which was imposed by the conquerors, may be illustrated by the particular example of a province, a diocese, or a senatorial family. Auvergne had formerly maintained a just pre-eminence among the independent states and cities of Gaul. The brave and numerous inhabitants displayed a singular trophy; the sword of Caesar himself, which he had lost when he was repulsed before the walls of Gergovia.<sup>100</sup> As the common offspring of Troy, they claimed a fraternal alliance with the Romans;<sup>101</sup> and if each province had imitated the courage and loyalty of Auvergne,

Example of Auvergne.

<sup>93</sup> Hence Element. Jur. Germ. l. i. c. p. 1. No. 8.

<sup>94</sup> Irenæus, bishop of Lyons (A. D. 821-839, l. vi. c. 1, Hist. Literaria, p. 1153) censure the *lex* of tyranny of the nobles. *Lex f. r. quæ cura hominum non aut, sed Dei in a rebus meritis ad itendum concessit, pueris a potentioribus spoliantur, dignitatem, ætatem, detractionem, ad multa dicit pertineret. The same quotation, *lex much* in *l. c. 25*, apud Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 118.*

<sup>95</sup> On a mere suspicion, Chudo, a chamberlain of Gontram, king of Burgundy, was stoned to death. (Proc. l. i. c. 10, in tom. n. p. 363.) John of Saxony (Proc. l. i. c. 1) asserts the rights of nature, and exposes the cruel practice of the twelfth century. See Henricus, Elem. Jur. Germ. l. i. c. p. 1. No. 1-57.

<sup>96</sup> The custom of enslaving prisoners of war was totally extinguished in the thirteenth century, by the prevailing influence of Christianity; but it might be proved, from frequent passages of Gregory of Tours, &c. that it was practised, without censure, under the Merovingian race; and even Irenæus himself (de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. iii. c. 7, &c.) as well as his commentator Barbeyrac, have laboured to reconcile it with the laws of nature and reason.

<sup>97</sup> The state, professions, &c. of the German, Italian, and Gallic slaves, during the middle ages, are explained by Henricus (Element.

Jur. Germ. l. i. No. 28-47.), Muratori (Dissertat. xiv. xv.), Ducange (Gloss. sub voce *Serviti*), and the Abbé de Mailly (Observations, tom. ii. p. 38, c. p. 477, &c.).

<sup>98</sup> Gregory of Tours (l. vi. c. 45, in tom. ii. p. 289) relates a memorable example, in which Childevic only abused the private rights of a master. Many families, which belonged to his *domus* *proles* in the neighbourhood of Paris, were forcibly sent away into Spain.

<sup>99</sup> Irenæus habetis mihi quatenus unque volueritis disciplinam ponere. *Et veniunt* id, aut quod vobis placuerit de me *tuere*. Marculf Formul. l. ii. 28, in tom. iv. p. 497. The *Formula* of Lindisfarne (p. 106), and that of Anjou (p. 563) are to the same effect. Gregory of Tours (l. vii. c. 45, in tom. ii. p. 311) speaks of many persons, who sold themselves for bread, in a great famine.

<sup>100</sup> When Caesar saw it, he laughed (Plutarch in Cesar. in tom. i. p. 109), yet he relates his unsuccessful siege of Gergovia, with less frankness than we might expect from a great man to whom victory was familiar. He acknowledges, however, that in one attack he lost forty-six centurions and seven hundred men (de Bell. Gallicis, l. vi. c. 41-45, in tom. i. p. 270-273).

<sup>101</sup> Audesant, *se quondam fratres Latino dicere, et arguere ab illo populos comitibus*. (viden Aquilinar. l. vi. Epist. 7 in tom. i. p. 761.) I am not informed of the degrees and circumstances of this fabulous pedigree.



assured him, that, if he would provide a sufficient quantity of poultry, his wishes should be satisfied. The master, who already aspired to the merit of elegant hospitality, assumed, as his own, the praise which the voracious guests unanimously bestowed on his cook; and the dexterous Leo insensibly acquired the trust and management of his household. After the patient expectation of a whole year, he cautiously whispered his design to Attalus, and exhorted him to prepare for flight in the ensuing night. At the hour of midnight, the intemperate guests retired from table, and the Frank's son-in-law, whom Leo attended to his apartment with a nocturnal potation, condescended to jest on the facility with which he might betray his trust. The intrepid slave, after sustaining this dangerous rillery, entered his master's bedchamber; removed his spear and shield; silently drew the fleetest horses from the stable; unbarred the ponderous gates; and excited Attalus to save his life and liberty by incessant diligence. Their apprehensions urged them to leave their horses on the banks of the Meuse;<sup>109</sup> they swam the river, wandered three days in the adjacent forest, and subsisted only by the accidental discovery of a wild plum-tree. As they lay concealed in a dark thicket, they heard the noise of horses; they were terrified by the angry countenance of their master, and they anxiously listened to his declaration, that, if he could seize the guilty fugitives, one of them he would cut in pieces with his sword, and would expose the other on a gibbet. At length, Attalus, and his faithful Leo, reached the friendly habitation of a presbyter of Rheims, who recruited their fainting strength with bread and wine, concealed them from the search of their enemy, and safely conducted them, beyond the limits of the Austrasian kingdom, to the episcopal palace of Langres. Gregory embraced his grandson with tears of joy, gratefully delivered Leo, with his whole family, from the yoke of servitude, and bestowed on him the property of a farm, where he might end his days in happiness and freedom. Perhaps this singular adventure, which is marked with so many circumstances of truth and nature, was related by Attalus himself, to his cousin, or nephew, the first historian of the Franks. Gregory of Tours<sup>110</sup> was born about sixty years after the death of Sidonius Apollinaris; and their situation was almost similar, since each of them was a native of Auvergne, a senator, and a bishop. The difference of their style and sentiments may, therefore, express the decay of Gaul; and clearly ascertain how much, in so short a

space, the human mind had lost of its energy and refinement.<sup>111</sup>

We are now qualified to despise the opposite, and, perhaps, Privileges of the Romans of Gaul. artful, misrepresentations, which have softened, or exaggerated, the oppression of the Romans of Gaul under the reign of the Merovingians. The conquerors never promulgated any *universal* edict of servitude, or confiscation: but a degenerate people, who excused their weakness by the specious names of politeness and peace, was exposed to the arms and laws of the ferocious barbarians, who contemptuously insulted their possessions, their freedom, and their safety. Their personal injuries were partial and irregular; but the great body of the Romans survived the revolution, and still preserved the property, and privileges, of citizens. A large portion of their lands was exacted for the use of the Franks: but they enjoyed the remainder, exempt from tribute;<sup>112</sup> and the same irresistible violence which swept away the arts and manufactures of Gaul, destroyed the elaborate and expensive system of Imperial despotism. The provincials must frequently deplore the savage jurisprudence of the Salic or Ripuarian laws; but their private life, in the important concerns of marriage, testaments, or inheritance, was still regulated by the Theodosian Code; and a discontented Roman might freely aspire, or descend, to the character and title of a barbarian. The honours of the state were accessible to his ambition: the education and temper of the Romans more peculiarly qualified them for the offices of civil government; and, as soon as emulation had rekindled their military ardour, they were permitted to march in the ranks, or even at the head, of the victorious Germans. I shall not attempt to enumerate the generals and magistrates, whose names<sup>113</sup> attest the liberal policy of the Merovingians. The supreme command of Burgundy, with the title of Patrician, was successively intrusted to three Romans; and the last, and most powerful, Mummolus,<sup>114</sup> who alternately saved and dismembered the monarchy, had supplanted his father in the station of count of Autun, and left a treasure of thirty talents of gold, and two hundred and fifty talents of silver. The fierce and illiterate barbarians were excluded, during several generations, from the dignities, and even from the orders, of the church.<sup>115</sup> The clergy of Gaul consisted almost entirely of native provincials; the haughty Franks fell prostrate at the feet of their subjects, who were dignified with the episcopal character; and

<sup>109</sup> As M. de Valois, and the P. Bouquet, are determined to change the *Modio* of the text into *Modius*, I have been obliged to place in the alteration. Yet, after some examination of the topography, I could defend the common reading.

<sup>110</sup> The parents of Gregory of Tours were natives of the province of Nivernais, and he himself was born at Orléans, in the year 559, or 563, soon after he had returned to his history. See his Life, by Otto, abbot of Clugny, tom. i. p. 15. 17. and a new Life in the *Mémoires de l'Académie*, &c. tom. xxi. p. 457.

<sup>111</sup> *Decedente atque immo potius pereunte ab avoibus Gallicanis lingua, cum a barbaris successu in partem, in tom. i. p. 175.* is such he fully agrees by his own *fratres* and *similes*. In a stranger to his own age and country; and in a prolix work (the five last books contain ten viars) he has omitted almost every thing that posterity desires to learn.

I have tediously acquired, by a painful perusal, the right of pronouncing this softly but the scholar.

<sup>112</sup> The *Abbe de Metz*, tom. p. 247-267, has diligently confirmed this opinion of the *præfatus* de *Monte-pucio* (Leopold de Loix, 1788, p. 175).

<sup>113</sup> See Dubos, *Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Française*, tom. ii. p. 29, 30. The French Antiquaries establish as a principle, that the Romans and barbarians may be distinguished by their names. Their names undoubtedly form a reasonable *presumption*; yet in reading Gregory of Tours, I have observed Gundiulphus, of Senonensium, a Frankish name (l. vi. c. 41. in tom. i. p. 273.), and Gundiulphus, a Latin name (l. vi. c. 29, p. 265).

<sup>114</sup> Lumar Mummolus is repeatedly mentioned by Gregory of Tours, from the fourth (c. 42. p. 224.) to the seventh (c. 40. p. 310.) book. The computation by talents is singular enough; but if Gregory attached any meaning to that obsolete word, the treasures of Mummolus must have exceeded 100,000*l.* sterling.

<sup>115</sup> See Fleury, *Discours sur l'Histoire Ecclesiastique*.

the power and riches which had been lost in war, were insensibly recovered by superstition.<sup>116</sup> In all temporal affairs, the Theodosian Code was the universal law of the clergy; but the barbaric jurisprudence had liberally provided for their personal safety: a sub-deacon was equivalent to two Franks; the *antrustion*, and priest, were held in similar estimation; and the life of a bishop was appreciated far above the common standard, at the price of nine hundred pieces of gold.<sup>117</sup> The Romans communicated to their conquerors the use of the Christian religion and Latin language.<sup>118</sup> but their language and their religion had alike degenerated from the simple purity of the Angustan, and Apostolic, age. The progress of superstition and barbarism was rapid and universal: the worship of the saints concealed from vulgar eyes the God of the Christians; and the rustic dialect of peasants and soldiers was corrupted by a Teutonic idiom and pronunciation. Yet such intercourse of sacred and social communion eradicated the distinctions of birth and victory; and the nations of Gaul were gradually confounded under the name and government of the Franks.

The Franks, after they mingled with their Gallic subjects, might have imparted the most valuable of human gifts, a spirit, and system, of constitutional liberty. Under a king, hereditary but limited, the chiefs and counsellors might have debated, at Paris, in the palace of the Cæsars: the adjacent field, where the emperors reviewed their mercenary legions, would have admitted the legislative assembly of freemen and warriors; and the rude model, which had been sketched in the woods of Germany,<sup>119</sup> might have been polished and improved by the civil wisdom of the Romans. But the careless barbarians, secure of their personal independence, disdained the labour of government. the annual assemblies of the month of March were silently abolished; and the nation was separated, and almost dissolved, by the conquest of Gaul.<sup>120</sup> The monarchy was left without any regular establishment of justice, of arms, or of revenue. The successors of Clovis wanted resolution to assume, or strength to exercise, the legislative and executive powers, which the people had abdicated: the royal prerogative was distinguished only by a more ample privilege of rapine and murder; and the love of freedom, so often invigorated and disgraced by private ambition, was reduced, among the licentious Franks, to the contempt of order, and the desire of impunity. Seventy-five years after the death of Clovis, his grandson, Gontran, king of Burgundy, sent an army to invade the

Gothic possessions of Septimania, or Languedoc. The troops of Burgundy, Berry, Auvergne, and the adjacent territories, were excited by the hopes of spoil. They marched, without discipline, under the banners of German, or Gallic, counts; their attack was feeble and unsuccessful; but the friendly and hostile provinces were desolated with indiscriminate rage. The corn fields, the villages, the churches themselves, were consumed by fire; the inhabitants were massacred, or dragged into captivity; and, in the disorderly retreat, five thousand of these inhuman savages were destroyed by hunger or intestine discord. When the pious Gontran reproached the guilt, or neglect, of their leaders; and threatened to inflict, not a legal sentence, but instant and arbitrary execution; they accused the universal and incurable corruption of the people. "No one," they said, "any longer fears or respects his king, his duke, or his count. Each man loves to do evil, and freely indulges his criminal inclinations. The most gentle correction provokes an immediate tumult; and the rash magistrate, who presumes to censure, or restrain, his seditious subjects, seldom escapes alive from their revenge."<sup>121</sup> It has been reserved for the same nation to expose, by their intemperate vices, the most odious abuse of freedom; and to supply its loss by the spirit of honour and humanity, which now alleviates and dignifies their obedience to an absolute sovereign.

The Visigoths had resigned to Clovis the greatest part of their Gallic possessions; but their loss was amply compensated by the easy conquest, and secure enjoyment, of the provinces of Spain. From the monarchy of the Goths, which soon involved the Suevic kingdom of Gallia, the modern Spaniards still derive some national vanity: but the historian of the Roman empire is neither invited, nor compelled, to pursue the obscure and barren series of their annals.<sup>122</sup> The Goths of Spain were separated from the rest of mankind, by the lofty ridge of the Pyrenean mountains: their manners and institutions, as far as they were common to the Germanic tribes, have been already explained. I have anticipated, in the preceding chapter, the most important of their ecclesiastical events, the fall of Arianism, and the persecution of the Jews: and it only remains to observe some interesting circumstances, which relate to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the Spanish kingdom.

After their conversion from idolatry or heresy, the Franks and the Visigoths were disposed to embrace, with equal submission, the inherent

<sup>116</sup> The bishop of Tours himself has recorded the constraint of Chilperic, the grandson of Clovis. The emperor read the *Lex Sacerdotum*; and the divine service at that time was not a single, but a pontifical, mass. *Epistola Remigii* (l. vi. c. 46, in tom. ii. p. 24).

<sup>117</sup> See the *Registrum* (code in xxvi. in tom. ii. p. 213). The *Salic law* does not provide for the safety of the clergy; and we might suppose, on the behalf of the more civilized tribe, that they had not foreseen such an impious act as the murder of a priest. Yet Prætextatus, archbishop of Rome, was assassinated by the order of queen Fredegunda before the altar. (*Greg. Turon. l. vi. c. 31* in tom. ii. p. 326.)

<sup>118</sup> M. Bonamy (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxv. p. 562, 573) has ascertained, the *Lex Romana Rectorum*, which, through the medium of the *Romanes*, has gradually been polished into the actual form of the French language. Under the Carolingian race, the kings and nobles of France still understood the dialect of their German ancestors.

<sup>119</sup> *Le lieu où se tenoit l'assemblée dans les lois. Montequent, Esprit des Loix, l. iii. c. 6.*

<sup>120</sup> See the *Abbe de Mably. Observations*, &c. tom. i. p. 34—5. It should seem that the institution of national assemblies, which are peculiar to the French nation, have never been congenial to its temper.

<sup>121</sup> Gregory of Tours (l. vi. c. 70 in tom. ii. p. 323, 326) relates, with much splendour, the virtues, the reproof, and the apology. *Nullus Peccat meum, nullus Ducem, nullus Contemnit rectorum, et si homicida alius sita violent, et cæ. pro longa vitæ vite redde, amende contrit, utrum seditio in populo, statum tumultus exortitur, et in totum unum-que contra statum, sevæ mentis ne gra-satur, ut vix se credat excedere, si tandem siere nequeat.*

<sup>122</sup> Even in these dark ages, his been peculiarly unfortunate. The Franks and a Great of Tours, the Saxons, or Angles, a Bede, the Irish, &c. I and W. Maffey, &c. But the history of the Visigoths is lost, and the most imperfect chronicles of Isidore of Seville, and John of Biclar.

The Visigoths of Spain.

Legislative assemblies of Spain.



evils, and the accidental benefits, of superstition. But the prelates of France, long before the extinction of the Merovingian race, had degenerated into fighting and hunting barbarians. They disdained the use of synods; forgot the laws of temperance and chastity; and preferred the indulgence of private ambition and luxury, to the general interest of the sacerdotal profession.<sup>123</sup> The bishops of Spain respected themselves, and were respected by the public: their indissoluble union disguised their vices, and confirmed their authority: and the regular discipline of the church introduced peace, order, and stability, into the government of the state. From the reign of Recared, the first Catholic king, to that of Witiza, the immediate predecessor of the unfortunate Roderic, sixteen national councils were successively convened. The six metropolitans, Toledo, Seville, Merida, Braga, Tarragona, and Narbonne, presided according to their respective seniority; the assembly was composed of their suffragan bishops, who appeared in person, or by their proxies; and a place was assigned to the most holy or opulent of the Spanish abbots. During the first three days of the convocation, as long as they agitated the ecclesiastical questions of doctrine and discipline, the profane laity was excluded from their debates; which were conducted, however, with decent solemnity. But, on the morning of the fourth day, the doors were thrown open for the entrance of the great officers of the palace, the dukes and counts of the provinces, the judges of the cities, and the Gothic nobles: and the decrees of Heaven were ratified by the consent of the people. The same rules were observed in the provincial assemblies, the annual synods, which were empowered to hear complaints, and to redress grievances; and a legal government was supported by the prevailing influence of the Spanish clergy. The bishops, who, in each revolution, were prepared to flatter the victorious, and to insult the prostrate, laboured, with diligence and success, to kindle the flames of persecution, and to exalt the mitre above the crown. Yet the national councils of Toledo, in which the free spirit of the barbarians was tempered and guided by episcopal policy, have established some prudent laws for the common benefit of the king and people. The vacancy of the throne was supplied by the choice of the bishops and palatines; and, after the failure of the line of Alaric, the regal dignity was still limited to the pure and noble blood of the Goths. The clergy, who anointed their lawful prince, always recommended, and sometimes practised, the duty of allegiance: and the spiritual censures were denounced on the heads of the impious subjects, who should resist his authority, conspire against his life, or violate, by an indecent union, the chastity even of his widow. But the monarch himself, when he ascended the throne, was bound

by a reciprocal oath to God and his people, that he would faithfully execute his important trust. The real or imaginary faults of his administration were subject to the control of a powerful aristocracy; and the bishops and palatines were guarded by a fundamental privilege, that they should not be degraded, imprisoned, tortured, nor punished with death, exile, or confiscation, unless by the free and public judgment of their peers.<sup>124</sup>

One of these legislative councils <sup>Code of the Visigoths.</sup> of Toledo examined and ratified the code of laws which had been compiled by a succession of Gothic kings, from the fierce Euric, to the devout Egica. As long as the Visigoths themselves were satisfied with the rude customs of their ancestors, they indulged their subjects of Aquitain and Spain in the enjoyment of the Roman law. Their gradual improvement in arts, in policy, and at length in religion, encouraged them to imitate, and to supersede, these foreign institutions; and to compose a code of civil and criminal jurisprudence, for the use of a great and united people. The same obligations, and the same privileges, were communicated to the nations of the Spanish monarchy: and the conquerors, insensibly renouncing the Teutonic idiom, submitted to the restraints of equity, and exalted the Romans to the participation of freedom. The merit of this impartial policy was enhanced by the situation of Spain, under the reign of the Visigoths. The provincials were long separated from their Arian masters by the irreconcilable difference of religion. After the conversion of Recared had removed the prejudices of the Catholics, the coasts, both of the Ocean and Mediterranean, were still possessed by the Eastern emperors; who secretly excited a discontented people to reject the yoke of the barbarians, and to assert the name and dignity of Roman citizens. The allegiance of doubtful subjects is indeed most effectually secured by their own persuasion, that they hazard more in a revolt, than they can hope to obtain by a revolution; but it has appeared so natural to oppress those whom we hate and fear, that the contrary system well deserves the praise of wisdom and moderation.<sup>125</sup>

While the kingdoms of the Franks <sup>Revolution of Britain.</sup> and Visigoths were established in Gaul and Spain, the Saxons achieved the conquest of Britain, the third great diocese of the præfecture of the West. Since Britain was already separated from the Roman empire, I might, without reproach, decline a story, familiar to the most illiterate, and obscure to the most learned, of my readers. The Saxons, who excelled in the use of the oar, or the battle-axe, were ignorant of the art which could alone perpetuate the fame of their exploits: the provincials, relapsing into barbarism, neglected to describe the ruin of their country; and the doubtful tradition was almost extinguished, be-

<sup>123</sup> Such are the complaints of St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, and the reformer of Gaul (in tom. iv. p. 41). The four years, which he denounces, of licence and corruption, would seem to insinuate, that the barbarians were admitted into the clergy about the year 740.

<sup>124</sup> The acts of the councils of Toledo are still the most authentic records of the church and of the nation. The public registers are particularly important (for 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100). Hist. of the Ancient Germans, xv. 22. and Annals, lxxvi. and

xxxiii) and Ferreras (Hist. Générale de l'Espagne, tom. ii.) very useful and accurate guides.

<sup>125</sup> The code of the Visigoths, regularly divided into twelve books, has been correctly published by Jean Bouquet (in tom. iv. p. 275-340). It has been treated by the president De Montesquieu (le-prés des Loix, l. xxviii. c. 1) with excessive severity. I dislike the style, I detect the superstition; but I still presume to think, that the civil and criminal laws of a more civilized and enlightened state of society, than that of the Burgundians, or even of the Lombards.

for the missionaries of Rome restored the light of science and Christianity. The declamations of Gildas, the fragments, or fables, of Nennius, the obscure hints of the Saxon laws and chronicles, and the ecclesiastical tales of the venerable Bede,<sup>126</sup> have been illustrated by the diligence, and sometimes embellished by the fancy, of succeeding writers, whose works I am not ambitious either to censure or to transcribe.<sup>127</sup> Yet the historian of the empire may be tempted to pursue the revolutions of a Roman province, till it vanishes from his sight; and an Englishman may curiously trace the establishment of the barbarians, from whom he derives his name, his laws, and perhaps his origin.

About forty years after the dissolution of the Roman government, Vortigern appears to have obtained the supreme, though precarious, command of the princes and cities of Britain. That unfortunate monarch has been almost unanimously condemned for the weak and mischievous policy of inviting<sup>128</sup> a formidable stranger, to repel the vexatious inroads of a domestic foe. His ambassadors are despatched, by the gravest historians, to the coast of Germany; they address a pathetic oration to the general assembly of the Saxons, and those warlike barbarians resolve to assist with a fleet and army the suppliants of a distant and unknown island. If Britain had indeed been unknown to the Saxons, the measure of its calamities would have been less complete. But the strength of the Roman government could not always guard the maritime province against the pirates of Germany: the independent and divided states were exposed to their attacks; and the Saxons might sometimes join the Scots and the Picts, in a tacit, or express, confederacy of rapine and destruction. Vortigern could only balance the various perils, which assaulted on every side his throne and his people; and his policy may deserve either praise or excuse, if he preferred the alliance of *those* barbarians, whose naval power rendered them the most dangerous enemies, and the most serviceable allies. Hengist and Horsa, as they ranged along the eastern coast with three ships, were engaged, by the promise of an ample stipend, to embrace the defence of Britain; and their intrepid valour soon delivered the country from the Caledonian invaders. The isle of Thanet, a secure and fertile district, was allotted for the residence of these German auxiliaries, and they were supplied, according to the treaty, with a plentiful allowance of clothing and provisions. This favourable reception encouraged five thousand warriors to embark with their families in seventeen vessels, and the infant power of Hengist was fortified by this strong and seasonable reinforcement. The crafty barbarian suggested

to Vortigern the obvious advantage of fixing, in the neighbourhood of the Picts, a colony of faithful allies: a third fleet of forty ships, under the command of his son and nephew, sailed from Germany, ravaged the Orkneys, and disembarked a new army on the coast of Northumberland, or Lothian, at the opposite extremity of the devoted land. It was easy to foresee, but it was impossible to prevent, the impending evils. The two nations were soon divided and exasperated by mutual jealousies. The Saxons magnified all that they had done and suffered in the cause of an ungrateful people; while the Britons regretted the liberal rewards which could not satisfy the avarice of those haughty mercenaries. The causes of fear and hatred were inflamed into an irreconcilable quarrel. The Saxons flew to arms; and, if they perpetrated a treacherous massacre during the security of a feast, they destroyed the reciprocal confidence which sustains the intercourse of peace and war.<sup>129</sup>

Hengist, who boldly aspired to the conquest of Britain, exhorted his countrymen to embrace the glorious opportunity: he painted in lively colours the fertility of the soil, the wealth of the cities, the pusillanimous temper of the natives, and the convenient situation of a spacious solitary island, accessible on all sides to the Saxon fleets. The successive colonies which issued, in the period of a century, from the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Rhine, were principally composed of three valiant tribes or nations of Germany; the *Jutes*, the *old Saxons*, and the *Angles*. The *Jutes*, who fought under the peculiar banner of Hengist, assumed the merit of leading their countrymen in the paths of glory, and of erecting, in Kent, the first independent kingdom. The fame of the enterprise was attributed to the primitive Saxons; and the common laws and language of the conquerors are described by the national appellation of a people, which, at the end of four hundred years, produced the first monarchs of South Britain. The *Angles* were distinguished by their numbers and their success; and they claimed the honour of fixing a perpetual name on the country, of which they occupied the most ample portion. The barbarians, who followed the hopes of rapine either on the land or sea, were insensibly blended with this triple confederacy; the *Frisians*, who had been tempted by their vicinity to the British shores, might balance, during a short space, the strength and reputation of the native Saxons; the *Danes*, the *Prussians*, the *Rugians*, are faintly described; and some adventurous *Huns*, who had wandered as far as the Baltic, might embark on board the German vessels, for the conquest of a new world.<sup>150</sup> But this arduous achievement was

106 Sep. C. 14a. 2. P. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 8

12. THE LABORIOUS Mr. Lave, and the ingenious Mr. Whitaker, are the two modern writers to whom I am principally indebted. The particular historian of Manchester embraces, under that title, more than a subject almost as extensive as the general history of England.

128 This *territorium*, which may derive some maintenance from the loose expressions of Gildas and Bede, is framed into a regular story

18. Winkend, a Saxon monk of the tenth century (See Cousin, Hist. de l'Empire d'Occident, tome II, p. 254). Later, even Hincmar, who has frequently used this suspicious evidence, without regarding its precise and probable testimony of Nennius: *Inter a viros peritus familiar Germani in Carulis, in quibus erant Hosi et Hengist*.

129. Nennius imputes to the Saxons the murder of three hundred British chiefs, a crime not unparallel to their savage manners. But we are not obliged to believe, see Jeffrey on Almoneth, that we have here a simple and unadorned truth. The Saxons, who had formerly triumphed first in Britain, Ireland, and which was removed to Britain by the order of Albus, and second in the

170 All these tribes are exported to America. See p. 92. I v. c. 9. p. 106, and the whole I have considered Mr. Whit-

not prepared or executed by the union of national powers. Each intrepid chieftain, according to the measure of his fame and fortunes, assembled his followers; equipped a fleet of three, or perhaps of sixty, vessels; chose the place of the attack; and conducted his subsequent operations according to the events of the war, and the dictates of his private interest. In the invasion of Britain many heroes vanquished and fell; but only seven victorious leaders assumed, or at least maintained, the title of kings. Seven independent thrones, the Saxon Heptarchy, were founded by the conquerors; and seven families, one of which has been continued, by female succession, to our present sovereign, derived their equal and sacred lineage from Woden, the god of war. It has been pretended, that this republic of kings was moderated by a general council and a supreme magistrate. But such an artificial scheme of policy is repugnant to the rude and turbulent spirit of the Saxons: their laws are silent; and their imperfect annals afford only a dark and bloody prospect of intestine discord.<sup>131</sup>

State of the  
Britons.

A monk, who, in the profound ignorance of human life, has presumed to exercise the office of historian, strangely disfigures the state of Britain, at the time of its separation from the Western empire. Gildas<sup>132</sup> describes in florid language the improvements of agriculture, the foreign trade which flowed with every tide into the Thames and the Severn, the solid and lofty construction of public and private edifices: he accuses the sinful luxury of the British people; of a people, according to the same writer, ignorant of the most simple arts, and incapable, without the aid of the Romans, of providing walls of stone, or weapons of iron, for the defence of their native land.<sup>133</sup> Under the long dominion of the emperors, Britain had been insensibly moulded into the elegant and servile form of a Roman province, whose safety was intrusted to a foreign power. The subjects of Honorius contemplated their new freedom with surprise and terror; they were left destitute of any civil or military constitution; and their uncertain rulers wanted either skill, or courage, or authority, to direct the public force against the common enemy. The introduction of the Saxons betrayed their internal weakness, and degraded the character both of the prince and people. Their consternation magnified the danger; the want of union diminished their resources; and the madness of civil factions was more solicitous to accuse, than to remedy, the evils, which they imputed to the misconduct of their adversaries. Yet the Britons were not ignorant, they could not be ignorant, of the manufacture or the use of arms: the successive and disorderly attacks of the Saxons, allowed them to recover from their amazement, and the

prosperous or adverse events of the war added discipline and experience to their native valour.

While the continent of Europe <sup>their resistance,</sup> and Africa yielded, without resistance, to the barbarians, the British island, alone and unaided, maintained a long, a vigorous, though an unsuccessful, struggle, against the formidable pirates, who, almost at the same instant, assaulted the northern, the eastern, and the southern coasts. The cities, which had been fortified with skill, were defended with resolution; the advantages of ground, hills, forests, and morasses, were diligently improved by the inhabitants; the conquest of each district was purchased with blood; and the defeats of the Saxons are strongly attested by the discreet silence of their annalist. Hengist might hope to achieve the conquest of Britain; but his ambition, in an active reign of thirty-five years, was confined to the possession of Kent; and the numerous colony which he had planted in the North, was extirpated by the sword of the Britons. The monarchy of the West-Saxons was laboriously founded by the persevering efforts of three martial generations. The life of Cerdic, one of the bravest of the children of Woden, was consumed in the conquest of Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight; and the loss which he sustained in the battle of Mount Badon, reduced him to a state of inglorious repose. Kenric, his valiant son, advanced into Wiltshire; besieged Salisbury, at that time seated on a commanding eminence; and vanquished an army which advanced to the relief of the city. In the subsequent battle of Marlborough,<sup>134</sup> his British enemies displayed their military science. Their troops were formed in three lines; each line consisted of three distinct bodies, and the cavalry, the archers, and the pikemen, were distributed according to the principles of Roman tactics. The Saxons charged in one weighty column, boldly encountered with their short swords the long lances of the Britons, and maintained an equal conflict till the approach of night. Two decisive victories, the death of three British kings, and the reduction of Cirencester, Bath, and Gloucester, established the fame and power of Cenelin, the grandson of Cerdic, who carried his victorious arms to the banks of the Severn.

After a war of an hundred years, <sup>and flight,</sup> the independent Britons still occupied the whole extent of the western coast, from the wall of Antoninus to the extreme promontory of Cornwall; and the principal cities of the inland country still opposed the arms of the barbarians. Resistance became more languid, as the number and boldness of the assailants continually increased. Winning their way by slow and painful efforts, the Saxons, the Angles, and their various confederates, advanced from the North, from the East, and from the

aker's remarks (Hist. of Manchester, vol. i. p. 558-575), I do not perceive the absurdity of supposing that the Frisians, &c. were mingled with the Anglo-Saxons.

<sup>131</sup> Bede has enumerated seven kings, two Saxons, a Briton, and four Angles, who successively assumed the history by mistake, the supremacy of power and power. But the reign was not the reign, not of law, but of conquest, and he observes in similar terms, that one of them subdued the Isles of Man and Anglesey, and that another imposed a tribute on the Scots and Picts. Hist. Eccl. vol. i. c. 5. p. 87.

<sup>132</sup> See Gildas de Exordio Britannie, c. p. 1. edit. Gale.

<sup>133</sup> Mr. Whitaker (History of Manchester, vol. i. p. 563-576.) has smartly exposed this glaring absurdity, which had passed unnoticed by the general historians, as they were hastening to more interesting and more certain sources.

<sup>134</sup> At Battle, near Marlborough, near Cirencester. Camden (Britannia, vol. i. p. 125.) ascribes the place, and Henry of Huntingdon (Hist. Angl. lib. i. c. 24.) to the circumstances, of this battle. The reign of Cenelin, and the reign of Kenric, and the history of the seventh century, must admit some materials that no longer exist.

South, till their victorious banners were united in the centre of the island. Beyond the Severn the Britons still asserted their national freedom, which survived the heptarchy, and even the monarchy, of the Saxons. The bravest warriors, who preferred exile to slavery, found a secure refuge in the mountains of Wales: the reluctant submission of Cornwall was delayed for some ages; <sup>135</sup> and a band of fugitives acquired a settlement in Gaul, by their own valour, or the liberality of the Merovingian kings. <sup>136</sup> The western angle of Armorica acquired the new appellations of *Cornwall*, and the *Lesser Britain*; and the vacant lands of the Osismii were filled by a strange people, who, under the authority of their counts and bishops, preserved the laws and language of their ancestors. To the feeble descendants of Clovis and Charlemagne, the Britons of Armorica refused the customary tribute, subdued the neighbouring dioceses of Vannes, Rennes, and Nantes, and formed a powerful, though vassal, state, which has been united to the crown of France. <sup>137</sup>

In a century of perpetual, or at least implacable, war, much courage, and some skill, must have been exerted for the defence of Britain. Yet if the memory of its champions is almost buried in oblivion, we need not repine; since every age, however destitute of science or virtue, sufficiently abounds with acts of blood and military renown. The tomb of Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, was erected on the margin of the sea-shore, as a land-mark formidable to the Saxons, whom he had thrice vanquished in the fields of Kent. Ambrosius Aurelianus was descended from a noble family of Romans; <sup>138</sup> his modesty was equal to his valour, and his valour, till the last fatal action, <sup>139</sup> was crowned with splendid success. But every British name is effaced by the illustrious name of ARTHUR, <sup>140</sup> the hereditary prince of the Silures, in South Wales, and the elective king or general of the nation. According to the most rational account, he defeated, in twelve successive battles, the Angles of the North, and the Saxons of the West; but the declining age of the hero was embittered by popular ingratitude, and domestic misfortunes. The events of his life are less interesting, than the singular revolutions of his fame. During a period of five hundred years the tradition of his exploits was preserved, and rudely embellished, by the obscure bards of Wales and Armorica, who were odious to the

Saxons, and unknown to the rest of mankind. The pride and curiosity of the Norman conquerors prompted them to enquire into the ancient history of Britain: they listened with fond credulity to the tale of Arthur, and eagerly applauded the merit of a prince, who had triumphed over the Saxons, their common enemies. His romance, transcribed in the Latin of Jeffrey of Monmouth, and afterwards translated into the fashionable idiom of the times, was enriched with the various, though incoherent, ornaments, which were familiar to the experience, the learning, or the fancy, of the twelfth century. The progress of a Phrygian colony, from the Tyber to the Thames, was easily engrafted on the fable of the Æneid; and the royal ancestors of Arthur derived their origin from Troy, and claimed their alliance with the Cæsars. His trophies were decorated with captive provinces, and Imperial titles; and his Danish victories avenged the recent injuries of his country. The gallantry and superstition of the British hero, his feasts and tournaments, and the memorable institution of his Knights of the *Round Table*, were faithfully copied from the reigning manners of chivalry; and the fabulous exploits of Uther's son appear less incredible, than the adventures which were achieved by the enterprising valour of the Normans. Pilgrimage, and the holy wars, introduced into Europe the specious miracles of Arabian magic. Fairies and giants, flying dragons, and enchanted palaces, were blended with the more simple fictions of the West; and the fate of Britain depended on the art, or the predictions, of Merlin. Every nation embraced and adorned the popular romance of Arthur, and the Knights of the Round Table. Their names were celebrated in Greece and Italy; and the voluminous tales of Sir Lancelot and Sir Tristram were devoutly studied by the princes and nobles, who disregarded the genuine heroes and historians of antiquity. At length the light of science and reason was rekindled; the talisman was broken; the visionary fabric melted into air; and by a natural, though unjust, reverse of the public opinion, the severity of the present age is inclined to question the *existence* of Arthur. <sup>141</sup>

Resistance, if it cannot avert, must increase the miseries of conquest; and conquest has never appeared more dreadful and destructive than in the hands of the Saxons; who hated the valour of their enemies, disdained the faith of treaties, and violated, without re-

<sup>135</sup> Cornwall was finally subdued by Alfred in A. D. 927-931, who planted in F. 2. on a hill, at Exeter, the standard of the British over the river Looe. See *Walsley's History of the Britons*, p. 114. The spirit of the Cornish king, degraded by servitude, had almost been extinguished in the Roman age. See Tristram, that the record of it was almost perished.

<sup>136</sup> The establishment of the Britons in Gaul, is said to have taken place in the sixth century, by Principius, Gregory of Tours, &c. See *Gregory's History*, p. 114. A. D. 562, and 563.

<sup>137</sup> See *Gregory's History*, p. 114. A. D. 562, and 563.

<sup>138</sup> See *Gregory's History*, p. 114. A. D. 562, and 563.

<sup>139</sup> See *Gregory's History*, p. 114. A. D. 562, and 563.

<sup>140</sup> See *Gregory's History*, p. 114. A. D. 562, and 563.

<sup>141</sup> See *Gregory's History*, p. 114. A. D. 562, and 563.

<sup>142</sup> See *Gregory's History*, p. 114. A. D. 562, and 563.

<sup>143</sup> See *Gregory's History*, p. 114. A. D. 562, and 563.

<sup>144</sup> See *Gregory's History*, p. 114. A. D. 562, and 563.

<sup>145</sup> See *Gregory's History*, p. 114. A. D. 562, and 563.

See *Giles*, 2 vols. in 12mo. Paris, 1740. I may assume the merit of examining this singular evidence, which they have produced.

<sup>139</sup> See *Giles*, who in his *History*, p. 121, traces his descent under the name of *Æthelwold*, A. D. 174. But it is clear, that his parents had been "natural" children, which he explains in his ecclesiastical history, p. 121. He is also mentioned in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121. The expression "natural" is used in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121. The expression "natural" is used in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121.

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<sup>144</sup> See *Giles*, who in his *History*, p. 121, traces his descent under the name of *Æthelwold*, A. D. 174. But it is clear, that his parents had been "natural" children, which he explains in his ecclesiastical history, p. 121. He is also mentioned in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121. The expression "natural" is used in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121.

<sup>145</sup> See *Giles*, who in his *History*, p. 121, traces his descent under the name of *Æthelwold*, A. D. 174. But it is clear, that his parents had been "natural" children, which he explains in his ecclesiastical history, p. 121. He is also mentioned in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121. The expression "natural" is used in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121.

<sup>146</sup> See *Giles*, who in his *History*, p. 121, traces his descent under the name of *Æthelwold*, A. D. 174. But it is clear, that his parents had been "natural" children, which he explains in his ecclesiastical history, p. 121. He is also mentioned in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121. The expression "natural" is used in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121.

<sup>147</sup> See *Giles*, who in his *History*, p. 121, traces his descent under the name of *Æthelwold*, A. D. 174. But it is clear, that his parents had been "natural" children, which he explains in his ecclesiastical history, p. 121. He is also mentioned in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121. The expression "natural" is used in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121.

<sup>148</sup> See *Giles*, who in his *History*, p. 121, traces his descent under the name of *Æthelwold*, A. D. 174. But it is clear, that his parents had been "natural" children, which he explains in his ecclesiastical history, p. 121. He is also mentioned in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121. The expression "natural" is used in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121.

<sup>149</sup> See *Giles*, who in his *History*, p. 121, traces his descent under the name of *Æthelwold*, A. D. 174. But it is clear, that his parents had been "natural" children, which he explains in his ecclesiastical history, p. 121. He is also mentioned in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121. The expression "natural" is used in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121.

<sup>150</sup> See *Giles*, who in his *History*, p. 121, traces his descent under the name of *Æthelwold*, A. D. 174. But it is clear, that his parents had been "natural" children, which he explains in his ecclesiastical history, p. 121. He is also mentioned in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121. The expression "natural" is used in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121.

<sup>151</sup> See *Giles*, who in his *History*, p. 121, traces his descent under the name of *Æthelwold*, A. D. 174. But it is clear, that his parents had been "natural" children, which he explains in his ecclesiastical history, p. 121. He is also mentioned in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121. The expression "natural" is used in the *History of the Kings of the Saxons*, p. 121.

morse, the most sacred objects of the Christian worship. The fields of battle might be traced, almost in every district, by monuments of bones; the fragments of falling towers were stained with blood; the last of the Britons, without distinction of age or sex, was massacred,<sup>142</sup> in the ruins of Anderida;<sup>143</sup> and the repetition of such calamities was frequent and familiar under the Saxon heptarchy. The arts and religion, the laws and language, which the Romans had so carefully planted in Britain, were extirpated by their barbarous successors. After the destruction of the principal churches, the bishops, who had declined the crown of martyrdom, retired with the holy relics into Wales and Armorica; the remains of their flocks were left destitute of any spiritual food; the practice, and even the remembrance, of Christianity were abolished; and the British clergy might obtain some comfort from the damnation of the idolatrous strangers. The kings of France maintained the privileges of their Roman subjects; but the ferocious Saxons trampled on the laws of Rome, and of the emperors. The proceedings of civil and criminal jurisdiction, the titles of honour, the forms of office, the ranks of society, and even the domestic rights of marriage, testament, and inheritance, were finally suppressed; and the indiscriminate crowd of noble and plebeian slaves was governed by the traditionary customs, which had been coarsely framed for the shepherds and pirates of Germany. The language of science, of business, and of conversation, which had been introduced by the Romans, was lost in the general desolation. A sufficient number of Latin or Celtic words might be assumed by the Germans, to express their new wants and ideas;<sup>144</sup> but those *illiterate* Pagans preserved and established the use of their national dialect.<sup>145</sup> Almost every name, conspicuous either in the church or state, reveals its Teutonic origin;<sup>146</sup> and the geography of *England* was universally inscribed with foreign characters and appellations. The example of a revolution, so rapid and so complete, may not easily be found; but it will excite a probable suspicion, that the arts of Rome were less deeply rooted in Britain than in Gaul or Spain; and that the native rudeness of the country and its inhabitants, was covered by a thin varnish of Italian manners.

This strange alteration has persuaded historians, and even philosophers, that the provincials of Britain were totally exterminated; and that the vacant land was again peopled by the perpetual influx, and

rapid increase, of the German colonies. Three hundred thousand Saxons are *said* to have obeyed the summons of Hengist;<sup>147</sup> the entire emigration of the Angles was attested, in the age of Bede, by the solitude of their native country;<sup>148</sup> and our experience has shown the free propagation of the human race, if they are cast on a fruitful wilderness, where their steps are unconfined, and their subsistence is plentiful. The Saxon kingdoms displayed the face of recent discovery and cultivation: the towns were small, the villages were distant; the husbandry was languid and unskilful; four sheep were equivalent to an acre of the best land;<sup>149</sup> an ample space of wood and morass was resigned to the vague dominion of nature; and the modern bishopric of Durham, the whole territory from the Tyne to the Tees, had returned to its primitive state of a savage and solitary forest.<sup>150</sup> Such imperfect population might have been supplied, in some generations, by the English colonies; but neither reason nor facts can justify the unnatural supposition, that the Saxons of Britain remained alone in the desert which they had subdued. After the sanguinary barbarians had secured their dominion, and gratified their revenge, it was their interest to preserve the peasants, as well as the cattle, of the onresisting country. In each successive revolution, the patient herd becomes the property of its new masters; and the salutary compact of food and labor is silently ratified by their mutual necessities. Wilfrid, the apostle of *Sussex*,<sup>151</sup> accepted from his royal convert the gift of the peninsula of Selsey, near Chichester, with the persons and property of its inhabitants, who then amounted to eighty-seven families. He released them at once from spiritual and temporal bondage; and two hundred and fifty slaves of both sexes were baptized by their indulgent master. The kingdom of *Sussex*, which spread from the sea to the *Tianes*, contained seven thousand families: twelve hundred were ascribed to the Isle of Wight; and, if we multiply this vague computation, it may seem probable, that England was cultivated by a million of servants, or *villans*, who were attached to the estates of their arbitrary landlords. The indigent barbarians were often tempted to sell their children or themselves into perpetual, and even foreign, bondage;<sup>152</sup> yet the special exemptions, which were granted to *national* slaves,<sup>153</sup> sufficiently declare that they were much less numerous than the strangers and captives, who had lost their liberty, or changed

142 Hoc anno (990) Ella et Cissa obsederunt Andredes-Caster; et interfecerunt omnes qui ibi decesserant, alio ut ut aras Brito superstes fuerit (Chron. Saxon. p. 11), an expression more dreadful in its simplicity, than all the vague and tedious lamentations of the British Jeremiahs.

143 Andredes-Caster, or Anderida, is placed by Camden (Britannia, vol. i. p. 205) at Newenden, in the marshy grounds of Kent, which might be formerly covered by the sea, and on the edge of the great forest (Anderida) which overspread so large a portion of Hampshire and Sussex.

144 Dr. Johnson affirms that few English words are of British extraction. Mr. Whitaker, who understands the British language, has discovered more than *three thousand*, and actually produces a long and various catalogue (vol. i. p. 267, 268). It is possible, indeed, that many of the proper names, which are derived from the Latin, may be of British origin.

145 The fact is, that the British language, which was the only one spoken in the island, was the only one which was not corrupted by the influence of the Latin language. The British language, which was the only one spoken in the island, was the only one which was not corrupted by the influence of the Latin language. The British language, which was the only one spoken in the island, was the only one which was not corrupted by the influence of the Latin language.

147 Hengist, Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 15. p. 72. The fact is probable, and well attested, yet such was the loose intermixture of the British tribes, that we are in a subsequent period, the law of the Angles and Wards of Germany (Henderson, Code, p. 470-486).

148 See Dr. Henry's useful and laborious History of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 788.

149 Quo quid (says John of Timonmouth) inter Tyman et Teuton fluxus extitit sola erant vastitudo terre remansit fuit, et idcirco nullus ibi non servavit, eo quod sola indomitorum et sylvestrum animalium spolia et habitatio fuit (apud Carte, vol. i. p. 104).

150 See the same author, l. i. c. 15. p. 72. The fact is probable, and well attested, yet such was the loose intermixture of the British tribes, that we are in a subsequent period, the law of the Angles and Wards of Germany (Henderson, Code, p. 470-486).

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their masters, by the accidents of war. When time and religion had mitigated the fierce spirit of the Anglo-Saxons, the laws encouraged the frequent practice of manumission; and their subjects, of Welsh or Cambrian extraction, assume the respectable station of inferior freemen, possessed of lands, and entitled to the rights of civil society.<sup>154</sup> Such gentle treatment might secure the allegiance of a fierce people, who had been recently subdued on the confines of Wales and Cornwall. The sage Ina, the legislator of Wessex, united the two nations in the bands of domestic alliance; and four British lords of Somersetshire may be honourably distinguished in the court of a Saxon monarch.<sup>155</sup>

The independent Britons appear to have relapsed into the state of original barbarism, from whence they had been imperfectly reclaimed. Separated by their enemies from the rest of mankind, they soon became an object of scandal and abhorrence to the Catholic world.<sup>156</sup> Christianity was still professed in the mountains of Wales; but the rude schismatics, in the form of the clerical tonsure, and in the day of the celebration of Easter, obstinately resisted the imperious mandates of the Roman pontiffs. The use of the Latin language was insensibly abolished, and the Britons were deprived of the arts and learning which Italy communicated to her Saxon proselytes. In Wales and Armorica, the Celtic tongue, the native idiom of the West, was preserved and propagated; and the *Bards*, who had been the companions of the Druids, were still protected, in the sixteenth century, by the laws of Elizabeth. Their chief, a respectable officer of the courts of Pengwern, or Aberfraw, or Caermathæa, accompanied the king's servants to war, the monarchy of the Britons, which he sung in the front of battle, excited their courage, and justified their depredations; and the songster claimed for his legitimate prize the fairest heifer of the spoil. His subordinate ministers, the masters and disciples of vocal and instrumental music, visited, in their respective circuits, the royal, the noble, and the plebeian houses; and the public poverty, almost exhausted by the clergy, was oppressed by the importunate demands of the bards. Their rank and merit were ascertained by solemn trials, and the strong belief of supernatural inspiration exalted the fancy of the poet, and of his audience.<sup>157</sup> The last retreats of Celtic freedom, the extreme territories of Gaul and Britain, were less adapted to agriculture than to pasturage: the wealth of the Britons consisted in their flocks and herds; milk and flesh were their ordinary food; and

bread was sometimes esteemed, or rejected, as a foreign luxury. Liberty had peopled the mountains of Wales and the morasses of Armorica: but their populousness has been maliciously ascribed to the loose practice of polygamy; and the houses of these licentious barbarians have been supposed to contain ten wives, and perhaps fifty children.<sup>158</sup> Their disposition was rash and choleric: they were bold in action and in speech;<sup>159</sup> and as they were ignorant of the arts of peace, they alternately indulged their passions in foreign and domestic war. The cavalry of Armorica, the spearmen of Gwent, and the archers of Merioneth, were equally formidable; but their poverty could seldom procure either shields or helmets; and the inconvenient weight would have retarded the speed and agility of their desultory operations. One of the greatest of the English monarchs was requested to satisfy the curiosity of a Greek emperor concerning the state of Britain; and Henry II. could assert, from his personal experience, that Wales was inhabited by a race of naked warriors, who encountered, without fear, the defensive armour of their enemies.<sup>160</sup>

By the revolution of Britain, the limits of science, as well as of empire, were contracted. The dark cloud, which had been cleared by the Phœnician discoveries, and finally dispelled by the arms of Cæsar, again settled on the shores of the Atlantic, and a Roman province was again lost among the fabulous islands of the ocean. One hundred and fifty years after the reign of Honorius, the gravest historian of the times<sup>161</sup> describes the wonders of a remote isle, whose eastern and western parts are divided by an antique wall, the boundary of life and death, or more properly, of truth and fiction. The east is a fair country, inhabited by a civilised people: the air is healthy, the waters are pure and plentiful, and the earth yields her regular and fruitful increase. In the west, beyond the wall, the air is infectious and mortal; the ground is covered with serpents; and this dreary solitude is the region of departed spirits, who are transported from the opposite shores in substantial boats, and by living rowers. Some families of fishermen, the subjects of the Franks, are excused from tribute, in consideration of the mysterious office which is performed by these Charons of the ocean. Each in his turn is summoned, at the hour of midnight, to hear the voices, and even the names, of the ghosts: he is sensible of their weight, and he feels himself impelled by an unknown, but irresistible, power. After this dream of fancy, we read with asto-

Obscure or fabulous state of Britain.

<sup>154</sup> The life of a *Wallo*, or *Combar*, a man, who possessed a fief of land, is valued at 120 shillings, by the laws of Ina, in the Anglo-Saxon law (p. 203), which allowed 200 shillings for a free Saxon, and 1200 for a Thane (see likewise the Anglo-Saxon law (p. 71)). We may observe, that these gradations, the West-Saxons (p. 11) Vergans, continued their British conquests after they became Christians. The laws of the four kings of Kent do not condescend to notice the existence of any subject Britons.

<sup>155</sup> See Carey's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 278.

<sup>156</sup> At the conclusion of his history (A. D. 731), Bede describes the ecclesiastical state of the island, and censures the impious, the high impious, hatred of the Britons against the English nation, and the Catholic church (A. D. 731, c. 25, 26, 27).

<sup>157</sup> Mr Pennant's tour in Wales (p. 146—149), has furnished me

<sup>1</sup> *Regno longe lateque diffusa, mille, mille, quam credibile sit, fertur. Furoris equidem in istis moribus annis quinquaginta generatim, certius more barbaro illos aut amplius irores.* This speech of Wolfram of Eßlingen (in the history of France, tom. xi. p. 88.) is

a gift of bold and ready eloquence to the Britons. The malicious curiosity might possibly be the effect of their servitude to the Normans.

<sup>160</sup> The picture of Welsh and Armorican manners is drawn from Giraldus (Descript. Cambrie, c. 12.) inter script. Vander P. Soc. 1801, and the authors quoted by the Abbé de Vertot (Hist. Critique, tom. ii. p. 25, 26, 27).

<sup>161</sup> See Procopius, c. 10. The Greek historian is he relates, that he British and Briton, Christians.

nishment, that the name of this island is *Brittia*; that it lies in the ocean, against the mouth of the Rhine, and less than thirty miles from the continent; that it is possessed by three nations, the Frisians, the Angles, and the Britons; and that some Angles had appeared at Constantinople, in the train of the French ambassadors. From these ambassadors Procopius might be informed of a singular, though an improbable, adventure, which announces the spirit, rather than the delicacy, of an English heroine. She had been betrothed to Radiger king of the Varni, a tribe of Germans who touched the ocean and the Rhine; but the perfidious lover was tempted, by motives of policy, to prefer his father's widow, the sister of Theodebert king of the Franks.<sup>162</sup> The forsaken princess of the Angles, instead of bewailing, revenged her disgrace. Her warlike subjects are said to have been ignorant of the use, and even of the form, of an horse; but she boldly sailed from Britain to the mouth of the Rhine, with a fleet of four hundred ships and an army of one hundred thousand men. After the loss of a battle, the captive Radiger implored the mercy of his victorious bride, who generously pardoned his offence, dismissed her rival, and compelled the king of the Varni to discharge with honour and fidelity the duties of an husband.<sup>163</sup> This gallant exploit appears to be the last naval enterprise of the Anglo-Saxons. The arts of navigation, by which they had acquired the empire of Britain and of the sea, were soon neglected by the indolent barbarians, who supinely renounced all the commercial advantages of their insular situation. Seven independent kingdoms were agitated by perpetual discord; and the *British world* was seldom connected, either in peace or war, with the nations of the continent.<sup>164</sup>

I have now accomplished the laborious narrative of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, from the fortunate age of Trajan and the Antonines, to its total extinction in the West, about five centuries after the Christian æra. At that unhappy period, the Saxons fiercely struggled with the natives for the possession of Britain: Gaul and Spain were divided between the powerful monarchies of the Franks and Visigoths, and the dependent kingdoms of the Suevi and Burgundians: Africa was exposed to the cruel persecution of the Vandals, and the savage insults of the Moors: Rome and Italy, as far as the banks of the Danube, were afflicted by an army of barbarian mercenaries, whose lawless tyranny was succeeded by the reign of Theodoric the

Ostrogoth. All the subjects of the empire, who, by the use of the Latin language, more particularly deserved the name and privileges of Romans, were oppressed by the disgrace and calamities of foreign conquest; and the victorious nations of Germany established a new system of manners and government in the western countries of Europe. The majesty of Rome was faintly represented by the princes of Constantinople, the feeble and imaginary successors of Augustus. Yet they continued to reign over the East, from the Danube to the Nile and Tigris; the Gothic and Vandal kingdoms of Italy and Africa were subverted by the arms of Justinian; and the history of the Greek emperors may still afford a long series of instructive lessons, and interesting revolutions.

#### *General Observations on the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West.*

THE Greeks, after their country had been reduced into a province, imputed the triumphs of Rome, not to the merit, but to the *fortune*, of the republic. The inconstant goddess, who so blindly distributes and resumes her favours, had now consented (such was the language of envious flattery; to resign her wings, to descend from her globe, and to fix her firm and immutable throne on the banks of the Tyber.<sup>1</sup> A wiser Greek, who has composed, with a philosophic spirit, the memorable history of his own times, deprived his countrymen of this vain and delusive comfort, by opening to their view the deep foundations of the greatness of Rome.<sup>2</sup> The fidelity of the citizens to each other, and to the state, was confirmed by the habits of education, and the prejudices of religion. Honour, as well as virtue, was the principle of the republic; the ambitious citizen laboured to deserve the solemn glories of a triumph; and the ardour of the Roman youth was kindled into active emulation, as often as they beheld the domestic images of their ancestors.<sup>3</sup> The temperate struggles of the patricians and plebeians had finally established the firm and equal balance of the constitution; which united the freedom of popular assemblies, with the authority and wisdom of a senate, and the executive powers of a regal magistrate. When the consul displayed the standard of the republic, each citizen bound himself, by the obligation of an oath, to draw his sword in the cause of his country, till he had discharged the sacred duty by a military service of ten years. This wise institution continually

<sup>162</sup> Theodebert, grandson of Clovis, and king of Austrasia, was the most powerful and warlike prince of the age, and this remarkable adventure may be placed between the years 534 and 547, the

Angles, who landed in 527, and the following verse, between the Humber and the Thames, and probably of such date.

Convent.

<sup>164</sup> In the copious history of Gregory of Tours, we cannot find any traces of hostile or friendly intercourse between France and England, except in the marriage of the daughter of Caribert, king of

the malicious declamation, *πρωτος, παρ αυτων γενομενος*. The same opinion had prevailed among the Greeks two hundred and fifty years before Plutarch, and to confute them, is the professed intention of Polybius (Hist. l. i. p. 90 edit. Gronov. Amstel. 1670).

<sup>2</sup> See the numerous and valuable remains of the sixth book of Polybius, and many other parts of his general history, particularly a digression in the seventeenth book, in which he compares the phalanx and the legion.

<sup>3</sup> Sallust, de Bell. Jugurthino, c. 1. Such were the generous professions of P. Scipio and Q. Maximus. The Latin historians had read, and most probably transcribed, Polybius, their contemporary and friend.

poured into the field the rising generations of freemen and soldiers; and their numbers were reinforced by the warlike and populous states of Italy, who, after a brave resistance, had yielded to the valour, and embraced the alliance, of the Romans. The sage historian, who excited the virtue of the younger Scipio, and beheld the ruin of Carthage,<sup>4</sup> has accurately described their military system; their levies, arms, exercises, subordination, marches, encampments; and the invincible legion, superior in active strength to the Macedonian phalanx of Philip and Alexander. From these institutions of peace and war, Polybius has deduced the spirit and success of a people, incapable of fear, and impatient of repose. The ambitious design of conquest, which might have been defeated by the seasonable conspiracy of mankind, was attempted and achieved; and the perpetual violation of justice was maintained by the political virtues of prudence and courage. The arms of the republic, sometimes vanquished in battle, always victorious in war, advanced with rapid steps to the Euphrates, the Danube, the Rhine, and the Ocean; and the images of gold, or silver, or brass, that might serve to represent the nations and their kings, were successively broken by the *iron* monarchy of Rome.<sup>5</sup>

The rise of a city, which swelled into an empire, may deserve, as a singular prodigy, the reflection of a philosophic mind. But the decline of Rome was the natural and inevitable effect of immoderate greatness. Prosperity ripened the principle of decay; the causes of destruction multiplied with the extent of conquest; and as soon as time or accident had removed the artificial supports, the stupendous fabric yielded to the pressure of its own weight. The story of its ruin is simple and obvious; and instead of enquiring *why* the Roman empire was destroyed, we should rather be surprised that it had subsisted so long. The victorious legions, who, in distant wars, acquired the vices of strangers and mercenaries, first oppressed the freedom of the republic, and afterwards violated the majesty of the purple. The emperors, anxious for their personal safety and the public peace, were reduced to the base expedient of corrupting the discipline which rendered them alike formidable to their sovereign and to the enemy; the vigour of the military government was relaxed, and finally dissolved, by the partial institutions of Constantine; and the Roman world was overwhelmed by a deluge of barbarians.

The decay of Rome has been frequently ascribed to the translation of the seat of empire; but this history has already shown, that the powers of government were *divided*, rather than *removed*. The throne of Constantinople was erected in the East; while the West was still possessed by a series of emperors who held their residence in Italy, and claimed their equal inheritance of the legions and provinces. This

dangerous novelty impaired the strength, and fomented the vices, of a double reign: the instruments of an oppressive and arbitrary system were multiplied; and a vain emulation of luxury, not of merit, was introduced and supported between the degenerate successors of Theodosius.

Extreme distress, which unites the virtue of a free people, embitters the factions of a declining monarchy. The hostile favourites of Arcadius and Honorius betrayed the republic to its common enemies; and the Byzantine court beheld with indifference, perhaps with pleasure, the disgrace of Rome, the misfortunes of Italy, and the loss of the West. Under the succeeding reigns, the alliance of the two empires was restored; but the aid of the Oriental Romans was tardy, doubtful, and ineffectual; and the national schism of the Greeks and Latins was enlarged by the perpetual difference of language and manners, of interest, and even of religion. Yet the salutary event approved in some measure the judgment of Constantine. During a long period of decay, his impregnable city repelled the victorious armies of barbarians, protected the wealth of Asia, and commanded, both in peace and war, the important straits which connect the Euxine and Mediterranean Seas. The foundation of Constantinople more essentially contributed to the preservation of the East, than to the ruin of the West.

As the happiness of a *future* life is the great object of religion, we may hear without surprise or scandal, that the introduction, or at least the abuse, of Christianity, had some influence on the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The clergy successfully preached the doctrines of patience and pusillanimity; the active virtues of society were discouraged; and the last remains of military spirit were buried in the cloister: a large portion of public and private wealth was consecrated to the specious demands of charity and devotion; and the soldiers' pay was lavished on the useless multitudes of both sexes, who could only plead the merits of abstinence and chastity. Faith, zeal, curiosity, and the more earthly passions of malice and ambition, kindled the flame of theological discord; the church, and even the state, were distracted by religious factions, whose conflicts were sometimes bloody, and always implacable; the attention of the emperors was diverted from camps to synods; the Roman world was oppressed by a new species of tyranny; and the persecuted sects became the secret enemies of their country. Yet party spirit, however pernicious or absurd, is a principle of union as well as of dissension. The bishops, from eighteen hundred pulpits, inculcated the duty of passive obedience to a lawful and orthodox sovereign; their frequent assemblies, and perpetual correspondence, maintained the communion of distant churches; and the benevolent temper of the Gospel was strengthened, though confined, by the spiritual alliance of the Catholics. The sacred indolence of the monks

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was devoutly embraced by a servile and effeminate age; but if superstition had not afforded a decent retreat, the same vices would have tempted the unworthy Romans to desert, from baser motives, the standard of the republic. Religious precepts are easily obeyed, which indulge and sanctify the natural inclinations of their votaries; but the pure and genuine influence of Christianity may be traced in its beneficial, though imperfect, effects on the barbarian proselytes of the North. If the decline of the Roman empire was hastened by the conversion of Constantine, his victorious religion broke the violence of the fall, and mollified the ferocious temper of the conquerors.

This awful revolution may be usefully applied to the instruction of the present age. It is the duty of a patriot to prefer and promote the exclusive interest and glory of his native country; but a philosopher may be permitted to enlarge his views, and to consider Europe as one great republic, whose various inhabitants have attained almost the same level of politeness and cultivation. The balance of power will continue to fluctuate, and the prosperity of our own, or the neighbouring kingdoms, may be alternately exalted or depressed; but these partial events cannot essentially injure our general state of happiness, the system of arts, and laws, and manners, which so advantageously distinguish, above the rest of mankind, the Europeans and their colonies. The savage nations of the globe are the common enemies of civilised society; and we may enquire with anxious curiosity, whether Europe is still threatened with a repetition of those calamities, which formerly oppressed the arms and institutions of Rome. Perhaps the same reflections will illustrate the fall of that mighty empire, and explain the probable causes of our actual security.

I. The Romans were ignorant of the extent of their danger, and the number of their enemies. Beyond the Rhine and Danube, the Northern countries of Europe and Asia were filled with innumerable tribes of hunters and shepherds, poor, voracious, and turbulent; bold in arms, and impatient to ravish the fruits of industry. The barbarian world was agitated by the rapid impulse of war; and the peace of Gaul or Italy was shaken by the distant revolutions of China. The Huns, who fled before a victorious enemy, directed their march towards the West; and the torrent was swelled by the gradual accession of captives and allies. The flying tribes who yielded to the Huns, assumed in their turn the spirit of conquest; the endless column of barbarians, pressed on the Roman empire with accumulated weight; and, if the foremost were destroyed, the vacant space was instantly replenished by new assailants. Such formidable emigrations can no longer issue from the North; and the long repose, which has been imputed to the decrease of population, is the happy consequence of the progress of arts and

agriculture. Instead of some rude villages, thinly scattered among its woods and morasses, Germany now produces a list of two thousand three hundred walled towns: the Christian kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, have been successively established; and the Hanse merchants, with the Teutonic knights, have extended their colonies along the coast of the Baltic, as far as the Gulf of Finland. From the Gulf of Finland to the Eastern Ocean, Russia now assumes the form of a powerful and civilised empire. The plough, the loom, and the forge, are introduced on the banks of the Volga, the Oby, and the Lena; and the fiercest of the Tartar hordes have been taught to tremble and obey. The reign of independent barbarism is now contracted to a narrow span; and the remnant of Calmucks or Uzbecks, whose forces may be almost numbered, cannot seriously excite the apprehensions of the great republic of Europe.<sup>6</sup> Yet this apparent security should not tempt us to forget that new enemies, and unknown dangers, may possibly arise from some obscure people, scarcely visible in the map of the world. The Arabs or Saracens, who spread their conquests from India to Spain, had languished in poverty and contempt, till Mahomet breathed into those savage bodies the soul of enthusiasm.

II. The empire of Rome was firmly established by the singular and perfect coalition of its members. The subject nations, resigning the hope, and even the wish, of independence, embraced the character of Roman citizens; and the provinces of the West were reluctantly torn by the barbarians from the bosom of their mother country.<sup>7</sup> But this union was purchased by the loss of national freedom and military spirit; and the servile provinces, destitute of life and motion, expected their safety from the mercenary troops and governors, who were directed by the orders of a distant court. The happiness of an hundred millions depended on the personal merit of one or two men, perhaps children, whose minds were corrupted by education, luxury, and despotic power. The deepest wounds were inflicted on the empire during the minorities of the sons and grandsons of Theodosius; and, after those incapable princes seemed to attain the age of manhood, they abandoned the church to the bishops, the state to the eunuchs, and the provinces to the barbarians. Europe is now divided into twelve powerful, though unequal, kingdoms, three respectable commonwealths, and a variety of smaller, though independent, states. the chances of royal and ministerial talents are multiplied, at least, with the number of its rulers; and a Julian, or Semiramis, may reign in the North, while Arcadius and Honorius again slumber on the thrones of the South. The abuses of tyranny are restrained by the mutual influence of fear and shame; republics have acquired order and stability; monarchies have imbibed the principles of freedom,

6 The French and English editors of the *Genealogical History* of the Tartars have substituted a curious, though incorrect, description of their present state. We might question the independence of the Calmucks, or Eluths, since they have been recently subdued by the Chinese, who, in the year 1730, subdued the lesser Tartars, and advanced into the course of Bakhshah, east of the river of the Oxus (*Mémoires sur les Chinois*, tom. 2. p. 725-160). But these

conquests are precarious, nor will I venture to ensure the safety of the Chinese empire.

7 The prudent reader will determine how far this general proposition is supported by the revolt of the Isaurians, the independence of Bithynia and Armenia, the Moorish rule in the Kingdom of Granada, Spain (tom. p. 106. 392 & 393).

or, at least, of moderation; and some sense of honour and justice is introduced into the most defective constitutions by the general manners of the times. In peace, the progress of knowledge and industry is accelerated by the emulation of so many active rivals: in war, the European forces are exercised by temperate and undecisive contests. If a savage conqueror should issue from the deserts of Tartary, he must repeatedly vanquish the robust peasants of Russia, the numerous armies of Germany, the gallant nobles of France, and the intrepid flicemen of Britain; who, perhaps, might confederate for their common defence. Should the victorious barbarians carry slavery and desolation as far as the Atlantic Ocean, ten thousand vessels would transport beyond their pursuit the remains of civilised society; and Europe would revive and flourish in the American world, which is already filled with her colonies, and institutions.<sup>8</sup>

III. Cold, poverty, and a life of danger and fatigue, fortify the strength and courage of barbarians. In every age they have oppressed the polite and peaceful nations of China, India, and Persia, who neglected, and still neglect, to counterbalance these natural powers by the resources of military art. The warlike states of antiquity, Greece, Macedonia, and Rome, educated a race of soldiers; exercised their bodies, disciplined their courage, multiplied their forces by regular evolutions, and converted the iron, which they possessed, into strong and serviceable weapons. But this superiority insensibly declined with their laws and manners; and the feeble policy of Constantine and his successors armed and instructed, for the ruin of the empire, the rude valour of the barbarian mercenaries. The military art has been changed by the invention of gunpowder; which enables man to command the two most powerful agents of nature, air and fire. Mathematics, chemistry, mechanics, architecture, have been applied to the service of war; and the adverse parties oppose to each other the most elaborate modes of attack and of defence. Historians may indignantly observe, that the preparations of a siege would found and maintain a flourishing colony;<sup>9</sup> yet we cannot be displeased, that the subversion of a city should be a work of cost and difficulty; or that an industrious people should be protected by those arts, which survive and supply the decay of military virtue. Cannon and fortifications now form an impregnable barrier against the Tartar horse; and Europe is secure from any future irruption of barbarians; since, before they can conquer, they must cease to be barbarous. Their gradual advances in

the science of war would always be accompanied, as we may learn from the example of Russia, with a proportionable improvement in the arts of peace and civil policy; and they themselves must deserve a place among the polished nations whom they subdue.

Should these speculations be found doubtful or fallacious, there still remains a more humble source of comfort and hope. The discoveries of ancient and modern navigators, and the domestic history, or tradition, of the most enlightened nations, represent the *human savage*, naked both in mind and body, and destitute of laws, of arts, of ideas, and almost of language.<sup>10</sup> From this abject condition, perhaps the primitive and universal state of man, he has gradually arisen to command the animals, to fertilise the earth, to traverse the ocean, and to measure the heavens. His progress in the improvement and exercise of his mental and corporeal faculties<sup>11</sup> has been irregular and various; infinitely slow in the beginning, and increasing by degrees with redoubled velocity: ages of laborious ascent have been followed by a moment of rapid downfall; and the several climates of the globe have felt the vicissitudes of light and darkness. Yet the experience of four thousand years should enlarge our hopes, and diminish our apprehensions: we cannot determine to what height the human species may aspire in their advances towards perfection; but it may safely be presumed, that no people, unless the face of nature is changed, will relapse into their original barbarism. The improvements of society may be viewed under a threefold aspect. 1. The poet or philosopher illustrates his age and country by the efforts of a *single* mind; but these superior powers of reason or fancy are rare and spontaneous productions; and the genius of Homer or Cicero, or Newton, would excite less admiration, if they could be created by the will of a prince, or the lessons of a preceptor. 2. The benefits of law and policy, of trade and manufactures, of arts and sciences, are more solid and permanent; and *many* individuals may be qualified, by education and discipline, to promote, in their respective stations, the interest of the community. But this general order is the effect of skill and labour; and the complex machinery may be decayed by time, or injured by violence. 3. Fortunately for mankind, the more useful, or, at least, more necessary arts, can be performed without superior talents, or national subordination; without the powers of *one*, or the union of *many*. Each village, each family, each individual, must always possess both ability and inclination, to perpetuate the use of fire<sup>12</sup> and of metals; the

<sup>8</sup> America now contains about six millions of European blood and descent; and their numbers, at least in the Northern continent, are increasing. Whatever may be the changes of their political situation, they must preserve the manners of Europe; and we may reflect with some pleasure, that the English language will probably be diffused over all immense and populous continents.

<sup>9</sup> On avoit tout venir (for the siege of Turin) 110 pièces de canon, et il est à remarquer que chaque gros canon montoit feuvent à environ 2000 écus, il y avoit 110,000 boulets, 100,000 cartouches d'écume, et 360,000 d'une autre, 24,000 bombes, 27,000 grenades, 15,000 sacs à terre, 30,000 instrumens pour le placement, 1,200,000 livres de poudre. Ajoutez à ces munitions, le plomb, le fer, et le fer-blanc, les cordages, tout ce qui sert aux trépiers, le soufre, le salpêtre, les outils de toute espèce. Il est certain que les frais de l'attaque préparatifs de destruction surpassez pour fonder et pour faire fleurir la plus nombreuse colonie. Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV. c. xx. in his Works, tom. xi. p. 294.

<sup>10</sup> It would be an easy, though tedious, task, to produce the names of poets, philosophers, and historians. I shall therefore

content myself with appealing to the numerous and authentic testimony of Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. 1. p. 11, 12. l. 1. p. 184. &c. edit. Weisinger). The Ichthyophagi, who in his time wandered along the shores of the Red Sea, and only fed on porpoises to the natives of New Holland (Quincy's Voyages, vol. i. p. 164. 169. l. 1. Fanciful, or perhaps rascally, may still suppose an extreme and absolute state of nature far below the level of these savages, who had acquired some arts and instruments.

<sup>11</sup> See the learned and rational work of the president Gouget, de l'origine des Loix, des Arts, et des Sciences. He traces from fables, or conjectures, tom. i. p. 117. 377. edit. 1760. the first and most important steps of human improvement.

<sup>12</sup> It is a plain, however strange, that many nations have been ignorant of the use of fire. Even the ingenious natives of Oudee, who are said to feed a large tract of country with their vessels made of stone, and the people of the island of Oudee, who are said to have lived in the state of nature, and to have been ignorant of the use of fire, and of the use of metals.

propagation and service of domestic animals; the methods of hunting and fishing; the rudiments of navigation; the imperfect cultivation of corn, or other nutritive grain; and the simple practice of the mechanic trades. Private genius and public industry may be extirpated; but these hardy plants survive the tempest, and strike an everlasting root into the most unfavourable soil. The splendid days of Augustus and Trajan were eclipsed by a cloud of ignorance; and the barbarians subverted the laws and palaces of Rome. But the scythe, the invention, or emblem of Saturn,<sup>13</sup> still continued annually to mow the harvests of Italy; and the human feasts of the Læstrigons<sup>14</sup> have never been renewed on the coast of Campania.

Since the first discovery of the arts, war, commerce, and religious zeal, have diffused, among the savages of the Old and New World, these inestimable gifts: they have been successively propagated; they can never be lost. We may therefore acquiesce in the pleasing conclusion, that every age of the world has increased, and still increases, the real wealth, the happiness, the knowledge, and perhaps the virtue, of the human race.<sup>15</sup>

## CHAP. XXXIX.

*Zeno and Anastasius, Emperors of the East. — Birth, Education, and First Exploits of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. — His Invasion and Conquest of Italy. — The Gothic Kingdom of Italy. — State of the West. — Military and Civil Government. — The Senator Boethius. — Last Acts and Death of Theodoric.*

A. D. 476—527. AFTER the fall of the Roman empire in the West, an interval of fifty years, till the memorable reign of Justinian, is faintly marked by the obscure names and imperfect annals of Zeno, Anastasius, and Justin, who successively ascended the throne of Constantinople. During the same period, Italy revived and flourished under the government of a Gothic king, who might have deserved a statue amongst the best and bravest of the ancient Romans.

Theodoric the Ostrogoth, the fourteenth in lineal descent of the royal line of the Amali,<sup>1</sup> was born in the neighbourhood of Vienna<sup>2</sup> two years after the death of Attila. A recent victory had restored the independence of the Ostrogoths;

and the three brothers, Walamir, Theodemir, and Widimir, who ruled that warlike nation with united counsels, had separately pitched their habitations in the fertile though desolate province of Pannonia. The Huns still threatened their revolted subjects, but their hasty attack was repelled by the single forces of Walamir, and the news of his victory reached the distant camp of his brother in the same auspicious moment that the favourite concubine of Theodemir was delivered of a son and heir. In the eighth year of his age, Theodoric was reluctantly yielded by his father to the public interest, as the pledge of an alliance which Leo, emperor of the East, had consented to purchase by an annual subsidy of three hundred pounds of gold. The royal hostage was educated at Constantinople with care and tenderness. His body was formed to all the exercises of war, his mind was expanded by the habits of liberal conversation; he frequented the schools of the most skillful masters; but he disdained or neglected the arts of Greece, and so ignorant did he always remain of the first elements of science, that a rude mark was contrived to represent the signature of the illiterate king of Italy.<sup>3</sup> As soon as he had attained the age of eighteen, he was restored to the wishes of the Ostrogoths, whom the emperor aspired to gain by liberality and confidence. Walamir had fallen in battle; the youngest of the brothers, Widimir, had led away into Italy and Gaul an army of barbarians, and the whole nation acknowledged for their king the father of Theodoric. His ferocious subjects admired the strength and stature of their young prince;<sup>4</sup> and he soon convinced them that he had not degenerated from the valour of his ancestors. At the head of six thousand volunteers, he secretly left the camp in quest of adventures, descended the Danube as far as Singidunum or Belgrade, and soon returned to his father with the spoils of a Sarmatian king whom he had vanquished and slain. Such triumphs, however, were productive only of fame, and the invincible Ostrogoths were reduced to extreme distress by the want of clothing and food. They unanimously resolved to desert their Pannonian encampments, and boldly to advance into the warm and wealthy neighbourhood of the Byzantine court, which already maintained in pride and luxury so many bands of confederate Goths. After proving by some acts of hostility that they could be dangerous, or at least troublesome enemies, the Ostrogoths sold at a high price their reconciliation and fidelity, accepted a donative of lands

the first who celebrates the royal race of the Amali (Varfar. viii. 5.

gold plate, and through the out p. 722.) This least of the ex weighs the v p. 109.) and 1. Sauri est que regnet proceritate regnantem (Ennodius, p. 101.) The bishop of Pavia (I mean the ecclesiastic who wished to be a bishop) then proceeds to celebrate the complexion, eyes, hands, &c. of his sovereign.

13 Plutarch. Quæst. Rom. in tom. ii. p. 275. Macrobi. Saturnal. l. i. c. 8. p. 132. edit. London. The arrival of Saturn to his religious worship in a ship, may indicate, that the savage coast of Liguria was first discovered and civilized by the Phœnicians.

14 In the ninth and tenth books of the Odyssey, Homer has embellished the tales of fearful and credulous sailors, who transformed the cannibals of Italy and Sicily into monstrous giants.

15 The merit of discovery has too often been stained with avarice, cruelty, and fanaticism; and the intercourse of nations has produced the communication of disease and prejudice. A singular exception is due to the virtue of our own times and country. The five great voyages, successively undertaken by the command of his present Majesty, were inspired by the pure and generous love of science and of mankind. The same prince, adapting his benefactions to the nature of the age, has been distinguished by his bounty to the arts, and to the sciences, and to the useful arts.

edit. Grot. the Asia or Castellan, Demigods, who lived about the time of Domitian.

and money, and were intrusted with the defence of the lower Danube, under the command of Theodoric, who succeeded after his father's death to the hereditary throne of the Amali.<sup>5</sup>

The reign of Zeno, A.D. 471-491, Feb. 13, p. 9. An hero, descended from a race of kings, must have despised the base Isaurian who was invested with the Roman purple, without any endowments of mind or body, without any advantages of royal birth, or superior qualifications. After the failure of the Theodosian line, the choice of Pulcheria and of the senate might be justified in some measure by the characters of Marcian and Leo, but the latter of these princes confirmed and dishonoured his reign by the perfidious murder of Aspar and his sons, who too rigorously exacted the debt of gratitude and obedience. The inheritance of Leo and of the East was peaceably devolved on his infant grandson, the son of his daughter Ariadne; and her Isaurian husband, the fortunate Tracassiseus, exchanged that barbarous sound for the Grecian appellation of Zeno. After the decease of the elder Leo, he approached with unnatural respect the throne of his son, humbly received, as a gift, the second rank in the empire, and soon excited the public suspicion on the sudden and premature death of his young colleague, whose life could no longer promote the success of his ambition. But the palace of Constantinople was ruled by female influence, and agitated by female passions; and Verina, the widow of Leo, claiming his empire as her own, pronounced a sentence of deposition against the worthless and ungrateful servant on whom she alone had bestowed the sceptre of the East.<sup>6</sup> As soon as she sounded a revolt in the ears of Zeno, he fled with precipitation into the mountains of Isauria, and her brother Basiliscus, already infamous by his African expedition,<sup>7</sup> was unanimously proclaimed by the servile senate. But the reign of the usurper was short and turbulent. Basiliscus presumed to assassinate the lover of his sister: he dared to offend the lover of his wife, the vain and insolent Harmatius, who, in the midst of Asiatic luxury, affected the dress, the demeanour, and the surname of Achilles.<sup>8</sup> By the conspiracy of the malecontents, Zeno was recalled from exile; the armies, the capital, the person of Basiliscus, were betrayed; and his whole family was condemned to the long agony of cold and hunger by the inhuman conqueror, who wanted courage to encounter or to forgive his enemies. The haughty spirit of Verina was still incapable of submission or repose. She provoked the enmity of a favourite general, embraced his cause as soon he was disgraced, created a new emperor in Syria and Egypt, raised an army of seventy thousand men, and persisted to the last moment

of her life in a fruitless rebellion, which, according to the fashion of the age, had been predicted by Christian hermits and Pagan magicians. While the East was afflicted by the passions of Verina, her daughter Ariadne was distinguished by the female virtues of mildness and fidelity; she followed her husband in his exile, and after his restoration she implored his clemency in favour of her mother. On the decease of Zeno, Ariadne, the daughter, the mother, and the widow of an emperor, gave her Of Anastasius, A.D. 491-518, April 11, July 5. hand and the Imperial title to Anastasius, an aged domestic of the palace, who survived his elevation above twenty-seven years, and whose character is attested by the acclamation of the people, "Reign as you have lived!"<sup>9</sup>

Whatever fear or affection could Service and result of Theodoric, A.D. 475-488. bestow, was profusely lavished by Zeno on the king of the Ostrogoths; the rank of patrician and consul, the command of the Palatine troops, an equestrian statue, a treasure in gold and silver of many thousand pounds, the name of son, and the promise of a rich and honourable wife. As long as Theodoric condescended to serve, he supported with courage and fidelity the cause of his benefactor; his rapid march contributed to the restoration of Zeno; and in the second revolt, the *Walamirs*, as they were called, pursued and pressed the Asiatic rebels, till they left an easy victory to the Imperial troops.<sup>10</sup> But the faithful servant was suddenly converted into a formidable enemy, who spread the flames of war from Constantinople to the Adriatic; many flourishing cities were reduced to ashes, and the agriculture of Thrace was almost extirpated by the wanton cruelty of the Goths, who deprived their captive peasants of the right hand that guided the plough.<sup>11</sup> On such occasions, Theodoric sustained the loud and specious reproach of disloyalty, of ingratitude, and of insatiate avarice, which could be only excused by the hard necessity of his situation. He reigned, not as the monarch, but as the minister of a ferocious people, whose spirit was unbroken by slavery, and impatient of real or imaginary insults. Their poverty was incurable; since the most liberal donatives were soon dissipated in wasteful luxury, and the most fertile estates became barren in their hands; they despised, but they envied, the laborious provincials; and when their subsistence had failed, the Ostrogoths embraced the familiar resources of war and rapine. It had been the wish of Theodoric (such at least was his declaration), to lead a peaceful, obscure, obedient life, on the confines of Scythia, till the Byzantine court, by splendid and fallacious promises, seduced him to attack a confederate tribe of Goths, who had been

<sup>5</sup> The state of the Ostrogoths, and the first years of Theodoric, are found in Jordanes (c. 24-30, p. 629-666) and Malchus (Excerpt. Legat. p. 78-81), who erroneously styles him the son of Walamir.

<sup>6</sup> Theophanes (p. 111) inserts a copy of her *suaviter* letters to the provincials: *ὡς ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔλεγοντο οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς ἀλλὰ τὰς προσηγορίας ἀκούειν ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ*, &c. Such female pretensions would have astonished the slaves of the first Caesars.

<sup>7</sup> See ante, p. 561, 565.

<sup>8</sup> Suidas, tom. i. p. 532, 535, edit. Kuster.

<sup>9</sup> The contemporary histories of Malchus and Candidus are lost, but some extracts or fragments have been saved by Photius (ix. c. lxxix. p. 100-102.), Constantine Porphyrogenitus (Excerpt. Legat. p. 75-97.), and in various articles of the *Lexicon* of Suidas. The Chronicle of Marcellinus (Imago Historiarum) are originals for the

reigns of Zeno and Anastasius; and I must acknowledge, almost for the first time, my obligations to the large and accurate collections of Talamoni (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 172-182).

<sup>10</sup> In this congress his true friends consist in your, com. *propheta* per te scripta, residerunt de salute dubitanti. Anecdota, then proceeds (p. 129, 130, tom. i.) to inform us to transport his hero on a single direction) into Ephesus, beyond the tropic of Cancer. The elevation of the Asian fragment (p. 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

<sup>11</sup> This cruel practice is specially mentioned in the *Prolegomena*, less brotherly, as it stood so close, than the *Walamirs*, but it is not of Theodoric, it is shared with the name of many Roman emperors (Malchus, Excerpt. Legat. p. 122).

engaged in the party of Basiliscus. He marched from his station in Mæsia, on the solemn assurance, that before he reached Adrianople, he should meet a plentiful convoy of provisions, and a reinforcement of eight thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, while the legions of Asia were encamped at Heraclea to second his operations. These measures were disappointed by mutual jealousy. As he advanced into Thrace, the son of Theodemir found an inhospitable solitude, and his Gothic followers, with an heavy train of horses, of mules, and of wagons, were betrayed by their guides among the rocks and precipices of Mount Soudis, where he was assaulted by the arms and invectives of Theodoric the son of Triarius. From a neighbouring height, his artful rival harangued the camp of the *Walams*, and branded their leader with the opprobrious names of child, of madman, of perjured traitor, the enemy of his blood and nation. "Are you ignorant," exclaimed the son of Triarius, "that it is the constant policy of the Romans to destroy the Goths by each other's swords? Are you insensible that the victor in this unnatural contest will be exposed, and justly exposed, to their implacable revenge? Where are those warriors, my kinsmen and thy own, whose widows now lament that their lives were sacrificed to thy rash ambition? Where is the wealth which thy soldiers possessed when they were first allured from their native homes to enlist under thy standard? Each of them was then master of three or four horses; they now follow thee on foot like slaves, through the deserts of Thrace; those men who were tempted by the hope of measuring gold with a bushel, those brave men who are as free and as noble as thyself." A language so well suited to the temper of the Goths, excited clamour and discontent; and the son of Theodemir, apprehensive of being left alone, was compelled to embrace his brethren, and to imitate the example of Roman perfidy.<sup>12</sup>

In every state of his fortune, the prudence and firmness of Theodoric were equally conspicuous; whether he threatened Constantinople at the head of the confederate Goths, or retreated with a faithful band to the mountains and sea-coast of Epirus. At length the accidental death of the son of Triarius<sup>13</sup> destroyed the balance which the Romans had been so anxious to preserve, the whole nation acknowledged the supremacy of the Amali, and the Byzantine court subscribed an ignominious and oppressive treaty.<sup>14</sup> The senate had already declared, that it was necessary to choose a party among the Goths, since the public was unequal to the support of their united forces; a subsidy of two thousand pounds of gold, with the ample pay of thirteen thousand men, were required for the least considerable of their ar-

mies;<sup>15</sup> and the Isaurians, who guarded not the empire but the emperor, enjoyed, besides the privilege of rapine, an annual pension of five thousand pounds. The sagacious mind of Theodoric soon perceived that he was odious to the Romans, and suspected by the barbarians; he understood the popular murmur, that his subjects were exposed in their frozen huts to intolerable hardships, while their king was dissolved in the luxury of Greece, and he prevented the painful alternative of encountering the Goths, as the champion, or of leading them to the field as the enemy, of Zeno. Embracing an enterprise worthy of his courage and ambition, Theodoric addressed the emperor in the following words: "Although your servant is maintained in affluence by your liberality, graciously listen to the wishes of my heart! Italy, the inheritance of your predecessors, and Rome itself, the head and mistress of the world, now fluctuate under the violence and oppression of Odoacer the mercenary. Direct me, with my national troops, to march against the tyrant. If I fall, you will be relieved from an expensive and troublesome friend; if, with the Divine permission, I succeed, I shall govern in your name, and to your glory, the Roman senate, and the part of the republic delivered from slavery by my victorious arms." The proposal of Theodoric was accepted, and perhaps had been suggested, by the Byzantine court. But the forms of the commission or grant, appear to have been expressed with a prudent ambiguity, which might be explained by the event; and it was left doubtful, whether the conqueror of Italy should reign as the lieutenant, the vassal, or the ally of the emperor of the East.<sup>16</sup>

The reputation both of the leader and of the war diffused an universal ardour; the *Walams* were multiplied by the Gothic swarms already engaged in the service, or seated in the provinces, of the empire; and each bold barbarian, who had heard of the wealth and beauty of Italy, was impatient to seek, through the most perilous adventures, the possession of such enchanting objects. The march of Theodoric must be considered as the emigration of an entire people; the wives and children of the Goths, their aged parents, and most precious effects, were carefully transported; and some idea may be formed of the heavy baggage that now followed the camp, by the loss of two thousand wagons, which had been sustained in a single action in the war of Epirus. For their subsistence, the Goths depended on the magazines of corn which was ground in portable mills by the hands of their women; on the milk and flesh of their flocks and herds; on the casual produce of the chase, and upon the contributions which they might impose on all who should presume to dispute the passage, or to refuse their friendly assistance. Notwithstanding these pre-

<sup>12</sup> Theodoric, such various p. 12. 13. 14. consulship urus. Tem- in in Gre- atus - - -  
beneficis nunquam satius, &c.  
<sup>13</sup> As he was riding in his own camp, an unruly horse threw him

or was fixed on  
decided by the  
ry of  
and  
Vat. Lat. 1011 (in Chron.)

cautions, they were exposed to the danger, and almost to the distress of famine, in a march of seven hundred miles, which had been undertaken in the depth of a rigorous winter. Since the fall of the Roman power, Dacia and Pannonia no longer exhibited the rich prospect of populous cities, well cultivated fields, and convenient highways: the reign of barbarism and desolation was restored, and the tribes of Bulgarians, Gepidæ, and Sarmatians, who had occupied the vacant province, were prompted by their native fierceness, or the solicitations of Odoacer, to resist the progress of his enemy. In many obscure though bloody battles, Theodoric fought and vanquished; till at length, surmounting every obstacle by skilful conduct and persevering courage, he descended from the Julian Alps, and displayed his invincible banners on the confines of Italy.<sup>17</sup>

The three  
defeats of  
Odoacer  
A. D. 489,  
Aug. 28  
Sept. 27.;  
A. D. 490,  
August.

The three  
defeat of  
Odoacer  
A. D. 479,  
Aug. 2  
reign of  
A. D. 480,  
August.

host, whose  
dained the duties of subordination and the  
prudence of delays. No sooner had Theodoric  
granted a short repose and refreshment to his  
wearied cavalry, than he boldly attacked the for-  
tifications of the enemy; the Ostrogoths showed  
more ardour to acquire, than the mercenaries to  
defend, the lands of Italy; and the reward of  
the first victory was the possession of the Venetian  
province as far as the walls of Verona. In  
the neighbourhood of that city, on the steep  
banks of the rapid Adige, he was opposed by a  
new army reinforced in its numbers, and not im-  
paired in its courage: the contest was more ob-  
stinate, but the event was still more decisive:  
Odoacer fled to Ravenna. Theodoric advanced to  
Milan, and the vanquished troops saluted their  
conqueror with loud acclamations of respect and  
fidelity. But their want either of constancy or of  
faith, soon exposed him to the most imminent  
danger; his vanguard, with several Gothic  
counts, which had been rashly intrusted to a  
deserter, was betrayed and destroyed near Fa-  
enza by his double treachery; Odoacer again  
appeared master of the field, and the invader,  
strongly entrenched in his camp of Pavia, was  
reduced to solicit the aid of a kindred nation,  
the Visigoths of Gaul. In the course of this  
history, the most voracious appetite for war will  
be abundantly satiated; nor can I much lament  
that our dark and imperfect materials do not  
afford a more ample narrative of the distress of  
Italy, and of the fierce conflict, which was finally  
decided by the abilities, experience, and valour  
of the Gothic king. Immediately before the  
battle of Verona, he visited the tent of his mo-

ther<sup>19</sup> and sister, and requested, that on a day, the most illustrious festival of his life, they would adorn him with the rich garments which they had worked with their own hands. "Our glory," said he, "is mutual and inseparable. You are "known to the world as the mother of Theodoric; and it becomes me to prove, that I am "the genuine offspring of those heroes from "whom I claim my descent." The wife or concubine of Theodemir was inspired with the spirit of the German matrons, who esteemed their sons' honour far above their safety; and it is reported, that in a desperate action, when Theodoric himself was hurried along by the torrent of a flying crowd, she boldly met them at the entrance of the camp, and, by her generous reproaches, drove them back on the swords of the enemy.<sup>20</sup>

From the Alps to the extremity of Calabria, Theodoric reigned by the right of conquest; the Vandal ambassadors surrendered the island of Sicily, as a lawful appendage of his kingdom; and he was accepted as the deliverer of Rome by the senate and people, who had shut their gates against the flying usurper.<sup>21</sup> Ravenna alone, secure in the fortifications of art and nature, still sustained a siege of almost three years; and the daring sallies of Odoacer carried slaughter and dismay into the Gothic camp. At length, destitute of provisions and hopeless of relief, that unfortunate monarch yielded to the groans of his subjects and the clamours of his soldiers. A treaty of peace was negotiated by the bishop of Ravenna; the Ostrogoths were admitted into the city, and the hostile kings consented, under the sanction of an oath, to rule with equal and undivided authority the provinces of Italy. The event of such an agreement may be easily foreseen. After some days had been devoted to the semblance of joy and friendship, Odoacer, in the midst of a solemn banquet, was stabbed by the hand, or at least by the command, of his rival. Secret and effectual orders had been previously despatched; the faithless and rapacious mercenaries, at the same moment, and without resistance, were universally massacred; and the royalty of Theodoric was proclaimed by the Goths, with the tardy, reluctant, ambiguous consent of the emperor of the East. The design of a conspiracy was imputed, according to the usual forms, to the prostrate tyrant; but his innocence, and the guilt of his conqueror,<sup>22</sup> are sufficiently proved by the advantageous treaty which *force* would not sincerely have granted, nor *weakness* have rashly infringed. The jealousy of power, and the mischiefs of discord, may suggest a more decent apology, and a sentence less rigorous may be pronounced against a crime which was necessary to introduce into Italy a generation of

His capitulation  
and death.  
A. D. 413,  
March 5.

17 Theodorics' march is supplied and illustrated by F. Molus p. 1598-1602 J, when the bombast of the oration is translated into the language of common sense.

18 Tot reges, &c. (Ennodius, p. 160). We must remember how much the royal title was multiplied and degraded, and that the mercenaries of Italy were the fragments of many tribes and nations.

19 See Ennodius, p. 1605, 1604. Since the orator, in the king's presence, could mention and praise his mother, we may conclude that the magnanimity of Theodoric was not hurt by the vulgar reproaches of concubine and bastard.

20 This anecdote is related on the modern but respectable authority of Sigonius (*Op. tom. i. p. 280. De Occident. Imp. l. 2.*; his word,

are curious - "Would you return -" &c. She presented, and almost displayed the original response.

21 Hist. Miscell. 1. xv. A Room in the room from Janus to the 16th century, an Epitome of Filippus, Paulus Democritus, and Hieronymus, who in Munich is only stored from a MS. in the Ambrosian Library (Sept. Room, 1. x. 100).

22. Protagoras thought that the law was made by men, and that it was not binding on those who did not assent to it. He was a relativist, and he thought that the law was not binding on those who did not assent to it. He was a relativist, and he thought that the law was not binding on those who did not assent to it.

Reign of Theodoric king of Italy

A.D. 453,  
Mar. 7  
A.D. 526,  
Aug. 30

public felicity. The living author of this felicity was audaciously praised in his own presence by sacred and profane orators;<sup>23</sup> but history (in his time she was mute and inglorious) has not left any just representation of the events which displayed, or of the defects which clouded, the virtues of Theodoric.<sup>24</sup> One record of his fame, the volume of public epistles composed by Cassiodorus in the royal name, is still extant, and has obtained more implicit credit than it seems to deserve.<sup>25</sup> They exhibit the forms, rather than the substance, of his government; and we should vainly search for the pure and spontaneous sentiments of the barbarian amidst the declamation and learning of a sophist, the wishes of a Roman senator, the precedents of office, and the vague professions, which, in every court and on every occasion, compose the language of discreet ministers. The reputation of Theodoric may repose with more confidence on the visible peace and prosperity of a reign of thirty-three years; the unanimous esteem of his own times, and the memory of his wisdom and courage, his justice and humanity, which was deeply impressed on the minds of the Goths and Italians.

The partition of the lands of Italy, of which Theodoric assigned the third part to his soldiers, is *honourably* arraigned as the sole injustice of his life. And even this act may be fairly justified by the example of Odoacer, the rights of conquest, the true interest of the Italians, and the sacred duty of subsisting a whole people, who, on the faith of his promises, had transported themselves into a distant land.<sup>26</sup> Under the reign of Theodoric, and in the happy climate of Italy, the Goths soon multiplied to a formidable host of two hundred thousand men,<sup>27</sup> and the whole amount of their families may be computed by the ordinary addition of women and children. Their invasion of property, a part of which must have been already vacant, was disguised by the generous but improper name of *hospitality*; these unwelcome guests were irregularly dispersed over the face of Italy, and the lot of each barbarian was adequate to his birth and office, the number of his followers, and the rustic wealth which he possessed in slaves and cattle. The distinctions of noble and plebeian were acknowledged;<sup>28</sup> but the lands of every freeman were exempt from taxes, and he enjoyed the inestimable privilege of being subject only

to the laws of his country.<sup>29</sup> Fashion, and even convenience, soon persuaded the conquerors to assume the more elegant dress of the natives, but they still persisted in the use of their mother-tongue; and their contempt for the Latin schools was applauded by Theodoric himself, who gratified their prejudices, or his own, by declaring, that the child who had trembled at a rod, would never dare to look upon a sword.<sup>30</sup> Distress might sometimes provoke the indigent Roman to assume the ferocious manners which were insensibly relinquished by the rich and luxurious barbarians;<sup>31</sup> but these mutual conversions were not encouraged by the policy of a monarch who perpetuated the separation of the Italians and Goths; reserving the former for the arts of peace, and the latter for the service of war. To accomplish this design, he studied to protect his industrious subjects, and to moderate the violence without enervating the valour of his soldiers, who were maintained for the public defence. They held their lands and benefices as a military stipend; at the sound of the trumpet, they were prepared to march under the conduct of their provincial officers; and the whole extent of Italy was distributed into the several quarters of a well-regulated camp. The service of the palace and of the frontiers was performed by choice or by rotation, and each extraordinary fatigue was recompensed by an increase of pay and occasional donatives. Theodoric had convinced his brave companions, that empire must be acquired and defended by the same arts. After his example, they strove to excel in the use, not only of the lance and sword, the instruments of their victories, but of the missile weapons, which they were too much inclined to neglect; and the lively image of war was displayed in the daily exercise and annual reviews of the Gothic cavalry. A firm though gentle discipline imposed the habits of modesty, obedience, and temperance; and the Goths were instructed to spare the people, to reverence the laws, to understand the duties of civil society, and to disclaim the barbarous licence of judicial combat and private revenge.<sup>32</sup>

Among the barbarians of the West, the victory of Theodoric had spread a general alarm. But as soon as it appeared that he was satisfied with conquest and desirous of peace, terror was changed into respect, and they submitted to a powerful mediation, which was uniformly employed for the

<sup>23</sup> The gorgeous and servile oration of Ennodius was pronounced at Milan or Ravenna in the years 507 or 508 (Ennodius, tom. i. p. 161). Two or three years afterwards, the order was renewed with the bishopric of Pavia, which he held till his death in the year 526 (Hugon, *Epistol. Eccles. tom. x. p. 11-12*). See *Sacra Christianist. ant. lib. 12*.

<sup>24</sup> Our best materials are occasional hints from Procopius and the *Vestian Fragment*, which was discovered by Sirmione, and is published at the end of Amatus-Marelli's. The author's name is unknown, and his style is barbarous; but in his various facts he exhibits the knowledge, without the passions, of a contemporary. The president Montague had formed the plan of an history of Theodoric, which at a distance might appear vivid and interesting subject.

<sup>25</sup> The best edition of the *Variorum Liber* is that of Joh. Garretus (Rotomagus, 1679), in Opp. Cassiodori 2 vols. in fol. but they deserved and required such an editor as the marquis Scipio Maffei, who thought of publishing them at Verona. *The Barbaric Legend* (as it is ingeniously named by Arabuschi) is never simple, and seldom perspicuous.

<sup>26</sup> Procopius, Gothic. l. i. c. 1. Varianum, u. Maffei (Verona Illustrata, t. i. p. 228.) exaggerates the injustice of the Goths, whom

he styled as in Italian noble. The plebeian Muratori crouches under their oppression.

<sup>27</sup> Procopius, Gothic. l. i. c. 1. Ennodius describes (p. 1612, 1617) the military arts and increasing numbers of the Goths.

<sup>28</sup> When Theodoric gave his sister to the king of the Vandals, he said for Africa with a guard of 1000 noble Goths, each of whom was attended by five armed followers (Procop. Vandal. l. i. c. 8). The Gothic manly must have been as numerous as brave.

<sup>29</sup> See the acknowledgment of Gothic liberty (Var. v. 30).  
<sup>30</sup> Procopius, Gothic. l. i. c. 2. The Roman boy learnt the language (Var. vii. 21.) of the Goths. Their general ignorance is not denied by the exceptions of Amalasinth, a female, who might sin without shame, or of Theodius, whose learning provoked the

<sup>31</sup> Romanus (statu Romani).

<sup>32</sup> Isidore, l. i. c. 1. 11 v. 26, 27 vii. 4. 1 25). They are illustrated by the learned Mascon (Hist. of the Germans, l. i. c. 10-14. Annotations 3).

best purposes of reconciling their quarrels and civilising their manners.<sup>33</sup> The ambassadors who resorted to Ravenna from the most distant countries of Europe, admired his wisdom, magnificence,<sup>34</sup> and courtesy; and if he sometimes accepted either slaves or arms, white horses or strange animals, the gift of a sun-dial, a water-clock, or a musician, admonished even the princes of Gaul, of the superior art and industry of his Italian subjects. His domestic alliances,<sup>35</sup> a wife, two daughters, a sister, and a niece, united the family of Theodoric with the kings of the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, the Vandals, and the Thuringians, and contributed to maintain the harmony, or at least the balance, of the great republic of the West.<sup>36</sup> It is difficult in the dark forests of Germany and Poland to pursue the emigrations of the Heruli, a fierce people who disdained the use of armour, and who condemned their widows and aged parents not to survive the loss of their husbands, or the decay of their strength.<sup>37</sup> The king of these savage warriors solicited the friendship of Theodoric, and was elevated to the rank of his son, according to the barbaric rites of a military adoption.<sup>38</sup> From the shores of the Baltic, the Æstians or Livonians laid their offerings of native amber<sup>39</sup> at the feet of a prince, whose fame had excited them to undertake an unknown and dangerous journey of fifteen hundred miles. With the country<sup>40</sup> from whence the Gothic nation derived their origin, he maintained a frequent and friendly correspondence: the Italians were clothed in the rich sables<sup>41</sup> of Sweden; and one of its sovereigns, after a voluntary or reluctant abdication, found an hospitable retreat in the palace of Ravenna. He had reigned over one of the thirteen populous tribes who cultivated a small portion of the great island or peninsula of Scandinavia, to which the vague appellation of Thule has been sometimes applied. That northern region was peopled, or had been explored, as high as the sixty-eighth degree of latitude, where the natives of the polar circle enjoy and lose the presence of the sun at each summer and winter solstice during an equal period of forty days.<sup>42</sup> The long night of his absence or death was the mournful season of distress and anxiety, till the

messengers who had been sent to the mountain tops, descried the first rays of returning light, and proclaimed to the plain below the festival of his resurrection.<sup>43</sup>

The life of Theodoric represents <sup>His defensive wars.</sup> the rare and meritorious example of a barbarian, who sheathed his sword in the pride of victory and the vigour of his age. A reign of three and thirty years was consecrated to the duties of civil government, and the hostilities in which he was sometimes involved, were speedily terminated by the conduct of his lieutenants, the discipline of his troops, the arms of his allies, and even by the terror of his name. He reduced, under a strong and regular government, the unprofitable countries of Rætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, from the source of the Danube and the territory of the Bavarians,<sup>44</sup> to the petty kingdom erected by the Gepidae on the ruins of Sirmium. His prudence could not safely intrust the bulwark of Italy to such feeble and turbulent neighbours; and his justice might claim the lands which they oppressed, either as a part of his kingdom, or as the inheritance of his father. The greatness of a servant, who was named perfidious because he was successful, awakened the jealousy of the emperor Anastasius; and a war was kindled on the Dacian frontier, by the protection which the Gothic king, in the vicissitude of human affairs, had granted to one of the descendants of Attila. Sabinian, a general illustrious by his own and father's merit, advanced at the head of ten thousand Romans; and the provisions and arms, which filled a long train of wagons, were distributed to the fiercest of the Bulgarian tribes. But, in the fields of Margus, the eastern powers were defeated by the inferior forces of the Goths and Huns; the flower and even the hope of the Roman armies was irretrievably destroyed; and such was the temperance with which Theodoric had inspired his victorious troops, that as their leader had not given the signal of pillage, the rich spoils of the enemy lay untouched at their feet.<sup>45</sup> Exasperated by this dis- <sup>His naval armament. A. D. 509.</sup> grace, the Byzantine court despatched two hundred ships and eight thousand men to plunder the sea-coast of Calabria and Apulia; they assaulted the ancient city

<sup>33</sup> See the public and private alliances of the Gothic monarchy, with the Burgundians (l. vi. c. 17, 30), with the Franks (l. vi. c. 17), with the Thuringians (l. vi. c. 17), and with the Vandals (l. vi. c. 17). Each of these epistles, though some others knowledge of the past and future of the barbarians.

<sup>34</sup> His political system may be observed in Theodoric's letter to the king of the Franks (l. vi. c. 17, 30), and in the letter to the king of the Vandals (l. vi. c. 17, 30). The letter to the king of the Franks (l. vi. c. 17, 30) is a masterpiece of policy, and the letter to the king of the Vandals (l. vi. c. 17, 30) is a masterpiece of eloquence.

<sup>35</sup> The various reader may contemplate the Heruli of Theodoric (l. vi. c. 11), and the various reader may contemplate the Heruli of Theodoric (l. vi. c. 11), and the various reader may contemplate the Heruli of Theodoric (l. vi. c. 11).

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Greek had visited the country both had conversed with the natives in their exile at Ravenna or Constantinople.

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<sup>42</sup> In the system of commerce of M. Baudouin (l. vi. c. 17, 30), the various reader may contemplate the Heruli of Theodoric (l. vi. c. 11), and the various reader may contemplate the Heruli of Theodoric (l. vi. c. 11).

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of Tarentum, interrupted the trade and agriculture of a happy country, and sailed back to the Hellespont, proud of their piratical victory over a people whom they still presumed to consider as their *Roman* brethren.<sup>46</sup> Their retreat was possibly hastened by the activity of Theodoric; Italy was covered by a fleet of a thousand light vessels,<sup>47</sup> which he constructed with incredible despatch; and his firm moderation was soon rewarded by a solid and honourable peace. He maintained with a powerful hand the balance of the West, till it was at length overthrown by the ambition of Clovis; and although unable to assist his rash and unfortunate kinsman the king of the Visigoths, he saved the remains of his family and people, and checked the Franks in the midst of their victorious career. I am not desirous to prolong or repeat<sup>48</sup> this narrative of military events, the least interesting of the reign of Theodoric; and shall be content to add, that the Alemanni were protected,<sup>49</sup> that an inroad of the Burgundians was severely chastised, and that the conquest of Arles and Marseilles opened a free communication with the Visigoths, who revered him both as their national protector, and as the guardian of his grandchild, the infant son of Alaric. Under this respectable character, the king of Italy restored the prætorian prefecture of the Gauls, reformed some abuses in the civil government of Spain, and accepted the annual tribute and apparent submission of its military governor, who wisely refused to trust his person in the palace of Ravenna.<sup>50</sup> The Gothic sovereignty was established from Sicily to the Danube, from Sirmium or Belgrade to the Atlantic Ocean; and the Greeks themselves have acknowledged that Theodoric reigned over the fairest portion of the Western empire.<sup>51</sup>

The union of the Goths and Romans might have fixed for ages the transient happiness of Italy; and the first of nations, a new people of free subjects and enlightened soldiers, might have gradually arisen from the mutual emulation of their respective virtues. But the sublime merit of guiding or seconding such a revolution, was not reserved for the reign of Theodoric: he wanted either the genius or the opportunities of a legislator;<sup>52</sup> and while he indulged the Goths in the enjoyment of rude liberty, he servilely copied the institutions, and even the abuses, of the political system which had been framed by

Constantine and his successors. From a tender regard to the expiring prejudices of Rome, the barbarian declined the name, the purple, and the diadem of the emperors; but he assumed, under the hereditary title of king, the whole substance and plenitude of Imperial prerogative.<sup>53</sup> His addresses to the Eastern throne were respectful and ambiguous; he celebrated in pompous style the harmony of the two republics, applauded his own government as the perfect similitude of a sole and undivided empire, and claimed above the kings of the earth the same pre-eminence which he modestly allowed to the person or rank of Anastasius. The alliance of the East and West was annually declared by the unanimous choice of two consuls; but it should seem, that the Italian candidate, who was named by Theodoric, accepted a formal confirmation from the sovereign of Constantinople.<sup>54</sup> The Gothic palace of Ravenna reflected the image of the court of Theodosius or Valentinian. The prætorian præfect, the præfect of Rome, the quæstor, the master of the offices, with the public and patrimonial treasurers, whose functions are painted in gaudy colours by the rhetoric of Cassiodorus, still continued to act as the ministers of state. And the subordinate care of justice and the revenue was delegated to seven consulars, three correctors, and five presidents, who governed the fifteen *regions* of Italy, according to the principles and even the forms of Roman jurisprudence.<sup>55</sup> The violence of the conquerors was abated or eluded by the slow artifice of judicial proceedings; the civil administration, with its honours and emoluments, was confined to the Italians; and the people still preserved their dress and language, their laws and customs, their personal freedom, and two thirds of their landed property. It had been the object of Augustus to conceal the introduction of monarchy; it was the policy of Theodoric to disguise the reign of a barbarian.<sup>56</sup> If his subjects were sometimes awakened from this pleasing vision of a Roman government, they derived more substantial comfort from the character of a Gothic prince, who had penetration to discern, and firmness to pursue, his own and the public interest. Theodoric loved the virtues which he possessed, and the talents of which he was destitute. Liberius was promoted to the office of prætorian præfect for his unshaken fidelity to the unfortunate cause of Odoacer. The ministers of Theodoric, Cassio-

46 I cannot forbear transcribing the liberal and classic style of Count Marcellinus. *Romanus comes domesticorum, et Rusticus comes scholariorum cum centum armatis naves, totidemque dromonibus, octo milia militum armatorum secum ferentibus, ad devastanda Italie littora processerunt, et in quæ ad Tarentum antiqui sinum evectum accesserunt. Sed, remotaque in mari inobstanti, victor utrumque primatus ausu Romanæ ex Romanis riparum, Anastasio Casari repperantur* (Chron. p. 48). See Var. i. l. c. ii. 58.

47 See the royal orders and instructions (Var. iv. l. v. 16-20).

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51 The image of Theodoric is engraven on his coins. His modest successors, were satisfied with adding their own name to the head of the reigning emperor (Miratori Antiquitatis. Italæ Medii. Ævi. tom. i. dis. cert. xxix. p. 577-579. Giannone, l. 1. torn. i. c. 1. v. l. 1. Napoli, tom. i. p. 1. 1. 1).

52 The alliance of the emperor and the king of Italy are represented by Cassiodorus (Var. i. l. c. 1. 2. 5. vi. 1. 1. and Procopius (both l. i. c. 6. l. i. m. c. 21.), who celebrate the friendship of Anastasius and Theodoric, interpreted in

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dorius<sup>57</sup> and Boethius, have reflected on his reign the lustre of their genius and learning. More prudent or more fortunate than his colleague, Cassiodorus preserved his own esteem without forfeiting the royal favour; and after passing thirty years in the honours of the world, he was blessed with an equal term of repose in the devout and studious solitude of Squillace.

As the patron of the republic, it was the interest and duty of the

Gothic king to cultivate the affections of the senate<sup>58</sup> and people. The nobles of Rome were flattered by sonorous epithets and formal professions of respect, which had been more justly applied to the merit and authority of their ancestors. The people enjoyed, without fear or danger, the three blessings of a capital, order, plenty, and public amusements. A visible diminution of their numbers may be found even in the measure of liberality;<sup>59</sup> yet Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, poured their tribute of corn into the granaries of Rome; an allowance of bread and meat was distributed to the indigent citizens; and every office was deemed honourable which was consecrated to the care of their health and happiness. The public games, such as a Greek ambassador might politely applaud, exhibited a faint and feeble copy of the magnificence of the Cæsars: yet the musical, the gymnastic, and the pantomime arts, had not totally sunk in oblivion; the wild beasts of Africa still exercised in the amphitheatre the courage and dexterity of the hunters; and the indulgent Goth either patiently tolerated or gently restrained the blue and green factions, whose contests so often filled the circus with clamour and even with blood.<sup>60</sup> In the seventh year of

Visit of  
Theodoric,  
A. D. 500.

blood.<sup>70</sup> In the seventh year of his peaceful reign, Theodoric visited the old capital of the world; the senate and people advanced in solemn procession to salute a second Trajan, a new Valentinian; and he nobly supported that character by the assurance of a just and legal government,<sup>61</sup> in a discourse which he was not afraid to pronounce in public, and to inscribe on a tablet of brass. Rome, in this august ceremony, shod a last ray of declining glory; and a saint, the spectator of this pompous scene, could only hope in his pious fancy, that it was excelled by the celestial splendour of the New Jerusalem.<sup>62</sup> During a residence of six months, the fame, the person, and the courteous demeanour of the Gothic king, excited the admiration of the Romans, and he

contemplated, with equal curiosity and surprise, the monuments that remained of their ancient greatness. He imprinted the footsteps of a conqueror on the Capitoline hill, and frankly confessed that each day he viewed with fresh wonder the forum of Trajan and his lofty column. The theatre of Pompey appeared, even in its decay, as a huge mountain artificially hollowed and polished, and adorned by human industry; and he vaguely computed, that a river of gold must have been drained to erect the colossal amphitheatre of Titus.<sup>63</sup> From the mouths of fourteen aqueducts, a pure and copious stream was diffused into every part of the city; among these the Claudian water, which arose at the distance of thirty-eight miles in the Sabine mountains, was conveyed along a gentle though constant declivity of solid arches, till it descended on the summit of the Aventine hill. The long and spacious vaults which had been constructed for the purpose of common sewers, subsisted, after twelve centuries, in their pristine strength; and these subterraneous channels have been preferred to all the visible wonders of Rome.<sup>64</sup> The Gothic kings, so injuriously accused of the ruin of antiquity, were anxious to preserve the monuments of the nation whom they had subdued.<sup>65</sup> The royal edicts were framed to prevent the abuses, the neglect, or the depredations of the citizens themselves; and a professed architect, the annual sum of two hundred pounds of gold, twenty-five thousand tiles, and the receipt of customs from the Lucrine port, were assigned for the ordinary repairs of the walls and public edifices. A similar care was extended to the statues of metal or marble of men or animals. The spirit of the horses, which have given a modern name to the Quirinal, was applauded by the barbarians;<sup>66</sup> the brazen elephants of the *Via sacra* were diligently restored;<sup>67</sup> the famous heifer of Myron deceived the cattle, as they were driven through the forum of peace;<sup>68</sup> and an officer was created to protect those works of art, which Theodoric considered as the noblest ornament of his kingdom.

After the example of the last emperors, Theodoric preferred the residence of Ravenna, where he cultivated an orchard with his own hands.<sup>63</sup> As often as the peace of his kingdom was threatened (for it was never invaded) by the barbarians, he removed his court to Verona<sup>70</sup> on the northern frontier, and the image of his palace, still extant, on a

57. Two Italians of the name of Cassiodorus, the father (Var., 24, 40) and the son (ib., 24, 25), were successively employed in the administration of Theodoric. The son was killed in the year 477, by various enemies, who were not named, either in the text or in the notes. He is recorded from 460 to 476, and he lived as a monk about thirty years (Theophylact, Script. eccl. hist. viii. lib. 1, c. 2, p. 1, 2, n. p. 7-24). Fabricius, Bibl. lat.-Med. Lat., tom. i, p. 775, 778, edit. Mans.

<sup>59</sup> No more than 120,000 *mochis*, or four thousand quarter Anonymous.  
Villalpando, 2nd and 3rd, 7-11-12, p. 31.

60. See his regard and indulgence for the spectators of the circus, the amphitheatre, and the theatre, in the *Chronica* and *Epist.* of Cassiodorus (Var. i. 20, 27, 30, 31, 52, in 51 iv 51) distributed by the sixth Antiquarian of *Museon* (Museum), who has contrived to

would now cost twenty millions of French livres (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii p. 186, 186*b*). How small a part of that stupendous fabric!

41 For the aqueduct and lake, see Strabo II, v, p. 360; Pliny (Hist. Nat. xxxvi, 24); Claudianus (Var. iii, 70, 51 v. c.); Procopius (Goth. I, c. 19); and Nemesius (Roma Antica, p. 511-524). How such works could be executed by a king of Rome, is yet a problem.

(6) For the Codex care of the binding and covers, see *Isidorus* (Ver. 21.23.1, 74.1v, 90.1v, 96.1v, 111.1v) and the Valerian Fragment (p. 72f).

For the first time, these horses of

relates a foolish story of Myron's

(ii) See an epigram of Ennodius n. 3 p. 180<sup>5</sup>, 180<sup>6</sup> on this garden.

and the "Virginia" tender  
 "To the affection for it was proved by the epithet of "Virginia"  
 "Play" and the legend of the hero, under the barbarous name of

reader's perusal. According to the modern prices, the Abbé Barthélemy computes that the brickwork and masonry of the Colosseum

coin, represents the oldest and most authentic model of Gothic architecture. These two capitals, as well as Pavia, Spoleto, Naples, and the rest of the Italian cities, acquired under his reign the useful or splendid decorations of churches, aqueducts, baths, porticoes, and palaces.<sup>71</sup> But the happiness of the subject was more truly conspicuous in the busy scene of labour and luxury, in the rapid increase and bold enjoyment of national wealth. From the shades of Tibur and Praeneste, the Roman senators still retired in the winter season to the warm sun, and salubrious springs of Baïæ; and their villas, which advanced on solid moles into the bay of Naples, commanded the various prospect of the sky, the earth, and the water. On the eastern side of the Hadriatic, a new Campania was formed in the fair and fruitful province of Istria, which communicated with the palace of Ravenna by an easy navigation of one hundred miles. The rich productions of Lucania and the adjacent provinces were exchanged at the Marcellian fountain, in a populous fair annually dedicated to trade, intemperance, and superstition. In the solitude of Cumum, which had once been animated by the mild genius of Pliny, a transparent basin above sixty miles in length still reflected the rural seats which encompassed the margin of the Larian lake; and the gradual ascent of the hills was covered by a triple plantation of olives, of vines, and of chestnut trees.<sup>72</sup> Agriculture revived under the shadow of peace, and the number of husbandmen was multiplied by the redemption of captives.<sup>73</sup> The iron mines of Dalmatia, a gold mine in Bruttium, were carefully explored, and the Pomptine marshes, as well as those of Spoleto, were drained and cultivated by private undertakers, whose distant reward must depend on the continuance of the public prosperity.<sup>74</sup> Whenever the seasons were less propitious, the doubtful precautions of forming magazines of corn, fixing the price, and prohibiting the exportation, attested at least the benevolence of the state; but such was the extraordinary plenty which an industrious people produced from a grateful soil, that a gallon of wine was sometimes sold in Italy for less than three farthings, and a quarter of wheat at about five shillings and sixpence.<sup>75</sup> A country possessed of so many valuable objects of exchange soon attracted the merchants of the world, whose beneficial traffic was encouraged and protected by the liberal spirit of Theodoric. The free intercourse of the

provinces by land and water was restored and extended; the city gates were never shut either by day or by night; and the common saying, that a purse of gold might be safely left in the fields, was expressive of the conscious security of the inhabitants.

A difference of religion is always pernicious and often fatal to the harmony of the prince and people; the Gothic conqueror had been educated in the profession of Arianism, and Italy was devoutly attached to the Nicene faith. But the persuasion of Theodoric was not infected by zeal; and he piously adhered to the heresy of his fathers, without condescending to balance the subtle arguments of theological metaphysics. Satisfied with the private toleration of his Arian sectaries, he justly conceived himself to be the guardian of the public worship, and his external reverence for a superstition which he despised may have nourished in his mind the salutary indifference of a statesman or philosopher. The Catholics of his dominions acknowledged, perhaps with reluctance, the peace of the church; their clergy, according to the degrees of rank or merit, were honourably entertained in the palace of Theodoric; he esteemed the living sanctity of Cæsarius<sup>76</sup> and Epiphanius,<sup>77</sup> the orthodox bishops of Arles and Pavia; and presented a decent offering on the tomb of St. Peter, without any scrupulous enquiry into the creed of the apostle.<sup>78</sup> His favourite Goths, and even his mother, were permitted to retain or embrace the Athanasian faith, and his long reign could not afford the example of an Italian Catholic, who, either from choice or compulsion, had deviated into the religion of the conqueror.<sup>79</sup> The people, and the barbarians themselves, were edified by the pomp and order of religious worship; the magistrates were instructed to defend the just immunities of ecclesiastical persons and possessions; the bishops held their synods, the metropolitans exercised their jurisdiction, and the privileges of sanctuary were maintained or moderated according to the spirit of the Roman jurisprudence.<sup>80</sup> With the protection, Theodoric assumed the legal supremacy, of the church; and his firm administration restored or extended some useful prerogatives which had been neglected by the feeble emperors of the West. He was not ignorant of the dignity and importance of the Roman pontiff, to whom the venerable name of Pope was now appropriated.

Dietrich of Bern (Fering-cold ad Cochlinum, p. 240), Mafla grows him with knowledge and pleasure in his native country (l. ix. p. 250-256).

<sup>71</sup> See Mafla, (Verona Illustrata, part i. p. 251, 252, 268, &c.). He imputes Gothic architecture, like the corruption of language, writing, &c. not to the barbarians, but to the Romans themselves.

<sup>72</sup> Trade (vi. 7. vii. 1. 27), fair of Leucoboe or St. Cyprian in Lucania (iii. 33), plenty (xii. 1.), the circus, or public post (l. 23. ii. 71. iv. 47. v. 5. vi. 6. vii. 37), the Flaminian way (xii. 15).

<sup>73</sup> LX modii trites in solidum spous tempore fuerant, et vinum xxx amphoras in solidum (Fragment. Vales.). Corn was distributed

from the granaries at xv or xxv modii for a piece of gold, and the price was still moderate.

<sup>74</sup> See the lib. of St. Cæsarius in Baronius (A. D. 508, No. 12, 17, 112). The king presented him with 500 gold solids, and a discuss of silver of the weight of sixty pounds.

<sup>75</sup> Eunodius in Vit. St. Epiphani, in Sirmund. Op. i. p. 1672-1690. Theodoric bestowed some important favours on this bishop, whom he used as a counsellor in peace and war.

<sup>76</sup> Devotissimus ac Catholicus (Anonym. Vales. p. 790.), yet his offering was no more than two silver candlesticks (*cerastria*) of the weight of seventy pounds, far inferior to the gold and gems of Constantinople and France (Anastasius in Vit. Pont. in Hormisda, p. 31, edit. Paris.).

<sup>77</sup> The Catholic deacon Theodoric, surnamed Anonym. Vales. studied in the

Epistles of Cassiodorus, under the following heads: *de ecclesia* (l. 1. c. 15, 21, x. 23), *de monachis* (l. 26. ii. 22, 30), *church laws* (l. 17. 20.), *ecclesiastica* in 11 m. 17.; *church plate* (xii. 20. *ecclesiastica* in 14); which prove at the same time that he was the head of the church as well as of the state.





to rescue the state from the usurpation of vice and ignorance. For the integrity of his public conduct he appeals to the memory of his country. His authority had restrained the pride and oppression of the royal officers, and his eloquence had delivered Paulianus from the dogs of the palace. He had always pitied, and often relieved, the distress of the provincials, whose fortunes were exhausted by public and private rapine; and Boethius alone had courage to oppose the tyranny of the barbarians, elated by conquest, excited by avarice, and, as he complains, encouraged by impunity. In these honourable contests, his spirit soared above the consideration of danger, and perhaps of prudence; and we may learn from the example of Cato, that a character of pure and inflexible virtue is the most apt to be misled by prejudice, to be heated by enthusiasm, and to confound private enmities with public justice. The disciple of Plato might exaggerate the infirmities of nature, and the imperfections of society; and the mildest form of a Gothic kingdom, even the weight of allegiance and gratitude, must be insupportable to the free spirit of a Roman patriot. But the favour and fidelity of Boethius declined in just proportion with the public happiness; and an unworthy colleague was imposed, to divide and control the power of the master of the offices. In the last gloomy season of Theodoric, he indignantly felt that he was a slave; but as his master had only power over his life, he stood without arms and without fear against the face of an angry barbarian, who had been provoked to believe that the safety of the senate was incompatible with

his own. The senator Albinus was accused and already convicted on the presumption of *hoping*, as it was said, the liberty of Rome. "If Albinus be criminal," exclaimed the orator, "the senate and myself are all guilty of the same crime. If we are innocent, Albinus is equally entitled to the protection of the laws." These laws might not have punished the simple and barren wish of an unattainable blessing; but they would have shown less indulgence to the rash confession of Boethius, that, had he known of a conspiracy, the tyrant never should.<sup>94</sup> The advocate of Albinus was soon involved in the danger and perhaps the guilt of his client; their signature (which they denied as a forgery) was affixed to the original address, inviting the emperor to deliver Italy from the Goths; and three witnesses of honourable rank, perhaps of infamous reputation, attested the treasonable designs of the Roman patrician.<sup>95</sup> Yet his innocence must be presumed, since he was deprived by Theodoric of the means of justification, and rigorously confined in the tower of Pavia, while the senate, at the distance of five hundred miles, pronounced

<sup>94</sup> Si ego scirem in necessitate, Boethius adopts this answer (p. 11, pros. 4, p. 55), of Julius Cæsar, who planned his death as described by Seneca (de Tranquillitate Animi, c. 14).

<sup>95</sup> Boethius (Var. d. 11, p. 11) has preserved, and may have altered, which the same sentence Probo of Boethius (p. 10, p. 4, p. 195).

<sup>96</sup> A severe enquiry was instituted into the crime of Varus, 25, 26, ix. 18, and it was believed that many persons, and escaped by making their way into the mountains.

<sup>97</sup> Boethius had composed his own Apology (p. 11, p. 195) interesting than his consolation. We must be content with the general view of his honours, perhaps exaggerated, and the (p. 12-62), which may be compared with the state of society

a sentence of confiscation and death against the most illustrious of its members. At the command of the barbarians, the occult science of a philosopher was stigmatised with the names of sacrilege and magic.<sup>96</sup> A devout and dutiful attachment to the senate was condemned as criminal by the trembling voices of the senators themselves; and their ingratitude deserved the wish or prediction of Boethius, that, after him, none should be found guilty of the same offence.<sup>97</sup>

While Boethius, oppressed with fetters, expected each moment the sentence or the stroke of death, he

His improvement and death. A.D. 524.

composed in the tower of Pavia the *Consolation of Philosophy*; a golden volume not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully, but which claims incomparable merit from the barbarism of the times and the situation of the author. The celestial guide, whom he had so long invoked at Rome and Athens, now condescended to illumine his dungeon, to revive his courage, and to pour into his wounds her salutary balm. She taught him to compare his long prosperity and his recent distress, and to conceive new hopes from the inconstancy of fortune. Reason had informed him of the precarious condition of her gifts; experience had satisfied him of their real value; he had enjoyed them without guilt; he might resign them without a sigh, and calmly disclaim the impotent malice of his enemies, who had left him happiness, since they had left him virtue. From the earth, Boethius ascended to heaven in search of the SUPREME GOOD; explored the metaphysical labyrinth of chance and destiny, of pre-science and free-will, of time and eternity; and generously attempted to reconcile the perfect attributes of the Deity with the apparent disorders of his moral and physical government. Such topics of consolation, so obvious, so vague, or so abstruse, are intellectual to subdue the feelings of human nature. Yet the sense of misfortune may be diverted by the labour of thought; and the sage who could artfully combine in the same work the various riches of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, must already have possessed the intrepid calmness which he affected to seek. Suspense, the worst of evils, was at length determined by the ministers of death, who executed, and perhaps exceeded, the inhuman mandate of Theodoric. A strong cord was fastened round the head of Boethius, and forcibly tightened, till his eyes almost started from their sockets; and some mercy may be discovered in the milder torture of beating him with clubs till he expired.<sup>98</sup> But his genius survived, to diffuse a ray of knowledge over the darkest ages of the Latin world; the writings of the philosopher were translated by the most glorious of the English kings,<sup>99</sup> and the third emperor of the name of Otho removed to a more honourable tomb the bones of a Ca-

sars of the Vassian Fragment (p. 7, 7). An anonymous writer (Simplicius, c. 10, MSS. Bibl. Bern. tom. i. p. 287) charges him with a base and honourable and patriotic treason.

<sup>98</sup> He was executed at Agri (Cassiodorus (Cassiodorus, between Milan and Pavia. Another Vales (p. 7, 7), in order of Eusebius and Hieronymus (p. 10). The place of execution is called the *torre di Boethio*, and is situated near the city of Pavia. It is now a ruin, but the site is still marked by a cross. The name of the place is derived from the fact that Boethius was executed there.

<sup>99</sup> See the *Consolation of Philosophy* (p. 11, p. 195). The work was translated into English by King Alfred the Great, who was the first to introduce it into England. It was then translated into French by King Louis the Pious, and into Latin by King Charles the Bald.

tholic saint, who, from his Arian persecutors, had acquired the honours of martyrdom, and the fame of miracles.<sup>100</sup> In the last hours of Boethius, he derived some comfort from the safety of his two sons, of his wife, and of his father-in-law, the venerable Symmachus. But the grief of Symmachus was indiscreet, and perhaps disrespectful : he had presumed to lament, he might dare to revenge, the death of an injured friend.

He was dragged in chains from Rome to the palace of Ravenna; and the suspicions of Theodoric could only be appeased by the blood of an innocent and aged senator.<sup>101</sup>

Remorse and death of Theodoric.  
A. D. 526.  
August 30.

Humanity will be disposed to encourage any report which testifies the jurisdiction of conscience and the remorse of kings; and philosophy is not ignorant that the most horrid spectres are sometimes created by the powers of a disordered fancy, and the weakness of a distempered body. After a life of virtue and glory, Theodoric was now descending with shame and guilt into the grave: his mind was humbled by the contrast of the past, and justly alarmed by the invisible terrors of futurity. One evening, as it is related, when the head of a large fish was served on the royal table,<sup>102</sup> he suddenly exclaimed that he beheld the angry countenance of Symmachus, his eyes glaring fury and revenge, and his mouth armed with long sharp teeth, which threatened to devour him. The monarch instantly retired to his chamber, and, as he lay, trembling with aguish cold, under a weight of bedclothes, he expressed in broken murmurs, to his physician Elpidius, his deep repentance for the murders of Boethius and Symmachus.<sup>103</sup> His malady increased, and, after a dysentery which continued three days, he expired in the palace of Ravenna, in the thirty-third, or, if we compute from the invasion of Italy, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign. Conscious of his approaching end, he divided his treasures and provinces between his two grandsons, and fixed the Rhone as their common boundary.<sup>104</sup> Amalaric was restored to the throne of Spain. Italy, with all the conquests of the Ostrogoths, was bequeathed to Athalaric; whose age did not exceed ten years, but who was cherished as the last male offspring of the line of Amali, by the short-lived marriage of his mother Amalasuntha with a royal fugitive of the same blood.<sup>105</sup> In the presence of the dying monarch,

the Gothic chiefs and Italian magistrates mutually engaged their faith and loyalty to the young prince, and to his guardian mother; and received, in the same awful moment, his last salutary advice, to maintain the laws, to love the senate and people of Rome, and to cultivate with decent reverence the friendship of the emperor.<sup>106</sup> The monument of Theodoric was erected by his daughter Amalasuntha, in a conspicuous situation, which commanded the city of Ravenna, the harbour, and the adjacent coast. A chapel of a circular form, thirty feet in diameter, is crowned by a dome of one entire piece of granite: from the centre of the dome, four columns arose, which supported, in a vase of porphyry, the remains of the Gothic king, surrounded by the brazen statues of the twelve apostles.<sup>107</sup> His spirit, after some previous expiation, might have been permitted to mingle with the benefactors of mankind, if an Italian hermit had not been witness in a vision to the damnation of Theodoric,<sup>108</sup> whose soul was plunged, by the ministers of divine vengeance, into the vulcano of Lipari, one of the flaming mouths of the infernal world.<sup>109</sup>

## CHAP. XL.

*Elevation of Justin the Elder.—Reign of Justinian.*

I. *The Empress Theodora.* — II. *Factions of the Circus, and Sedition of Constantinople.* — III. *Trade and Manufacture of Silk.* — IV. *Finances and Taxes.* — V. *Edifices of Justinian.* — *Church of St. Sophia.* — *Fortifications and Frontiers of the Eastern Empire.* — *Abolition of the Schools of Athens, and the Consulship of Rome.*

THE emperor Justinian was born<sup>1</sup> near the ruins of Sardica (the modern Sophia), of an obscure race<sup>2</sup> of barbarians,<sup>3</sup> the inhabitants of a wild and desolate country, to which the names of Dardania, of Dacia, and of Bulgaria, have been successively applied. His elevation was prepared by the adventurous spirit of his uncle Justin, who, with two other peasants of the same village, deserted, for the profession of arms, the more useful employment of husbandmen or shepherds.<sup>4</sup> On foot, with a scanty provision of

Birth of the emperor Justinian.  
A. D. 482.  
May 5, — or  
A. D. 483,  
May 11.

Birth of the  
emperor Justinian.  
A. D. 492,  
May 5,—or  
A. D. 483,  
May 11.

[illegible]

4. In the asymptotic method, the values of  $f$  for  $\mu$  in  $L_{\mu} \cap L_{\mu+1}$  (p. 50, 4, p. 74, in particular, p. 118) are taken as the values of  $f$  for  $\mu$  in  $L_{\mu}$  (p. 50, 4, p. 74, in particular, p. 118), and the Borel-Moore integral of  $\chi$  on  $L_{\mu}$  is taken as the integral of  $\chi$  on  $L_{\mu}$  (p. 50, 4, p. 74, in particular, p. 118). In the asymptotic method, the values of  $f$  for  $\mu$  in  $L_{\mu} \cap L_{\mu+1}$  (p. 50, 4, p. 74, in particular, p. 118) are taken as the values of  $f$  for  $\mu$  in  $L_{\mu}$  (p. 50, 4, p. 74, in particular, p. 118), and the Borel-Moore integral of  $\chi$  on  $L_{\mu}$  is taken as the integral of  $\chi$  on  $L_{\mu}$  (p. 50, 4, p. 74, in particular, p. 118).

102 To the northeast of the river of Cassid was the stretch of a red river for the most considerable extent, as mentioned, and those of the Kabon of Sany, and of the Dronou, were served on the left of Poudou (Var. vi. 14). The monstrous gopher or Dronou (Boudou) Satir, m. 70, had been caught on the shores of the Il d'Arre, m. 30.

whether he had received the serious note from communist agents.

105 Berimund, the third or fourth son of Harnagast, one of the Ostrogoths, had retired into Spain, where he lived and died in Christian faith (Jordan's *h.* 33 p. 112, d. 114). See the discovery, 1811, and devoted to the great and famous *h.* 33 p. 112, d. 114.

Hem in game- might render him popular (Cassiodor. in Chron.), but  
 Le baron

the material eloquence, the

107. *Armenon Vitis*, p. 724. Agnellus de Vitis Pont. Raven. in *Memoria Script. Rerum Ital.* tom. II. a. p. 67. Alberti, *Descrittione d'Armen.* p. 744.

108. This legend is related by Gregory I (Dialog. iv. 36.), and approved by Baronius (A. D. 526, No. 28.), and both the pope and cardinal are grave doctors, sufficient to establish a *probable* opinion.

1. *Therapsid* himself, or rather Cassiodorus, had described in  
trough strains the volcanoes of Lipari (Cluver, *Sicilia*, p. 406-410.),  
and Vesuvius (iv. 301).

1. There is some difficulty in the date of his birth (Judewig in *Vit.* Just. n. 1, p. 125), none in the place—the district Bademana—the village I have found, which he afterwards decorated with his name and called *Bademana*. Hist. del'Acad. Sc. toum. xxx. p. 287–2912).

1. The name of these Durdanian peasants are Gothic, and almost English. *Juchana* is a translation of *upright* (*upright*, his father said to the foreigner, his language *stays*) was told in his village

5. In doing (1, 127-132) attempts to justify the ancient name of Jerusalem as *Ybusha*, and to connect them with a family from

1. Section Articles of Precedence, &c. with the rates of N. A. Germany. The satirist would not have sunk, in the vague and decent

... τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ Ζωνάρου. Yet

biscuit in their knap-sacks, the three youths followed the high road of Constantinople, and were soon enrolled, for their strength and stature, among the guards of the emperor Leo. Under the two succeeding reigns, the fortunate peasant emerged to wealth and honours; and his escape from some dangers which threatened his life was afterwards ascribed to the guardian angel who watches over the fate of kings. His long and laudable service in the Isaurian and Persian wars would not have preserved from oblivion the name of Justin; yet they might warrant the military promotion, which in the course of fifty years he gradually obtained; the rank of tribune, of count, and of general, the dignity of senator, and the command of the guards, who obeyed him as their chief, at the important crisis when the emperor Anastasius was removed from the world. The powerful kinsmen whom he had raised and enriched were excluded from the throne; and the eunuch Amantius, who reigned in the palace, had secretly resolved to fix the diadem on the head of the most obsequious of his creatures. A liberal donative, to conciliate the suffrage of the guards, was intrusted for that purpose in the hands of their commander. But these weighty arguments were treacherously employed by Justin in his own favour; and as no competitor presumed to appear, the Dacian peasant was invested with the purple,

Elevation and  
reign of his un-  
cle Justin I.  
A. D. 518,  
July 10.  
A. D. 527,  
April 1.—or  
Aug. 1.

by the unanimous consent of the soldiers who knew him to be brave and gentle, of the clergy and people who believed him to be orthodox, and of the provincials who yielded a blind and implicit submission to the will of the capital. The elder Justin, as he is distinguished from another emperor of the same family and name, ascended the Byzantine throne at the age of sixty-eight years: and, had he been left to his own guidance, every moment of a nine years' reign must have exposed to his subjects the impropriety of their choice. His ignorance was similar to that of Theodoric; and it is remarkable, that in an age not destitute of learning, two contemporary monarchs had never been instructed in the knowledge of the alphabet. But the genius of Justin was far inferior to that of the Gothic king: the experience of a soldier had not qualified him for the government of an empire; and, though personally brave, the consciousness of his own weakness was naturally attended with doubt, distrust, and political apprehension. But the official business of the state was diligently and faithfully transacted by the quaestor Proclus, and the aged emperor adopted the talents and ambition of his nephew Justinian, an aspiring youth, whom his uncle had drawn from the rustic solitude of Dacia, and

educated at Constantinople, as the heir of his private fortune, and at length of the Eastern empire.

Since the eunuch Amantius had <sup>Adoption and</sup> <sup>succession of</sup> <sup>Justinian.</sup> <sup>A. D. 520—527.</sup> been defrauded of his money, it became necessary to deprive him of his life. The task was easily accomplished by the charge of a real or fictitious conspiracy; and the judges were informed, as an accumulation of guilt, that he was secretly addicted to the Manichaean heresy.<sup>6</sup> Amantius lost his head; three of his companions, the first domestics of the palace, were punished either with death or exile; and their unfortunate candidate for the purple was cast into a deep dungeon, overwhelmed with stones, and ignominiously thrown, without burial, into the sea. The ruin of Vitalian was a work of more difficulty and danger. That Gothic chief had rendered himself popular by the civil war which he boldly waged against Anastasius for the defence of the orthodox faith, and after the conclusion of an advantageous treaty, he still remained in the neighbourhood of Constantinople at the head of a formidable and victorious army of barbarians. By the frail security of oaths, he was tempted to relinquish this advantageous situation, and to trust his person within the walls of a city, whose inhabitants, particularly the *blue* faction, were artfully incensed against him by the remembrance even of his pious hostilities. The emperor and his nephew embraced him as the faithful and worthy champion of the church and state; and gratefully adorned their favourite with the titles of consul and general; but in the seventh month of his consulship, Vitalian was stabbed with seventeen wounds at the royal banquet;<sup>7</sup> and Justinian, who inherited the spoil, was accused as the assassin of a spiritual brother, to whom he had recently pledged his faith in the participation of the Christian mysteries.<sup>8</sup> After the fall of his rival, he was promoted, without any claim of military service, to the office of master-general of the Eastern armies, whom it was his duty to lead into the field against the public enemy. But, in the pursuit of fame, Justinian might have lost his present dominion over the age and weakness of his uncle; and, instead of acquiring by Scythian or Persian trophies the applause of his countrymen,<sup>9</sup> the prudent warrior solicited their favour in the churches, the circus, and the senate, of Constantinople. The Catholics were attached to the nephew of Justin, who, between the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, trod the narrow path of inflexible and intolerant orthodoxy.<sup>10</sup> In the first days of the new reign, he prompted and gratified the popular enthusiasm against the memory of the deceased emperor. After a seclusion of thirty-four years, he reconciled

who are those named, exactly? and what German name would not be proud to descend from the family of a Gotha?

<sup>6</sup> His virtues are praised by Theophrastus (Hæst. lib. 11, c. 11). The quaestor Proclus was the friend of Justinian, and the chief of every other adoption.

<sup>7</sup> Justinian, in the year 527, had been a senator, and a quaestor of the empire. He was a native of the city of Stratonice, in the province of Pontus, and was a member of the family of the Justinians.

<sup>8</sup> His power, character, and intentions, are partly described by the quaestor Proclus (Ann. A. D. 527, c. 11). He was a native of the city of Stratonice, in the province of Pontus, and was a member of the family of the Justinians.

<sup>9</sup> Justinian, in the year 527, had been a senator, and a quaestor of the empire. He was a native of the city of Stratonice, in the province of Pontus, and was a member of the family of the Justinians.

<sup>10</sup> Justinian, in the year 527, had been a senator, and a quaestor of the empire. He was a native of the city of Stratonice, in the province of Pontus, and was a member of the family of the Justinians.

<sup>11</sup> Justinian, in the year 527, had been a senator, and a quaestor of the empire. He was a native of the city of Stratonice, in the province of Pontus, and was a member of the family of the Justinians.

<sup>12</sup> Justinian, in the year 527, had been a senator, and a quaestor of the empire. He was a native of the city of Stratonice, in the province of Pontus, and was a member of the family of the Justinians.



the proud and angry spirit of the Roman pontiff, and spread among the Latins a favourable report of his pious respect for the apostolic see. The thrones of the East were filled with Catholic bishops devoted to his interest, the clergy and the monks were gained by his liberality, and the people were taught to pray for their future sovereign, the hope and pillar of the true religion. The magnificence of Justinian was displayed in the superior pomp of his public spectacles, an object not less sacred and important in the eyes of the multitude than the creed of Nice or Chalcedon: the expense of his consulship was esteemed at two hundred and eighty-eight thousand pieces of gold; twenty lions, and thirty leopards, were produced at the same time in the amphitheatre, and a numerous train of horses, with their rich trappings, was bestowed as an extraordinary gift on the victorious charioteers of the circus. While he indulged the people of Constantinople, and received the addresses of foreign kings, the nephew of Justin assiduously cultivated the friendship of the senate. That venerable name seemed to qualify its members to declare the sense of the nation, and to regulate the succession of the Imperial throne: the feeble Anastasius had permitted the vigour of government to degenerate into the form or substance of an aristocracy; and the military officers, who had obtained the senatorial rank, were followed by their domestic guards, a band of veterans, whose arms or acclamations might fix in a tumultuous moment the diadem of the East. The treasures of the state were lavished to procure the voices of the senators, and their unanimous wish, that he would be pleased to adopt Justinian for his colleague, was communicated to the emperor. But this request, which too clearly admonished him of his approaching end, was unwelcome to the jealous temper of an aged monarch, desirous to retain the power which he was incapable of exercising; and Justin, holding his purple with both his hands, advised him to prefer, since an election was so profitable, some older candidate. Notwithstanding this reproach, the senate proceeded to decorate Justinian with the royal epithet of *nobilissimus*; and their decree was ratified by the affection or the fears of his uncle. After some time the languor of mind and body, to which he was reduced by an incurable wound in his thigh, indispensably required the aid of a guardian. He summoned the patriarch and senators; and in their presence solemnly placed the diadem on the head of his nephew, who was conducted from the palace to the circus,

and saluted by the loud and joyful applause of the people. The life of Justin was prolonged about four months, but from the instant of this ceremony, he was considered as dead to the empire, which acknowledged Justinian, in the forty-fifth year of his age, for the lawful sovereign of the East.<sup>11</sup>

From his elevation to his death, Justinian governed the Roman empire thirty-eight years, seven months, and thirteen days. The events of his reign, which excite our curious attention by their number, variety, and importance, are diligently related by the secretary of Belisarius, a rhetorician, whom eloquence had promoted to the rank of senator and prefect of Constantinople. According to the vicissitudes of courage or servitude, of favour or disgrace, Procopius<sup>12</sup> successively composed the *history*, the *panegyric*, and the *satire* of his own times. The eight books of the Persian, Vandalic, and Gothic wars,<sup>13</sup> which are continued in the five books of Agathias, deserve our esteem as a laborious and successful imitation of the Attic, or at least of the Asiatic writers of ancient Greece. His facts are collected from the personal experience and free conversation of a soldier, a statesman, and a traveller; his style continually aspires, and often attains, to the merit of strength and elegance; his reflections, more especially in the speeches, which he too frequently inserts, contain a rich fund of political knowledge; and the historian, excited by the generous ambition of pleasing and instructing posterity, appears to disdain the prejudices of the people, and the flattery of courts. The writings of Procopius<sup>14</sup> were read and applauded by his contemporaries; but, although he respectfully laid them at the foot of the throne, the pride of Justinian must have been wounded by the praise of an hero, who perpetually eclipses the glory of his inactive sovereign. The conscious dignity of independence was subdued by the hopes and fears of a slave; and the secretary of Belisarius laboured for pardon and reward in the six books of the *Imperial edifices*. He had dexterously chosen a subject of apparent splendour, in which he could loudly celebrate the genius, the magnificence, and the piety of a prince, who, both as a conqueror and legislator, had surpassed the puerile virtues of Themistocles and Cyrus.<sup>15</sup> Disappointment might urge the flatterer to secret revenge; and the first glance of favour might again tempt him to suspend and suppress a libel;<sup>16</sup> in the Roman Cyrus is degraded

11 The reign of the elder Justin may be found in the three histories of Marcellinus, Victor, and John Malactrinus, p. 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

12 See the characters of Procopius and Agathias in Le Beau's *History of Justinian*, tom. vi. p. 141-171. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100.

13 The *History* of Procopius is contained in the *History of Justinian*, tom. vi. p. 141-171. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100.

14 The *History* of Procopius is contained in the *History of Justinian*, tom. vi. p. 141-171. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100.

15 The *History* of Procopius is contained in the *History of Justinian*, tom. vi. p. 141-171. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100.

16 The *History* of Procopius is contained in the *History of Justinian*, tom. vi. p. 141-171. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100.

17 The *History* of Procopius is contained in the *History of Justinian*, tom. vi. p. 141-171. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100.

18 The *History* of Procopius is contained in the *History of Justinian*, tom. vi. p. 141-171. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100.

19 The *History* of Procopius is contained in the *History of Justinian*, tom. vi. p. 141-171. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100.

20 The *History* of Procopius is contained in the *History of Justinian*, tom. vi. p. 141-171. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100.

21 The *History* of Procopius is contained in the *History of Justinian*, tom. vi. p. 141-171. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100.

22 The *History* of Procopius is contained in the *History of Justinian*, tom. vi. p. 141-171. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100. Vossius de *Historia Byzantina*, lib. i. c. 10. p. 100.

into an odious and contemptible tyrant, in which both the emperor and his consort Theodora are seriously represented as two demons, who had assumed an human form for the destruction of mankind.<sup>15</sup> Such base inconsistency must doubtless sully the reputation, and detract from the credit, of Procopius; yet after the venom of his malignity has been suffered to exhale, the residue of the *anecdotes*, even the most disgraceful facts, some of which had been tenderly hinted in his public history, are established by their internal evidence, or the authentic monuments of the times.<sup>16</sup> From these various materials, I shall now proceed to describe the reign of Justinian, which will deserve and occupy an ample space. The present chapter

Division of  
the reign of  
Justinian.

character of Theodora, the factions of the circus, and the peaceful administration of the sovereign of the East. In the three succeeding chapters, I shall relate the wars of Justinian, which achieved the conquest of Africa and Italy; and I shall follow the victories of Belisarius and Narses, without disguising the vanity of their triumphs, or the hostile virtue of the Persian and Gothic heroes. The series of this and the following volume will embrace the jurisprudence and theology of the emperor; the controversies and sects which still divide the Oriental church; the reformation of the Roman law, which is obeyed or respected by the nations of modern Europe.

I. In the exercise of supreme power, the first act of Justinian was

power, the first-born of a married couple, to divide it with the woman whom she loved, the famous Theodora,<sup>20</sup> whose strange elevation cannot be applauded as the triumph of female virtue. Under the reign of Anastasius, the care of the wild beasts maintained by the green faction at Constantinople, was intrusted to Acacius, a native of the island of Cyprus, who, from his employment, was surnamed the master of the bears. This honourable office was given after his death to another candidate, notwithstanding the diligence of his widow, who had already provided a husband and a successor. Acacius had left three daughters, Theodora,<sup>21</sup> Theodora, and Anastasia, the eldest of whom did not then exceed the age of seven years. On a solemn festival, these helpless orphans were sent by their distressed and indigent mother, in the garb of suppliants, into the midst of the theatre: the green faction

received them with contempt, the blues with compassion; and this difference, which sunk deep into the mind of Theodora, was felt long afterwards in the administration of the empire. As they improved in age and beauty, the three sisters were successively devoted to the public and private pleasures of the Byzantine people; and Theodora, after following Conito on the stage, in the dress of a slave, with a stool on her head, was at length permitted to exercise her independent talents. She neither danced, nor sung, nor played on the flute; her skill was confined to the pantomime arts; she excelled in buffoon characters, and as often as the comedian swelled her cheeks, and complained with a ridiculous tone and gesture of the blows that were inflicted, the whole theatre of Constantinople resounded with laughter and applause. The beauty of Theodora<sup>22</sup> was the subject of more flattering praise, and the source of more exquisite delight. Her features were delicate and regular; her complexion, though somewhat pale, was tinged with a natural colour; every sensation was instantly expressed by the vivacity of her eyes; her easy motions displayed the graces of a small but elegant figure; and either love or adulation might proclaim, that painting and poetry were incapable of delineating the matchless excellence of her form. But this form was degraded by the facility with which it was exposed to the public eye, and prostituted to licentious desire. Her venal charms were abandoned to a promiscuous crowd of citizens and strangers, of every rank, and of every profession: the fortunate lover who had been promised a night of enjoyment, was often driven from her bed by a stronger or more wealthy favourite; and when she passed through the streets, her presence was avoided by all who wished to escape either the scandal or the temptation. The critical historian has not blushed<sup>23</sup> to describe the naked scenes which Theodora was not ashamed to exhibit in the theatre.<sup>24</sup> After exhausting the arts of sensual pleasure,<sup>25</sup> she most ungratefully murmured against the parsimony of Nature.<sup>26</sup> but her murmurs, her pleasures, and her arts, must be veiled in the obscurity of a learned language. After reigning for some time, the delight and contempt of the capital, she condescended to accompany Eccebolus, a native of Tyre, who had obtained the government of the African Pentapolis. But this union was frail and transient; Ecce-

edit. Kuster). The silence of Erasmus is a poor objection. Brouncker & D. 1618, No. 21 regrets the loss of this sect's literature, & then in the 3rd ed. in 1626, in his own custody, and was first published sixteen years after his death, with the learned, but partial, notes of Nicholas Abrahamus (1626, p. 57).

15 In distinction to the "perfectionism" of Plotinian—Aeneas, c. 8. The characters do not do this but find themselves "permanently" tied with a great deal of love to a person that they can never drop, without infirming the love in the person as well. It is held to be consistent with a whole way of life of the ideal. As so. Proclus declares his own and his friends' bond in these magical stories (p. 124).

19) Montesquieu (*Considerations sur la grandeur et la décadence des Romains*, c. xx.) gives credit to these two: 1. to corruption, 1. with the weakness of the empire, and, 2. with the instability of Augustus's line.

20 For the life and manners of the empress Theodora, see the *Anecdotes*, more especially c. 1-5, 9, 10-15, 16, 17, with the learned notes of Membrinus—a reference which is exemplified.

21 Comp. was, I think, in error to suppose that of another, the father, perhaps, at least she might be the mother of the family Sophia. Two nephews of Theodora may be the sons of Anna and (Nephew) 30, 31.

See Prolegomena ad Ethica 1.1.11, which goes further into detail.

25 A. *Alcedo* of the *Alcedo* c. 41 mm. (not to make), was  
suggested by Alcedo, though exist in the V. 1000. MS. n.

discussed by Arnold, although existent in the Vatican MS., nor in the 1641 edition, so that in the Paris or Vatican editions, La Moignon's insertion of  $\sqrt{1-x}$  for the first time of this series is a new contribution to the series for  $\ln(1-x)$ , where  $p=0$ , which he also recorded, although he was already well-known published in the Mémoires (1711) of the Académie des Sciences, with a Latin version.

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1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.



late an immense treasure, may be excused by the apprehension of her husband's death, which could leave no alternative between ruin and the throne ; and fear as well as ambition might exasperate Theodora against two generals, who, during a malady of the emperor, had rashly declared that they were not disposed to acquiesce in the choice of the capital. But the reproach of cruelty, so repugnant even to her softer vices, has left an indelible stain on the memory of Theodora. Her numerous spies observed, and zealously reported, every action, or word, or look, injurious to their royal mistress. Whomsoever they accused were cast into her peculiar prisons,<sup>31</sup> inaccessible to the enquiries of justice ; and it was rumoured, that the torture of the rack, or scourge, had been inflicted in the presence of a female tyrant, insensible to the voice of prayer or of pity. <sup>2</sup> Some of these unhappy victims perished in deep unwholesome dungeons, while others were permitted, after the loss of their limbs, their reason, or their fortune, to appear in the world the living monuments of her vengeance, which was commonly extended to the children of those whom she had suspected or injured. The senator or bishop, whose death or exile Theodora had pronounced, was delivered to a trusty messenger, and his diligence was quickened by a menace from her own mouth. " If you fail in the execution of " my commands, I swear by him who liveth for " ever, that your skin shall be flayed from your " body." <sup>33</sup>

body. If the creed of Theodora had not been tainted with heresy, her exemplary devotion might have been atoned, in the opinion of her contemporaries, for pride, avarice, and cruelty. But, if she employed her influence to assuage the intolerant fury of the emperor, the present age will allow some merit to her religion, and much indulgence to her speculative errors.<sup>34</sup> The name of Theodora was introduced, with equal honour, in all the pious and charitable foundations of Justinian; and the most benevolent institution of his reign may be ascribed to the sympathy of the empress for her less fortunate sisters, who had been seduced or compelled to embrace the trade of prostitution. A palace, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, was converted into a stately and spacious monastery, and a liberal maintenance was assigned to five hundred women, who had been collected from the streets and brothels of Constantinople. In this safe and holy retreat, they were devoted to perpetual confinement; and the despair of some, who threw themselves headlong into the

sea, was lost in the gratitude of the penitents, who had been delivered from sin and misery by their generous benefactress.<sup>35</sup> The prudence of Theodora is celebrated by Justinian himself; and his laws are attributed to the sage counsels of his most reverend wife, whom he had received as the gift of the Deity.<sup>36</sup> Her courage was displayed amidst the tumult of the people and the terrors of the court. Her chastity, from the moment of her union with Justinian, is founded on the silence of her implacable enemies; and, although the daughter of Acacius might be satiated with love, yet some applause is due to the firmness of a mind which could sacrifice pleasure and habit to the stronger sense either of duty or interest. The wishes and prayers of Theodora could never obtain the blessing of a lawful son, and she buried an infant daughter, the sole offspring of her marriage.<sup>37</sup> Notwithstanding this disappointment, her dominion was permanent and absolute; she preserved, by art or merit, the affections of Justinian; and their seeming dissensions were always fatal to the courtiers who believed them to be sincere. Perhaps her health had been impaired by the licentiousness of her youth; but it was always delicate, and she was directed by her physicians to use the Pythian warm baths. In this journey, the empress was followed by the prætorian præfect, the great treasurer, several counts and patricians, and a splendid train of four thousand attendants: the highways were repaired at her approach; a palace was erected for her reception; and as she passed through Bithynia, she distributed liberal alms to the churches, the monasteries, and the hospitals, that they might implore heaven for the restoration of her health. At length, in the twenty-fourth year of her marriage, and the twenty-second of her reign, she was consumed by a cancer; and the irreparable loss was deplored by her husband, who, in the room of a theatrical prostitute, might have selected the purest and most noble virgin of the East.<sup>39</sup>

II. A material difference may be observed in the games of antiquity : the most eminent of the Greeks were actors, the Romans were merely spectators. The Olympic stadium was open to wealth, merit, and ambition; and if the candidates could depend on their personal skill and activity, they might pursue the footsteps of Diomedes and Menelaus, and conduct their own horses in the rapid career.<sup>41</sup> Ten, twenty, forty, chariots, were allowed to start at the same instant; a crown of leaves was the reward of the victor; and his

31 Her prisons, a labyrinth, a Tartarus (Anecdote 41) were under the palace. Darkness is pernicious to society, but it is likewise a comfortable calamity, and fiction.

52 A more popular whelping was indicated on November 8, for persisting to say that his wife is a favorite of the empress, had not been found at the (Amur, 1, 17).

34 Luke 12, p. 161 - 166. I give him credit for the charitable attempt, although he hath not much charity in his temper.

5) Compare the Aresdites + 17<sup>+</sup> with the Ladanes (1 + 9) — how differently may the same fact be stated? John Muehlschlag is p. 174, 175, observes that on this, as a still "if necessary, she is used

p. 171, 172) observes, that on this, at a still earlier occasion, she had clothed the girls whom she had purchased from the streets at five aurei a-piece.

56. *Novel* viii. 1. An allusion to Theodora. Her enemies read the name Demionodora (*Alaman* p. 60.)

St Sabas refused to pray for Cyprian of Tebes, lest he should prove an heretic worse than Arius himself (Cyprian in *Vita St Sabas*, apud Aleman, p. 70 100.)

58. See John M. Adams, *ibid.*, p. 174. The emphasis, p. 178. Proceedings of the 11th Conference.

<sup>20</sup> The data of the *Chelodactylus* spp. indicate that a few were plagioteleostean, but the majority were proleptoteleostean. The *Chelodactylus* spp. are thus not the only teleosts with such a condition. The proleptoteleostean condition is also found in *Acrossocheilus* p. 12–17, however, in the *Chelodactylus* spp. the *Chelodactylus* spp. are the only teleosts with such a condition.

40. As she presented the papers, and read a comment, Barlow announced the names of the Hon. A. H. C. S. and others, who had been

[illegible]

41 Read and feel the excitement of the 1930s and 40s in the  
manuscripts, pressings, and for what the end-point of the 1930s and 40s  
Wesley's Dissertation in the 1930s (1930s-1930s) and the 1930s and 40s  
much curious and authentic information.



their children; noble matrons were prostituted to the lust of their servants; beautiful boys were torn from the arms of their parents; and wives, unless they preferred a voluntary death, were ravished in the presence of their husbands.<sup>47</sup> The despair of the greens, who were persecuted by their enemies, and deserted by the magistrate, assumed the privilege of defence, perhaps of retaliation: but those who survived the combat were dragged to execution, and the unhappy fugitives, escaping to woods and caverns, preyed without mercy on the society from whence they were expelled. Those ministers of justice who had courage to punish the crimes, and to brave the resentment, of the blues, became the victims of their indiscreet zeal: a prefect of Constantinople fled for refuge to the holy sepulchre, a count of the East was ignominiously whipped, and a governor of Cilicia was hanged, by the order of Theodora, on the tomb of two assassins whom he had condemned for the murder of his groom, and a daring attack upon his own life.<sup>48</sup> An aspiring candidate may be tempted to build his greatness on the public confusion, but it is the interest as well as duty of a sovereign to maintain the authority of the laws. The first edict of Justinian, which was often repeated, and sometimes executed, announced his firm resolution to support the innocent, and to chastise the guilty of every denomination and colour. Yet the balance of justice was still inclined in favour of the blue faction, by the secret affection, the habits, and the fears of the emperor; his equity, after an apparent struggle, submitted, without reluctance, to the implacable passions of Theodora, and the empress never forgot, or forgave, the injuries of the comedian. At the accession of the younger Justin, the proclamation of equal and rigorous justice indirectly condemned the partiality of the former reign. "Ye blues, Justinian is no more! ye greens, he is still alive!"<sup>49</sup>

Sedition of Constantinople, surmised to be A. D. 529, January.

A sedition, which almost laid Constantinople in ashes, was excited by the mutual hatred and momentary reconciliation of the two factions. In the fifth year of his reign, Justinian celebrated the festival of the ides of January: the games were incessantly disturbed by the clamorous discontent of the greens; till the twenty-second race, the emperor maintained his silent gravity; at length, yielding to his impatience, he condescended to hold, in abrupt sentences, and by the voice of a crier, the most singular dialogue that ever passed between a prince and his subjects. Their first complaints were respectful and modest; they accused the subordinate ministers of oppression, and proclaimed their wishes for the long life and victory of the emperor. "Be patient and attentive, ye insolent railers!" exclaimed Justinian; "be

"mute, ye Jews, Samaritans, and Manicheans!" The greens still attempted to awaken his compassion. "We are poor, we are innocent, we are injured, we dare not pass through the streets, a general persecution is exercised against our name and colour. Let us die, O emperor! but let us die by your command, and for your service!" But the repetition of partial and passionate invectives degraded, in their eyes, the majesty of the purple; they renounced allegiance to the prince who refused justice to his people; lamented that the father of Justinian had been born; and branded his son with the opprobrious names of an homicide, an ass, and a perjured tyrant. "Do you despise your lives?" cried the indignant monarch: the blues rose with fury from their seats; their hostile clamours thundered in the hippodrome; and their adversaries, deserting the unequal contest, spread terror and despair through the streets of Constantinople. At this dangerous moment, seven notorious assassins of both factions, who had been condemned by the prefect, were carried round the city, and afterwards transported to the place of execution in the suburb of Pera. Four were immediately beheaded; a fifth was hanged: but when the same punishment was inflicted on the remaining two, the rope broke, they fell alive to the ground, the populace applauded their escape, and the monks of St. Conon, issuing from the neighbouring convent, conveyed them in a boat to the sanctuary of the church.<sup>51</sup> As one of these criminals was of the blue, and the other of the green livery, the two factions were equally provoked by the cruelty of their oppressor, or the ingratitude of their patron; and a short truce was concluded till they had delivered their prisoners, and satisfied their revenge. The palace of the prefect, who withstood the seditious torrent, was instantly burnt, his officers and guards were massacred, the prisons were forced open, and freedom was restored to those who could only use it for the public destruction. A military force, which had been despatched to the aid of the civil magistrate, was fiercely encountered by an armed multitude, whose numbers and boldness continually increased; and the Heruli, the wildest barbarians in the service of the empire, overturned the priests and their relics, which, from a pious motive, had been rashly interposed to separate the bloody conflict. The tumult was exasperated by this sacrilege, the people fought with enthusiasm in the cause of God; the women, from the roofs and windows, showered stones on the heads of the soldiers, who darted firebrands against the houses; and the various flames, which had been kindled by the hands of citizens and strangers, spread without control over the face of the city. The conflagration involved the cathedral of St.

47. A wife (see Procopius) sold herself and child to a soldier for a short time, then turned out to the public sale. 48. The second sedition in 532, after the death of Justinian, was the result of a conspiracy, and was the last of its kind. 49. The edict of Justinian, which was often repeated, and sometimes executed, announced his firm resolution to support the innocent, and to chastise the guilty of every denomination and colour. 50. The edict of Justinian, which was often repeated, and sometimes executed, announced his firm resolution to support the innocent, and to chastise the guilty of every denomination and colour. 51. See Justinian's edict, which was often repeated, and sometimes executed, announced his firm resolution to support the innocent, and to chastise the guilty of every denomination and colour.

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Sophia, the baths of Zeuxippus, a part of the palace, from the first entrance to the altar of Mars, and the long portico from the palace to the forum of Constantine; a large hospital, with the sick patients, was consumed; many churches and stately edifices were destroyed, and an immense treasure of gold and silver was either melted or lost. From such scenes of horror and distress, the wise and wealthy citizens escaped over the Bosphorus to the Asiatic side; and during five days Constantinople was abandoned to the factions, whose watchword, *ΝΙΚΑ, vanquish!* has given a name to this memorable sedition.<sup>52</sup>

The distress of Justinian.

As long as the factions were divided, the triumphant blues, and desponding greens, appeared to behold with the same indifference the disorders of the state. They agreed to censure the corrupt management of justice and the finance; and the two responsible ministers, the artful Tribonian, and the rapacious John of Cappadocia, were loudly arraigned as the authors of the public misery. The peaceful murmur of the people would have been disregarded; they were heard with respect when the city was in flames, the quaestor, and the praefect, were instantly removed, and their offices were filled by two senators of blameless integrity. After this popular concession, Justinian proceeded to the hippodrome to confess his own errors, and to accept the repentance of his grateful subjects; but they distrusted his assurances, though solemnly pronounced in the presence of the holy Gospels; and the emperor, alarmed by their distrust, retreated with precipitation to the strong fortress of the palace. The obstinacy of the tumult was now imputed to a secret and ambitious conspiracy, and a suspicion was entertained, that the insurgents, more especially the green faction, had been supplied with arms and money by Hypatius and Pompey, two patricians, who could neither forget with honour, nor remember with safety, that they were the nephews of the emperor Anastasius. Capriciously trusted, disgraced, and pardoned, by the jealous levity of the monarch, they had appeared as loyal servants before the throne; and, during five days of the tumult, they were detained as important hostages; till at length, the fears of Justinian prevailing over his prudence, he viewed the two brothers in the light of spies, perhaps of assassins, and sternly commanded them to depart from the palace. After a fruitless representation, that obedience might lead to involuntary treason, they retired to their houses, and in the morning of the sixth day Hypatius was surrounded and seized by the people, who, regardless of his virtuous resistance, and the tears of his wife, transported their favourite to the forum of Constantine, and instead of a diadem, placed a rich collar on his head. If the usurper, who afterwards pleaded the merit of his delay, had complied with the advice of his senate, and urged the fury of the multitude, their first irresistible effort might have oppressed

or expelled his trembling competitor. The Byzantine palace enjoyed a free communication with the sea; vessels lay ready at the garden stairs; and a secret resolution was already formed, to convey the emperor with his family and treasures to a safe retreat, at some distance from the capital.

Justinian was lost, if the prostitute whom he raised from the theatre had not renounced the timidity, as well as the virtues, of her sex. In the midst of a council, where Belisarius was present, Theodora alone displayed the spirit of an hero; and she alone, without apprehending his future hatred, could save the emperor from the imminent danger, and his unworthy fears. "If flight," said the consort of Justinian, "were the only means of safety, yet I should disdain to fly. Death is the condition of our birth; but they who have reigned should never survive the loss of dignity and dominion. I implore Heaven, that I may never be seen, not a day, without my diadem and purple; that I may no longer behold the light, when I cease to be saluted with the name of queen. If you resolve, O Caesar! to fly, you have treasures; behold the sea, you have ships; but tremble lest the desire of life should expose you to wretched exile and ignominious death. For my own part, I adhere to the maxim of antiquity, that the throne is a glorious sepulchre." The firmness of a woman restored the courage to deliberate and act, and courage soon discovers the resources of the most desperate situation. It was an easy and a decisive measure to revive the animosity of the factions; the blues were astonished at their own guilt and folly, that a trifling injury should provoke them to conspire with their implacable enemies against a gracious and liberal benefactor; they again proclaimed the majesty of Justinian, and the greens, with their upstart emperor, were left alone in the hippodrome. The fidelity of the guards was doubtful; but the military force of Justinian consisted in three thousand veterans, who had been trained to valour and discipline in the Persian and Illyrian wars. Under the command of Belisarius and Mundus, they silently marched in two divisions from the palace, forced their obscure way through narrow passages, expiring flames, and falling edifices, and burst open at the same moment the two opposite gates of the hippodrome. In this narrow space, the disorderly and afflicted crowd was incapable of resisting on either side a firm and regular attack; the blues signalled the fury of their repentance; and it is computed, that above thirty thousand persons were slain in the merciless and promiscuous carnage of the day. Hypatius was dragged from his throne, and conducted with his brother Pompey to the feet of the emperor: they implored his clemency; but their crime was manifest, their innocence uncertain, and Justinian had been too much terrified to forgive. The next morning the two nephews of Anastasius, with eighteen illustrious accomplices, of patrician

Firmness of Theodora.

The sedition is suppressed.

<sup>52</sup> The history of the *Nika* sedition is extracted from Marcianus in Chron., Procopius (Persic) l. i. c. 26, John Malact. l. viii. in.

p. 17-18; Chron. Paschal. l. i. 370-370; Theophanes (Chronogr.) p. 14-15; and Zozar. l. xiv. p. 61-62.

or consular rank, were privately executed by the soldiers; their bodies were thrown into the sea, their palaces razed, and their fortunes confiscated. The hippodrome itself was condemned, during several years, to a mournful silence: with the restoration of the games, the same disorders revived; and the blue and green factions continued to afflict the reign of Justinian, and to disturb the tranquility of the Eastern empire.<sup>53</sup>

III. That empire, after Rome was barbarous, still embraced the nations whom she had conquered beyond the Hadriatic, and as far as the frontiers of Æthiopia and Persia. Justinian reigned over sixty-four provinces, and nine hundred and thirty-five cities; <sup>54</sup> his dominions were blessed by nature with the advantages of soil, situation, and climate; and the improvements of human art had been perpetually diffused along the coast of the Mediterranean and the banks of the Nile, from ancient Troy to the Egyptian Thebes. Abraham <sup>55</sup> had been relieved by the well-known plenty of Egypt; the same country, a small and populous tract, was still capable of exporting, each year, two hundred and sixty thousand quarters of wheat for the use of Constantinople; <sup>56</sup> and the capital of Justinian was supplied with the manufactures of Sidon, fifteen centuries after they had been celebrated in the poems of Homer. <sup>57</sup> The annual powers of vegetation, instead of being exhausted by two thousand harvests, were renewed and invigorated by skilful husbandry, rich manure, and seasonable repose. The breed of domestic animals was infinitely multiplied. Plantations, buildings, and the instruments of labour and luxury, which are more durable than the term of human life, were accumulated by the care of successive generations. Tradition preserved, and experience simplified, the humble practice of the arts: society was enriched by the division of labour and the facility of exchange; and every Roman was lodged, clothed, and subsisted, by the industry of a thousand hands. The invention of the loom and distaff has been piously ascribed to the gods. In every age, a variety of animal and vegetable productions, hair, skins, wool, flax, cotton, and at length silk, have been skilfully manufactured to hide or adorn the human body; they were stained

with an infusion of permanent colours; and the pencil was successfully employed to improve the labours of the loom. In the choice of those colours,<sup>58</sup> which imitate the beauties of nature, the freedom of taste and fashion was indulged; but the deep purple<sup>59</sup> which the Phœnicians extracted from a shell-fish, was restrained to the sacred person and palace of the emperor; and the penalties of treason were denounced against the ambitious subjects, who dared to usurp the prerogative of the throne.<sup>60</sup>

I need not explain that *silk*<sup>61</sup> is originally spun from the bowels of a caterpillar, and that it composes the golden tomb from whence a worm emerges in the form of a butterfly. Till the reign of Justinian, the silk-worms who feed on the leaves of the white mulberry-tree, were confined to China; those of the pine, the oak, and the ash, were common in the forests both of Asia and Europe; but as their education is more difficult, and their produce more uncertain, they were generally neglected, except in the little island of Ceos, near the coast of Attica. A thin gauze was procured from their webs, and this Cæan manufacture, the invention of a woman, for female use was long admired both in the East and at Rome. Whatever suspicions may be raised by the garments of the Medes and Assyrians, Virgil is the most ancient writer, who expressly mentions the soft wool which was combed from the trees of the Seres or Chinese; - and this natural error, less marvellous than the truth, was slowly corrected by the knowledge of a valuable insect, the first artificer of the luxury of nations. That rare and elegant luxury was censured, in the reign of Tiberius, by the gravest of the Romans; and Pliny, in affected though forcible language, has condemned the thirst of gain, which explored the last confines of the earth, for the pernicious purpose of exposing to the public eye naked diaperies and transparent matrons.<sup>62</sup> A dress which showed the turn of the limbs, and colour of the skin, might gratify vanity, or provoke desire; the silks which had been closely woven in China, were sometimes unravelled by the Phœnician women, and the precious materials were multiplied by a looser texture, and the intermixture of linen threads.<sup>64</sup>

55 Marcellinus says in general terms, innumerus populus in circos trucidati. Procopius numbers 50,000 victims, and 155,000 in Theophanes are swelled to 100,000 in the more recent Zonaras. Such is the usual progress of exaggeration.

54 Heidecker's contemporary of Lithuanian composition has *Starys senas* (Hamerling, p. 551), a review of the same process and events, before the year 575, Wesseling in *Prutis* and *Natūras*, p. 107, c. 1.

[illegible]

In flight millions of Romanians have been asked to contribute 80,000 aurei for the expenses of a tour to the front of the subject was generously ex used. Since the flight of the numbers are checked and available for the use of the book and film texts.

the work of the submarine women. But they put their hands to the manufacture then to the maintenance of the ship's equipment whenever they had been permitted to leave the vessel.

58 See in Ovid (*de Arte Amatoria*, 1. 1. 1) a list of twelve colours borrowed from flowers, the elements of which is almost impossible to discriminate by words as the male and female shades have become such.

39 By the discovery of cochineal for use for purple, the color of antiquity. Their royal purple had a strong stain, not a dark color as deep as bull's blood — obscurus rubens, not a sanguineus. Var. 1, 20. *nigredo sanguinea*. The president thought *Orange des Loix et des Arts*, part 1, l. ii. c. 2, p. 184–215) well amuse and satisfy the

render. I doubt whether his book, especially in England, is as well known as it deserves to be.

60. Histured proofs of this sentence have been occasionally introduced, but many more might have been added, had the adult architects of despotism were guided by the sober and generous variations of Bayes's logic. The slope of  $\log \frac{1}{2} - \text{index}$  decreases from unity,  $x_1$ , to  $\log \frac{1}{2}$ . An argumentum per contrarium, if it survives at all, is hardly so applied to the matter, the attitude of poets' craft. Therefore,  $x_1$  is  $\log \frac{1}{2}$  for  $H$ .

[illegible]

For the first time, the authors have shown that the SRS is not a good estimator of the population variance of the SRS. The authors have also shown that the SRS is not a good estimator of the population variance of the SRS. The authors have also shown that the SRS is not a good estimator of the population variance of the SRS.

and  $\mathcal{H}_0 = \{0\}$ . On the other hand, for  $\mathcal{H}_0 = \mathbb{R}^n$ , the only  $\mathcal{H}_0$ -invariant subspace of  $\mathcal{H}$  is  $\mathcal{H}_0$  itself. For  $\mathcal{H}_0 = \mathbb{R}^n$ , the only  $\mathcal{H}_0$ -invariant subspace of  $\mathcal{H}$  is  $\mathcal{H}_0$  itself. For  $\mathcal{H}_0 = \mathbb{R}^n$ , the only  $\mathcal{H}_0$ -invariant subspace of  $\mathcal{H}$  is  $\mathcal{H}_0$  itself.





ing cities named in the geography of Ptolemy, may indicate, that this wealth was not solely derived from the mines. The direct interval between Sumatra and Ceylon is about three hundred leagues; the Chinese and Indian navigators were conducted by the flight of birds and periodical winds, and the ocean might be securely traversed in square-built ships, which, instead of iron, were sewed together with the strong thread of the cocoa-nut. Ceylon, Serendib, or Taprobana, was divided between two hostile princes; one of whom possessed the mountains, the elephants, and the luminous ear-buncle, and the other enjoyed the more solid riches of domestic industry, foreign trade, and the capacious harbour of Trinqueemale, which received and dismissed the fleets of the East and West. In this hospitable isle, at an equal distance (as it was computed) from their respective countries, the silk merchants of China, who had collected in their voyages aloes, cloves, nutmeg, and santal wood, maintained a free and beneficial commerce with the inhabitants of the Persian Gulf. The subjects of the Great King exalted, without a rival, his power and magnificence; and the Roman, who confounded their vanity by comparing his paltry coin with a gold medal of the emperor Anastasius, had sailed to Ceylon, in an Æthiopian ship, as a simple passenger.<sup>72</sup>

As silk became of indispensable use, the emperor Justinian saw, with concern, that the Persians had occupied by land and sea the monopoly of this important supply, and that the wealth of his subjects was continually drained by a nation of enemies and idolaters. An active government would have restored the trade of Egypt and the navigation of the Red Sea, which had decayed with the prosperity of the empire; and the Roman vessels might have sailed, for the purchase of silk, to the ports of Ceylon, of Malacca, or even of China. Justinian embraced a more humble expedient, and solicited the aid of his Christian allies, the Æthiopians of Abyssinia, who had recently acquired the arts of navigation, the spirit of trade, and the sea-port of Adulis,<sup>73</sup> still decorated with the trophies of a Grecian conqueror. Along the African coast, they penetrated to the equator in search of gold, emeralds, and aromatics; but they wisely declined an unequal competition, in which they must be always prevented by the vicinity of the Persians to the markets of India; and the emperor submitted to the disappointment, till his wishes were gratified by an unexpected event. The Gospel had been preached to the Indians; a bishop already governed the Christians of St. Thomas on the pepper-coast of Malabar; a church was

planted in Ceylon, and the missionaries pursued the footsteps of commerce to the extremities of Asia.<sup>74</sup> Two Persian monks had long resided in China, perhaps in the royal city of Nankin, the seat of a monarch addicted to foreign superstitions, and who actually received an embassy from the isle of Ceylon. Amidst their pious occupations, they viewed with a curious eye the common dress of the Chinese, the manufactures of silk, and the myriads of silk-worms, whose education (either on trees or in houses) had once been considered as the labour of queens.<sup>75</sup> They soon discovered that it was impracticable to transport the short-lived insect, but that in the eggs a numerous progeny might be preserved and multiplied in a distant climate. Religion or interest had more power over the Persian monks than the love of their country: after a long journey, they arrived at Constantinople, imparted their project to the emperor, and were liberally encouraged by the gifts and promises of Justinian. To the historians of that prince, a campaign at the foot of Mount Caucasus has seemed more deserving of a minute relation than the labours of these missionaries of commerce, who again entered China, deceived a jealous people by concealing the eggs of the silk-worm in a hollow cane, and returned in triumph with the spoils of the East. Under their direction, the eggs were hatched at the proper season by the artificial heat of dung; they lived and laboured in a foreign climate; a sufficient number of butterflies was saved to propagate the race, and trees were planted to supply the nourishment of the rising generations. Experience and reflection corrected the errors of a new attempt, and the Sogdian ambassadors acknowledged, in the succeeding reign, that the Romans were not inferior to the natives of China in the education of the insects, and the manufactures of silk,<sup>76</sup> in which both China and Constantinople have been surpassed by the industry of modern Europe. I am not insensible of the benefits of elegant luxury; yet I reflect with some pain, that if the importers of silk had introduced the art of printing, already practised by the Chinese, the comedies of Menander and the entire decads of Livy would have been perpetuated in the editions of the sixth century. A larger view of the globe might at least have promoted the improvement of speculative science, but the Christian geography was forcibly extracted from texts of Scripture, and the study of nature was the surest symptom of an unbelieving mind. The orthodox faith confined the habitable world to *one* temperate zone, and represented the earth as an oblong surface, four hundred days' journey in length, two hundred in breadth, encompassed by the

<sup>72</sup> The Taprobane of Ptolemy (c. 24). Solonestr. 77, and Sol. 13. Plinyane Excerptis. p. 781, 782. and most of the ancients, who often confound the islands of Ceylon and Sumatra, is more clearly described by Cosmas Indicopleustes, yet even the Christian geographer has exaggerated its dimensions. His tale is drawn on the Indian and Chinese trade is rare and curious. It is in p. 138. c. 3. p. 357, 358. Edit. Montfaucon.

<sup>73</sup> See Procopius, Persic. l. ii. c. 20. Cosmas affords some interesting knowledge of the port and inscription of Adulis. Topograph. Christ. l. i. p. 138. 140-145; and of the trade of the Axumites along the African coast of Isauria or Zang (p. 157, 159) and as far as Taprobane l. x. p. 359.

<sup>74</sup> See the Christian missions in India, in Cosmas (l. iii. p. 178,

179. c. xi. p. 357), and compare Asiatick Biblioth. Orient. tom. iv. p. 415, 416.

<sup>75</sup> The invention, manufacture, and general use of silk in China, may be seen in Indische Beschreibung (see the Chinese text, p. 17, 20, 25). The province of Chukien is the most renowned for its quantity and quality.

<sup>76</sup> Procopius, l. vi. Gothic. iv. c. 17. Theophanes Byzant. apud Phot. Cod. Alex. v. 38. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. c. 1. Plutarch. l. i. p. 462. assigned to the year 527 this memorable report of Menander (in Excerpt. Lect. p. 17) mentions the introduction of the Sogdians, and Theophrastus Sarraceni (l. vi. c. 1) speaks of the presents of the two rival kingdoms in China, the country of silk.

ocean, and covered by the solid crystal of the firmament.<sup>77</sup>

IV. The subjects of Justinian were dissatisfied with the times, and with the government. Europe was overrun by the barbarians, and Asia by the monks: the poverty of the West discouraged the trade and manufactures of the East; the produce of labour was consumed by the unprofitable servants of the church, the state, and the army; and a rapid decrease was felt in the fixed and circulating capitals which constitute the national wealth. The public distress had been alleviated by the economy of Anastasius, and that prudent emperor accumulated an immense treasure while he delivered his people from the most odious or oppressive taxes. Their gratitude universally applauded the abolition of the *gold of affliction*, a personal tribute on the industry of the poor,<sup>78</sup> but more intolerable, as it should seem, in the form than in the substance, since the flourishing city of Edessa paid only one hundred and forty pounds of gold, which was collected in four years from ten thousand artificers.<sup>79</sup> Yet such was the parsimony which supported this liberal disposition, that, in a reign of twenty-seven years, Anastasius saved, from his annual revenue, the enormous sum of thirteen millions sterling, or three hundred and twenty thousand pounds of gold.<sup>80</sup> His example was neglected, and his treasure was abused, by the nephew of Justin. The riches of Justinian were speedily exhausted by alms and buildings, by ambitious wars, and ignominious treaties. His revenues were found

inadequate to his expenses. Every art was tried to extort from the people the gold and silver which he scattered with a lavish hand from Persia to France:<sup>81</sup> his reign was marked by the vicissitudes, or rather by the combat, of rapaciousness and avarice, of splendour and poverty; he lived with the reputation of hidden treasures,<sup>82</sup> and bequeathed to his successor the payment of his debts.<sup>83</sup> Such a character has been justly accused by the voice of the people and of posterity: but public discontent is credulous; private malice is bold; and a lover of truth will peruse with a suspicious eye the instructive anecdotes of Procopius. The secret historian represents only the vices of Justinian, and those vices are darkened by his malevolent pencil. Ambiguous actions are imputed to the worst motives: error is confounded with guilt, accident with design, and laws with abuses, the partial injustice of a

moment is dexterously applied as the general maxim of a reign of thirty-two years: the emperor alone is made responsible for the faults of his officers, the disorders of the times, and the corruption of his subjects; and even the calamities of nature, plagues, earthquakes, and inundations, are imputed to the prince of the demons, who had mischievously assumed the form of Justinian.<sup>84</sup>

After this precaution, I shall briefly relate the anecdotes of avarice and rapine, under the following heads: I. Justinian was so <sup>Pernicious</sup> profuse that he could not be liberal. <sup>savings.</sup>

The civil and military officers, when they were admitted into the service of the palace, obtained an humble rank and a moderate stipend; they ascended by seniority to a station of affluence and repose; the annual pensions, of which the most honourable class was abolished by Justinian, amounted to four hundred thousand pounds; and this domestic economy was deplored by the venal or indigent courtiers as the last outrage on the majesty of the empire. The posts, the salaries of physicians, and the nocturnal illuminations, were objects of more general concern; and the cities might justly complain, that he usurped the municipal revenues which had been appropriated to these useful institutions. Even the soldiers were injured; and such was the decay of military spirit, that they were injured with impunity. The emperor refused, at the return of each fifth year, the customary donative of five pieces of gold, reduced his veterans to beg their bread, and suffered unpaid armies to melt away in the wars of Italy and Persia. II. The humanity of his predecessors had <sup>Remittances.</sup> always remitted, in some auspicious circumstance of their reign, the arrears of the public tribute; and they dexterously assumed the merit of resigning those claims which it was impracticable to enforce. "Justinian, in the space of thirty-two years, has never granted a similar indulgence; and many of his subjects have renounced the possession of those lands whose value is insufficient to satisfy the demands of the treasury. To the cities which had suffered by hostile invasions, Anastasius promised a general exemption of seven years: the provinces of Justinian have been ravaged by the Persians and Arabs, the Huns and Sclavonians; but his vain and ridiculous dispensation of a single year has actually taken to those places which were actually taken by the enemy." Such is

<sup>77</sup> Procopius, *Secret History*, lib. 1, c. 1, describes the earthquake, performed by a miracle, about the year 524, and the great earthquake, between 555 and 577, three in the reign of Justinian. Procopius, *Secret History*, lib. 1, c. 1, describes the earthquake, performed by a miracle, about the year 524, and the great earthquake, between 555 and 577, three in the reign of Justinian.

<sup>78</sup> Procopius (*Anecdotes* c. 19) fixes this sum from the report of the treasury, themselves. Tiberius had *mensuræ millicas*, but far different was his expense from that of Anastasius.

<sup>79</sup> Anastasius (*l. iv. c. 30*), in the next generation, was moderate and well informed, and Zonaras (*l. xiv. c. 61*), in the sixth century, had no such care, and thought without prejudice: yet their colours are as bright as those of the *Anecdotes*.

<sup>80</sup> Procopius (*Anecdotes* c. 70) relates the idle conjectures of the times. The death of Justinian, says the secret historian, will expose his wealth or poverty.

<sup>81</sup> See *Corippus* de *Lauibus Justinian*, Aug. 1. n. 260, &c. 381, &c.

<sup>82</sup> Procopius (*Secret History*, lib. 1, c. 1, describes the earthquake, performed by a miracle, about the year 524, and the great earthquake, between 555 and 577, three in the reign of Justinian.

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<sup>84</sup> The *Anecdotes* (c. 11-14, 15, 20-30) supply many facts and more complaints.

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<sup>89</sup> The *Anecdotes* (c. 11-14, 15, 20-30) supply many facts and more complaints.

<sup>90</sup> The *Anecdotes* (c. 11-14, 15, 20-30) supply many facts and more complaints.

<sup>91</sup> The *Anecdotes* (c. 11-14, 15, 20-30) supply many facts and more complaints.

the language of the secret historian, who expressly denies that *any* indulgence was granted to Palestine after the revolt of the Samaritans; a false and odious charge, confuted by the authentic record, which attests a relief of thirteen centuries of gold fifty-two thousand pounds) obtained for that desolate province by the intercession of St. Sabas.<sup>55</sup> III. Procopius has not condescended to explain the system of taxation, which fell like a hail-storm upon the land, like a devouring pestilence on its inhabitants: but we should become the accomplices of his malignity, if we imputed to Justinian alone the ancient though rigorous principle, that a whole district should be condemned to sustain the partial loss of the persons or property of individuals. The

## Taxes.

*Annona*, or supply of corn for the use of the army and capital, was a grievous and arbitrary exaction, which exceeded, perhaps in a tenfold proportion, the ability of the farmer; and his distress was aggravated by the partial injustice of weights and measures, and the expense and labour of distant carriage. In a time of scarcity, an extraordinary requisition was made to the adjacent provinces of Thrace, Bithynia, and Phrygia: but the proprietors, after a wearisome journey and a perilous navigation, received so inadequate a compensation, that they would have chosen the alternative of delivering both the corn and price at the doors of their granaries. These precautions might indicate a tender solicitude for the welfare of the capital; yet Constantinople did not escape the rapacious despotism of Justinian. Till his reign, the straits of the Bosphorus and Hellespont were open to the freedom of trade, and nothing was prohibited except the exportation of arms for the service of the barbarians. At each of these gates of the city, a prætor was stationed, the minister of Imperial avarice; heavy customs were imposed on the vessels and their merchandise; the oppression was retahated on the helpless consumer: the poor were afflicted by the artificial scarcity, and exorbitant price of the market; and a people, accustomed to depend on the liberality of their prince, might sometimes complain of the deficiency of water and bread.<sup>56</sup> The *aerial tribute*, without a name, a law, or a definite object, was an annual gift of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, which the emperor accepted from his prætorian præfect; and the means of payment were abandoned to the discretion of that powerful magistrate.

## Monopolies.

IV. Even such a tax was less intolerable than the privilege of monopolies, which checked the fair competition of industry, and, for the sake of a small and dishonest gain, imposed an arbitrary burden on the wants and luxury of the subject. "As soon (I transcribe the anecdotes) as the exclusive sale of silk was usurped by the Imperial

"treasurer, a whole people, the manufacturers of Tyre and Berytus, was reduced to extreme misery, and either perished with hunger, or fled to the hostile dominions of Persia." A province might suffer by the decay of its manufactures, but in this example of silk, Procopius has partially overlooked the inestimable and lasting benefit which the empire received from the curiosity of Justinian. His addition of one seventh to the ordinary price of copper money may be interpreted with the same candour; and the alteration, which might be wise, appears to have been innocent; since he neither alloyed the purity, nor enhanced the value, of the gold coin;<sup>57</sup> the legal measure of public and private payments. V. The ample jurisdiction required by the farmers of the

## Venality.

revenue to accomplish their engagements, might be placed in an odious light, as if they had purchased from the emperor the lives and fortunes of their fellow-citizens. And a more direct sale of honours and offices was transacted in the palace, with the permission, or at least with the connivance, of Justinian and Theodora. The claims of merit, even those of favour, were disregarded, and it was almost reasonable to expect, that the bold adventurer, who had undertaken the trade of a magistrate, should find a rich compensation for infamy, labour, danger, the debts which he had contracted, and the heavy interest which he paid. A sense of the disgrace and mischief of this venal practice, at length awakened the slumbering virtue of Justinian; and he attempted, by the sanction of oaths<sup>58</sup> and penalties, to guard the integrity of his government; but at the end of a year of perjury, his rigorous edict was suspended, and corruption licitiously abused her triumph over the impotence of the laws. VI. The

## Testaments.

testament of Eulalius, count of the domestics, declared the emperor his sole heir, on condition, however, that he should discharge his debts and legacies, allow to his three daughters a decent maintenance, and bestow each of them in marriage, with a portion of ten pounds of gold. But the splendid fortune of Eulalius had been consumed by fire; and the inventory of his goods did not exceed the trifling sum of five hundred and sixty-four pieces of gold. A similar instance, in Grecian history, admonished the emperor of the honourable part prescribed for his imitation. He checked the selfish murmurs of the treasury, applauded the confidence of his friend, discharged the legacies and debts, educated the three virgins under the eye of the empress Theodora, and doubled the marriage portion which had satisfied the tenderness of their father.<sup>59</sup> The humanity of a prince (for princes cannot be generous) is entitled to some praise; yet even in this act of virtue we may discover the inveterate custom of supplanting

<sup>55</sup> One to Serthopolis, capital of the second Palestine, and twelve for the rest of the province. *Alexand. p. 136.* For the history of this fact from a MS. of the Vatican, see the *plecteron* in the Vatican library, it is not published by any scholar.

<sup>56</sup> John Mæler, *l. c.* p. 273. "In tempore autem de fœdore, et Zorabaz *l. c.* p. 67, the golden prices, which Justinian had decreed, sunk from the necessities."

<sup>57</sup> For an article, one sixth of an ounce of gold, in value of 20, he gave more than 180 pieces, or pieces of copper. A silver portion of the mint, below the market price, must have soon produced a scarcity of small money. In England, the penny in copper would

be for no more than seven pence. Smith's Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 193. For Justinian's gold coin, see *Evagrius* *l. c.* p. 101.

<sup>58</sup> Justinian's oath occurred in the most favorable words: "I will not permit the emperor's sacred and civil vessels to be polluted by the sale of offices, or the purchase of offices, the oppression of citizens, the abuse of power, or the neglect of temporal justice."

<sup>59</sup> Justinian's conduct after the death of Eulalius is recorded in the *Evagrius* *l. c.* p. 101. "The emperor, after the death of Eulalius, did not permit the sale of his property, but he sold and educated the three virgins, and he doubled the marriage portion."

the legal or natural heirs, which Procopius imputes to the reign of Justinian. His charge is supported by eminent names and scandalous examples; neither widows nor orphans were spared; and the art of soliciting, or extorting, or supposing testaments, was beneficially practised by the agents of the palace. This base and mischievous tyranny invades the security of private life; and the monarch who has indulged an appetite for gain will soon be tempted to anticipate the moment of succession, to interpret wealth as an evidence of guilt, and to proceed, from the claim of inheritance, to the power of confiscation. VII. Among the forms of rapine, a philosopher may be permitted to name the conversion of Pagan or heretical riches to the use of the faithful; but in the time of Justinian this holy plunder was condemned by the sectaries alone, who became the victims of his orthodox avarice.<sup>90</sup>

Dishonour might be ultimately reflected on the character of Justinian; but much of the guilt, and still more of the profit, was intercepted by the ministers, who were seldom promoted for their virtues, and not always selected for their talents.<sup>91</sup> The merits of Tribonian the quaestor will hereafter be weighed in the reformation of the Roman law; but the economy of the East was subordinate to the praetorian prefect, and Procopius has justified his anecdotes by the portrait which he exposes in his public history, of the notorious

vices of John of Cappadocia.<sup>92</sup> His knowledge was not borrowed from the schools,<sup>93</sup> and his style was scarcely legible; but he excelled in the powers of native genius, to suggest the wisest counsels, and to find expedients in the most desperate situations. The corruption of his heart was equal to the vigour of his understanding. Although he was suspected of magic and Pagan superstition, he appeared insensible to the fear of God or the reproaches of man; and his aspiring fortune was raised on the death of thousands, the poverty of millions, the ruin of cities, and the desolation of provinces. From the dawn of light to the moment of dinner, he assiduously laboured to enrich his master and himself at the expense of the Roman world; the remainder of the day was spent in sensual and obscene pleasures, and the silent hours of the night were interrupted by the perpetual dread of the justice of an assassin. His abilities, perhaps his vices, recommended him to the lasting friendship of Justinian; the emperor yielded with reluctance to the fury of the people; his victory was displayed by the immediate restoration of their enemy; and they felt above ten years, under his oppressive administration, that he was stimulated by revenge, rather than instructed by misfortune. Their murmurs served only to fortify the resolution of Justinian; but the praefect, in the insolence

of favour, provoked the resentment of Theodora, disdained a power before which every knee was bent, and attempted to sow the seeds of discord between the emperor and his beloved consort. Even Theodora herself was constrained to dissemble, to wait a favourable moment, and by an artful conspiracy to render John of Cappadocia the accomplice of his own destruction. At a time when Belisarius, unless he had been a hero, must have shown himself a rebel, his wife Antonina, who enjoyed the secret confidence of the empress, communicated his feigned discontent to Euphemia, the daughter of the praefect; the credulous virgin imparted to her father the dangerous project, and John, who might have known the value of oaths and promises, was tempted to accept a nocturnal, and almost treasonable, interview with the wife of Belisarius. An ambuscade of guards and eunuchs had been posted by the command of Theodora; they rushed with drawn swords to seize or to punish the guilty minister: he was saved by the fidelity of his attendants; but instead of appealing to a gracious sovereign, who had privately warned him of his danger, he pusillanimously fled to the sanctuary of the church. The favourite of Justinian was sacrificed to conjugal tenderness or domestic tranquillity; the conversion of a praefect into a priest extinguished his ambitious hopes, but the friendship of the emperor alleviated his disgrace, and he retained in the mild exile of Cyzicus an ample portion of his riches. Such imperfect revenge could not satisfy the unrelenting hatred of Theodora; the murder of his old enemy, the bishop of Cyzicus, afforded a decent pretence; and John of Cappadocia, whose actions had deserved a thousand deaths, was at last condemned for a crime of which he was innocent. A great minister, who had been invested with the honours of consul and patrician, was ignominiously scourged like the vilest of malefactors; a tattered cloak was the sole remnant of his fortunes; he was transported in a bark to the place of his banishment at Antinopolis in Upper Egypt, and the praefect of the East begged his bread through the cities which had trembled at his name. During an exile of seven years, his life was protracted and threatened by the ingenious cruelty of Theodora; and when her death permitted the emperor to recall a servant whom he had abandoned with regret, the ambition of John of Cappadocia was reduced to the humble duties of the sacerdotal profession. His successors convinced the subjects of Justinian, that the arts of oppression might still be improved by experience and industry; the frauds of a Syrian banker were introduced into the administration of the finances; and the example of the praefect was diligently copied by the quaestor, the public and private treasurer, the governors of provinces, and the principal magistrates of the Eastern empire.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>90</sup> John Malela, tom. ii. p. 101, 102, 103.

<sup>91</sup> One of these Antonius, perished in an earthquake — and dies a judgment! The conjuncts and disjuncts of the praefect in A. 523 (A. 524) p. 116, 117, are almost an echo of the preceding. The aliena pecunia reddenda (of origines (l. 751, &c.) is not very honourable to Justinian's memory.

<sup>92</sup> See the history and character of John of Cappadocia in Procopius (Peric. l. i. c. 24, 25, l. ii. c. 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>93</sup> See the history and character of John of Cappadocia in Procopius (Peric. l. i. c. 24, 25, l. ii. c. 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>94</sup> See the history and character of John of Cappadocia in Procopius (Peric. l. i. c. 24, 25, l. ii. c. 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314

His edifices and  
architects.

V. The edifices of Justinian were cemented with the blood and treasure of his people; but those stately structures appeared to announce the prosperity of the empire, and actually displayed the skill of their architects. Both the theory and practice of the arts which depend on mathematical science and mechanical power were cultivated under the patronage of the emperors; the fame of Archimedes was rivalled by Proclus and Anthemius; and if their *miracles* had been related by intelligent spectators, they might now enlarge the speculations, instead of exciting the distrust, of philosophers. A tradition has prevailed, that the Roman fleet was reduced to ashes in the port of Syracuse by the burning-glasses of Archimedes;<sup>95</sup> and it is asserted, that a similar expedient was employed by Proclus to destroy the Gothic vessels in the harbour of Constantinople, and to protect his benefactor Anastasius against the bold enterprise of Vitalian.<sup>96</sup> A machine was fixed on the walls of the city, consisting of an hexagon mirror of polished brass, with many smaller and moveable polygons to receive and reflect the rays of the meridian sun; and a consuming flame was darted, to the distance, perhaps, of two hundred feet.<sup>97</sup> The truth of these two extraordinary facts is invalidated by the silence of the most authentic historians; and the use of burning-glasses was never adopted in the attack or defence of places.<sup>98</sup> Yet the admirable experiments of a French philosopher<sup>99</sup> have demonstrated the possibility of such a mirror; and, since it is possible, I am more disposed to attribute the art to the greatest mathematicians of antiquity, than to give the merit of the fiction to the idle fancy of a monk or a sophist. According to another story, Proclus applied sulphur to the destruction of the Gothic fleet;<sup>100</sup> in a modern imagination, the name of sulphur is instantly connected with the suspicion of gunpowder, and that suspicion is propagated by the secret arts of his disciple Anthemius.<sup>101</sup> A citizen of Tralles in Asia had five sons, who were all distinguished in their respective professions by merit and success. Olympius excelled in the knowledge and practice of the Roman jurisprudence. Dioscorus and Alexander became learned physicians; but the skill of the former was exercised for the benefit of his fellow-citizens, while his more ambitious brother acquired wealth and reputation at Rome. The fame of Metrodorus the grammarian, and of Anthemius the mathematician and architect, reached the ears of the emperor Justinian, who invited them to Con-

stantinople; and while the one instructed the rising generation in the schools of eloquence, the other filled the capital and provinces with more lasting monuments of his art. In a trifling dispute relative to the walls or windows of their contiguous houses, he had been vanquished by the eloquence of his neighbour Zeno; but the orator was defeated in his turn by the master of mechanics, whose malicious, though harmless, stratagems are darkly represented by the ignorance of Agathias. In a lower room, Anthemius arranged several vessels or caldrons of water, each of them covered by the wide bottom of a leathern tube, which rose to a narrow top, and was artificially conveyed among the joists and rafters of the adjacent building. A fire was kindled beneath the caldron; the steam of the boiling water ascended through the tubes; the house was shaken by the efforts of imprisoned air, and its trembling inhabitants might wonder that the city was unconscious of the earthquake which they had felt. At another time, the friends of Zeno, as they sat at table, were dazzled by the intolerable light which flashed in their eyes from the reflecting mirrors of Anthemius; they were astonished by the noise which he produced from the collision of certain minute and sonorous particles; and the orator declared in tragic style to the senate, that a mere mortal must yield to the power of an antagonist, who shook the earth with the trident of Neptune, and imitated the thunder and lightning of Jove himself. The genius of Anthemius and his colleague Isidore the Milesian, was excited and employed by a prince, whose taste for architecture had degenerated into a mischievous and costly passion. His favourite architects submitted their designs and difficulties to Justinian, and discreetly confessed how much their laborious meditations were surpassed by the intuitive knowledge or celestial inspiration of an emperor, whose views were always directed to the benefit of his people, the glory of his reign, and the salvation of his soul.<sup>102</sup>

The principal church, which was dedicated by the founder of Constantinople to Saint Sophia, or the eternal wisdom, had been twice destroyed by fire; after the exile of John Chrysostom, and during the *Nika* of the blue and green factions. No sooner did the tumult subside, than the Christian populace deplored their sacrilegious rashness; but they might have rejoiced in the calamity, had they foreseen the glory of the new temple, which at the end of forty days was stre-

Foundation of  
the church of  
St. Sophia.

<sup>95</sup> This configuration is hinted by Lucian (in Hippia, c. 2) and Galen (in de Temperamentis, tom. i. p. 31. Edit. Basil.) in the second century. A thousand years afterwards, it is positively affirmed by Zonaras (l. ix. p. 424) on the faith of Dionysius, in *Trozes* (initial in H. Scv. Justinian, fol. 100. c. 75), and the abridger of Lucian. See Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.* v. 24. tom. ii. p. 514, 552), to whom I am more or less indebted for several of these quotations.

<sup>96</sup> Zonaras (l. xiv. p. 55.) affirms the fact, without quoting any evidence.

<sup>97</sup> Tzetzes describes the artifice of these burning glasses, which he had read, perhaps with no learned eyes, in a treatise attributed to Anthemius. That treatise, *περί κάτοπτρου πυρρὰς πυρώσεως*, has been lately published, translated, and illustrated, by M. Dabry, a scholar and a mathematician (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xlv. p. 292-451.).

<sup>98</sup> In the siege of Syracuse, by the silence of Polybius, Plutarch, Livy; in the siege of Constantinople, by that of Marcellinus and all the contemporaries of the fifth century.

<sup>99</sup> Without any previous knowledge of Tzetzes or Anthemius, the immortal Bâillon imagined and executed a set of burning-glasses, with which he could not only play, at the distance of 200 feet (supplement à l'Hist. Naturelle, tom. i. p. 391-387, quarto edit. only), but the miracles, would not his genius have performed for the public service, with real expense, and in the strong, air of Constantinople or Syracuse?

<sup>100</sup> John Malala, from ii. p. 120-124, relates the fact, but he is silent of Proclus and Anthemius.

<sup>101</sup> The merit of Anthemius as an architect is also mentioned by Agathias (de Edit. l. i. c. 1.), and

<sup>102</sup> c. 1, 2, l. i. c. 5). He relates a coincidence of dreams which supposes some fraud in Justinian or his architect. They both saw, in a vision, the same plan for stopping an inundation at Dara. A stone-quarry near Jovianum was revealed to the emperor (l. v. c. 6.)—an angel was tricked into the perpetual custody of St. Sophia (Agathias, de Antiqu. l. i. c. 15. p. 70.).

nuously undertaken by the piety of Justinian.<sup>103</sup> The ruins were cleared away, a more spacious plan was described, and as it required the consent of some proprietors of ground, they obtained the most exorbitant terms from the eager desires and timorous conscience of the monarch. Anthemius formed the design, and his genius directed the hands of ten thousand workmen, whose payment in pieces of fine silver was never delayed beyond the evening. The emperor himself, clad in a linen tunic, surveyed each day their rapid progress, and encouraged their diligence by his familiarity, his zeal, and his rewards. The new cathedral of St. Sophia was consecrated by the patriarch, five years, eleven months, and ten days from the first foundation; and in the midst of the solemn festival, Justinian exclaimed with devout vanity, "Glory be to God, who hath thought me worthy to accomplish so great a work; I have vanquished thee, O Solomon!"<sup>104</sup> But the pride of the Roman Solomon, before twenty years had elapsed, was humbled by an earthquake, which overthrew the eastern part of the dome. Its splendour was again restored by the perseverance of the same prince; and in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, Justinian celebrated the second dedication of a temple, which remains, after twelve centuries, a stately monument of his fame. The architecture of St. Sophia, which is now converted into the principal mosch, has been imitated by the Turkish sultans, and that venerable pile continues to excite the fond admiration of the Greeks, and the more rational curiosity of European travellers.

**Description.** The eye of the spectator is disappointed by an irregular prospect of half domes and shelving roofs: the western front, the principal approach, is destitute of simplicity and magnificence: and the scale of dimensions has been much surpassed by several of the Latin cathedrals. But the architect who first erected an ætæal cupola, is entitled to the praise of bold design and skilful execution. The dome of St. Sophia, illuminated by four and twenty windows, is formed with so small a curve, that the depth is equal only to one sixth of its diameter; the measure of that diameter is one hundred and fifteen feet, and the lofty centre, where a crescent has supplanted the cross, rises to the perpendicular height of one hundred and eighty feet above the pavement. The circle which encompasses the dome, lightly reposes on four strong arches, and their weight is firmly supported by four massy piles, whose strength is assisted on the northern and southern sides by four columns of Egyptian granite. A Greek cross, inscribed

in a quadrangle, represents the form of the edifice; the exact breadth is two hundred and forty-three feet, and two hundred and sixty-nine may be assigned for the extreme length from the sanctuary in the east to the nine western doors which open into the vestibule, and from thence into the *narthex* or exterior portico. That portico was the humble station of the penitents. The nave or body of the church was filled by the congregation of the faithful; but the two sexes were prudently distinguished, and the upper and lower galleries were allotted for the more private devotion of the women. Beyond the northern and southern piles, a balustrade, terminated on either side by the thrones of the emperor and the patriarch, divided the nave from the choir: and the space, as far as the steps of the altar, was occupied by the clergy and singers. The altar itself, a name which insensibly became familiar to Christian ears, was placed in the eastern recess, artificially built in the form of a demi-cylinder; and this sanctuary communicated by several doors with the sacristy, the vestry, the baptistery, and the contiguous buildings, subservient either to the pomp of worship, or the private use of the ecclesiastical ministers. The memory of past calamities inspired Justinian with a wise resolution, that no wood, except for the doors, should be admitted into the new edifice; and the choice of the materials was applied to the strength, the lightness, or the splendour of the respective parts. The solid piles which sustained the cupola were composed of huge blocks of freestone, hewn into squares and triangles, fortified by circles of iron, and firmly cemented by the infusion of lead and quicklime: but the weight of the cupola was diminished by the levity of its substance, which consists either of pumice-stone that floats in the water, or of bricks from the isle of Rhodes, five times less ponderous than the ordinary sort. The whole frame of the edifice was constructed of brick; but those base materials were concealed by a crust of marble; and the inside of St. Sophia, the cupola, the two larger, and the six smaller, semi-domes, the walls, the hundred columns, and the pavement, delight even the eyes of barbarians, with a rich and variegated picture.

A poet,<sup>105</sup> who beheld the primitive lustre of St. Sophia, enumerates the colours, the shades, and the spots of ten or twelve marbles, jaspers, and porphyries, which nature had profusely diversified, and which were blended and contrasted as it were by a skilful painter. The triumph of Christ was adorned with the last spoils of Paganism, but the greater

<sup>103</sup> Among the crowd of ancient and moderns who have celebrated the edifice of St. Sophia, I shall distinguish and follow, 1. Four original spectators, and historians. Procopius (de Edific. l. i. c. 1), Agathang. (l. v. p. 154, 155), Paul Silentiarius (in a poem of 1026 hexameters, ad calcem Annæ Comnenæ Alexiad.), and Evagrius (l. iv. c. 31.). 2. Two legendary Greeks of a later period. George Codinus (de Origin. C. P. p. 61, 74), and the anonymous writer of Banduri (Imp. Orient. tom. i. l. v. p. 65, 80). 3. The great Byzantine p. 525, 529, are travellers — the c in the xvth, th in 1680, in 1610 he has given plans, prospect, and inside views of St. Sophia; and his plans, though on a smaller scale, appear more correct than those of Durand. I have adopted and reduced the measures of Grelot — but as no broken can now ascend the dome, the height is borrowed from Evagrius, compared with trillium, Greaves, and the Oriental Geographer.

<sup>104</sup> Solomon's temple was narrower than the proper structure of the house — the Egyptian or Hebrew cult at 36 and 43ds in breadth, and 110 says Vrielandus Comestor, vol. i. it could be valued at four or five millions sterling!

<sup>105</sup> Paul Silentiarius, in dark and poetic language, describes the various stones and marbles that were employed in the edifice of St. Sophia (l. p. n. p. 129, 133, &c. &c.) 1. The *Crystalline* — pale, with iron veins. 2. The *Phrygian* — of two sorts, both of a rosy hue; the one with a white shade, the other purple, with silver flowers. 3. The *Thracian* — stars. 4. The *green marble* — black, with white veins. 5. The *Thracian* — with oblique veins, with a red flower. 7. The *Thracian* — with white veins. 8. The *Thracian* — white, with black edges. Besides the *Thracian*, which formed the pavement, the *Thracian*, *Mossian*, &c. which are less distinctly painted.

part of these costly stones was extracted from the quarries of Asia Minor, the isles and continent of Greece, Egypt, Africa, and Gaul. Eight columns of porphyry, which Aurelian had placed in the temple of the Sun, were offered by the piety of a Roman matron; eight others of green marble were presented by the ambitious zeal of the magistrates of Ephesus: both are admirable by their size and beauty, but every order of architecture disclaims their fantastic capitals. A variety of ornaments and figures was curiously expressed in mosaic; and the images of Christ, of the Virgin, of saints, and of angels, which have been defaced by Turkish fanaticism, were dangerously exposed to the superstition of the Greeks. According to the sanctity of each object, the precious metals were distributed in thin leaves or in solid masses. The balustrade of the choir, the capitals of the pillars, the ornaments of the doors and galleries, were of gilt bronze; the spectator was dazzled by the glittering aspect of the cupola; the sanctuary contained forty thousand pound weight of silver; and the holy vases and vestments of the altar were of the purest gold, enriched with inestimable gems.

Riches.

Before the structure of the church had risen two cubits above the ground, forty-five thousand two hundred pounds were already consumed; and the whole expense amounted to three hundred and twenty thousand: each reader, according to the measure of his belief, may estimate their value either in gold or silver; but the sum of one million sterling is the result of the lowest computation. A magnificent temple is a laudable monument of national taste and religion, and the enthusiast who entered the dome of St. Sophia, might be tempted to suppose that it was the residence, or even the workmanship, of the Deity. Yet how dull is the artifice, how insignificant is the labour, if it be compared with the formation of the vilest insect that crawls upon the surface of the temple!

Churches and palaces.

So minute a description of an edifice which time has respected, may attest the truth, and excuse the relation. of the innumerable works, both in the capital and provinces, which Justinian constructed on a smaller scale and less durable foundations.<sup>105</sup> In Constantinople alone, and the adjacent suburbs, he dedicated twenty-five churches to the honour of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints: most of these churches were decorated with marble and gold; and their various situation was skillfully chosen in a populous square, or a pleasant grove; on the margin of the sea-shore, or on some lofty eminence which overlooked the continents of Europe and Asia. The church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, and that of St. John at Ephesus, appear to have been framed on the same model: their domes aspired to imitate the cupolas of St. Sophia; but the altar was more judiciously placed under the

centre of the dome, at the junction of four stately porticoes, which more accurately expressed the figure of the Greek cross. The Virgin of Jerusalem might exult in the temple erected by her Imperial votary on a most ingrateful spot, which afforded neither ground nor materials to the architect. A level was formed, by raising part of a deep valley to the height of the mountain. The stones of a neighbouring quarry were hewn into regular forms; each block was fixed on a peculiar carriage drawn by forty of the strongest oxen, and the roads were widened for the passage of such enormous weights. Lebanon furnished her loftiest cedars for the timbers of the church; and the seasonable discovery of a vein of red marble, supplied its beautiful columns, two of which, the supporters of the exterior portico, were esteemed the largest in the world. The pious munificence of the emperor was diffused over the Holy Land; and if reason should condemn the monasteries of both sexes which were built or restored by Justinian, yet charity must applaud the wells which he sunk, and the hospitals which he founded, for the relief of the weary pilgrims. The schismatical temper of Egypt was ill entitled to the royal bounty; but in Syria and Africa some remedies were applied to the disasters of wars and earthquakes, and both Carthage and Antioch, emerging from their ruins, might revere the name of their gracious benefactor.<sup>107</sup> Almost every saint in the calendar acquired the honours of a temple; almost every city of the empire obtained the solid advantages of bridges, hospitals, and aqueducts; but the severe liberality of the monarch disdained to indulge his subjects in the popular luxury of baths and theatres. While Justinian laboured for the public service, he was not unmindful of his own dignity and ease. The Byzantine palace, which had been damaged by the conflagration, was restored with new magnificence; and some notion may be conceived of the whole edifice, by the vestibule or hall, which, from the doors perhaps, or the roof, was surnamed *chalcæ*, or the brazen. The dome of a spacious quadrangle was supported by massy pillars; the pavement and walls were incrustured with many-coloured marbles—the emerald green of Laconia, the fiery red, and the white Phrygian stone intersected with veins of a sea-green hue: the mosaic paintings of the dome and sides represented the glories of the African and Italian triumphs. On the Asiatic shore of the Propontis, at a small distance to the east of Chalcedon, the costly palace and gardens of Heræum<sup>106</sup> were prepared for the summer residence of Justinian, and more especially of Theodora. The poets of the age have celebrated the rare alliance of nature and art, the harmony of the nymphs of the groves, the fountains, and the waves: yet the crowd of attendants who followed the court, complained of their inconvenient

<sup>105</sup> The six books of the *Edifices of Procopius* are thus distributed: the first is confined to Constantinople, the second includes Mesopotamia and Syria, the third, Armenia and the Euxine, the fourth, Europe, the fifth, Asia Minor and Palestine, the sixth, Egypt and Africa. Italy is forgot by the emperor or the historian, who published this work of adulation before the date (A.D. 555) of its final conquest.

<sup>107</sup> Justinian gave forty-five centuries of gold (156,000) for the repairs of Antioch after the earthquake (John Malala, tom. i. p. 119).

<sup>106</sup> The Heræum, the palace of Theodora, see p. 113. See also Thucyd. lib. ii. c. 13. and Strabo, lib. xiv. c. 2. who quotes several epigrams of the Antiochian bard Dionysius (P. P. 1. l. iv. c. 13. p. 175, 176).



lodgings,<sup>109</sup> and the nymphs were too often alarmed by the famous Porphyrio, a whale of ten cubits in breadth, and thirty in length, who was stranded at the mouth of the river Sângaris, after he had infested more than half a century the seas of Constantinople.<sup>110</sup>

The fortifications of Europe and Asia were multiplied by Justinian;

but the repetition of those timid and fruitless precautions exposes to a philosophic eye the debility of the empire.<sup>111</sup> From Belgrade to the Euxine, from the conflux of the Save to the mouth of the Danube, a chain of above four-score fortified places was extended along the banks of the great river. Single watch-towers were changed into spacious citadels; vacant walls, which the engineers contracted or enlarged according to the nature of the ground, were filled with colonies or garrisons; a strong fortress defended the ruins of Trajan's bridge,<sup>112</sup> and several military stations affected to spread beyond the Danube the pride of the Roman name. But that name was divested of its terrors; the barbarians, in their annual inroads, passed, and contemptuously repassed, before these useless bulwarks; and the inhabitants of the frontier, instead of reposing under the shadow of the general defence, were compelled to guard, with incessant vigilance, their separate habitations. The solitude of ancient cities was replenished; the new foundations of Justinian acquired, perhaps too hastily, the epithets of impregnable and populous; and the auspicious place of his own nativity attracted the grateful reverence of the vainest of princes. Under the name of *Justiniana prima*, the obscure village of Tauresium became the seat of an archbishop and a prefect, whose jurisdiction extended over seven warlike provinces of Illyricum;<sup>113</sup> and the corrupt appellation of *Gustentib* still indicates, about twenty miles to the south of Sophia, the residence of a Turkish sanjak.<sup>114</sup> For the use of the emperor's countrymen, a cathedral, a palace, and an aqueduct, were speedily constructed; the public and private edifices were adapted to the greatness of a royal city; and the strength of the walls resisted, during the lifetime of Justinian, the unskillful assaults of the Huns and Sclavonians. Their progress was sometimes retarded, and their hopes of rapine were disappointed, by the innumerable castles, which, in the provinces of Dacia, Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, appeared to cover the whole face of the country. Six hundred of these forts were built

or repaired by the emperor; but it seems reasonable to believe, that the far greater part consisted only of a stone or brick tower, in the midst of a square or circular area, which was surrounded by a wall and ditch, and afforded in a moment of danger some protection to the peasants and cattle of the neighbouring villages.<sup>115</sup> Yet these military works, which exhausted the public treasure, could not remove the just apprehensions of Justinian and his European subjects. The warm baths of Anchialus in Thrace were rendered as safe as they were salutary; but the rich pastures of Thessalonica were foraged by the Scythian cavalry; the delicious vale of Tempe, three hundred miles from the Danube, was continually alarmed by the sound of war;<sup>116</sup> and no unfortified spot, however distant or solitary, could securely enjoy the blessings of peace. The straits of Thermopylae, which seemed to protect, but which had so often betrayed, the safety of Greece, were diligently strengthened by the labours of Justinian. From the edge of the sea-shore, through the forests and valleys, and as far as the summit of the Thessalian mountains, a strong wall was continued, which occupied every practicable entrance. Instead of an hasty crowd of peasants, a garrison of two thousand soldiers was stationed along the rampart; granaries of corn, and reservoirs of water, were provided for their use; and by a precaution that inspired the cowardice which it foresaw, convenient fortresses were erected for their retreat. The walls of Corinth, overthrown by an earthquake, and the mouldering bulwarks of Athens and Plataea, were carefully restored; the barbarians were discouraged by the prospect of successive and painful sieges; and the naked cities of Peloponnesus were covered by the fortifications of the isthmus of Corinth. At the extremity of Europe, another peninsula, the Thracian Chersonesus, runs three days' journey into the sea, to form, with the adjacent shores of Asia, the straits of the Hellespont. The intervals between eleven populous towns were filled by lofty woods, fair pastures, and arable lands; and the isthmus, of thirty-seven stadia or furlongs, had been fortified by a Spartan general nine hundred years before the reign of Justinian.<sup>117</sup> In an age of freedom and valour, the slightest rampart may prevent a surprise; and Procopius appears insensible of the superiority of ancient times, while he praises the solid construction and double parapet of a wall, whose long arm stretched on either side into the sea; but whose strength was deemed insufficient to

<sup>109</sup> Compare, in the *Édifices* de l'art. 111, et in the *Voyages* de S. 11, the different styles of solid and military architecture, striped of the paint, or cleaned from the dirt, the object appears to be the same.

<sup>110</sup> Procopius, l. viii. c. 2, most probably a stranger and wanderer, as the Mediterranean does not breed whales. Brevi. quoniam in nostra manu perierunt. *Phil. Hist. Natur.* xii. 3. Between the polar circle and the tropic, the enormous animals of the ocean grow to the length of 50, 60, or 100 feet. *Hist. d. 4. Voyages*, tom. xv. p. 269. Pennant, *British Zoology*, vol. iii. p. 73.

<sup>111</sup> Montesquieu observes (tom. i. p. 305) "Constitutions sur la grandeur et la bonté des Rois, c. 111. Jusque à Justinien, l'empire was like France in the time of the Norman inroads—never so weak as when every valley was fortified."

<sup>112</sup> Procopius affirms (l. vi. c. 6) that the Danube was stopped by the ruins of the bridge. Had Apollonius the architect left a description of his own work, the fabulous wonders of Dion Cassius (l. lxxvii. p. 1129) would have been corrected by the genuine picture. Trajan's bridge consisted of twenty or twenty-two castles, with wooden arches; the river is still so, the current gentle, and the whole interval no more than 145 Roman d. lxxv. from Marath, or 515 fms. (*D'Anville, Géographie Ancienne*, tom. i. p. 205.)

<sup>115</sup> Of the *Leo Diacon, Mediterranean and Ripens, Danubius, Procopius*, the second *Macedonia*, and the second *Macedonia*. See *Justinian*, (Novell. c. 1), who speaks of his castles beyond the Danube, and of houses, a tower, and a ditch, and a ditch.

<sup>116</sup> See *D'Anville, Mémoires de l'Académie*, tom. xxi. p. 269, 270. *Recueil* (Present state of the Turkish Empire, p. 96. 316). Marath, *Statu Militaire de l'Empire Ottoman*, p. 1201. The sanjak of Goussend is one of the twenty under the *Païcha* of Rumelia, and his district maintains 48 *zaims* and 58 *hamaks*.

<sup>117</sup> These fortifications may be compared to the castles in *Mingre's* (Isthmus, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. i. p. 60. 151.)—a natural picture.

<sup>116</sup> The valley of Tempe is situated along the river Peneus, between the hills of Ossa and Olympus; it is only five miles long, and in some places no more than 120 feet in breadth. The verdant mountains are elegantly described by Pausanias (*l. viii. c. 13*), and more diffusely by Elian (*Hist. Var. l. iii. c. 11*).

<sup>117</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenic*, l. iii. c. 2. After a long and tedious conversation with the Byzantine declaimers, how refreshing is the truth, the simplicity, the elegance of an Attic writer!

guard the Chersonesus, if each city, and particularly Gallipoli and Sestos, had not been secured by their peculiar fortifications. The *long wall*, as it was emphatically styled, was a work as disgraceful in the object, as it was respectable in the execution. The riches of a capital diffuse themselves over the neighbouring country, and the territory of Constantinople, a paradise of nature, was adorned with luxuriant gardens and villas of the senators and opulent citizens. But their wealth served only to attract the bold and rapacious barbarians; the noblest of the Romans, in the bosom of peaceful indolence, were led away into Scythian captivity, and their sovereign might view, from his palace, the hostile flames which were insolently spread to the gates of the Imperial city. At the distance only of forty miles, Anastasius was constrained to establish a last frontier; his long wall, of sixty miles from the Propontis to the Euxine, proclaimed the impotence of his arms; and as the danger became more imminent, new fortifications were added by the indefatigable prudence of Justinian.<sup>118</sup>

Securities of Asia after the conquest of Isauria.

Asia Minor, after the submission of the Isaurians,<sup>119</sup> remained without enemies and without fortifications. Those bold savages, who had disdained to be the subjects of Gallienus, persisted two hundred and thirty years in a life of independence and rapine. The most successful princes respected the strength of the mountains and the despair of the natives; their fierce spirit was sometimes soothed with gifts, and sometimes restrained by terror; and a military count, with three legions, fixed his permanent and ignominious station in the heart of the Roman provinces.<sup>120</sup> But no sooner was the vigilance of power relaxed or diverted, than the light-armed squadrons descended from the hills, and invaded the peaceful plenty of Asia. Although the Isaurians were not remarkable for stature or bravery, want rendered them bold, and experience made them skilful in the exercise of predatory war. They advanced with secrecy and speed to the attack of villages and defenceless towns; their flying parties have sometimes touched the Hellespont, the Euxine, and the gates of Tarsus, Antioch, or Damascus;<sup>121</sup> and their spoil was lodged in their inaccessible mountains, before the Roman troops had received their orders, or the distant province had computed its loss. The guilt of rebellion and robbery excluded them from the rights of national enemies; and the magistrates were instructed, by an edict, that the trial or punishment of an Isaurian, even on the festival of Easter, was a meritorious act of justice and piety.<sup>122</sup> It the

captives were condemned to domestic slavery, they maintained, with their sword or dagger, the private quarrel of their masters; and it was found expedient for the public tranquillity, to prohibit the service of such dangerous retainers. When their countryman Theodosius or Zeno ascended the throne, he invited a faithful and formidable band of Isaurians, who insulted the court and city, and were rewarded by an annual tribute of five thousand pounds of gold. But the hopes of fortune depopulated the mountains, luxury enervated the hardness of their minds and bodies, and in proportion as they mixed with mankind, they became less qualified for the enjoyment of poor and solitary freedom. After the death of Zeno, his successor Anastasius suppressed their pensions, exposed their persons to the revenge of the people, banished them from Constantinople, and prepared to sustain a war, which left only the alternative of victory or servitude. A brother of the last emperor usurped the title of Augustus; his cause was powerfully supported by the arms, the treasures, and the magazines, collected by Zeno; and the native Isaurians must have formed the smallest portion of the hundred and fifty thousand barbarians under his standard, which was sanctified, for the first time, by the presence of a fighting bishop. Their disorderly numbers were vanquished in the plains of Phrygia by the valour and discipline of the Goths; but a war of six years almost exhausted the courage of the emperor.<sup>123</sup> The Isaurians retired to their mountains; A.D. 492-499. their fortresses were successively besieged and ruined; their communication with the sea was intercepted; the bravest of their leaders died in arms; the surviving chiefs, before their execution, were dragged in chains through the hippodrome; a colony of their youth was transplanted into Thrace, and the remnant of the people submitted to the Roman government. Yet some generations elapsed before their minds were reduced to the level of slavery. The populous villages of Mount Taurus were filled with horsemen and archers; they resisted the imposition of tributes, but they recruited the armies of Justinian; and his civil magistrates, the proconsul of Cappadocia, the count of Isauria, and the praetors of Lycæonia and Pisidia, were invested with military power to restrain the licentious practice of rapes and assassinations.<sup>124</sup>

If we extend our view from the tropic to the mouth of the Tanais, we may observe, on one hand, the precautions of Justinian to curb the savages of Athiopia;<sup>125</sup> and on the other, the

Four customs of the Goths, from the East, from the East, from the East, from the East.

<sup>118</sup> See the history of the Eastern Empire, from the reign of Theodosius to that of Justinian, in the fourth book of the *History of the Eastern Empire, p. 100.*

<sup>119</sup> Turn back to page 146. In the case of the Isaurians, I have sometimes mentioned and sometimes omitted, to be a mixture of the Isaurians, which were in a state of barbaric independence.

<sup>120</sup> Theodosius Proclamation, August 1, 407, which is found under Theodosius, or Constantine. See *Chronicle of the Eastern Empire, p. 113. The Isaurians, who were in a state of barbaric independence, were a mixture of the Isaurians, which were in a state of barbaric independence.*

<sup>121</sup> See the full and wide extent of their ravages in the *Chronicle of the Eastern Empire, p. 113. The Isaurians, who were in a state of barbaric independence, were a mixture of the Isaurians, which were in a state of barbaric independence.*

<sup>122</sup> Cod. Justinian. l. x. c. 1. § 1. The punishments are severe—a fine of an hundred pounds, a good degradation, and even death. The public peace might afford a pretence, but Zeno was desirous of monopolizing the valour and service of the Isaurians.

<sup>123</sup> The Isaurian war and the death of Anastasius are briefly and clearly represented in the *Maxims of the Eastern Empire, p. 100. The Isaurians, who were in a state of barbaric independence, were a mixture of the Isaurians, which were in a state of barbaric independence.*

<sup>124</sup> See *Proclamation of Justinian, p. 10. The Isaurians, who were in a state of barbaric independence, were a mixture of the Isaurians, which were in a state of barbaric independence.*



situation which made valour useless and flight impossible; and the double victory of the Huns was achieved by military stratagem. They dismissed their royal captive after he had submitted to adore the majesty of a barbarian; and the humiliation was poorly evaded by the casuistical subtlety of the Magi, who instructed Perozes to direct his intention to the rising sun. The indignant successor of Cyrus forgot his danger and his gratitude; he renewed the attack with headstrong fury, and lost both his army and his life.<sup>155</sup> The death of Perozes abandoned Persia to her foreign and domestic enemies; and twelve years of confusion elapsed before his son Cabades or Kobad could embrace any designs of ambition or revenge. The unkind parsimony of Anastasius was the motive or pretence of a Roman war;<sup>156</sup> the Huns and Arabs marched under the Persian standard, and the fortifications of Armenia and Mesopotamia were, at that time, in a ruinous or imperfect condition. The emperor returned his thanks to the governor and people of Martyropolis, for the prompt surrender of a city which could not be successfully defended, and the conflagration of Theodosiopolis might justify the conduct of their prudent neighbours. Amida sustained a long and destructive siege: at the end of three months the loss of fifty thousand of the soldiers of Cabades was not balanced by any prospect of success, and it was in vain that the Magi deduced a flattering prediction from the indecency of the women on the ramparts, who had revealed their most secret charms to the eyes of the assailants. At length, in a silent night, they ascended the most accessible tower, which was guarded only by some monks, oppressed, after the duties of a festival, with sleep and wine. Scaling ladders were applied at the dawn of day; the presence of Cabades, his stern command, and his drawn sword, compelled the Persians to vanquish; and before it was sheathed, fourscore thousand of the inhabitants had expired the blood of their companions. After the siege of Amida, the war continued three years, and the unhappy frontier tasted the full measure of its calamities. The gold of Anastasius was offered too late, the number of his troops was defeated by the number of their generals; the country was stripped of its inhabitants, and both the living and the dead were abandoned to the wild beasts of the desert. The resistance of Edessa, and the deficiency of spoil, inclined the mind of Cabades to peace: he sold his conquests for an exorbitant price; and the same line, though marked with slaughter and devastation, still separated the two empires. To avert the repetition of the same evils, Anastasius resolved to found a new colony, so strong, that

The Persian war.  
A. D. 502-503

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it should defy the power of the Persian, so far advanced towards Assyria, that its stationary troops might defend the province by the menace or operation of offensive war. For this purpose, the town of Dara,<sup>157</sup> Fortifications of Dara. fourteen miles from Nisibis, and four days' journey from the Tigris, was peopled and adorned; the hasty works of Anastasius were improved by the perseverance of Justinian; and without insisting on places less important, the fortifications of Dara may represent the military architecture of the age. The city was surrounded with two walls, and the interval between them, of fifty paces, afforded a retreat to the cattle of the besieged. The inner wall was a monument of strength and beauty: it measured sixty feet from the ground, and the height of the towers was one hundred feet; the loopholes, from whence an enemy might be annoyed with missile weapons, were small, but numerous; the soldiers were planted along the rampart, under the shelter of double galleries, and a third platform, spacious and secure, was raised on the summit of the towers. The exterior wall appears to have been less lofty, but more solid; and each tower was protected by a quadrangular bulwark. A hard rocky soil resisted the tools of the miners, and on the south-east, where the ground was more tractable, their approach was retarded by a new work, which advanced in the shape of an half-moon. The double and treble ditches were filled with a stream of water; and in the management of the river, the most skilful labour was employed to supply the inhabitants, to distress the besiegers, and to prevent the mischiefs of a natural or artificial inundation. Dara continued more than sixty years to fulfil the wishes of its founders, and to provoke the jealousy of the Persians, who incessantly complained, that this impregnable fortress had been constructed in manifest violation of the treaty of peace between the two empires.

Between the Euxine and the Caspian, the countries of Colchis, The Caspian or Iberian gates. Iberia, and Albania, are intersected in every direction by the branches of Mount Caucasus; and the two principal gates, or passes, from north to south, have been frequently confounded in the geography both of the ancients and moderns. The name of *Caspian* or *Albanian* gates is properly applied to Derbend,<sup>158</sup> which occupies a short declivity between the mountains and the sea: the city, if we give credit to local tradition, had been founded by the Greeks; and this dangerous entrance was fortified by the kings of Persia, with a mole, double walls, and doors of iron. The *Iberian* gates<sup>159</sup> are formed by a narrow passage of six miles in Mount Caucasus, which opens from the northern side

<sup>155</sup> See the fate of Phraur or Perozes, and its consequences, in Procopius (Persic. l. i. c. 5-6), who may be compared with the fragments of Oriental history (Pleribiot, *Éclaircissement* p. 231. and Fœvry, *Histoire de Persie*, translated or abridged by Seydoux, l. i. c. 52. p. 152-153). The chronology is also ascertained by Asemann (Bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 96-126).

<sup>156</sup> The Persian war, under the reigns of Anastasius and Justin, may be collected from Procopius (Persic. l. i. c. 7, 8, 9). Theophanes (in chronograph. p. 124-125), Evagrius (l. ii. c. 27), Marcellinus (in Chron. p. 47), and Josue Stylites (apud Asemann. tom. i. p. 272-281).

<sup>157</sup> The description of Dara is simple and correctly given by Procopius (Persic. l. i. c. 10. l. ii. c. 15. De Edific. l. ii. c. 23). See the situation in D'Anville (l'Épigraphie et le Tigris, p. 55,

54, 55), though he seems to double the interval between Dara and Nisibis.

<sup>158</sup> For the city and pass of Derbend, see Titterton (Bibl. Orient. p. 157-201-202). Pour de la Grèce (Hist. de Géorgie, l. i. c. 29). Histoire chronologique des États romains, t. i. p. 129, 130, 131. (Caucasus p. 130-131). 1041, and Constantin de Bruyn (Voyages, tom. i. p. 130, 131). The city may be compared with the fort of Derbend, which judges the wall to be of stone and gravel bordered by trees.

<sup>159</sup> For a pass, though without gates, which descends to the sea, see Constantin de Bruyn (Voyages, tom. i. p. 130, 131). The pass is now called Istanbul. The *Iberian* gates (D'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. ii. p. 11, 12, 13).

of Iberia or Georgia, into the plain that reaches to the Tanais and the Volga. A fortress, designed by Alexander perhaps, or one of his successors, to command that important pass, had descended by right of conquest or inheritance to a prince of the Huns, who offered it for a moderate price to the emperor: but while Anastasius paused, while he timorously computed the cost and the distance, a more vigilant rival interposed, and Cabades forcibly occupied the straits of Caucasus. The Albanian and Iberian gates excluded the horsemen of Scythia from the shortest and most practicable roads, and the whole front of the mountains was covered by the rampart of Gog and Magog, the long wall which has excited the curiosity of an Arabian caliph<sup>140</sup> and a Russian conqueror.<sup>141</sup> According to a recent description, huge stones seven feet thick, twenty-one feet in length or height, are artificially joined without iron or cement, to compose a wall, which runs above three hundred miles from the shores of Derbend, over the hills and through the valleys of Daghestan and Georgia. Without a vision, such a work might be undertaken by the policy of Cabades; without a miracle, it might be accomplished by his son, so formidable to the Romans under the name of Chosroes, so dear to the Orientals under the appellation of Nushirwan. The Persian monarch held in his hand the keys both of peace and war; but he stipulated, in every treaty, that Justinian should contribute to the expense of a common barrier, which equally protected the two empires from the inroads of the Scythians.<sup>142</sup>

VII. Justinian suppressed the schools of Athens and the consular of Rome, which had given so many sages and heroes to mankind. Both these institutions had long since degenerated from their primitive glory; yet some reproach may be justly inflicted on the avarice and jealousy of a prince, by whose hand such venerable ruins were destroyed.

Athens, after her Persian triumphs, adopted the philosophy of Ionia and the rhetoric of Sicily; and these studies became the patrimony of a city, whose inhabitants, about thirty thousand males, condensed, within the period of a single life, the genius of ages and millions. Our sense of the dignity of human nature is exalted by the simple recollection, that Isocrates<sup>143</sup> was the companion of Plato and Xenophon; that he assisted, perhaps with the historian Thucydides, at the first representations of the *Edipus* of Sophocles and the *Iphigenia* of Euripides; and that his pupils *Æschines* and *Demosthenes* contended for the crown of patriotism in the presence of Aristotle, the master of *Theophrastus*, who taught at Athens with the founders of the Stoic and

Epicurean sects.<sup>144</sup> The ingenuous youth of Attica enjoyed the benefits of their domestic education, which was communicated without envy to the rival cities. Two thousand disciples heard the lessons of *Theophrastus*; <sup>145</sup> the schools of rhetoric must have been still more populous than those of philosophy; and a rapid succession of students diffused the fame of their teachers as far as the utmost limits of the Grecian language and name. Those limits were enlarged by the victories of Alexander; the arts of Athens survived her freedom and dominion; and the Greek colonies which the Macedonians planted in Egypt, and scattered over Asia, undertook long and frequent pilgrimages to worship the Muses in their favourite temple on the banks of the *Ilissus*. The Latin conquerors respectfully listened to the instructions of their subjects and captives; the names of Cicero and Horace were enrolled in the schools of Athens; and after the perfect settlement of the Roman empire, the natives of Italy, of Africa, and of Britain, conversed in the groves of the Academy with their fellow-students of the East. The studies of philosophy and eloquence are congenial to a popular state, which encourages the freedom of enquiry, and submits only to the force of persuasion. In the republics of Greece and Rome, the art of speaking was the powerful engine of patriotism or ambition; and the schools of rhetoric poured forth a colony of statesmen and legislators. When the liberty of public debate was suppressed, the orator, in the honourable profession of an advocate, might plead the cause of innocence and justice; he might abuse his talents in the more profitable trade of panegyric; and the same precepts continued to dictate the fanciful declamations of the sophist, and the chaster beauties of historical composition. The systems which professed to unfold the nature of God, of man, and of the universe, entertained the curiosity of the philosophic student; and according to the temper of his mind, he might doubt with the sceptics, or decide with the Stoics, sublimely speculate with Plato, or severely argue with Aristotle. The pride of the adverse sects had fixed an unattainable term of moral happiness and perfection: but the race was glorious and salutary; the disciples of Zeno, and even those of Epicurus, were taught both to act and to suffer. and the death of Petronius was not less effectual than that of Seneca, to humble a tyrant by the discovery of his impotence. The light of science could not indeed be confined within the walls of Athens. Her incomparable writers address themselves to the human race; the living masters emigrated to Italy and Asia; Berytus, in later times, was devoted to the study of the law; astronomy and physic were cultivated in the

<sup>140</sup> The imaginary rampart of Gog and Magog, which was seriously explored and believed by a caliph of the xth century, is said to be derived from the gates of Mount Caucasus, and a wall report of the wall of China (*Geograph. Nubiana*, p. 267-270). *Mémoires de l'Académie*, tom. xxi. p. 210-232.

<sup>141</sup> *Journal du voyage en Russie*, 1793, in *Comptes Rendus*, 1795-1797, but it is better I believe to refer to the wall was found to be 2085 Russian *arshines*, or fathom, each of seven feet English; in the whole somewhat more than four miles in length.

<sup>142</sup> See the fortifications and treaties of Chosroes or Nushirwan, in *Procopius* (*Persic.* l. i. c. 10. 22. l. iii.) and *D'Herbier* (p. 602.).

<sup>143</sup> The life of Isocrates, edit. Hudson p. 135-141.

<sup>144</sup> The schools of Athens are copiously though concisely represented in the *Fortuna* of *Murinus*, l. vi. p. 34-75, in tom. 1. *Opp.* For the state and arts of the city, see the first book of *Pausanias*, and a small tract of *Dicaarchus* (in the second volume of Hudson's *Geographia*), who wrote about Olymp. cxvii. (*Dicaarchi*, *De reat.* sect. 4.).

<sup>145</sup> *Diogen. Laert.* de *Vit. Philosoph.* l. v. *segm.* 37. p. 289.

museum of Alexandria; but the Attic schools of rhetoric and philosophy maintained their superior reputation from the Peloponnesian war to the reign of Justinian. Athens, though situate in a barren soil, possessed a pure air, a free navigation, and the monuments of ancient art. That sacred retirement was seldom disturbed by the business of trade or government; and the last of the Athenians were distinguished by their lively wit, the purity of their taste and language, their social manners, and some traces, at least in discourse, of the magnanimity of their fathers. In the suburbs of the city, the academy of the Platonists, the *lycæum* of the Peripatetics, the *portico* of the Stoics, and the garden of the Epicureans, were planted with trees and decorated with statues: and the philosophers, instead of being immured in a cloister, delivered their instructions in spacious and pleasant walks, which, at different hours, were consecrated to the exercises of the mind and body. The genius of the founders still lived in those venerable seats; the ambition of succeeding to the masters of human reason, excited a generous emulation; and the merit of the candidates was determined, on each vacancy, by the free voices of an enlightened people. The Athenian professors were paid by their disciples: according to their mutual wants and abilities, the price appears to have varied from a mina to a talent; and Isocrates himself, who derides the avarice of the sophists, required, in his school of rhetoric, about thirty pounds from each of his hundred pupils. The wages of industry are just and honourable, yet the same Isocrates shed tears at the first receipt of a stipend; the Stoic might blush when he was hired to preach the contempt of money; and I should be sorry to discover, that Aristotle or Plato so far degenerated from the example of Socrates, as to exchange knowledge for gold. But some property of lands and houses was settled by the permission of the laws, and the legacies of deceased friends, on the philosophic chairs of Athens. Epicurus bequeathed to his disciples the gardens which he had purchased for eighty minæ or two hundred and fifty pounds, with a fund sufficient for their frugal subsistence and monthly festivals;<sup>146</sup> and the patrimony of Plato afforded an annual rent, which, in eight centuries, was gradually increased from three to one thousand pieces of gold.<sup>147</sup> The schools of Athens were protected by the wisest and most virtuous of the Roman princes. The library which Hadrian founded, was placed in a portico adorned with pictures, statues, and a roof of alabaster, and supported by one hundred columns of Phrygian marble. The public salaries were assigned by

the generous spirit of the Antonines; and each professor, of politics, of rhetoric, of the Platonist, the Peripatetic, the Stoic, and the Epicurean philosophy, received an annual stipend of ten thousand drachmæ, or more than three hundred pounds sterling.<sup>148</sup> After the death of Marcus, these liberal donations, and the privileges attached to the *thrones* of science, were abolished and revived, diminished and enlarged: but some vestige of royal bounty may be found under the successors of Constantine; and their arbitrary choice of an unworthy candidate might tempt the philosophers of Athens to regret the days of independence and poverty.<sup>149</sup> It is remarkable, that the impartial favour of the Antonines was bestowed on the four adverse sects of philosophy, which they considered as equally useful, or at least as equally innocent. Socrates had formerly been the glory and the reproach of his country; and the first lessons of Epicurus so strangely scandalised the pious ears of the Athenians, that by his exile, and that of his antagonists, they silenced all vain disputes concerning the nature of the gods. But in the ensuing year they recalled the hasty decree, restored the liberty of the schools, and were convinced, by the experience of ages, that the moral character of philosophers is not affected by the diversity of their theological speculations.<sup>150</sup>

The Gothic arms were less fatal to the schools of Athens than the establishment of a new religion, whose ministers superseded the exercise of reason, resolved every question by an article of faith, and condemned the infidel or sceptic to eternal flames. In many a volume of laborious controversy, they exposed the weakness of the understanding and the corruption of the heart, insulted human nature in the sages of antiquity, and proscribed the spirit of philosophical enquiry, so repugnant to the doctrine, or at least to the temper, of an humble believer. The surviving sect of the Platonists, whom Plato would have blushed to acknowledge, extravagantly mingled a sublime theory with the practice of superstition and magic; and as they remained alone in the midst of a Christian world, they indulged a secret rancour against the government of the church and state; whose severity was still suspended over their heads. About a century after the reign of Julian,<sup>151</sup> Proclus,<sup>152</sup> was permitted to teach in the philosophic chair of the academy; and such was his industry, that he frequently, in the same day, pronounced five lessons, and composed seven hundred lines. His sagacious mind explored the deepest questions of morals and metaphy-

They are suppressed by Justinian.

Proclus.

146. See the *lives* of Plato and Aristotle, ed. Oxon. p. 104. 394. ed. Bentl. Phil. 1. (Aristotle, or Xiphilini, Ariani, and Remov, 26). A judicious philosopher (p. 340-371) prefers the free contributions of the students to a fixed stipend for the professor.

149. Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philosoph. tom. ii. p. 510, &c.  
150. The birth of Epicurus is fixed to the year 312 before Christ

(Bavle), Olympiad cix. 3. and he opened his school at Athens, Olymp. cxxix. 3. 306 years before the same era. This intolerant law (Atheniensis, l. i. tit. p. 640. Diogen. Laertius, l. v. c. 28. p. 248. Julius Pollux, l. 2. 5.) was enacted in the same, or the succeeding year (Sextus, Opp. tom. v. p. 62. Menagius, ad Diogen. Laert. p. 204. Coram Fasti Attici, tom. ix. p. 67, 68.). Theophrastus, chief of the school, was involved in the same exile, reckoned their calamities, whose nativity is marked by C. P. died 124 years *ante Vith. Froben.* 1503. was published by Fabricius (Hamburg, 1700, et ad eundem Bibliot. Latini. Lond. 1705. See Sandart, tom. ii. p. 183, 184. Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. l. v. c. 27. p. 149-152), and Brucker (Hist. Crit. Philosoph. tom. ii. p. 519-524).

sics, and he ventured to urge eighteen arguments against the Christian doctrine of the creation of the world. But in the intervals of study, he *personally* conversed with Pan, Æsculapius, and Minerva, in whose mysteries he was secretly initiated, and whose prostrate statues he adored; in the devout persuasion that the philosopher, who is a citizen of the universe, should be the priest of its various deities. An eclipse of the sun announced his approaching end; and his life, with that of his scholar Isidore,<sup>153</sup> compiled by two of their most learned

disciples, exhibits a deplorable picture of the second childhood of human reason. Yet the golden chain, as it was fondly styled, of the Platonic succession, continued forty-four years from the death of Proclus to the edict of Justinian,<sup>154</sup> which imposed a perpetual silence on the schools of Athens, and excited the grief and indignation of the few remaining votaries of Grecian science and superstition. Seven friends and philosophers, Diogenes and Hermias, Eulalius and Priscian, Damascius, Isidore, and Simplicius, who dissented from the religion of their sovereign, embraced the resolution of seeking in a foreign land the freedom which was denied in their native country. They had heard, and they credulously believed, that the republic of Plato was realised in the despotic government of Persia, and that a patriot king reigned over the happiest and most virtuous of nations. They were soon astonished by the natural discovery, that Persia resembled the other countries of the globe; that Chosroes, who affected the name of a philosopher, was vain, cruel, and ambitious; that bigotry, and a spirit of intolerance, prevailed among the Magi; that the nobles were haughty, the courtiers servile, and the magistrates unjust; that the guilty sometimes escaped, and that the innocent were often oppressed. The disappointment of the philosophers provoked them to overlook the real virtues of the Persians; and they were scandalised, more deeply perhaps than became their profession, with the plurality of wives and concubines, the incestuous marriages, and the custom of exposing dead bodies to the dogs and vultures, instead of hiding them in the earth, or consuming them with fire. Their repentance was expressed by a precipitate return, and they loudly declared that they had rather die on the borders of the empire, than enjoy the wealth and favour of the barbarian. From this journey, however, they derived a benefit which reflects the purest lustre on the character of Chosroes. He required, that the seven sages who had visited the court of Persia, should be exempted from the penal laws which Justinian enacted against his Pagan subjects; and this privilege, expressly stipulated in a treaty of peace, was guarded by the vigilance of a powerful mediator.<sup>155</sup> Simplicius and his companions ended their lives in

The last of the philosophers.

peace and obscurity; and as they left no disciples, they terminate the long list of Grecian philosophers, who may be justly praised, notwithstanding their defects, as the wisest and most virtuous of their contemporaries. The writings of Simplicius are now extant. His physical and metaphysical commentaries on Aristotle have passed away with the fashion of the times; but his moral interpretation of Epictetus is preserved in the library of nations, as a classic book, most excellently adapted to direct the will, to purify the heart, and to confirm the understanding, by a just confidence in the nature both of God and man.

About the same time that Pythagoras first invented the appellation of philosopher, liberty and the consulship were founded at Rome by the elder Brutus. The revolutions of the consular office, which may be viewed in the successive lights of a substance, a shadow, and a name, have been occasionally mentioned in the present history. The first magistrates of the republic had been chosen by the people, to exercise, in the senate and in the camp, the powers of peace and war, which were afterwards translated to the emperors. But the tradition of ancient dignity was long revered by the Romans and barbarians. A Gothic historian applauds the consulship of Theodoric as the height of all temporal glory and greatness;<sup>156</sup> the king of Italy himself congratulates those annual favourites of fortune, who, without the cares, enjoyed the splendour of the throne; and at the end of a thousand years, two consuls were created by the sovereigns of Rome and Constantinople, for the sole purpose of giving a date to the year, and a festival to the people. But the expenses of this festival, in which the wealthy and the vain aspired to surpass their predecessors, insensibly arose to the enormous sum of fourscore thousand pounds; the wisest senators declined an useless honour, which involved the certain ruin of their families; and to this reluctance I should impute the frequent chasms in the last age of the consular *Fusti*. The predecessors of Justinian had assisted from the public treasures the dignity of the less opulent candidates; the avarice of that prince preferred the cheaper and more convenient method of advice and regulation.<sup>157</sup> Seven *processions* or spectacles were the number to which his edict confined the horse and chariot races, the athletic sports, the music, and pantomimes of the theatre, and the hunting of wild beasts; and small pieces of silver were discreetly substituted to the gold medals, which had always excited tumult and drunkenness, when they were scattered with a profuse hand among the populace. Notwithstanding these precautions, and his own example, the succession of consuls finally ceased in the thirteenth year of Justinian, whose despotic temper might be gratified by the silent

The Roman consulship extinguished by Justinian. A. D. 541.

<sup>153</sup> The Life of Isidore was composed by Damascius (read Photius, *cod. exlib.* p. 128. 1076). See the last age of the Pagan philosophers in Brucker *tom. iv.* p. 731-731.

<sup>154</sup> The last of the philosophers, who lived in the reign of Justinian, was Simplicius, who was born in the reign of Theodosius the Great, and died in the reign of Justinian. He was a philosopher, and a friend of the emperor. He was the last of the philosophers who lived in the reign of Justinian.

with the Romans in the beginning of 533, a date most compatible with his known time, and the old age of Isidore (Asseman. *Biblioth. Orient. tom. vi.* p. 104. *ibid.* *tom. iv.* p. 545. 546).

<sup>156</sup> The last of the Romans, who lived in the reign of Justinian, was Simplicius, who was born in the reign of Theodosius the Great, and died in the reign of Justinian. He was a philosopher, and a friend of the emperor. He was the last of the philosophers who lived in the reign of Justinian.

extinction of a title which admonished the Romans of their ancient freedom.<sup>158</sup> Yet the annual consulship still lived in the minds of the people; they fondly expected its speedy restoration; they applauded the gracious condescension of successive princes, by whom it was assumed in the first year of their reign; and three centuries elapsed, after the death of Justinian, before that obsolete dignity, which had been suppressed by custom, could be abolished by law.<sup>159</sup> The imperfect mode of distinguishing each year by the name of a magistrate, was usually supplied by the date of a permanent era: the creation of the world, according to the septuagint version, was adopted by the Greeks;<sup>160</sup> and the Latins, since the age of Charlemagne, have computed their time from the birth of Christ.<sup>161</sup>

## CHAP. XLI.

*Conquests of Justinian in the West. — Character and first Campaigns of Belisarius. — He invades and subdues the Vandal Kingdom of Africa. — His Triumph. — The Gothic War. — He recovers Sicily, Naples, and Rome. — Siege of Rome by the Goths. — Their Retreat and Losses. — Surrender of Ravenna. — Glory of Belisarius. — His domestic Shame and Misfortunes.*

WHEN Justinian ascended the throne, about fifty years after the fall of the Western empire, the kingdoms of the Goths and Vandals had obtained a solid, and, as it might seem, a legal establishment both in Europe and Africa. The titles which Roman victory had inscribed, were erased with equal justice by the sword of the barbarians; and their successful rapine derived a more venerable sanction from time, from treaties, and from the oaths of fidelity, already repeated by a second or third generation of obedient subjects. Experience and Christianity had refuted the superstitious hope, that Rome was founded by the gods to reign for ever over the nations of the earth. But the proud claims of perpetual and indefeasible dominion, which her soldiers could no longer maintain, was firmly asserted by her statesmen and lawyers, whose opinions have been sometimes revived and propagated in the modern schools of jurisprudence. After Rome

herself had been stripped of the Imperial purple, the princes of Constantinople assumed the sole and sacred sceptre of the monarchy; demanded, as their rightful inheritance, the provinces which had been subdued by the consuls, or possessed by the Cæsars; and feebly aspired to deliver their faithful subjects of the West from the usurpation of heretics and barbarians. The execution of this splendid design was in some degree reserved for Justinian. During the five first years of his reign, he reluctantly waged a costly and unprofitable war against the Persians; till his pride submitted to his ambition, and he purchased, at the price of four hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, the benefit of a precarious truce, which, in the language of both nations, was dignified with the appellation of the *endless* peace. The safety of the East enabled the emperor to employ his forces against the Vandals; and the internal state of Africa afforded an honourable motive, and promised a powerful support, to the Roman arms.<sup>1</sup>

According to the testament of the founder, the African kingdom had lineally descended to Hilderic, the eldest of the Vandal princes. A mild disposition inclined the son of a tyrant, the grandson of a conqueror, to prefer the counsels of clemency and peace; and his accession was marked by the salutary edict, which restored two hundred bishops to their churches, and allowed the free profession of the Athanasian creed.<sup>2</sup> But the Catholics accepted, with cold and transient gratitude, a favour so inadequate to their pretensions, and the virtues of Hilderic offended the prejudices of his countrymen. The Arian clergy presumed to insinuate that he had renounced the faith, and the soldiers more loudly complained that he had degenerated from the courage, of his ancestors. His ambassadors were suspected of a secret and disgraceful negotiation in the Byzantine court; and his general, the Achilles,<sup>3</sup> as he was named, of the Vandals, lost a battle against the naked and disorderly Moors. The public discontent was exasperated by Gelimor, whose age, descent, and military fame, gave him an apparent title to the succession: he assumed, with the consent of the nation, the reins of government; and his unfortunate sovereign sunk without a struggle from the throne to a dungeon, where he was strictly guarded with a faithful counsellor,

<sup>158</sup> Procopius, in *Anecd.* c. 26. Aleman, p. 106. In the xvth year after the consulship of Basilus, according to the reckoning of Marcellinus, Victor, Marus, &c. the *senatus* history was composed, and in the eyes of Procopius, the consulship was finally abolished.

<sup>159</sup> By Leo, the philosopher. See *l. vii. c. 10. § 1.* See *Fam. Theorat. Hypothec.* p. 274. § 2. and *Dige. de off. Graec.* p. 174. § 1. Even the title is retained: consularis ordinis.

<sup>160</sup> I mention the *era* of the world, as it is used by the Greeks, the Oriental Christians, and even by the Russians, till the reign of Peter I. The period, however arbitrary, is clear and convenient. Of the 776 years which are supposed to elapse since the creation, we shall find 3000 of ignorance and darkness; 2000 either fabulous or doubtful; 1000

the authority and writings of venerable Bede; but it was not till the xth that the use became legal and popular. See *l. art. de veteribus Statutis, Dist. Preliminary*, p. iii. vii. *Dictionnaire Diplomatique*, tom. i. p. 329—337. the works of a laborious society of Benedictine monks.

<sup>1</sup> The complete series of the Vandal war is related by Procopius in a regular and elegant narrative (l. i. c. 9. — l. ii. c. 1—15), and happily would be more useful, if always read in the footsteps of such a guide. From the extent and constant renewal of the Greek text, I have a right to pronounce that the Latin and French versions of Grotius and Goussier may not be implicitly trusted, yet the president Goussier has been often praised, and Hugo Grotius was the best scholar of his kind age.

<sup>2</sup> See Ruffart, *Hist. Persecut. Vandal.* c. xii. p. 589. His best evidence is drawn from the life of St. Fulgentius, composed by one of his disciples, translated in a great measure in the *Annals* of Baronius, and printed in several great collections (Catalog. Bibliot. Bavaricæ, tom. i. vol. ii. p. 1678).

<sup>3</sup> For what quality of the mind or body? For speed, or beauty, or valour? In what language did the Vandals read Homer? Did he speak German? The Latins had their separate (Fabric. tom. i. v. c. 7. p. 257.) yet the use of the phrases of Seneca (Goussier, c. 20) then appear to have been more successful in inspiring than in improving the Vandal poets. Let the reader's fancy notes might be famous and popular even among the most barbarous nations.



and his unpopular nephew the Achilles of the Vandals. But the indulgence which Hilderic had shown to his Catholic subjects had powerfully recommended him to the favour of Justinian, who, for the benefit of his own sect, could acknowledge the use and justice of religious toleration: their alliance, while the nephew of Justin remained in a private station, was cemented by the mutual exchange of gifts and letters; and the emperor Justinian asserted the cause of royalty and friendship. In two successive embassies, he admonished the usurper to repent of his treason, or to abstain, at least, from any further violence, which might provoke the displeasure of God and of the Romans; to reverence the laws of kindred and succession, and to suffer an infirm old man peaceably to end his days, either on the throne of Carthage, or in the palace of Constantinople. The passions or even the prudence of Gelimer compelled him to reject these requests, which were urged in the haughty tone of menace and command; and he justified his ambition in a language rarely spoken in the Byzantine court, by alleging the right of a free people to remove or punish their chief magistrate, who had failed in the execution of the kingly office. After this fruitless expostulation, the captive monarch was more rigorously treated, his nephew was deprived of his eyes, and the cruel Vandal, confident in his strength and distance, derided the vain threats and slow preparations of the emperor of the East. Justinian resolved to deliver or revenge his friend, Gelimer to maintain his usurpation: and the war was preceded, according to the practice of civilised nations, by the most solemn protestations, that each party was sincerely desirous of peace.

Debates on the African war.

The report of an African war was grateful only to the vain and idle populace of Constantinople, whose poverty exempted them from tribute, and whose cowardice was seldom exposed to military service. But the wiser citizens, who judged of the future by the past, revolved in their memory the immense loss, both of men and money, which the empire had sustained in the expedition of Basiliscus. The troops, which, after five laborious campaigns, had been recalled from the Persian frontier, dreaded the sea, the climate, and the arms of an unknown enemy. The ministers of the finances computed, as far as they might compute, the demands of an African war; the taxes which must be found and levied to supply those insatiate demands; and the danger, lest their own lives, or at least their lucrative employments, should be made responsible for the deficiency of the supply. Inspired by such selfish motives (for we may not suspect him of any zeal for the public good), John of Cappadocia ventured to oppose in full council the inclinations of his master. He confessed, that a victory of such importance could not be too dearly purchased; but he represented in a grave

discourse the certain difficulties and the uncertain event. "You undertake," said the prefect, "to besiege Carthage by land, the distance is not less than one hundred and forty days' journey; on the sea, a whole year<sup>4</sup> must elapse before you can receive any intelligence from your fleet. If Africa should be reduced, it cannot be preserved without the additional conquest of Sicily and Italy. Success will impose the obligation of new labours; a single misfortune will tract the barbarians into the heart of your exhausted empire." Justinian felt the weight of this salutary advice; he was confounded by the unwonted freedom of an obsequious servant; and the design of the war would perhaps have been relinquished, if his courage had not been revived by a voice which silenced the doubts of profane reason. "I have seen a vision," cried an artful or fanatic bishop of the East. "It is the will of Heaven, O emperor! that you should not abandon your holy enterprise for the deliverance of the African church. The God of battles will march before your standard, and disperse your enemies, who are the enemies of his Son." The emperor might be tempted, and his counsellors were constrained, to give credit to this seasonable revelation: but they derived more rational hope from the revolt, which the adherents of Hilderic or Athanasius had already excited on the borders of the Vandal monarchy. Prudentius, an African subject, had privately signified his loyal intentions, and a small military aid restored the province of Tripoli to the obedience of the Romans. The government of Sardinia had been intrusted to Godas, a valiant barbarian: he suspended the payment of tribute, disclaimed his allegiance to the usurper, and gave audience to the emissaries of Justinian, who found him master of that fruitful island, at the head of his guards, and proudly invested with the ensigns of royalty. The forces of the Vandals were diminished by discord and suspicion; the Roman armies were animated by the spirit of Belisarius; one of those heroic names which are familiar to every age and to every nation.

The Africanus of new Rome was born, and perhaps educated, among the Thracian peasants,<sup>5</sup> without any of those advantages which had formed the virtues of the elder and younger Scipio; a noble origin, liberal studies, and the emulation of a free state. The silence of a loquacious secretary may be admitted, to prove that the youth of Belisarius could not afford any subject of praise: he served, most assuredly, with valour and reputation, among the private guards of Justinian; and when his patron became emperor, the domestic was promoted to military command. After a bold inroad into Persarmenia, in which his glory was shared by a colleague, and his progress was checked by an enemy, Belisarius repaired to the important station of Dara, where he first accepted the service of Procopius, the

Character and  
choice of  
Belisarius.

<sup>4</sup> A year – absurd exaggeration. The conquest of Africa may be dated A. D. 533, September 11. It is celebrated by Justinian in the preface to his Institutes, which were published November 21 of the same year. Including the voyage and return, such a computation might be truly applied to our Indian empire.

<sup>5</sup> Βασίλειος ὁ ὁ Βελισσαρίου ἐκ Τερρακίων, ἢ Θρακικῆς καὶ Ἰλλυρικῆς

μεταφρ. νέκτρος (Procop. Vandal. l. i. c. 11.). Aleman (Not. ad l. i. c. 11.) Thracian variety of heros, i. e. Thracian or Celtic.

His services  
in the Persian  
war.  
A.D. 529—532.

faithful companion, and diligent historian of his exploits.<sup>6</sup> The Mirr-  
races of Persia advanced, with  
forty thousand of her best troops, to raze the  
fortifications of Dara; and signified the day and  
the hour on which the citizens should prepare a  
bath for his refreshment after the toils of victory.  
He encountered an adversary equal to himself,  
by the new title of General of the East; his su-  
perior in the science of war, but much inferior  
in the number and quality of his troops, which  
amounted only to twenty-five thousand Romans  
and strangers, relaxed in their discipline, and  
humbled by recent disasters. As the level plain  
of Dara refused all shelter to stratagem and  
ambush, Belisarius protected his front with a  
deep trench, which was prolonged at first in  
perpendicular, and afterwards in parallel, lines,  
to cover the wings of cavalry advantageously  
posted to command the flanks and rear of the  
enemy. When the Roman centre was shaken,  
their well-timed and rapid charge decided the  
conflict: the standard of Persia fell; the im-  
mortals fled; the infantry threw away their buck-  
lers, and eight thousand of the vanquished were  
left on the field of battle. In the next campaign,  
Syria was invaded on the side of the desert; and  
Belisarius, with twenty thousand men, hastened  
from Dara to the relief of the province. During  
the whole summer, the designs of the enemy  
were baffled by his skilful dispositions: he  
pressed their retreat, occupied each night their  
camp of the preceding day, and would have se-  
cured a bloodless victory, if he could have resisted  
the impatience of his own troops. Their valiant  
promise was faintly supported in the hour of  
battle; the right wing was exposed by the trea-  
cherous or cowardly desertion of the Christian  
Arabs; the Huns, a veteran band of eight hun-  
dred warriors, were oppressed by superior num-  
bers; the flight of the Isaurians was intercepted;  
but the Roman infantry stood firm on the left;  
for Belisarius himself, dismounting from his  
horse, showed them that intrepid despair was  
their only safety. They turned their backs to  
the Euphrates, and their faces to the enemy;  
innumerable arrows glanced without effect from  
the compact and shelving order of their bucklers;  
an impenetrable line of pikes was opposed to the  
repeated assaults of the Persian cavalry; and  
after a resistance of many hours, the remaining  
troops were skilfully embarked under the shadow  
of the night. The Persian commander retired  
with disorder and disgrace, to answer a strict  
account of the lives of so many soldiers which  
he had consumed in a barren victory. But the  
fame of Belisarius was not sullied by a defeat,  
in which he alone had saved his army from the  
consequences of their own rashness: the ap-  
proach of peace relieved him from the guard of  
the eastern frontier, and his conduct in the  
sedition of Constantinople amply discharged his  
obligations to the emperor. When the African  
war became the topic of popular discourse and

secret deliberation, each of the Roman generals  
was apprehensive, rather than ambitious, of the  
dangerous honour; but as soon as Justinian had  
declared his preference of superior merit, their  
envy was rekindled by the unanimous applause  
which was given to the choice of Belisarius.  
The temper of the Byzantine court may encour-  
age a suspicion, that the hero was darkly assisted  
by the intrigues of his wife, the fair and subtle  
Antonina, who alternately enjoyed the confi-  
dence, and incurred the hatred, of the empress  
Theodora. The birth of Antonina was ignoble,  
she descended from a family of charlatans; and  
her chastity has been stained with the foulest  
reproach. Yet she reigned with long and abso-  
lute power over the mind of her illustrious hus-  
band; and if Antonina disdained the merit of  
conjugal fidelity, she expressed a manly friend-  
ship to Belisarius, whom she accompanied with  
undaunted resolution in all the hardships and  
dangers of a military life.<sup>7</sup>

The preparations for the African Preparations  
war were not unworthy of the last war for Africa  
contest between Rome and Car- A.D. 533.  
thage. The pride and flower of the army con-  
sisted of the guards of Belisarius, who, according  
to the pernicious indulgence of the times, devoted  
themselves by a particular oath of fidelity to the  
service of their patrons. Their strength and  
stature, for which they had been curiously se-  
lected, the goodness of their horses and armour,  
and the assiduous practice of all the exercises of  
war, enabled them to act whatever their courage  
might prompt; and their courage was exalted  
by the social honour of their rank, and the per-  
sonal ambition of favour and fortune. Four  
hundred of the bravest of the Heruli marched  
under the banner of the faithful and active Phar-  
sas; their untractable valour was more highly  
prized than the tame submission of the Greeks  
and Syrians; and of such importance was it  
deemed to procure a reinforcement of six hun-  
dred Masagetas, or Huns, that they were allured  
by fraud and deceit to engage in a naval expe-  
dition. Five thousand horse and ten thousand  
foot were embarked at Constantinople for the  
conquest of Africa, but the infantry, for the  
most part levied in Thrace and Isauria, yielded  
to the more prevailing use and reputation of the  
cavalry; and the Scythian bow was the weapon  
on which the armies of Rome were now reduced  
to place their principal dependence. From a  
laudable desire to assert the dignity of his theme,  
Procopius defends the soldiers of his own time  
against the morose critics, who confined that  
respectable name to the heavy-armed warriors  
of antiquity, and maliciously observed, that the  
word *archer* is introduced by Homer as a term  
of contempt. "Such contempt might perhaps  
be due to the naked youths who appeared on  
"foot in the fields of Troy, and, lurking behind  
"a tombstone, or the shield of a friend, drew  
"the bow-string to their breasts, and dismissed  
"a feeble and lifeless arrow. But our archers

<sup>6</sup> The two first Persian campaigns of Belisarius are fairly and  
compactly related by his secretary (Procopius, l. i. c. 12—13).

<sup>7</sup> See the birth and character of Antonina, in the Anecdotes, c. 1,  
and the notes of Aemmanus, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> See the Preface of Procopius. The enemies of archery might  
quote the reproaches of Duodecim (Hud. A. 379, &c.) and the per-  
mitter *vulnera ventis* of Lucan (viii. 381): yet the Romans could

not despise the arrows of the Persians, and in the siege of Troy,  
Paris, and Hector, perished from those mortal weapons.

<sup>9</sup> See the birth and character of Antonina, in the Anecdotes, c. 1,  
and the notes of Aemmanus, p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> See the Preface of Procopius. The enemies of archery might  
quote the reproaches of Duodecim (Hud. A. 379, &c.) and the per-  
mitter *vulnera ventis* of Lucan (viii. 381): yet the Romans could

"(pursues the historian) are mounted on horses, which they manage with admirable skill; their head and shoulders are protected by a casque or buckler; they wear greaves of iron on their legs, and their bodies are guarded by a coat of mail. On their right side hangs a quiver, a sword on their left, and their hand is accustomed to wield a lance or javelin in closer combat. Their bows are strong and weighty; they shoot in every possible direction, advancing, retreating, to the front, to the rear, or to either flank; and as they are taught to draw the bowstring not to the breast, but to the right ear, firm indeed must be the armour that can resist the rapid violence of their shaft." Five hundred transports, navigated by twenty thousand mariners of Egypt, Cilicia, and Ionia, were collected in the harbour of Constantinople. The smallest of these vessels may be computed at thirty, the largest at five hundred, tons; and the fair average will supply an allowance, liberal, but not profuse, of about one hundred thousand tons,<sup>10</sup> for the reception of thirty-five thousand soldiers and sailors, of five thousand horses, of arms, engines, and military stores, and of a sufficient stock of water and provisions for a voyage, perhaps, of three months. The proud galleys, which in former ages swept the Mediterranean with so many hundred oars, had long since disappeared; and the fleet of Justinian was escorted only by ninety-two light brigantines, covered from the missile weapons of the enemy, and rowed by two thousand of the brave and robust youth of Constantinople. Twenty-two generals are named, most of whom were afterwards distinguished in the wars of Africa and Italy: but the supreme command, both by land and sea, was delegated to Belisarius alone, with a boundless power of acting according to his discretion, as if the emperor himself were present. The separation of the naval and military professions is at once the effect and the cause of the modern improvements in the science of navigation and maritime war.

Departure of the fleet. A. D. 533, June. In the seventh year of the reign of Justinian, and about the time of the summer solstice, the whole fleet of six hundred ships was ranged in martial pomp before the gardens of the palace. The patriarch pronounced his benediction, the emperor signified his last commands, the general's trumpet gave the signal of departure, and every heart, according to its fears or wishes, explored with anxious curiosity the omens of misfortune and success. The first halt was made at Perinthus or Heraclea, where Belisarius waited five days to receive some Thracian horses, a military gift of his sovereign. From thence the fleet pursued their course through the midst of the Propontis; but as they struggled to pass the Straits of the Hellespont, an unfavourable wind detained them four days at Abydus, where the

general exhibited a memorable lesson of firmness and severity. Two of the Huns, who in a drunken quarrel had slain one of their fellow-soldiers, were instantly shown to the army suspended on a lofty gibbet. The national indignity was resented by their countrymen, who disclaimed the servile laws of the empire, and asserted the free privilege of Scythia, where a small fine was allowed to expiate the hasty sallies of intemperance and anger. Their complaints were specious, their clamours were loud, and the Romans were not averse to the example of disorder and impunity. But the rising sedition was appeased by the authority and eloquence of the general: and he represented to the assembled troops the obligation of justice, the importance of discipline, the rewards of piety and virtue, and the unpardonable guilt of murder, which, in his apprehension, was aggravated rather than excused by the vice of intoxication.<sup>11</sup> In the navigation from the Hellespont to Peloponnesus, which the Greeks, after the siege of Troy, had performed in four days,<sup>12</sup> the fleet of Belisarius was guided in their course by his master-galley, conspicuous in the day by the redness of the sails, and in the night by the torches blazing from the mast-head. It was the duty of the pilots, as they steered between the islands, and turned the capes of Malca and Tænarium, to preserve the just order and regular intervals of such a multitude of ships; as the wind was fair and moderate, their labours were not unsuccessful, and the troops were safely disembarked at Methone on the Messenian coast, to repose themselves for a while after the fatigues of the sea. In this place they experienced how avarice, invested with authority, may sport with the lives of thousands which are bravely exposed for the public service. According to military practice, the bread or biscuit of the Romans was twice prepared in the oven, and a diminution of one fourth was cheerfully allowed for the loss of weight. To gain this miserable profit, and to save the expense of wood, the prefect John of Cappadocia had given orders, that the flour should be slightly baked by the same fire which warmed the baths of Constantinople; and when the sacks were opened, a soft and mouldy paste was distributed to the army. Such unwholesome food, assisted by the heat of the climate and season, soon produced an epidemical disease, which swept away five hundred soldiers. Their health was restored by the diligence of Belisarius, who provided fresh bread at Methone, and boldly expressed his just and humane indignation: the emperor heard his complaint; the general was praised; but the minister was not punished. From the port of Methone, the pilots steered along the western coast of Peloponnesus, as far as the isle of Zacynthus, or Zant, before they undertook the voyage (in

<sup>10</sup> The text appears to allow for the largest vessels 50,000 medimni, or 7400 tons (since the measure reached 160 Roman, or 120 avoirdupois, pounds). I have given a more rational interpretation, by supposing that the Attic style of Procopius conceals the least and popular *medimna*, a sixth part of the *metretres* (Hesper's *Antiquities*, p. 124, &c.). A contrary, and indeed a stranger mistake has crept into an edition of Diodorus (scilicet Demosthenes, ii. has crept into an edition of Diodorus, tom. iv. p. ii. p. 34.) By reducing the number of ships from 500 to 50, and translating *medimnos* by *minors*, or pounds, Diodorus has generally allowed 500 tons for the whole of the Imperial fleet. Did he never think?

<sup>11</sup> I have read of a Greek legislator, who inflicted a double penalty on the crimes committed in a state of intoxication; but it seems agreed that this was either a political than a moral law.

<sup>12</sup> Or even in three days, since they anchored the first evening in the neighbouring isle of Tenelos, the second day they sailed to Leobos, the third to the promontory of Eulæa, and on the fourth they reached Argos (Homer, *Odyssey*, l. 130-135. Wood's *Essay on Homer*, p. 49-15). A private vessel from the Hellespont to the seaport of Sparta in three days (Xenophon, *Hellen*, l. ii. c. 1).

their eyes a most arduous voyage) of one hundred leagues over the Ionian Sea. As the fleet was surprised by a calm, sixteen days were consumed in the slow navigation; and even the general would have suffered the intolerable hardship of thirst, if the ingenuity of Antonina had not preserved the water in glass bottles which she buried deep in the sand in a part of the ship impervious to the rays of the sun. At length the harbour of Caucana,<sup>13</sup> on the southern side of Sicily, afforded a secure and hospitable shelter. The Gothic officers who governed the island in the name of the daughter and grandson of Theodoric obeyed their imprudent orders, to receive the troops of Justinian like friends and allies: provisions were liberally supplied, the cavalry was remounted,<sup>14</sup> and Procopius soon returned from Syracuse with correct information of the state and designs of the Vandals. His intelligence determined Belisarius to hasten his operations, and his wise impatience was seconded by the winds. The fleet lost sight of Sicily, passed before the isle of Malta, discovered the capes of Africa, ran along the coast with a strong gale from the north-east, and finally cast anchor at the promontory of Caput Vada, about five days' journey to the south of Carthage.<sup>15</sup>

If Gelimer had been informed of the approach of the enemy, he must have delayed the conquest of Sardinia, for the immediate defence of his person and kingdom. A detachment of five thousand soldiers, and one hundred and twenty galleys, would have joined the remaining forces of the Vandals; and the descendant of Genseric might have surprised and oppressed a fleet of deep-laden transports incapable of action, and of light brigantines that seemed only qualified for flight. Belisarius had secretly trembled when he overheard his soldiers, in the passage, emboldening each other to confess their apprehensions: if they were once on shore, they hoped to maintain the honour of their arms; but if they should be attacked at sea, they did not blush to acknowledge that they wanted courage to contend at the same time with the winds, the waves, and the barbarians.<sup>16</sup> The knowledge of their sentiments decided Belisarius to seize the first opportunity of landing them on the coast of Africa; and he prudently rejected, in a council of war, the proposal of sailing with the fleet and army into the port of Carthage. Three months after their departure from Constantinople, the men and horses, the arms and military stores, were safely disembarked, and five soldiers were left as a guard on board each of the ships, which were disposed in the form of a semicircle. The remainder of the troops occupied a camp on the sea-shore,

which they fortified, according to ancient discipline, with a ditch and rampart; and the discovery of a source of fresh water, while it allayed the thirst, excited the superstitious confidence, of the Romans. The next morning, some of the neighbouring gardens were pillaged; and Belisarius, after chastising the offenders, embraced the slight occasion, but the decisive moment, of inculcating the maxims of justice, moderation, and genuine policy. "When I first accepted the commission of subduing Africa, I depended much less," said the general, "on the numbers, or even the bravery, of my troops, than upon the friendly disposition of the natives, and their immortal hatred to the Vandals. You alone can deprive me of this hope: if you continue to extort by rapine what might be purchased for a little money, such acts of violence will reconcile these implacable enemies, and unite them in a just and holy league against the invaders of their country." These exhortations were enforced by a rigid discipline, of which the soldiers themselves soon felt and praised the salutary effects. The inhabitants, instead of deserting their houses, or hiding their corn, supplied the Romans with a fair and liberal market: the civil officers of the province continued to exercise their functions in the name of Justinian: and the clergy, from motives of conscience and interest, assiduously laboured to promote the cause of a Catholic emperor. The small town of Sullecte,<sup>17</sup> one day's journey from the camp, had the honour of being foremost to open her gates, and to resume her ancient allegiance: the larger cities of Leptis and Adrumetum imitated the example of loyalty as soon as Belisarius appeared; and he advanced without opposition as far as Grasse, a palace of the Vandal kings, at the distance of fifty miles from Carthage. The weary Romans indulged themselves in the refreshment of shady groves, cool fountains, and delicious fruits; and the preference which Procopius allows to these gardens over any that he had seen, either in the East or West, may be ascribed either to the taste or the fatigue of the historian. In three generations, prosperity and a warm climate had dissolved the hardy virtue of the Vandals, who insensibly became the most luxurious of mankind. In their villas and gardens, which might deserve the Persian name of *paradise*,<sup>18</sup> they enjoyed a cool and elegant repose; and, after the daily use of the bath, the barbarians were seated at a table profusely spread with the delicacies of the land and sea. Their silken robes, loosely flowing after the fashion of the Medes, were embroidered with gold. Love and hunting were the labours of their life, and their vacant hours were amused by pantomimes,

<sup>13</sup> Caucana, near Caparrina, is at least 50 miles (330 or 400 stadia) from Syracuse (Fluxer, Sicilia Antiqua, p. 191).

<sup>14</sup> Procopius, Gothic 1. i. c. 3. *Idi tollit hominum apta quadrigas equa, in the Sicilian pastures of Genseric (Horn i. art. 16.)* Agerages . . . magnanimum quendam generosum equum . . . (Verg. Æneid. iii. 701.). Their horses, whose victories are immortalised by Pindar, were bred in this country.

<sup>15</sup> The Caput Vada of Procopius (where Justinian afterwards founded a city—*id. Edict. l. vii. c. 6.*) is the promontory of Lammou in Strabo, the Brachades of Ptolemy, the Caputius of the moderns, a long narrow slip that runs into the sea (Shaw's Travels, p. 111.).

<sup>16</sup> A centurion of Mark Antony expressed, though in a note

mainly strain, the same dislike to the sea and to naval combats (Plutarch in Antonio, p. 179, edit. Hen. Steph.).

<sup>17</sup> Sullecte is perhaps the Tunis Hamphalis, an old building, now as large as the Tower of London. The march of Belisarius to Leptis, Adrumetum, &c. is illustrated by the campaign of Caesar (Hirtius, de Belli Africano, with the Analysis of Inaudacity, and Shaw's Travels, p. 110.—117.) in the same country.

<sup>18</sup> *Paradise* is a Persian word, signifying a garden. The name, as a name of fashion, is now in vogue, from its first being recommended by the royal garden of Leipsic (Vossius in his notes, p. 774). See, for the true Roman gardens, their best perfect in the Augustus, *Patrona l. i. c. 19.*—191. *Adrianus l. i. c. 25.*—27.

chariot-races, and the music and dances of the theatre.

In a march of ten or twelve days, the vigilance of Belisarius was constantly awake and active against his unseen enemies, by whom, in every place, and at every hour, he might be suddenly attacked. An officer of confidence and merit, John the Armenian, led the vanguard of three hundred horse; six hundred Massagetæ covered at a certain distance the left flank; and the whole fleet, steering along the coast, seldom lost sight of the army, which moved each day about twelve miles, and lodged in the evening in strong camps, or in friendly towns. The near approach of the Romans to Carthage filled the mind of Gelimer with anxiety and terror. He prudently wished to protract the war till his brother, with his veteran troops, should return from the conquest of Sardinia; and he now lamented the rash policy of his ancestors, who, by destroying the fortifications of Africa, had left him only the dangerous resource of risking a battle in the neighbourhood of his capital. The Vandal conquerors, from their original number of fifty thousand, were multiplied, without including their women and children, to one hundred and sixty thousand fighting men: and such forces, animated with valour and union, might have crushed, at their first landing, the feeble and exhausted bands of the Roman general. But the friends of the captive king were more inclined to accept the invitations, than to resist the progress, of Belisarius; and many a proud barbarian disguised his aversion to war under the more specious name of his hatred to the usurper. Yet the authority and promises of Gelimer collected a formidable army, and his plans were concerted with some degree of military skill. An order was despatched to his brother Ammatas, to collect all the forces of Carthage, and to encounter the van of the Roman army at the distance of ten miles from the city: his nephew Gibamund, with two thousand horse, was destined to attack their left, when the monarch himself, who silently followed, should charge their rear, in a situation which excluded them from the aid or even the view of their fleet. But the rashness of Ammatas was fatal to himself and his country. He anticipated the hour of the attack, outstripped his tardy followers, and was pierced with a mortal wound, after he had slain with his own hand twelve of his boldest antagonists. His Vandals fled to Carthage; the highway, almost ten miles, was strewn with dead bodies; and it seemed incredible that such multitudes could be slaughtered by the swords of three hundred Romans. The nephew of Gelimer was defeated after a slight combat by the six hundred Massagetæ: they did not equal the third part of his numbers; but each Scythian was fired by the example of his chief, who gloriously exercised the privilege of his family, by riding foremost and alone to shoot the first arrow against the enemy. In the mean while, Gelimer himself, ignorant of the event, and misguided by the windings of the hills, inadvertently passed

the Roman army, and reached the scene of action where Ammatas had fallen. He wept the fate of his brother and of Carthage, charged with irresistible fury the advancing squadrons, and might have pursued, and perhaps decided the victory, if he had not wasted those inestimable moments in the discharge of a vain, though pious, duty to the dead. While his spirit was broken by this mournful office, he heard the trumpet of Belisarius, who, leaving Antonina and his infantry in the camp, pressed forwards with his guards and the remainder of the cavalry to rally his flying troops, and to restore the fortune of the day. Much room could not be found in this disorderly battle for the talents of a general; but the king fled before the hero; and the Vandals, accustomed only to a Moorish enemy, were incapable of withstanding the arms and discipline of the Romans. Gelimer retired with hasty steps towards the desert of Numidia; but he had soon the consolation of learning that his private orders for the execution of Hilderic and his captive friends had been faithfully obeyed. The tyrant's revenge was useful only to his enemies. The death of a lawful prince excited the compassion of his people; his life might have perplexed the victorious Romans; and the lieutenant of Justinian, by a crime of which he was innocent, was relieved from the painful alternative of forfeiting his honour or relinquishing his conquests.

As soon as the tumult had subsided, the several parts of the army informed each other of the accidents of the day; and Belisarius pitched his camp on the field of victory, to which the tenth mile stone from Carthage had applied the Latin appellation of *decimus*. From a wise suspicion of the stratagems and resources of the Vandals, he marched the next day in order of battle, halted in the evening before the gates of Carthage, and allowed a night of repose, that he might not, in darkness and disorder, expose the city to the licence of the soldiers, or the soldiers themselves to the secret ambush of the city. But as the fears of Belisarius were the result of calm and intrepid reason, he was soon satisfied that he might confide, without danger, in the peaceful and friendly aspect of the capital. Carthage blazed with innumerable torches, the signals of the public joy; the chain was removed that guarded the entrance of the port; the gates were thrown open, and the people, with acclamations of gratitude, hailed and invited their Roman deliverers. The defeat of the Vandals, and the freedom of Africa, were announced to the city on the eve of St. Cyprian, when the churches were already adorned and illuminated for the festival of the martyr, whom three centuries of superstition had almost raised to a local deity. The Arians, conscious that their reign had expired, resigned the temple to the Catholics, who rescued their saint from profane hands, performed the holy rites, and loudly proclaimed the creed of Athanasius and Justinian. One awful hour reversed the fortunes of the contending parties. The suppliant Vandals, who had so lately indulged the vices of conquer-

Defeats the  
Vandal in a  
first battle.

Reduction of  
Carthage.  
A. D. 533,  
Sept. 15.

ors, sought an humble refuge in the sanetnary of the church; while the merchants of the East were delivered from the deepest dungeon of the palace by their affrighted keeper, who implored the protection of his captives, and showed them, through an aperture in the wall, the sails of the Roman fleet. After their separation from the army, the naval commanders had proceeded with slow caution along the coast, till they reached the Hermean promontory, and obtained the first intelligence of the victory of Belisarius. Faithful to his instructions, they would have cast anchor about twenty miles from Carthage, if the more skilful seamen had not represented the perils of the shore, and the signs of an impending tempest. Still ignorant of the revolution, they declined, however, the rash attempt of forcing the chain of the port; and the adjacent harbour and suburb of Mandracium were insulted only by the rapine of a private officer who disobeyed and deserted his leaders. But the Imperial fleet, advancing with a fair wind, steered through the narrow entrance of the Goletta, and occupied in the deep and capacious lake of Tunis a secure station about five miles from the capital.<sup>19</sup> No sooner was Belisarius informed of their arrival, than he despatched orders that the greatest part of the mariuæ should be immediately landed to join the triumph, and to swell the apparent numbers of the Romans. Before he allowed them to enter the gates of Carthage, he exhorted them, in a discourse worthy of himself and the occasion, not to disgrace the glory of their arms; and to remember that the Vandals had been the tyrants, but that *they* were the deliverers of the Africans, who must now be respected as the voluntary and affectionate subjects of their common sovereign. The Romans marched through the streets in close ranks, prepared for battle if an enemy had appeared; the strict order maintained by the general imparted on their minds the duty of obedience; and in an age in which custom and impunity almost sanctified the abuse of conquest, the genius of one man repressed the passions of a victorious army. The voice of menace and complaint was silent; the trade of Carthage was not interrupted; while Africa changed her master and her government, the shops continued open and busy; and the soldiers, after sufficient guards had been posted, modestly departed to the homes which were allotted for their reception. Belisarius fixed his residence in the palace; seated himself on the throne of Genseric; accepted and distributed the barbaric spoil; granted their lives to the suppliant Vandals; and laboured to repair the damage which the suburb of Mandracium had sustained in the preceding night. At supper he entertained his principal officers with the form and magnificence of a royal banquet.<sup>20</sup> The victor was respectfully served by the captive officers of the household; and in the moments of festivity, when the impartial specta-

tors applauded the fortune and merit of Belisarius, his envious flatterers secretly shed their venom on every word and gesture which might alarm the suspicions of a jealous monarch. One day was given to these pompous scenes, which may not be despised as useless, if they attracted the popular veneration; but the active mind of Belisarius, which in the pride of victory could suppose a defeat, had already resolved, that the Roman empire in Africa should not depend on the chance of arms, or the favour of the people. The fortifications of Carthage had alone been exempted from the general proscription: but in the reign of ninety-five years they were suffered to decay by the thoughtless and indolent Vandals. A wiser conqueror restored with incredible despatch the walls and ditches of the city. His liberality encouraged the workmen; the soldiers, the mariners, and the citizens, vied with each other in the salutary labour; and Gelimer, who had feared to trust his person in an open town, beheld with astonishment and despair the rising strength of an impregnable fortress.

That unfortunate monarch, after the loss of his capital, applied himself to collect the remains of an army scattered, rather than destroyed, by the preceding battle; and the hopes of pillage attracted some Moorish bands to the standard of Gelimer. He encamped in the fields of Bulla, four days' journey from Carthage; insulted the capital, which he deprived of the use of an aqueduct; proposed an high reward for the head of every Roman; affected to spare the persons and property of his African subjects, and secretly negotiated with the Asian sectaries and the confederate Huus. Under these circumstances, the conquest of Sardinia served only to aggravate his distress: he reflected with the deepest anguish, that he had wasted, in that useless enterprise, five thousand of his bravest troops; and he read, with grief and shame, the victorious letters of his brother Zeno, who expressed a sanguine confidence that the king, after the example of their ancestors, had already chastised the rashness of the Roman invader. "Alas! my brother," replied Gelimer, "Heaven has declared against our unhappy nation. While you have subdued Sardinia, we have lost Africa. No sooner did Belisarius appear with a handful of soldiers, than courage and prosperity deserted the cause of the Vandals. Your nephew Gibamund, your brother Ammatas, have been betrayed to death by the cowardice of their followers. Our horses, our ships, Carthage itself, and all Africa, are in the power of the enemy. Yet the Vandals still prefer an ignominious repose, at the expense of their wives and children, their wealth and liberty. Nothing now remains, except the field of Bulla, and the hope of your valour. Abandon Sardinia; fly to our relief; restore

<sup>19</sup> The neighbourhood of Carthage, the sea, the land, and the rivers, are changed almost as much as the works of man. The isthmus, or neck, of the city is now confounded with the country; the harbour is a dry plain, and the lake, or stagnum, is more than a morass, with six or seven feet water in the middle. See D'Anville (Geographie Ancienne, tom. iii. p. 624), Shaw (Travels,

p. 77-84), Marmol (Description de l'Afrique, tom. i. p. 47), and Thucydides (lib. ii. c. 12. tom. ii. p. 731).  
<sup>20</sup> In the reign of Belisarius, the name of banquet was given, both in Greek and Latin, to a repast, and to a banquet. The word banquet was introduced into the English language, and the word banquet was introduced into the English language, and the word banquet was introduced into the English language.



and Corsica surrendered to an officer, who carried, instead of a sword, the head of the valiant Zano; and the isles of Majorca, Minorca, and Yvica, consented to remain an humble appendage of the African kingdom. Casarea, a royal city, which in looser geography may be confounded with the modern Algiers, was situated thirty days' march to the westward of Carthage: by land, the road was infested by the Moors; but the sea was open, and the Romans were now masters of the sea. An active and discreet tribune sailed as far as the Straits, where he occupied Septem or Ceuta,<sup>23</sup> which rises opposite to Gibraltar on the African coast: that remote place was afterwards adorned and fortified by Justinian; and he seems to have indulged the vain ambition of extending his empire to the columns of Hercules. He received the messengers of victory at the time when he was preparing to publish the pandects of the Roman law; and the devout or jealous emperor celebrated the divine goodness, and confessed, in silence, the merit of his successful general.<sup>24</sup> Impatient to abolish the temporal and spiritual tyranny of the Vandals, he proceeded, without delay, to the full establishment of the Catholic church. Her jurisdiction, wealth, and immunities, perhaps the most essential part of episcopal religion, were restored and amplified with a liberal hand; the Arian worship was suppressed; the Donatist meetings were proscribed;<sup>25</sup> and the synod of Carthage, by the voice of two hundred and seventeen bishops,<sup>26</sup> applauded the just measure of pious retaliation. On such an occasion, it may not be presumed, that many orthodox prelates were absent; but the comparative smallness of their number, which in ancient councils had been twice or even thrice multiplied, most clearly indicates the decay both of the church and state. While Justinian approved himself the defender of the faith, he entertained an ambitious hope, that his victorious lieutenant would speedily enlarge the narrow limits of his dominion to the space which they occupied before the invasion of the Moors and Vandals; and Belisarius was instructed to establish five *dukes* or commanders in the convenient stations of Tripoli, Leptis, Cirta, Casarea, and Sardinia, and to compute the military force of *palatines* or *borderers* that might be sufficient for the defence of Africa. The kingdom of the Vandals was not unworthy of the presence of a praetorian prefect; and four consuls, three presidents, were appointed to administer the seven provinces under his civil jurisdiction. The number of their subordinate officers, clerks, messengers, or assistants, was minutely expressed; three hundred and ninety-six for the prefect himself, fifty for each of his viceregents.

and the rigid definition of their fees and salaries was more effectual to confirm the right, than to prevent the abuse. These magistrates might be oppressive, but they were not idle : and the subtle questions of justice and revenue were infinitely propagated under the new government, which professed to revive the freedom and equity of the Roman republic. The conqueror was sollicitous to exact a prompt and plentiful supply from his African subjects ; and he allowed them to claim, even in the third degree, and from the collateral line, the houses and lands of which their families had been unjustly despoiled by the Vandals. After the departure of Belisarius, who acted by an high and special commission, no ordinary provision was made for a master-general of the forces ; but the office of prætorian præfect was intrusted to a soldier ; the civil and military powers were united, according to the practice of Justinian, in the chief governor ; and the representative of the emperor in Africa, as well as in Italy, was soon distinguished by the appellation of Exarch.<sup>27</sup>

Yet the conquest of Africa was imperfect, till her former sovereign was delivered, either alive or dead, into the hands of the Romans.

Distress and  
captivity of  
Gehmer.  
A. D. 351,  
The spring.

Doubtful of the event, Gelimar had given secret orders that a part of his treasure should be transported to Spain, where he hoped to find a secure refuge at the court of the king of the Visigoths. But these intentions were disappointed by accident, treachery, and the indefatigable pursuit of his enemies, who intercepted his flight from the sea-shore, and chased the unfortunate monarch, with some faithful followers, to the inaccessible mountain of Papua, in the inland country of Numidia. He was immediately besieged by Pharas, an officer whose truth and sobriety were the more applauded, as such qualities could be seldom found among the Heruli, the most corrupt of the barbarian tribes. To his vigilance Belisarius had intrusted this important charge; and after a bold attempt to scale the mountain, in which he lost an hundred and ten soldiers, Pharas expected, during a winter siege, the operation of distress and famine on the mind of the Vandal king. From the softest habits of pleasure, from the unbounded command of industry and wealth, he was reduced to share the poverty of the Moors,<sup>24</sup> supportable only to themselves by their ignorance of a happier condition. In their rude hovel, of mud and hurdles, which confined the smoke and excluded the light, they promiscuously slept on the ground, perhaps on a sheep-skin, with their wives, their children, and their cattle. Sordid and scanty were their garments; the use of bread and wine

23 Τα τρεσ πολυτελειαι παροικιας, is the expression of Procopius the Edific. i. vi. c. 7. Cetera, which has been defined by the Portuguese, flourished in waters and places, in action time and manufactures, under the more prosperous reign of the Arabs (Africa de Marmol, tom. ii. p. 236.)

24 See the second and third preambles to the Ingest. or Pandect, promulgated A.D. 55, December 15. To the titles of *Enchiridion* and *Africanus*, Justinian, or rather Bysarius, had assumed a fictitious claim. *Gothicus* was premature, and *Iulianus* false, and offensive to a great nation.

23 See the original acts in Baronius (A. D. 373, No. 21-24). The emperor applauds his own clemency to the heretics, *con-sultat eis vivere*.

observes and bewails this episcopal decay, in the more prosperous

size of the church, he had noticed 5000 shoppers, but however many were the dioceses, it is not probable that they all existed at the same time.

27 The African laws of Justinian are illustrated by his German  
 he together (cod. 1. 1st 27. Novell 50, 57, 151) Vit Justinian.

For more papers placed by D'Amico's team, see p. 92 and Table 1. The paper also states that the team found the same words in the same places in the same order in the same order in the same order.

21. See V. Trautman, *op. cit.* 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627,

of the Hadamard-Kronecker, the set of all  $\mathbf{w} \in \mathbb{R}^{N \times 1}$  such that  $\mathbf{w}^T \mathbf{w} = 1$  is the unit sphere  $\mathcal{M} = \{\mathbf{w} \in \mathbb{R}^{N \times 1} : \mathbf{w}^T \mathbf{w} = 1\}$  in the  $N$ -dimensional space. The set of all  $\mathbf{w} \in \mathbb{R}^{N \times 1}$  such that  $\mathbf{w}^T \mathbf{w} = 0$  is the set of all  $\mathbf{w} \in \mathbb{R}^{N \times 1}$  such that  $\mathbf{w} = \mathbf{0}$ .



was unknown; and their oaten or barley cakes, imperfectly baked in the ashes, were devoured almost in a crude state by the hungry savages. The health of Gelimer must have sunk under these strange and unwonted hardships, from whatsoever cause they had been endured; but his actual misery was embittered by the recollection of past greatness, the daily insolence of his protectors, and the just apprehension, that the light and venal Moors might be tempted to betray the rights of hospitality. The knowledge of his situation dictated the humane and friendly epistle of Pharas. "Like yourself," said the chief of the Heruli, "I am an illiterate barbarian, but I speak the language of plain sense and an honest heart. Why will you persist in hopeless obstinacy? Why will you ruin yourself, your family, and nation? The love of freedom and abhorrence of slavery? Alas! my dearest Gelimer, are you not already the worst of slaves, the slave of the vile nation of the Moors. Would it not be preferable to sustain at Constantinople a life of poverty and servitude, rather than to reign the undoubted monarch of the mountain of Papua? Do you think it a disgrace to be the subject of Justinian? Belisarius is his subject; and we ourselves, whose birth is not inferior to your own, are not ashamed of our obedience to the Roman emperor. That generous prince will grant you a rich inheritance of lands, a place in the senate, and the dignity of patrician: such are his gracious intentions, and you may depend with full assurance on the word of Belisarius. So long as Heaven has condemned us to suffer, patience is a virtue; but if we reject the proffered deliverance, it degenerates into blind and stupid despair." "I am not insensible," replied the king of the Vandals, "how kind and rational is your advice. But I cannot persuade myself to become the slave of an unjust enemy, who has deserved my implacable hatred. Him I had never injured either by word or deed: yet he has sent against me, I know not from whence, a certain Belisarius, who has cast me headlong from the throne into this abyss of misery. Justinian is a man; he is a prince: does he not dread for himself a similar reverse of fortune? I can write no more: my grief oppresses me. Send me, I beseech you, my dear Pharas, send me a lyre,<sup>30</sup> a sponge, and a loaf of bread." From the Vandal messenger, Pharas was informed of the motives of this singular request. It was long since the king of Africa had tasted bread; a delusion had fallen on his eyes, the effect of fatigue or incessant weeping; and he wished to solace the melancholy hours, by singing to the lyre the sad story of his own misfortunes. The humanity of Pharas was moved; he sent the three extraordinary gifts; but even his humanity prompted him to redouble the vigilance of his guard, that

he might sooner compel his prisoner to embrace a resolution advantageous to the Romans, but salutary to himself. The obstinacy of Gelimer at length yielded to reason and necessity; the solemn assurances of safety and honourable treatment were ratified in the emperor's name, by the ambassador of Belisarius; and the king of the Vandals descended from the mountain. The first public interview was in one of the suburbs of Carthage; and when the royal captive accosted his conqueror, he burst into a fit of laughter. The crowd might naturally believe, that extreme grief had deprived Gelimer of his senses; but in this mournful state, unseasonable mirth insinuated to more intelligent observers, that the vain and transitory scenes of human greatness are unworthy of a serious thought.<sup>31</sup>

Their contempt was soon justified by a new example of a vulgar truth; that flattery adheres to power, and envy to superior merit. The chiefs of the Roman army presumed to think themselves the rivals of an hero. Their private despatches maliciously affirmed, that the conqueror of Africa, strong in his reputation and the public love, conspired to seat himself on the throne of the Vandals. Justinian listened with too patient an ear; and his silence was the result of jealousy rather than of confidence. An honourable alternative, of remaining in the province, or of returning to the capital, was indeed submitted to the discretion of Belisarius; but he wisely concluded, from intercepted letters, and the knowledge of his sovereign's temper, that he must either resign his head, erect his standard, or confound his enemies by his presence and submission. Innocence and courage decided his choice: his guards, captives, and treasures, were diligently embarked; and so prosperous was the navigation, that his arrival at Constantinople preceded any certain account of his departure from the port of Carthage. Such unsuspecting loyalty removed the apprehensions of Justinian: envy was silenced and inflamed by the public gratitude; and the third Africanus obtained the honours of a triumph, a ceremony which the city of Constantine had never seen, and which ancient Rome, since the reign of Tiberius, had reserved for the auspicious arms of the Cæsars.<sup>32</sup> From the palace of Belisarius, the procession was conducted through the principal streets to the hippodrome; and this memorable day seemed to avenge the injuries of Genseric, and to expiate the shame of the Romans. The wealth of nations was displayed, the trophies of martial or effeminate luxury; rich armour, golden thrones, and the chariots of state which had been used by the Vandal queen; the massy furniture of the royal banquet, the splendour of precious stones, the elegant forms of statues and vases, the more substantial treasure of gold, and the holy vessels of the Jewish

Return and triumph of Belisarius, A.D. 533, Autumn.

30 By Procopius it is styled a *lyre*, perhaps *harp* would have been misapplied by him. It is a mistake to suppose that the lyre was used by the Vandals, and was silent at the greatest of his misfortunes. A. D. 11. In the

interview of Paulus Emilius and Perses, Belisarius might study his part, but it is probable that he never read either Livy or Plutarch, and it is certain that his guests did not need a tutor.  
32 After the title of *Commodus* he lost the old military sense, and the Roman army was, as we have seen, divided by his weakness. La Bédollière, *Mémoires de l'Académie*, tom. xvi. p. 302—372, a triumph might be given with less inconsistency to a private general.

temple, which, after their long peregrination, were respectfully deposited in the Christian church of Jerusalem. A long train of the noblest Vandals reluctantly exposed their lofty stature and manly countenance. Gelimer slowly advanced: he was clad in a purple robe, and still maintained the majesty of a king. Not a tear escaped from his eyes, not a sigh was heard; but his pride or piety derived some secret consolation from the words of Solomon,<sup>33</sup> which he repeatedly pronounced, VANITY! VANITY! ALL IS VANITY! Instead of ascending a triumphal car drawn by four horses or elephants, the modest conqueror marched on foot at the head of his brave companions; his prudence might decline an honour too conspicuous for a subject; and his magnanimity might justly disdain what had been so often sullied by the vilest of tyrants. The glorious procession entered the gate of the hippodrome; was saluted by the acclamations of the senate and people; and halted before the throne where Justinian and Theodora were seated to receive the homage of the captive monarch and the victorious hero. They both performed the customary adoration; and falling prostrate on the ground, respectfully touched the footstool of a prince who had not unsheathed his sword, and of a prostitute who had danced on the theatre: some gentle violence was used to bend the stubborn spirit of the grandson of Genseric; and however trained to servitude, the genius of Belisarius must have secretly rebelled.

His sole con-  
sultship  
A. D. 573,  
January 1.

sub-  
A. D. 571, He was immediately declared consul  
January 1. for the ensuing year, and the day of  
his inauguration resembled the pomp of a second  
triumph: his curule chair was borne aloft on the  
shoulders of captive Vandals; and the spoil of  
war, gold cups, and rich girdles, were profusely  
scattered among the populace.

But the purest reward of Belisarius was in the faithful execution of a treaty for which his honour had been pledged to the king of the Vandals. The religious scruples of Gelimer, who adhered to the Arian heresy, were incompatible with the dignity of senator or patrician : but he received from the emperor an ample estate in the province of Galatia, where the abdicated monarch retired with his family and friends, to a life of peace, of affluence, and perhaps of content.<sup>34</sup> The daughters of Hilderic were entertained with the respectful tenderness due to their age and misfortune; and Justinian and Theodora accepted the honour of educating and enriching the female descendants of the great Theodosius. The bravest of the Vandal youth were distributed into five squad-

rons of cavalry, which adopted the name of their benefactor, and supported in the Persian wars the glory of their ancestors. But these rare exceptions, the reward of birth or valour, are insufficient to explain the fate of a nation, whose numbers, before a short and bloodless war, amounted to more than six hundred thousand persons. After the exile of their king and nobles, the servile crowd might purchase their safety, by allying their character, religion, and language; and their degenerate posterity would be insensibly mingled with the common herd of African subjects. Yet even in the present age, and in the heart of the Moorish tribes, a curious traveller has discovered the white complexion and long flaxen hair of a northern race;<sup>55</sup> and it was formerly believed, that the boldest of the Vandals fled beyond the power, or even the knowledge, of the Romans, to enjoy their solitary freedom on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>56</sup> Africa had been their empire, it became their prison; nor could they entertain an hope, or even a wish, of returning to the banks of the Elbe, where their brethren, of a spirit less adventurous, still wandered in their native forests. It was impossible for cowards to surmount the barriers of unknown seas and hostile barbarians; it was impossible for brave men to expose their nakedness and defeat before the eyes of their countrymen, to describe the kingdoms which they had lost, and to claim a share of the humble inheritance, which, in a happier hour, they had almost unanimously renounced.<sup>57</sup> In the country between the Elbe and the Oder, several populous villages of Lusatia are inhabited by the Vandals: they still preserve their language, their customs, and the purity of their blood; support with some impatience, the Saxon, or Prussian yoke; and serve with secret and voluntary allegiance, the descendant of their ancient kings, who in his garb and present fortune is confounded with the meanest of his vassals.<sup>58</sup> The name and situation of this unhappy people might indicate their descent from one common stock with the conquerors of Africa. But the use of a Slavonian dialect more clearly represents them as the last remnant of the new colonies, who succeeded to the genuine Vandals, already scattered or destroyed in the age of Procopius.<sup>59</sup>

If Belisarius had been tempted to hesitate in his allegiance, he might have urged, even against the emperor himself, the indispensable duty of saving Africa from an enemy more barbarous than the Vandals. The origin of the Moors is involved in darkness: they were ignorant of the use of letters.<sup>60</sup> Their

Manners and defeat of the Moors.  
A. D. 533.

Manners and  
defeat of the  
Moors.  
A. D. 535.

A. D. 535.

77 If the Ecclesiastes be truly a work of Solomon, and not, like Prior's poem, a poem and more in the position of a recent work, in his name, and on the subject of his repentance. The latter is the opinion of the learned and far-sighted critics (esp. Thomaſe, page 1, p. 278), and indeed the French, who and French display a larger compass of thought and experience than seem to belong either to a Jew, or a King.

54 In the Belvaire of Marmontel, the king and the conqueror of Africa meet, sup, and converse, without recollecting each other. It is surely a fault of that romance, that not only the hero, but all to whom he had been so conspicuously known, appear to have lost their eyes or their memory.

20. The geographer of Ravenna wrote at p. 171, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984,

57 As a girl's voice had protested, and Genseric dismissed, without a final answer, the Vandals of Germany but those of Africa derided his pride, and affected to despise the poverty of their forests (Procopius, *Vandalica* l. i. c. 22).

From the mouth of the great elector (in 1687) Tolius describes the secret royal and religious spirit of the Vandals of Brandenburg, who could muster four or six thousand soldiers, who had produced some cannon, &c. *Itinerar. Hungar.* p. 42 and Dubos, Hist.

<sup>79</sup> Procopius, *l.c.* c. 22, was in total darkness – *οὐδὲ μὴ γὰρ τὸ ὄρατον αὐτῷ ἐνεσθαι*. Under the reign of Dagobert (A.D. 630),

10. *Solus* represents the *Mior*, as a remnant of the army of Illegiacs de Bell Jughenit (cf. *Illegiacs de Bell Jughenit* and *Principes de l'Ardenne* (cf. 10.1) as the possessor of the *maison*, who led from the northern lands (*Principes*). He quotes two names, with a *l'ou* in the first one. I leave in the accusative — I denote the man — and I repeat the pedigree.

limits cannot be precisely defined: a boundless continent was open to the Libyan shepherds; the change of seasons and pastures regulated their motions; and their rude huts and slender furniture were transported with the same ease as their arms, their families, and their cattle, which consisted of sheep, oxen, and camels.<sup>41</sup> During the vigour of the Roman power, they observed a respectful distance from Carthage and the sea-shore; under the feeble reign of the Vandals, they invaded the cities of Numidia, occupied the sea-coast from Tangier to Cæsarea, and pitched their camps, with impunity, in the fertile province of Byzacium. The formidable strength and artful conduct of Belisarius secured the neutrality of the Moorish princes, whose vanity aspired to receive, in the emperor's name, the ensigns of their regal dignity.<sup>42</sup> They were astonished by the rapid event, and trembled in the presence of their conqueror. But his approaching departure soon relieved the apprehensions of a savage and superstitious people; the number of their wives allowed them to disregard the safety of their infant hostages; and when the Roman general hoisted sail in the port of Carthage, he heard the cries, and almost beheld the flames, of the desolated province. Yet he persisted in his resolution, and leaving only a part of his guards to reinforce the feeble garrisons, he intrusted the command of Africa to the eunuch Solomon,<sup>43</sup> who proved himself not unworthy to be the successor of Belisarius. In the first invasion, some detachments, with two officers of merit, were surprised and intercepted; but Solomon speedily assembled his troops, marched from Carthage into the heart of the country, and in two great battles destroyed sixty thousand of the barbarians. The Moors depended on their multitude, their swiftness, and their inaccessible mountains; and the aspect and smell of their camels are said to have produced some confusion in the Roman cavalry.<sup>44</sup> But as soon as they were commanded to dismount, they derided this contemptible obstacle; as soon as the columns ascended the hills, the naked and disorderly crowd was dazzled by glittering arms and regular evolutions; and the menace of their female prophets was repeatedly fulfilled, that the Moors should be discomfited by a *beardless* antagonist. The victorious eunuch advanced thirteen days' journey from Carthage, to besiege Mount Auraisius,<sup>45</sup> the citadel, and at the same time the garden of Numidia. That range of hills, a branch of the great Atlas, contains, within a circumference of one hundred and twenty miles, a rare variety of soil and climate; the intermediate valleys and elevated plains abound with rich pastures, perpetual streams, and fruits of a delicious taste and uncommon magnitude. This fair solitude is decorated with the ruins of Lam-

besa, a Roman city, once the seat of a legion, and the residence of forty thousand inhabitants. The Ionic temple of Esculapius is encompassed with Moorish huts; and the cattle now graze in the midst of an amphitheatre, under the shade of Corinthian columns. A sharp perpendicular rock rises above the level of the mountain, where the African princes deposited their wives and treasure; and a proverb is familiar to the Arabs, that the man may eat fire, who dares to attack the craggy cliffs and inhospitable natives of Mount Auraisius. This hardy enterprise was twice attempted by the eunuch Solomon: from the first, he retreated with some disgrace; and in the second, his patience and provisions were almost exhausted; and he must again have retired, if he had not yielded to the impetuous courage of his troops, who audaciously scaled, to the astonishment of the Moors, the mountain, the hostile camp, and the summit of the Geminian rock. A citadel was erected to secure this important conquest, and to remind the barbarians of their defeat: and as Solomon pursued his march to the west, the long-lost province of Mauritanian Sitifi was again annexed to the Roman empire. The Moorish war continued several years after the departure of Belisarius; but the laurels which he resigned to a faithful lieutenant, may be justly ascribed to his own triumph.

The experience of past faults, <sup>Neutrality of the Visigoths</sup> which may sometimes correct the mature age of an individual, is seldom profitable to the successive generations of mankind. The nations of antiquity, careless of each other's safety, were separately vanquished and enslaved by the Romans. This awful lesson might have instructed the barbarians of the West to oppose, with timely counsels and confederate arms, the unbounded ambition of Justinian. Yet the same error was repeated, the same consequences were felt, and the Goths, both of Italy and Spain, insensible of their approaching danger, beheld with indifference, and even with joy, the rapid downfall of the Vandals. After the failure of the royal line, Theudes, a valiant and powerful chief, ascended the throne of Spain, which he had formerly administered in the name of Theodoric and his infant grandson. Under his command, the Visigoths besieged the fortress of Ceuta on the African coast: but, while they spent the sabbath-day in peace and devotion, the pious security of their camp was invaded by a sally from the town; and the king himself, with some difficulty and danger, escaped from the hands of a sacrilegious enemy.<sup>46</sup> It was not long before his pride and resentment were gratified by a suppliant embassy from the unfortunate Gelimer, who implored, in his distress, the aid of the Spanish monarch. But

<sup>41</sup> Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. lib. 9. c. 15.) describes his, similar to that of the camel, as the most commendable on the crown or cap, a white with gold and silver, or

were these precious metals less acceptable in the shape of coin (Procop. Vandal. l. 2. c. 25.).

<sup>42</sup> See the African government and warfare of Solomon, in Procopius (Vandal. l. 1. c. 10, 11, 12, 13, P. 26.). He was recalled, and again restored; and his last victory dates in the sixth year of Justinian (A. D. 529.). An accident in his childhood had rendered him an eunuch (l. 1. c. 11.): the other Roman generals were amply furnished with beards, *παργονος επι λαμμενος* (l. 1. c. 34.).

<sup>43</sup> This natural antipathy of the horse for the camel, is affirmed by the ancients (Xenophon, Cyropæd. l. vi. p. 178. l. vii. p. 483. 492. ed. Baiter; Herodotus, Hist. lib. 2. c. 10. P. 10. Hist. Nat. lib. 9. c. 15. De Equis. l. vi. c. 7.). He may be compared with Leo Africanus (libell. Africa, parte 5. in Ramusio, tom. 1. fol. 77. recto), Marmol (tom. 1. Africa, c. 439. and Shaw in 2d. ed. p. 54. 55.).

<sup>44</sup> Procopius is the first who describes Mount Auraisius (Vandal. l. 1. c. 15. De Equis. l. vi. c. 7.). He may be compared with Leo Africanus (libell. Africa, parte 5. in Ramusio, tom. 1. fol. 77. recto), Marmol (tom. 1. Africa, c. 439. and Shaw in 2d. ed. p. 54. 55.).

<sup>45</sup> It is not clear from Procopius (Vandal. lib. 1. c. 15. recto) that the death of Theudes happened, A. D. H. 526. A. D. 548. and the place was taken did, not by the Vandals, but by the Romans.

instead of sacrificing these unworthy passions to the dictates of generosity and prudence, Theudis amused the ambassadors, till he was secretly informed of the loss of Carthage, and then dismissed them with obscure and contemptuous advice, to seek in their native country a true

knowledge of the state of the Vandals, 47 The long continuance of the Italian war delayed the punishment of the Visigoths; and the eyes of Theudis were closed before they tasted the fruits of his mistaken policy. After his death, the sceptre of Spain was disputed by a civil war. The weaker candidate solicited the protection of Justinian, and ambitiously subscribed a treaty of alliance, which deeply wounded the independence and happiness of his country. Several cities, both on the Ocean and the Mediterranean, were ceded to the Roman troops, who afterwards refused to evacuate those pledges, as it should seem, either of safety or payment; and as they were fortified by perpetual supplies from Africa, they maintained their impregnable stations, for the mischievous purpose of inflaming the civil and religious factions of the barbarians. Seventy years elapsed before this painful thorn could be extirpated from the bosom of the monarchy; and as long as the emperors retained any share of these remote and useless possessions, their vanity might number Spain in the list of their provinces, and the successors of Alaric in the rank of their vassals. 48

The error of the Goths who reigned in Italy was less excusable than that of their Spanish brethren, and their punishment was still more immediate and terrible. From a motive of private revenge, they enabled their most dangerous enemy to destroy their most valuable ally. A sister of the great Theodoric had been given in marriage to Thrasimond the African king; 49 on this occasion, the fortress of Lilybaeum 50 in Sicily was resigned to the Vandals; and the princess Amalafida was attended by a martial train of one thousand nobles, and five thousand Gothic soldiers, who signalled their valour in the Moorish wars. Their merit was overrated by themselves, and perhaps neglected by the Vandals; they viewed the country with envy, and the conquerors with disdain; but their real or fictitious conspiracy was prevented by a massacre; the Goths were oppressed, and the captivity of Amalafida was soon followed by her secret and suspicious death. The eloquent pen of Cassiodorus was employed to reproach the Vandal court with the cruel violation of every social and public duty; but the vengeance which he threatened in the name of his sovereign, might be derided with impunity, as long as Africa was protected by the sea, and the Goths

were destitute of a navy. In the blind impetuosity of grief and indignation, they joyfully saluted the approach of the Romans, entertained the fleet of Belisarius in the ports of Sicily, and were speedily delighted or alarmed by the surprising intelligence, that their revenge was executed beyond the measure of their hopes, or perhaps of their wishes. To their friendship the emperor was indebted for the kingdom of Africa, and the Goths might reasonably think, that they were entitled to resume the possession of a barren rock, so recently separated as a nuptial gift from the island of Sicily. They were soon undeceived by the haughty mandate of Belisarius, which excited their tardy and unavailing repentance. "The city and promontory of Lilybaeum," said the Roman general, "belonged to the Vandals, and I claim them by the right of conquest. Your submission may deserve the favour of the emperor; your obstinacy will provoke his displeasure, and must kindle a war, that can terminate only in your utter ruin. If you compel us to take up arms, we shall contend, not to regain the possession of a single city, but to deprive you of all the provinces which you unjustly withhold from their lawful sovereign." A nation of two hundred thousand soldiers might have smiled at the vain menace of Justinian and his lieutenant, but a spirit of discord and disaffection prevailed in Italy, and the Goths supported, with reluctance, the indignity of a female reign. 51

The birth of Amalasontha, the Government and death of Amalasontha, queen of Italy, A. D. 522-534. <sup>52</sup> united the two most illustrious families of the barbarians. Her mother, the sister of Clovis, was descended from the long-haired kings of the *Merovingian* race; 53 and the regal succession of the *Amali* was illustrated in the eleventh generation, by her father, the great Theodoric, whose merit might have ennobled a plebeian origin. The sex of his daughter excluded her from the Gothic throne; but his vigilant tenderness for his family and his people discovered the last heir of the royal line, whose ancestors had taken refuge in Spain; and the fortunate Eutharic was suddenly exalted to the rank of a consul and a prince. He enjoyed only a short time the charms of Amalasontha, and the hopes of the succession; and his widow, after the death of her husband and father, was left the guardian of her son Athalaric, and the kingdom of Italy. At the age of about twenty-eight years, the endowments of her mind and person had attained their perfect maturity. Her beauty, which, in the apprehension of Theodora herself, might have disputed the conquest of an emperor, was animated by manly sense, activity, and resolution. Edu-

47. Procopius, *Vandal.* l. i. c. 24.

48. See the origin of a branch of the *Udala*, and the title and book of the History of Spain by Marcellinus. The *Udala* were first expelled by Suintila, king of the Visigoths, A. D. 624, and after their return to the African church.

49. See the marriage and love of Theodoric's sister with Thrasimond, l. i. c. 31, and in Cassiodorus, l. i. c. 1. The expedition in the Moorish wars. Compare likewise the throne of a Vandal monarch.

50. Lilybaeum was built by the Carthaginians, *Olyn.* c. 1. and in the first Punic war, a strong station, and even a harbor, rendered that place an important object to both nations.

51. Compare the different passages of Procopius, *Vandal.* l. i. c. 5. *God.* l. i. c. 7.

52. For the origin and character of Amalasontha, see Procopius, *l. i. c. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.*

53. The *Udala* progeny of Theodoric with Amalafida, the sister of Clovis, may be proved as the year 453, soon after the conquest of Italy, by the *Historia* of Theodoric, l. i. c. 23. The nuptial feast of Amalafida and Amalasontha were celebrated in 515 (Amalasontha, in *Chron.* l. i. c. 55).

cation and experience had cultivated her talents; her philosophic studies were exempt from vanity; and, though she expressed herself with equal elegance and ease in the Greek, the Latin, and the Gothic tongue, the daughter of Theodoric maintained in her counsels a discreet and impenetrable silence. By a faithful imitation of the virtues, she revived the prosperity, of his reign; while she strove, with pious care, to expiate the faults and to obliterate the darker memory of his declining age. The children of Boethius and Symmachus were restored to their paternal inheritance: her extreme lenity never consented to inflict any corporal or pecuniary penalties on her Roman subjects; and she generously despised the clamours of the Goths, who, at the end of forty years, still considered the people of Italy as their slaves or their enemies. Her salutary measures were directed by the wisdom, and celebrated by the eloquence, of Cassiodorus; she solicited and deserved the friendship of the emperor; and the kingdoms of Europe respected, both in peace and war, the majesty of the Gothic throne. But the future happiness of the queen and of Italy depended on the education of her son; who was destined, by his birth, to support the different and almost incompatible characters of the chief of a barbarian camp, and the first magistrate of a civilised nation. From the age of ten years,<sup>64</sup> Athalaric was diligently instructed in the arts and sciences, either useful or ornamental for a Roman prince: and three venerable Goths were chosen to instil the principles of honour and virtue into the mind of their young king. But the pupil who is insensible of the benefits, must abhor the restraints, of education; and the solicitude of the queen, which affection rendered anxious and severe, offended the untractable nature of her son and his subjects. On a solemn festival, when the Goths were assembled in the palace of Ravenna, the royal youth escaped from his mother's apartment, and, with tears of pride and anger, complained of a blow which his stubborn disobedience had provoked her to inflict. The barbarians resented the indignity which had been offered to their king; accused the regent of conspiring against his life and crown; and imperiously demanded, that the grandson of Theodoric should be rescued from the dastardly discipline of women and pedants, and educated, like a valiant Goth, in the society of his equals, and the glorious ignorance of his ancestors. To this rude clamour, inopportunistly urged as the voice of the nation, Amalasontha was compelled to yield her reason, and the dearest wishes of her heart. The king of Italy was abandoned to wine, to women, and to rustic sports; and the indiscreet contempt of the ungovernable youth betrayed the mischievous designs of his favourites and her enemies. Encompassed with domestic foes, she entered into a secret negotiation with the emperor Justinian;

obtained the assurance of a friendly reception, and had actually deposited at Dyrrachium in Epirus, a treasure of forty thousand pounds of gold. Happy would it have been for her fame and safety, if she had calmly retired from barbarous faction, to the peace and splendour of Constantinople. But the mind of Amalasontha was inflamed by ambition and revenge; and while her ships lay at anchor in the port, she waited for the success of a crime which her passions excused or applauded as an act of justice. Three of the most dangerous malecontents had been separately removed, under the pretence of trust and command, to the frontiers of Italy; they were assassinated by her private emissaries; and the blood of these noble Goths rendered the queen-mother absolute in the court of Ravenna, and justly odious to a free people. But if she had lamented the disorders of her son, she soon wept his irreparable loss; and the death of Athalaric, who, at the age of sixteen, was consumed by premature intemperance, left her destitute of any firm support or legal authority. Instead of submitting to the laws of her country, which held as a fundamental maxim, that the succession could never pass from the lance to the distaff, the daughter of Theodoric conceived the impracticable design of sharing, with one of her cousins, the regal title, and of reserving in her own hands the substance of supreme power. He received the proposal with profound respect and offered gratitude; and the eloquent Cassiodorus announced to the senate and the emperor, that Amalasontha and Theodatus had ascended the throne of Italy. His birth (for his mother was the sister of Theodoric) might be considered as an imperfect title; and the choice of Amalasontha was more strongly directed by her contempt of his avarice and pusillanimity, which had deprived him of the love of the Italians, and the esteem of the barbarians. But Theodatus was exasperated by the contempt which he deserved, her justice had repressed and reproached the oppression which he exercised against his Tuscan neighbours; and the principal Goths, united by common guilt and resentment, conspired to instigate his slow and timid disposition. The letters of congratulation were secretly despatched before the queen of Italy was imprisoned in a small island of the lake of Bolsena,<sup>65</sup> where, after a short confinement, she was strangled in the bath, by the order, or with the connivance, of the new king, who instructed his turbulent subjects to shed the blood of their sovereigns.

Justinian beheld with joy the dissensions of the Goths; and the mediation of an ally conceded and promoted the ambitious views of the conqueror. His ambassadors, in their public audience, demanded the fortress of Lilybæum, ten barbarian fugitives, and a just compensation for the pillage of a small town on the Illyrian

Her exile and death.  
A. D. 534,  
April 30.

Bellarius invades and subdues Sicily.  
A. D. 535,  
Dec. 31.

<sup>64</sup> At the death of Theodoric, his grandson Athalaric is described by Procopius as a boy about eight years old — *αἰὼν ὀκτώετος ἦν*. — Cassiodorus, with authority and reason, adds two years to his age — *infantulum adhuc vix decemem*.

<sup>65</sup> The lake, from the neighbouring towns of Nettuno, was called either *Vulturnensis* (now of Bolsena, or Tarquiniensis). It is surrounded

with white rocks, and stored with fish and wild fowl. The younger Pliny (lib. 36) celebrates two woody islands that floated on its waters; it is a fable, how credulous the ancients! — if a fact, how careless, the moderns! Yet, since Pliny, the island may have been fixed by new and gradual accretions.

lorders; but they secretly negotiated with Theodatus to betray the province of Tu-cany, and tempted Amalasontha to extricate herself from danger and perplexity, by a free surrender of the kingdom of Italy. A false and servile epistle was subscribed by the reluctant hand of the captive queen: but the confession of the Roman senators, who were sent to Constantinople, revealed the truth of her deplorable situation; and Justinian, by the voice of a new ambassador, most powerfully interceded for her life and liberty. Yet the secret instructions of the same minister were adapted to serve the cruel jealousy of Theodora, who dreaded the presence and superior charms of a rival: he prompted, with artful and ambiguous hints, the execution of a crime so useful to the Romans; <sup>56</sup> received the intelligence of her death with grief and indignation, and denounced, in his master's name, immortal war against the perfidious assassin. In Italy, as well as in Africa, the guilt of an usurper appeared to justify the arms of Justinian; but the forces which he prepared, were insufficient for the subversion of a mighty kingdom, if their feeble numbers had not been multiplied by the name, the spirit, and the conduct of an hero. A chosen troop of guards, who served on horseback, and were armed with lances and bucklers, attended the person of Belisarius: his cavalry was composed of two hundred Huns, three hundred Moors, and four thousand *confederates*, and the infantry consisted only of three thousand Isaurians. Steering the same course as in his former expedition, the Roman consul cast anchor before Catania in Sicily, to survey the strength of the island, and to decide whether he should attempt the conquest, or peaceably pursue his voyage for the African coast. He found a fruitful land and a friendly people. Notwithstanding the decay of agriculture, Sicily still supplied the granaries of Rome: the farmers were graciously exempted from the oppression of military quarters; and the Goths, who trusted the defence of the island to the inhabitants, had some reason to complain, that their confidence was ungratefully betrayed. Instead of soliciting and expecting the aid of the king of Italy, they yielded to the first summons a cheerful obedience: and this province, the first fruits of the Punic wars, was again, after a long separation, united to the Roman empire. <sup>57</sup> The Gothic garrison of Palermo, which alone attempted to resist, was reduced, after a short siege, by a singular stratagem. Belisarius introduced his ships into the deepest recess of the harbour; their boats were laboriously hoisted with ropes and pulleys to the topmast head, and he filled them with archers, who, from that superior station, commanded the ramparts of the city. After this easy, though successful campaign, the conqueror entered Syracuse in triumph, at the head of his victorious bands, distributing gold medals to the people, on the day which so gloriously ter-

minated the year of his consulship. He passed the winter season in the palace of ancient kings, amidst the ruins of a Grecian colony, which once extended to a circumference of two and twenty miles;<sup>58</sup> but in the spring, about the festival of Easter, the prosecution of his designs was interrupted by a dangerous revolt of the African forces. Carthage was saved by the presence of Belisarius, who suddenly landed with a thousand guards. Two thousand soldiers of doubtful faith returned to the standard of their old commander: and he marched, without hesitation, above fifty miles, to seek an enemy, whom he affected to pity and despise. Eight thousand rebels trembled at his approach; they were routed at the first onset, by the dexterity of their master: and this ignoble victory would have restored the peace of Africa, if the conqueror had not been hastily recalled to Sicily, to appease a sedition which was kindled during his absence in his own camp.<sup>59</sup> Disorder and disobedience were the common malady of the times: the genius to command, and the virtue to obey, resided only in the mind of Belisarius.

Although Theodatus descended from a race of heroes, he was ignorant of the art, and averse to the dangers, of war. Although he had studied the writings of Plato and Tully, philosophy was incapable of purifying his mind from the basest passions, avarice and fear. He had purchased a sceptre by ingratitude and murder: at the first menace of an enemy, he degraded his own majesty, and that of a nation, which already disdained their unworthy sovereign. Astonished by the recent example of Gelimer, he saw himself dragged in chains through the streets of Constantinople: the terrors which Belisarius inspired, were heightened by the eloquence of Peter, the Byzantine ambassador; and that bold and subtle advocate persuaded him to sign a treaty, too ignominious to become the foundation of a lasting peace. It was stipulated, that in the acclamations of the Roman people, the name of the emperor should be always proclaimed before that of the Gothic king; and that as often as the statue of Theodatus was erected in brass or marble, the divine image of Justinian should be placed on its right hand. Instead of conferring, the king of Italy was reduced to solicit, the honours of the senate; and the consent of the emperor was made indispensable before he could execute, against a priest or senator, the sentence either of death or confiscation. The feeble monarch resigned the possession of Sicily; offered, as the annual mark of his dependence, a crown of gold, of the weight of three hundred pounds; and promised to supply, at the requisition of his sovereign, three thousand Gothic auxiliaries for the service of the empire. Satisfied with these extraordinary concessions, the successful agent

Reign and  
weakness of  
Theodatus,  
the Gothic  
king of Italy.  
A. D. 551,  
Gothic king  
A. D. 576,  
A. D. 580.

<sup>56</sup> Yet Procopius credits his own evidence (An. d. l. v. c. 15), by confessing that in his public history he had not seen, nor yet the private Epistles from queen Amalasontha to the emperor, Theodorus (An. d. l. v. c. 21, 25, and the same in his private word, as he confesses, An. d. l. v. c. 25) with the eloquent comparison of Bussi (An. d. l. v. c. 17, 18, 19).

<sup>57</sup> For the conquest of Sicily, see the narrative of Procopius with the epitome of Theodorus Gothic (An. d. l. v. c. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19). The Gothic queen had lately declared that that was the end of the world (An. d. l. v. c. 15).

<sup>58</sup> The ancient magnitude and extension of the first city of Sicily, or the city of Syracuse, is described by Virgil (An. d. l. v. c. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100). The new city, rebuilt by Augustus, struck to ruins the old city (An. d. l. v. c. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100).







open for his reception. As soon as Belisarius had fortified his new conquests, Naples and Cumæ, he advanced about twenty miles to the banks of the Volturnus, contemplated the decayed grandeur of Capua, and halted at the separation of the Latin and Appian ways. The work of the censor, after the incessant use of nine centuries, still preserved its primeval beauty, and not a flaw could be discovered in the large polished stones, of which that solid, though narrow road, was so firmly compacted.<sup>73</sup> Belisarius, however, preferred the Latin way, which, at a distance from the sea and the marshes, skirted in a space of one hundred and twenty

Belisarius enters Rome. A. D. 536, Dec. 10.

miles along the foot of the mountains. His enemies had disappeared: when he made his entrance through the Asinarian gate, the garrison departed without molestation along the Flaminian way; and the city, after sixty years' servitude, was delivered from the yoke of the barbarians. Leuderis alone, from a motive of pride or discontent, refused to accompany the fugitives; and the Gothic chief, himself a trophy of the victory, was sent with the keys of Rome to the throne of the emperor Justinian.<sup>74</sup>

The first days, which coincided with the old Saturnalia, were devoted to mutual congratulation and the public joy; and the Catholics prepared to celebrate, without a rival, the approaching festival of the nativity of Christ. In the familiar conversation of an hero, the Romans acquired some notion of the virtues which history ascribed to their ancestors; they were edified by the apparent respect of Belisarius for the successor of St. Peter, and his rigid discipline secured in the midst of war the blessings of tranquillity and justice. They applauded the rapid success of his arms, which overran the adjacent country, as far as Narni, Perugia, and Spoleto; but they trembled, the senate, the clergy, and the unwarlike people, as soon as they understood, that he had resolved, and would speedily be reduced, to sustain a siege against the powers of the Gothic monarchy. The designs of Vitiges were executed, during the winter season, with diligence and effect. From their rustic habitations, from their distant garrisons, the Goths assembled at Ravenna for the defence of their country; and such were their numbers, that after an army had been detached for the relief of Dalmatia, one hundred and fifty thousand fighting men marched under the royal standard. According to the degrees of rank or merit, the Gothic king distributed arms and horses, rich gifts, and liberal promises: he moved along the Flaminian way, declined the useless sieges of Perusia and Spoleto, respected the impregnable rock of Narni, and arrived within two miles of Rome at the foot of the Milvian bridge. The narrow passage was

fortified with a tower, and Belisarius had computed the value of the twenty days which must be lost in the construction of another bridge. But the consternation of the soldiers of the tower, who either fled or deserted, disappointed his hopes, and betrayed his person into the most imminent danger. At the head of one thousand horse, the Roman general sallied from the Flaminian gate to mark the ground of an advantageous position, and to survey the camp of the barbarians; but while he still believed them on the other side of the Tyber, he was suddenly encompassed and assaulted by their innumerable squadrons. The fate of Italy depended on his life; and the deserters pointed to a conspicuous horse, a bay,<sup>75</sup> with a white face, which he rode on that memorable day. "Aim at the bay "horse," was the universal cry. Every bow was bent, every javelin was directed, against that fatal object, and the command was repeated and obeyed by thousands who were ignorant of its real motive. The bolder barbarians advanced to the more honourable combat of swords and spears; and the praise of an enemy has graced the fall of Visandus, the standard-bearer,<sup>76</sup> who maintained his foremost station, till he was pierced with thirteen wounds, perhaps by the hand of Belisarius himself. The Roman general was strong, active, and dexterous: on every side he discharged his weighty and mortal strokes: his faithful guards imitated his valour, and defended his person; and the Goths, after the loss of a thousand men, fled before the arms of an hero. They were rashly pursued to their camp: and the Romans, oppressed by multitudes, made a gradual, and at length a precipitate retreat to the gates of the city: the gates were shut against the fugitives; and the public terror was increased by the report, that Belisarius was slain. His countenance was indeed disfigured by sweat, dust, and blood; his voice was hoarse, his strength was almost exhausted; but his unconquerable spirit still remained; he imparted that spirit to his desponding companions; and their last desperate charge was felt by the flying barbarians, as if a new army, vigorous and entire, had been poured from the city. The Flaminian gate was thrown open to a real triumph; but it was not before Belisarius had visited every post, and provided for the public safety, that he could be persuaded by his wife and friends, to taste the needful refreshments of food and sleep. In the more improved state of the art of war, a general is seldom required, or even permitted, to display the personal prowess of a soldier; and the example of Belisarius may be added to the rare examples of Henry IV., of Pyrrhus, and of Alexander.

After this first and unsuccessful trial of their enemies, the whole

His defence of Rome.

<sup>73</sup> Berger (Hist. des Grands Chemins des Romains, tom. i. p. 221—228, 110, 111) examines the structure and history of the D. Anselme, Analyse de l'Hist. p. 999—112) defines the geographical line.

<sup>74</sup> For the first recovery of Rome, the year (536) is certain, from the series of events, rather than from the corrupt, or uncorrected text of Procopius: the month (December) is ascertained by Livius, l. ii. c. 14, 15, and the day (the tenth) may be admitted on the slight evidence of Nephrosius Callistus (l. vii. c. 15). For this accuracy, however, we are indebted to the diligence and judgment of Pagi, tom. ii. p. 2, 3, 566.

<sup>75</sup> An horse of a bay or red colour was styled *galus* by the Greeks, *gallos* by the barbarians, and *gallos* by the Romans. Huetius speaks, *de Virg. Georg. l. ii. c. 72* with the Observations of Martin and Duval. *Swallow of clouds*, signifies a branch of the palm tree, whose name *galus*, is synonymous to *raf*. Julius (vellus, a. 36).

<sup>76</sup> I interpret *visandus*, not as a proper name, but an office, standard-bearer, from *visandum*, *vestibulum*, a barrier or wall adopted by the Greeks and Romans (Plat. *Thaom.* l. i. c. 29) p. 100. *Geogr. Nomen* Gothica, p. 375. *Ducang's Gloss.* Latin. tom. i. p. 559, 560.

army of the Goths passed the Tyber, and formed the siege of the city, which continued above a year, till their final departure. Whatever fancy may conceive, the severe compass of the geographer defines the circumference of Rome within a line of twelve miles and three hundred and forty-five paces; and that circumference, except in the Vatican, has invariably been the same from the triumph of Aurlan to the peaceful but obscure reign of the modern popes.<sup>77</sup> But in the day of her greatness, the space within her walls was crowded with habitations and inhabitants; and the populous suburbs, that stretched along the public roads, were dated like so many rays from one common centre. Adversity swept away these extraneous ornaments, and left naked and desolate a considerable part even of the seven hills. Yet Rome in its present state could send into the field above thirty thousand males of a military age;<sup>78</sup> and, notwithstanding the want of discipline and exercise, the far greater part, inured to the hardships of poverty, might be capable of bearing arms for the defence of their country and religion. The prudence of Belisarius did not neglect this important resource. His soldiers were relieved by the zeal and diligence of the people, who watched while *they* slept, and laboured while *they* reposed: he accepted the voluntary service of the bravest and most indigent of the Roman youth; and the companies of townsmen sometimes represented, in a vacant post, the presence of the troops which had been drawn away to more essential duties. But his just confidence was placed in the veterans who had fought under his banner in the Persian and African wars; and although that gallant band was reduced to five thousand men, he undertook, with such contemptible numbers to defend a circle of twelve miles, against an army of one hundred and fifty thousand barbarians. In the walls of Rome, which Belisarius constructed or restored, the materials of ancient architecture may be discerned;<sup>79</sup> and the whole fortification was completed, except in a chasm still extant between the Pincian and Flaminian gates, which the prejudices of the Goths and Romans left under the effectual guard of St. Peter the apostle.<sup>80</sup> The battlements or bastions were shaped in sharp angles; a ditch, broad and deep, protected the foot of the rampart; and the archers on the rampart were assisted by military engines; the *ballista*, a powerful cross bow, which darted short but massy arrows; the *onagri*, or wild asses, which, on the principle of a sling, threw stones and bullets of an enormous size.<sup>81</sup> A chain was drawn across the Tyber; the arches

of the aqueducts were made impervious, and the mole or sepulchre of Hadrian<sup>82</sup> was converted, for the first time, to the uses of a citadel. That venerable structure, which contained the ashes of the Antonines, was a circular turret rising from a quadrangular basis: it was covered with the white marble of Paros, and decorated by the statues of gods and heroes; and the lover of the arts must read with a sigh, that the works of Praxiteles or Lysippus were torn from their lofty pedestals, and hurled into the ditch on the heads of the besiegers.<sup>83</sup> To each of his lieutenants, Belisarius assigned the defence of a gate, with the wise and peremptory instruction, that, whatever might be the alarm, they should steadily adhere to their respective posts, and trust their general for the safety of Rome. The formidable host of the Goths was insufficient to embrace the ample measure of the city: of the fourteen gates, seven only were invested from the Prenestine to the Flaminian way; and Vitiges divided his troops into six camps, each of which was fortified with a ditch and rampart. On the Tuscan side of the river, a seventh encampment was formed in the field or circus of the Vatican, for the important purpose of commanding the Milvian bridge and the course of the Tyber; but they approached with devotion the adjacent church of St. Peter; and the threshold of the holy apostles was respected during the siege by a Christian enemy. In the ages of victory, as often as the senate decreed some distant conquest, the consul denounced hostilities, by unbarring, in solemn pomp, the gates of the temple of Janus<sup>84</sup>. Domestic war now rendered the admonition superfluous, and the ceremony was superseded by the establishment of a new religion. But the brazen temple of Janus was still standing in the forum; of a size sufficient only to contain the statue of the god, five cubits in height, of a human form, but with two faces directed to the east and west. The double gates were likewise of brass; and a fruitless effort to turn them on their rusty hinges, revealed the scandalous secret, that some Romans were still attached to the superstition of their ancestors.

Eighteen days were employed by the besiegers, to provide all the instruments of attack which antiquity had invented. Fascines were prepared to fill the ditches, scaling-ladders to ascend the walls. The largest trees of the forest supplied the timbers of four battering-rams; their heads were armed with iron; they were suspended by ropes, and each of them was worked by the labour of

Repulse a general assault of the Goths.

77 M. D'Anville has given, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie*, for the year 1756 (tom. xxx., p. 188), "Tchik, Tchik, and Koudouk," as names for far more to the north than when he lived; and again in 1758 for Rollin's history. Esquimaux had no name for his knowledge, and instead of "Tchik, Tchik, and Koudouk," said "Koudouk, Koudouk, and Koudouk." — and exactly the same word used by him.

78 In the ... reckoned 178,508 Christian souls, besides 8 or 10,000 Jews — without

the wall, which  
be present hour

engine was named in 1900, the wild cat, a calcatracho (Hern. <sup>1</sup> 1900, 1518). The

have seen an analogous model, conceived and executed by general Melchior, which admirably served as the model of authority.

82. The description of this maceledon, or mole, in Phocopus 1 c 234, is the first and best. The height above the water,  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\beta\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\nu$ . On Noll's great plan, the sides measure 200 fathoms each.

St Praxiteles excelled in Fauns, and that of Athens was his own masterpiece. Rome now contains above thirty of the same character. When the ditch of St Angelo was cleared under Urban VIII. the workmen found the sleeping Faun of the Barberini palace, but a leg, a thigh, and the right arm, had been broken from that beautiful statue. Wankelman, Hist. de l'Art. tome ii p. 47.

St. Procopius is given the best description of the temple of Iarun, a great deity of Iarum/Hesve, Excurs. add. vi. l. 100-1. It was on a high in the primitive city of Rome as at Nica (Nicaea, p. 17, l. 70-2). Virgil has described the ancient site, as a high and an interior one.

fifty men. The lofty wooden turrets moved on wheels or rollers, and formed a spacious platform of the level of the rampart. On the morning of the nineteenth day, a general attack was made from the Prænestine gate to the Vatican: seven Gothic columns, with their military engines, advanced to the assault; and the Romans who lined the ramparts, listened with doubt and anxiety to the cheerful assurances of their commander. As soon as the enemy approached the ditch, Belisarius himself drew the first arrow; and such was his strength and dexterity, that he transversed the foremost of the barbarian leaders. A shout of applause and victory was re-echoed along the wall. He drew a second arrow, and the stroke was followed with the same success and the same acclamation. The Roman general then gave the word, that the archers should aim at the teams of oxen; they were instantly covered with mortal wounds; the towers which they drew, remained useless and immovable, and a single moment disconcerted the laborious projects of the king of the Goths. After this disappointment, Vitiges still continued, or feigned to continue, the assault of the Salarian gate, that he might divert the attention of his adversary, while his principal forces more strenuously attacked the Prænestine gate and the sepulchre of Hadrian, at the distance of three miles from each other. Near the former, the double walls of the Vivarium<sup>85</sup> were low or broken; the fortifications of the latter were feebly guarded: the vigour of the Goths was excited by the hope of victory and spoil; and if a single post had given way, the Romans, and Rome itself, were irrecoverably lost. This perilous day was the most glorious in the life of Belisarius. Amidst tumult and dismay, the whole plan of the attack and defence was distinctly present to his mind; he observed the changes of each instant, weighed every possible advantage, transported his person to the scenes of danger, and communicated his spirit in calm and decisive orders. The contest was fiercely maintained from the morning to the evening; the Goths were repulsed on all sides, and each Roman might boast, that he had vanquished thirty barbarians, if the strange disproportion of numbers were not counterbalanced by the merit of one man. Thirty thousand Goths, according to the confession of their own chiefs, perished in this bloody action; and the multitude of the wounded was equal to that of the slain. When they advanced to the assault, their close disorder suffered not a javelin to fall without effect; and as they retired, the populace of the city joined the pursuit, and slaughtered, with impunity, the backs of their flying enemies. Belisarius instantly sallied from the gates; and while the soldiers chanted his name and victory, the hostile engines of war were reduced to ashes. Such was the loss and consternation of the Goths, that, from this day, the siege of Rome degenerated into a tedious and indolent blockade; and they were incessantly harassed by the

Roman general, who, in frequent skirmishes, destroyed above five thousand of their bravest troops. Their cavalry was unpractised in the use of the bow; their archers served on foot; and this divided force was incapable of contending with their adversaries, whose lances and arrows, at a distance, or at hand, were alike formidable. The consummate skill of Belisarius embraced the favourable opportunities: and as he chose the ground and the moment, as he pressed the charge or sounded the retreat,<sup>86</sup> the squadrons which he detached were seldom unsuccessful. These partial advantages diffused an impatient ardour among the soldiers and people, who began to feel the hardships of a siege, and to disregard the dangers of a general engagement. Each plebeian conceived himself to be an hero, and the infantry, who, since the decay of discipline, were rejected from the line of battle, aspired to the ancient honours of the Roman legion. Belisarius praised the spirit of his troops, condemned their presumption, yielded to their clamours, and prepared the remedies of a defeat, the possibility of which he alone had courage to suspect. In the quarter of the Vatican, the Romans prevailed; and if the irreparable moments had not been wasted in the pillage of the camp, they might have occupied the Milvian bridge, and charged in the rear of the Gothic host. On the other side of the Tyber, Belisarius advanced from the Pincian and Salarian gates. But his army, four thousand soldiers perhaps, was lost in a spacious plain; they were encompassed and oppressed by fresh multitudes, who continually relieved the broken ranks of the barbarians. The valiant leaders of the infantry were unskilled to conquer; they died: the retreat (an hasty retreat) was covered by the prudence of the general, and the victors started back with affright from the formidable aspect of an armed rampart. The reputation of Belisarius was unsullied by a defeat; and the vain confidence of the Goths was not less serviceable to his designs, than the repentance and meanness of the Roman troops.

From the moment that Belisarius had determined to sustain a siege, his assiduous care provided Rome against the danger of famine, more dreadful than the Gothic arms. An extraordinary supply of corn was imported from Sicily: the harvests of Campania and Tuscany were forcibly swept for the use of the city; and the rights of private property were infringed by the strong plea of the public safety. It might easily be foreseen that the enemy would intercept the aqueducts; and the cessation of the water-mills was the first inconvenience, which was speedily removed by mooring large vessels, and fixing mill-stones in the current of the river. The stream was soon embarrassed by the trunks of trees, and polluted with dead bodies: yet so effectual were the precautions of the Roman general, that the waters of the Tyber still continued to give motion to the mills and drink to

<sup>85</sup> Vivarium was an angle in the new wall enclosed for wild beasts (Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 23). The spot is still visible in Nardum (l. i. c. 2, p. 129, 130) and Nollo's great plan of Rome.

<sup>86</sup> For the Roman trumpet and its various notes, see, e. g. Lepsius, de Militia Romanâ (Opp. tom. iii. l. 15. Dialog. x. p. 125-128.)

A mode of distinguishing the charge by the horse-trumpet of solid brass, and the retreat by the foot-trumpet of leather and light wood, was recommended by Procopius, and adopted by Gothic (l. i. c. 23.)

the inhabitants; the more distant quarters were supplied from domestic wells; and a besieged city might support, without impatience, the privation of her public baths. A large portion of Rome, from the Prænestine gate to the clunch of St. Paul, was never invested by the Goths; their excursions were restrained by the activity of the Moorish troops: the navigation of the Tyber, and the Latin, Appian, and Ostian ways, were left free and unmolested for the introduction of corn and cattle, or the retreat of the inhabitants, who sought a refuge in Campania or Sicily. Anxious to relieve himself from an useless and devouring multitude, Belisarius issued his peremptory orders for the instant departure of the women, the children, and slaves; required his soldiers to dismiss their male and female attendants, and regulated their allowance, that one moiety should be given in provisions, and the other in money. His foresight was justified by the increase of the public distress, as soon as the Goths had occupied two important posts in the neighbourhood of Rome. By the loss of the port, or, as it is now called, the city of Porto, he was deprived of the country on the right of the Tyber, and the best communication with the sea; and he reflected with grief and anger, that three hundred men, could he have spared such a feeble band, might have defended its impregnable works. Seven miles from the capital, between the Appian and the Latin ways, two principal aqueducts crossing, and again crossing each other, enclosed within their solid and lofty arches a fortified space,<sup>87</sup> where Vitiges established a camp of seven thousand Goths to intercept the convoys of Sicily and Campania. The granaries of Rome were insensibly exhausted, the adjacent country had been wasted with fire and sword; such scanty supplies as might yet be obtained by hasty excursions, were the reward of valour, and the purchase of wealth; the forage of the horses, and the bread of the soldiers, never failed; but in the last months of the siege, the people was exposed to the miseries of scarcity, unwholesome food,<sup>88</sup> and contagious disorders. Belisarius saw and pitied their sufferings; but he had foreseen, and he watched the decay of their loyalty, and the progress of their discontent. Adversity had awakened the Romans from the dreams of grandeur and freedom, and taught them the humiliating lesson, that it was of small moment to their real happiness, whether the name of their master was derived from the Gothic or the Latin language. The lieutenant of Justinian listened to their just complaints, but he rejected with disdain the idea of flight or capitulation; repressed their clamorous impatience for battle; aroused them with the prospect of sure and speedy relief;

and secured himself and the city from the effects of their despair or treachery. Twice in each month he changed the station of the officers to whom the custody of the gates was committed: the various precautions, of patrols, watchwords, lights, and music, were repeatedly employed to discover whatever passed on the ramparts; out-guards were posted beyond the ditch, and the trusty vigilance of dogs supplied the more doubtful fidelity of mankind. A letter was intercepted, which assumed the king of the Goths, that the Asinarian gate, adjoining to the Lateran church, should be secretly opened to his troops. On the proof or suspicion of treason, several senators were banished, and the pope Sylvester, Exile of pope Sylvester, A. D. 455, Nov. 17. was summoned to attend the representative of his sovereign, at his head-quarters in the Pincian palace.<sup>8</sup> The ecclesiastics who followed their bishop, were detained in the first or second apartment,<sup>9</sup> and he alone was admitted to the presence of Belisarius. The conqueror of Rome and Carthage was modestly seated at the feet of Antonina, who reclined on a stately couch: the general was silent, but the voice of reproach and menace issued from the mouth of his imperious wife. Accused by credible witnesses, and the evidence of his own subscription, the successor of St. Peter was despoiled of his pontifical ornaments, clad in the mean habit of a monk, and embarked, without delay, for a distant exile in the East. At the emperor's command, the clergy of Rome proceeded to the choice of a new bishop; and after a solemn invocation of the Holy Ghost, elected the deacon Vigilius, who had purchased the papal throne by a bribe of two hundred pounds of gold. The profit, and consequently the guilt, of this simony, was imputed to Belisarius: but the hero obeyed the orders of his wife; Antonina served the passions of the oppress; and Theodora lavished her treasures, in the vain hope of obtaining a pontiff hostile or indifferent to the council of Chalcedon.<sup>10</sup>

The epistle of Belisarius to the emperor announced his victory, his danger, and his resolution. "According to your commands, we have entered the dominions of the Goths, and reduced to your obedience, Sicily, Campania, and the city of Rome; but the loss of these conquests will be more disgraceful than their acquisition was glorious. Hitherto we have successfully fought against the multitudes of the barbarians, but their multitudes may finally prevail. Victory is the gift of Providence, but the reputation of kings and generals depends on the success or the failure of their designs. Permit me to speak with freedom: if you

87 Procopius (Goth. 1, 1, 1) has forgotten to mention the name of the author, on which account the insertion of such a dedication to Flavius I. Eschard, de Agria and de Agro in anno, or from the seal of the Lamet and Argenta. Seven or eight names from the first edition of the work are in Albany, between the *de Agria* and *Argenta* which concern the remainder of the work, and the 8th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th, 101st, 102nd, 103rd, 104th, 105th, 106th, 107th, 108th, 109th, 110th, 111th, 112th, 113th, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, 118th, 119th, 120th, 121st, 122nd, 123rd, 124th, 125th, 126th, 127th, 128th, 129th, 130th, 131st, 132nd, 133rd, 134th, 135th, 136th, 137th, 138th, 139th, 140th, 141st, 142nd, 143rd, 144th, 145th, 146th, 147th, 148th, 149th, 150th, 151st, 152nd, 153rd, 154th, 155th, 156th, 157th, 158th, 159th, 160th, 161st, 162nd, 163rd, 164th, 165th, 166th, 167th, 168th, 169th, 170th, 171st, 172nd, 173rd, 174th, 175th, 176th, 177th, 178th, 179th, 180th, 181st, 182nd, 183rd, 184th, 185th, 186th, 187th, 188th, 189th, 190th, 191st, 192nd, 193rd, 194th, 195th, 196th, 197th, 198th, 199th, 200th, 201st, 202nd, 203rd, 204th, 205th, 206th, 207th, 208th, 209th, 210th, 211st, 212nd, 213th, 214th, 215th, 216th, 217th, 218th, 219th, 220th, 221st, 222nd, 223rd, 224th, 225th, 226th, 227th, 228th, 229th, 230th, 231st, 232nd, 233rd, 234th, 235th, 236th, 237th, 238th, 239th, 240th, 241st, 242nd, 243rd, 244th, 245th, 246th, 247th, 248th, 249th, 250th, 251st, 252nd, 253rd, 254th, 255th, 256th, 257th, 258th, 259th, 260th, 261st, 262nd, 263rd, 264th, 265th, 266th, 267th, 268th, 269th, 270th, 271st, 272nd, 273rd, 274th, 275th, 276th, 277th, 278th, 279th, 280th, 281st, 282nd, 283rd, 284th, 285th, 286th, 287th, 288th, 289th, 290th, 291st, 292nd, 293rd, 294th, 295th, 296th, 297th, 298th, 299th, 300th, 301st, 302nd, 303rd, 304th, 305th, 306th, 307th, 308th, 309th, 310th, 311st, 312nd, 313th, 314th, 315th, 316th, 317th, 318th, 319th, 320th, 321st, 322nd, 323rd, 324th, 325th, 326th, 327th, 328th, 329th, 330th, 331st, 332nd, 333rd, 334th, 335th, 336th, 337th, 338th, 339th, 340th, 341st, 342nd, 343rd, 344th, 345th, 346th, 347th, 348th, 349th, 350th, 351st, 352nd, 353rd, 354th, 355th, 356th, 357th, 358th, 359th, 360th, 361st, 362nd, 363rd, 364th, 365th, 366th, 367th, 368th, 369th, 370th, 371st, 372nd, 373rd, 374th, 375th, 376th, 377th, 378th, 379th, 380th, 381st, 382nd, 383rd, 384th, 385th, 386th, 387th, 388th, 389th, 390th, 391st, 392nd, 393rd, 394th, 395th, 396th, 397th, 398th, 399th, 400th, 401st, 402nd, 403rd, 404th, 405th, 406th, 407th, 408th, 409th, 410th, 411st, 412nd, 413th, 414th, 415th, 416th, 417th, 418th, 419th, 420th, 421st, 422nd, 423rd, 424th, 425th, 426th, 427th, 428th, 429th, 430th, 431st, 432nd, 433rd, 434th, 435th, 436th, 437th, 438th, 439th, 440th, 441st, 442nd, 443rd, 444th, 445th, 446th, 447th, 448th, 449th, 450th, 451st, 452nd, 453rd, 454th, 455th, 456th, 457th, 458th, 459th, 460th, 461st, 462nd, 463rd, 464th, 465th, 466th, 467th, 468th, 469th, 470th, 471st, 472nd, 473rd, 474th, 475th, 476th, 477th, 478th, 479th, 480th, 481st, 482nd, 483rd, 484th, 485th, 486th, 487th, 488th, 489th, 490th, 491st, 492nd, 493rd, 494th, 495th, 496th, 497th, 498th, 499th, 500th, 501st, 502nd, 503rd, 504th, 505th, 506th, 507th, 508th, 509th, 510th, 511st, 512nd, 513th, 514th, 515th, 516th, 517th, 518th, 519th, 520th, 521st, 522nd, 523rd, 524th, 525th, 526th, 527th, 528th, 529th, 530th, 531st, 532nd, 533rd, 534th, 535th, 536th, 537th, 538th, 539th, 540th, 541st, 542nd, 543rd, 544th, 545th, 546th, 547th, 548th, 549th, 550th, 551st, 552nd, 553rd, 554th, 555th, 556th, 557th, 558th, 559th, 560th, 561st, 562nd, 563rd, 564th, 565th, 566th, 567th, 568th, 569th, 570th, 571st, 572nd, 573rd, 574th, 575th, 576th, 577th, 578th, 579th, 580th, 581st, 582nd, 583rd, 584th, 585th, 586th, 587th, 588th, 589th, 590th, 591st, 592nd, 593rd, 594th, 595th, 596th, 597th, 598th, 599th, 600th, 601st, 602nd, 603rd, 604th, 605th, 606th, 607th, 608th, 609th, 610th, 611st, 612nd, 613th, 614th, 615th, 616th, 617th, 618th, 619th, 620th, 621st, 622nd, 623rd, 624th, 625th, 626th, 627th, 628th, 629th, 630th, 631st, 632nd, 633rd, 634th, 635th, 636th, 637th, 638th, 639th, 640th, 641st, 642nd, 643rd, 644th, 645th, 646th, 647th, 648th, 649th, 650th, 651st, 652nd, 653rd, 654th, 655th, 656th, 657th, 658th, 659th, 660th, 661st, 662nd, 663rd, 664th, 665th, 666th, 667th, 668th, 669th, 670th, 671st, 672nd, 673rd, 674th, 675th, 676th, 677th, 678th, 679th, 680th, 681st, 682nd, 683rd, 684th, 685th, 686th, 687th

89 The name of the palace, the hall, and the adjoining gate, were all derived from the senator *Fr. C. C.*. Some recent vestiges of *Sen.*

Flies and crickets are now swarming in the garden of the Minims; of the "Fronzede" Minis, Neardine, 1850, p. 140. Flies and crickets, 21st of the 19th of Buffalo, and the great plan of the North. Behar, 1850, has his station, and the Indian and Arabian gates.

[illegible]

"wish that we should live, send us subsistence; if you desire that we should conquer, send us arms, horses, and men. The Romans have received us as friends and deliverers: but in our present distress, they will be either betrayed by their confidence, or we shall be oppressed by their treachery and hatred. For myself, my life is consecrated to your service. it is yours to reflect, whether my death in this situation will contribute to the glory and prosperity of your reign." Perhaps that reign would have been equally prosperous, if the peaceful master of the East had abstained from the conquest of Africa and Italy: but as Justinian was ambitious of fame, he made some efforts, they were feeble and languid, to support and rescue his victorious general. A reinforcement of sixteen hundred Scythians and Huns was led by Martin and Valerian; and as they had reposed during the winter season in the harbours of Greece, the strength of the men and horses was not impaired by the fatigues of a sea-voyage; and they distinguished their valour in the first sally against the besiegers. About the time of the summer solstice, Ethallius landed at Terracina with large sums of money for the payment of the troops: he cautiously proceeded along the Appian way, and this convoy entered Rome through the gate Capena,<sup>92</sup> while Belisarius, on the other side, diverted the attention of the Goths by a vigorous and successful skirmish. These seasonable aids, the use and reputation of which were dexterously managed by the Roman general, revived the courage, or at least the hopes, of the soldiers and people. The historian Procopius was despatched with an important commission, to collect the troops and provisions which Campania could furnish, or Constantinople had sent; and the secretary of Belisarius was soon followed by Antonina herself,<sup>93</sup> who boldly traversed the posts of the enemy, and returned with the Oriental succours to the relief of her husband and the besieged city. A fleet of three thousand Isaurians cast anchor in the Bay of Naples, and afterwards at Ostia. Above two thousand horse, of whom a part were Thracians, landed at Tarentum; and, after the junction of five hundred soldiers of Campania, and a train of wagons laden with wine and flour, they directed their march on the Appian way, from Capua to the neighbourhood of Rome. The forces that arrived by land and sea, were united at the mouth of the Tiber. Antonina convened a council of war: it was resolved to surmount, with sails and oars, the adverse stream of the river: and the Goths were apprehensive of disturbing, by any rash hostilities, the negotiation to which Belisarius had craftily listened. They credulously believed that they saw no more than the vanguard of a fleet and army, which already covered the Ionian sea and the plains of Campania; and the illusion was supported by the haughty language of the Roman general, when

he gave audience to the ambassadors of Vitiges. After a specious discourse to vindicate the justice of his cause, they declared, that, for the sake of peace, they were disposed to renounce the possession of Sicily. "The emperor is not less generous," replied his lieutenant, with a disdainful smile, "in return for a gift which you no longer possess; he presents you with an ancient province of the empire; he resigns to the Goths the sovereignty of the British island." Belisarius rejected with equal firmness and contempt the offer of a tribute; but he allowed the Gothic ambassadors to seek their fate from the mouth of Justinian himself; and consented, with seeming reluctance, to a truce of three months, from the winter solstice to the equinox of spring. Prudence might not safely trust either the oaths or hostages of the barbarians, but the conscious superiority of the Roman chief was expressed in the distribution of his troops. As soon as fear or hunger <sup>Belisarius recovered many cities of Italy</sup> compelled the Goths to evacuate Alba, Porto, and Centumcellæ, their place was instantly supplied; the garrisons of Narni, Spoleto, and Perugia, were reinforced, and the seven camps of the besiegers were gradually encompassed with the calamities of a siege. The prayers and pilgrimage of Datus, bishop of Milan, were not without effect; and he obtained one thousand Thracians and Isaurians, to assist the revolt of Liguria against her Arian tyrant. At the same time, John the Sanguinary,<sup>94</sup> the nephew of Vitalian, was detached with two thousand chosen horse, first to Alba on the Fucine lake, and afterwards to the frontiers of Picenum on the Adriatic Sea. "In that province," said Belisarius, "the Goths have deposited their families and treasures, without a guard or the suspicion of danger. Doubtless they will violate the truce: let them feel your presence, before they hear of your motions. Spare the Italians; suffer not any fortified places to remain hostile in your rear; and faithfully reserve the spoil for an equal and common partition. It would not be reasonable," he added with a laugh, "that whilst we are toiling to the destruction of the dragons, our more fortunate brethren should rifle and enjoy the honey."

The whole nation of the Ostrogoths had been assembled for the attack, and was almost entirely consumed in the siege of Rome. If any credit be due to an intelligent spectator, one third at least of their enormous host was destroyed, in frequent and bloody combats under the walls of the city. The bad fame and pernicious qualities of the summer air, might already be imputed to the decay of agriculture and population; and the evils of famine and pestilence were aggravated by their own licentiousness, and the unfriendly disposition of the country. While Vitiges struggled with his fortune; while he hesitated between shame and ruin; his retreat

<sup>92</sup> The old Capena was removed by Augustus to, or near, the modern site of St. Sebastian (see Noddi's plan). The present site has been consecrated by the Emperor Gratian, the memory of Numa, triumphal arches, the sepulchres of the Scipios, Metell, &c.

<sup>93</sup> The expression of Procopius has an invidious cast—*ἐκ τῆς πόλεως*

*ἐκ τῆς πόλεως* (Goth I ii. c. 4). Yet he speaks of the city as a whole, which might do honour to a tiger.

The Goths raise the siege of Rome, A.D. 548, March.

was hastened by domestic alarms. The king of the Goths was informed by trembling messengers, that John the Sanguinary spread the devastations of war from the Apennine to the Adriatic; that the rich spoils and innumerable captives of Picenum were lodged in the fortifications of Rimini; and that this formidable chief had defeated his uncle, insulted his capital, and seduced, by secret correspondence, the fidelity of his wife, the imperious daughter of Amalasontha. Yet, before he retired, Vitiges made a last effort, either to storm or to surprise the city. A secret passage was discovered in one of the aqueducts; two citizens of the Vatican were tempted by bribes to intoxicate the guards of the Aurelian gate; an attack was meditated on the walls beyond the Tyber, in a place which was not fortified with towers; and the barbarians advanced, with torches and scaling-ladders, to the assault of the Pincian gate. But every attempt was defeated by the intrepid vigilance of Belisarius and his band of veterans, who, in the most perilous moments, did not regret the absence of their companions; and the Goths, alike destitute of hope and sub-sistence, clamorously urged their departure, before the truce should expire, and the Roman cavalry should again be united. One year and nine days after the commencement of the siege, an army, so lately strong and triumphant, burnt their tents, and tumultuously repassed the Milvian bridge. They repassed not with impunity; their thronging multitudes, oppressed in a narrow passage, were driven headlong into the Tyber, by their own fears and the pursuit of the enemy; and the Roman general, sallying from the Pincian gate, inflicted a severe and disgraceful wound on their retreat. The slow length of a sickly and desponding host was heavily dragged along the Flaminian way; from whence the barbarians were sometimes compelled to deviate, lest they should encounter the hostile garrisons that guarded the high road to Rimini and Ravenna. Yet so powerful was this flying army, that Vitiges spared ten thousand men for the defence of the cities which he was most solicitous to preserve, and detached his nephew Uraias, with an adequate force, for the chastisement of rebellious Milan. At the head of his principal army, he besieged Rimini, only thirty-three miles distant from the Gothic capital. A feeble rampart, and a shallow ditch, were maintained by the skill and valour of John the Sanguinary, who shared the danger and fatigue of the meanest soldier, and emulated, on a theatre less illustrious, the military virtues of his great commander.

The towers and battering engines of the barbarians were rendered useless; their attacks were repulsed; and the tedious blockade, which reduced the garrison to the last extremity of hunger, afforded time for the union and march of the Roman forces. A fleet which had surprised Ancona, sailed along the coast of the Adriatic, to the relief of the besieged city. The eunuch Narses landed in

Picenum with two thousand Heruli and five thousand of the bravest troops of the East. The rock of the Apennine was forced; ten thousand veterans moved round the foot of the mountains, under the command of Belisarius himself; and a new army, whose encampment blazed with innumerable lights, appeared to advance along the Flaminian way. Overwhelmed with astonishment and despair, the Goths abandoned the siege of Rimini, their tents, their standards, and their leaders; and Vitiges, who gave or followed the example of flight, never halted till he found a shelter within the walls and morasses of Ravenna.

retire to Ravenna.

To these walls, and to some fortresses destitute of any mutual support, the Gothic monarchy was now reduced. The provinces of Italy had embraced the party of the emperor; and his army, gradually recruited to the number of twenty thousand men, must have achieved an easy and rapid conquest, if their invincible powers had not been weakened by the discord of the Roman chiefs. Before the end of the siege, an act of blood, ambiguous and indiscreet, sullied the fair fame of Belisarius. Presidius, a loyal Italian, as he fled from Ravenna to Rome, was rudely stopped by Constantine, the military governor of Spoleto, and despoiled, even in a church, of two daggers richly inlaid with gold and precious stones. As soon as the public danger had subsided, Presidius complained of the loss and injury; his complaint was heard, but the order of restitution was disobeyed by the pride and avarice of the offender. Exasperated by the delay, Presidius boldly arrested the general's horse as he passed through the forum; and with the spirit of a citizen, demanded the common benefit of the Roman laws. The honour of Belisarius was engaged; he summoned a council; claimed the obedience of his subordinate officer; and was provoked, by an insolent reply, to call hastily for the presence of his guards. Constantine, viewing their entrance as the signal of death, drew his sword, and rushed on the general, who nimbly eluded the stroke, and was protected by his friends; while the desperate assassin was disarmed, dragged into a neighbouring chamber, and executed, or rather murdered, by the guards, at the arbitrary command of Belisarius.<sup>95</sup> In this hasty act of violence, the guilt of Constantine was no longer remembered; the despair and death of that valiant officer were secretly imputed to the revenge of Antonina; and each of his colleagues, conscious of the same rapine, was apprehensive of the same fate. The fear of a common enemy suspended the effects of their envy and discontent; but in the confidence of approaching victory, they instigated a powerful rival to oppose the conqueror of Rome and Africa. From the domestic service of the palace, and the administration of the private revenue, Narses the eunuch was suddenly exalted to the head of an army; and the spirit of an

Jealousy of the Roman generals. A. D. 554.

Death of Constantine.

The eunuch Narses.

<sup>95</sup> The transaction is related, in the public history (Goth. Lib. c. 8.) with candour or caution, in the Annals, c. 7. and c. 10. of the same work, but Marcellinus, or rather his continuator, in the latter, casts a shade of premeditated assassination over the death of Constantine.

He is first mentioned as being at Rome, at the death of Procopius, c. 10. of the same work, and is then mentioned as being at the death of Constantine.



lot of the innocent and helpless, history might exult in the misery of the conquerors, who, in the midst of riches, were left destitute of bread or wine, reduced to drink the waters of the Po, and to feed on the flesh of distempered cattle. The dysentery swept away one third of their army; and the clamours of his subjects, who were impatient to pass the Alps, disposed Theodbert to listen with respect to the mild exhortations of Belisarius. The memory of this inglorious and destructive warfare was perpetuated on the medals of Gaul; and Justinian, without unsheathing his sword, assumed the title of conqueror of the Franks. The Merovingian prince was offended by the vanity of the emperor; he affected to pity the fallen fortunes of the Goths; and his insidious offer of a federal union was fortified by the promise or menace of descending from the Alps at the head of five hundred thousand men. His plans of conquest were boundless and perhaps chimerical. The king of Austrasia threatened to chastise Justinian, and to march to the gates of Constantinople;<sup>102</sup> he was overthrown and slain<sup>103</sup> by a wild bull,<sup>104</sup> as he hunted in the Belgic or German forests.

As soon as Belisarius was delivered from his foreign and domestic enemies, he seriously applied his forces to the final reduction of Italy. In the siege of Osimò, the general was nearly transpierced with an arrow, if the mortal stroke had not been intercepted by one of his guards, who lost, in that pious office, the use of his hand. The Goths of Osimò, four thousand warriors, with those of Fiesule and the Cottian Alps, were among the last who maintained their independence; and their gallant resistance, which almost tired the patience, deserved the esteem, of the conqueror. His prudence refused to subscribe the safe conduct which they asked, to join their brethren of Ravenna; but they saved, by an honourable capitulation, one moiety at least of their wealth, with the free alternative of retiring peaceably to their estates, or enlisting to serve the emperor in his Persian wars. The multitudes which yet adhered to the standard of Vitiges, far surpassed the number of the Roman troops; but neither prayers, nor defiance, nor the extreme danger of his most faithful subjects, could tempt the Gothic king beyond the fortifications of Ravenna. These fortifications were, indeed, impregnable to the assaults of art or violence; and when Belisarius invested the capital, he was soon convinced that famine only could tame the stubborn spirit of the barbarians. The sea, the land, and the channels of the Po, were guarded by the vigilance of the Roman general; and his

morality extended the rights of war to the practice of poisoning the waters,<sup>105</sup> and secretly firing the granaries<sup>106</sup> of a besieged city.<sup>107</sup> While he pressed the blockade of Ravenna, he was surprised by the arrival of two ambassadors from Constantinople, with a treaty of peace, which Justinian had imprudently signed, without deigning to consult the author of his victory. By this disgraceful and precarious agreement, Italy and the Gothic treasure were divided, and the provinces beyond the Po were left with the regal title to the successor of Theodoric. The ambassadors were eager to accomplish their salutary commission; the captive Vitiges accepted, with transport, the unexpected offer of a crown; honour was less prevalent among the Goths, than the want and appetite of food; and the Roman chiefs, who murmured at the continuance of the war, professed implicit submission to the commands of the emperor. If Belisarius had possessed only the courage of a soldier, the laurel would have been snatched from his hand by timid and envious counsels; but in this decisive moment, he resolved, with the magnanimity of a statesman, to sustain alone the danger and merit of generous disobedience. Each of his officers gave a written opinion, that the siege of Ravenna was impracticable and hopeless; the general then rejected the treaty of partition, and declared his own resolution of leading Vitiges in chains to the feet of Justinian. The Goths retired with doubt and dismay: this peremptory refusal deprived them of the only signature which they could trust, and filled their minds with a just apprehension, that a sagacious enemy had discovered the full extent of their deplorable state. They compared the fame and fortune of Belisarius with the weakness of their ill-fated king; and the comparison suggested an extraordinary project, to which Vitiges, with apparent resignation, was compelled to acquiesce. Partition would ruin the strength, exile would disgrace the honour, of the nation; but they offered their arms, their treasures, and the fortifications of Ravenna, if Belisarius would disclaim the authority of a master, accept the choice of the Goths, and assume, as he had deserved, the kingdom of Italy. If the false lustre of a diadem could have tempted the loyalty of a faithful subject, his prudence must have foreseen the inconstancy of the barbarians, and his rational ambition would prefer the safe and honourable station of a Roman general. Even the patience and seeming satisfaction with which he entertained a proposal of treason, might be susceptible of a malignant interpretation. But the lieutenant of Justinian was conscious of his

102 Agathias, 1.1 p. 1413. Could he have subdued or sold into the Empire or Lombards of Pannonia, the Greek historian is confident that he must have been destroyed in Britain.

that he must have been destroyed in 1396.  
195 The king pointed his spear – the ball overturned a tree on his  
head. he expired the same day. Such is the story of Agulhas. But  
the original historians of France, tom. ii p. 212. 167. 168. 169.  
impute his death to a fever.

104 Without losing myself in a wilderness of species and names—the arches, urns, basins, balustrades, benches, built for X. (Bibb), Hist. Nat. tom. xi and Supplement, tom. viii, it is certain that in the sixteenth century a large wild-precie of boar and cattle was hunted in the great forests of the Vosges in Lorraine, and the Ardennes (orig. "Ardenne" tom. i, l. x c. p. 761).

1. p. c. g) *parave*, by the ancients, by the moderns *ap̄arar*. Yet both words are used as synonyms in Gidim, Binsarides, and Lucan (the *Soph. Thesaur. Ling. Græc. tom. ii. p. 715*).

197). In structuralist sociology, a latent threat to the rights of women seems to be the "male" and "female" division of labor. Gratia herself is lost in the distinction between the "male" and "female" divisions of labor, between position and personhood. The female person holds the position of the male (Gratia 1970, 1971, and 1972, pp. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, and 105). Other, clearly, is an example of a "female" person in the "male" position of the male (Gratia 1970, 1971, and 1972, pp. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, and 105). Gratia's structuralist sociology is a structuralist sociology of the male and female divisions of labor, and a structuralist sociology of the male and female divisions of labor.





Belisarius was chaste and sober. In the licence of a military life, none could boast that they had seen him intoxicated with wine; the most beautiful captives of Gothic or Vandal race were offered to his embrace; but he turned aside from their charms, and the husband of Antonina was never suspected of violating the laws of conjugal fidelity. The spectator and historian of his exploits has observed, that amidst the perils of war, he was daring without rashness, prudent without fear, slow or rapid according to the exigencies of the moment; that in the deepest distress, he was animated by real or apparent hope, but that he was modeſt and humble in the most prosperous fortune. By these virtues, he equalled or excelled the ancient masters of the military art. Victory, by sea and land, attended his arms. He subdued Africa, Italy, and the adjacent islands, led away captives the successors of Genseric and Theodoric, filled Constantinople with the spoils of their palaces, and in the space of six years recovered half the provinces of the Western empire. In his fame and merit, in wealth and power, he remained, without a rival, the first of the Roman subjects: the voice of envy could only magnify his dangerous importance; and the emperor might applaud his own discerning spirit, which had discovered and raised the genius of Belisarius.

Secret history  
of the wife  
Antonina.

It was the custom of the Roman triumphs, that a slave should be placed behind the chariot, to remind the conqueror of the instability of fortune, and the infirmities of human nature. Procopius, in his Anecdotes, has assumed that servile and ingratul office. The generous reader may cast away the libel, but the evidence of facts will adhere to his memory; and he will reluctantly confess, that the faults, and even the crime of Belisarius, were; inflated by the lust and envy of his wife; and that the hero deserved an appellation which may not drop from the pen of the decent historian. The mother of Antonina<sup>112</sup> was a theatrical prostitute, and both her father and grandfather exercised at Thessalonica and Constantinople, the vile, though lucrative, profession of clarioteers. In the various situations of their fortune, she became the companion, the enemy, the servant, and the favourite of the empress Theodora; these loose and ambitious females had been connected by similar pleasures; they were separated by the jealousy of vice, and at length reconciled by the partnership of guilt. Before her marriage with Belisarius, Antonina had one husband and many lovers; Phocas, the son of her former mistress, was of an age to distinguish himself at the siege of Naples; and it was not till the autumn of her age and beauty<sup>113</sup> that she indulged a scandalous attachment to a

Turceni youth. Theodosius had been educated in the Eunomian heresy; the African voyage was consecrated by the

baptism and auspicious name of the first soldier who embarked; and the proselyte was adopted into the family of his spiritual parents,<sup>114</sup> Belisarius and Antonina. Before they touched the shores of Africa, this holy kindred degenerated into sensual love; and as Antonina soon overleaped the bounds of modesty and caution, the Roman general was alone ignorant of his own dishonour. During their residence at Carthage, he surprised the two lovers in a subterraneous chamber, solitary, warm, and almost naked. Anger flashed from his eyes. "With the help of this young man," said the blushing Antonina, "I was securing our most precious secrets from the knowledge of Justinian." The youth resumed his garments, and the pious husband consented to disbelieve the evidence of his own senses. From this pleasing and perhaps voluntary delusion, Belisarius was awakened at Syracuse, by the officious information of Macedonia; and that female, attended, after requiring an oath for her secrecy, produced two chamberlains, who, like herself, had often beheld the adulteries of Antonina. An hasty flight into Asia saved Theodosius from the justice of an injured husband, who had signified to one of his guards the order of his death; but the tears of Antonina, and her artful seductions, assured the credulous hero of her innocence; and he stooped, against his faith and judgment, to abandon those imprudent friends who had presumed to accuse or doubt the chastity of his wife. The revenge of a guilty woman is implacable and bloody: the unfortunate Macedonia, with the two witnesses, were secretly arrested by the minister of her cruelty; their tongues were cut out, their bodies were hacked into small pieces, and their remains were cast into the sea of Syracuse. A rash though judicious saying of Constantine, "I would sooner have punished the adulteress than the boy," was deeply remembered by Antonina; and two years afterwards, when despair had armed the officer against his general, her sanguinary advice decided and hastened his execution. Even the indignation of Phocas was not forgiven by his mother; the exile of her son prepared the road of her lover; and Theodosius condescended to accept the pressing and humble invitation of the conqueror of Italy. In the absolute direction of his household, and in the important commissions of peace and war,<sup>115</sup> the favourite youth most rapidly acquired a fortune of four hundred thousand pounds sterling; and after their return to Constantinople, the passion of Antonina, at least, continued ardent and unabated. Put fear, devotion, and lassitude perhaps, inspired Theodosius with more various thoughts. He dreaded the busy scandal of the capital, and the indelicate familiarity of the wife of Belisarius; he escaped from her embraces, and, retreating to Ephesus, slaved his head, and took refuge in the sanctuary of a monastic life. This

<sup>112</sup> The daughter of Antheus, and sold for a slave to the first and most cruel of the Avars. See the account of her in the Anecdotes, a fine novel in prose, which is a copy of her own memoirs. Procopius must have known the manner, and the language, of her story. It is probable, that when Belisarius was at Ravenna (A. D. 557), Antheus was a prisoner of war, but more polite construction will refer this date to the

moment when he was seized. (A. D. 557.) It would be comparable with most of the Avar adventures.

<sup>113</sup> The age of Antonina is not known. It is probable, that she was not above thirty years of age when she was married to Belisarius.

<sup>114</sup> The ceremony of baptism was not then a necessary condition of marriage. Theodosius was a Christian, and his wife a proselyte.

despair of the new Ariadne could scarcely have been excused by the death of her husband. She wept, she tore her hair, she filled the palace with her cries; "she had lost the dearest of friends, a tender, a faithful, a laborious friend!" But her warm entreaties, fortified by the prayers of Belisarius, were insufficient to draw the holy monk from the solitude of Ephesus. It was not till the general moved forward for the Persian war, that Theodosius could be tempted to return to Constantinople; and the short interval before the departure of Antonina herself was boldly devoted to love and pleasure.

Belisarius and her son Photius A philosopher may pity and forgive the infirmities of female nature, from which he receives no real injury; but contemptible is the husband who feels, and yet endures, his own infamy in that of his wife. Antonina pursued her son with implacable hatred; and the gallant Photius<sup>116</sup> was exposed to her secret persecutions in the camp beyond the Tigris. Enraged by his own wrongs, and by the dishonour of his blood, he cast away in his turn the sentiments of nature, and revenged to Belisarius the turpitude of a woman who had violated all the duties of a mother and a wife. From the surprise and indignation of the Roman general, his former credulity appears to have been sincere: he embraced the knees of the son of Antonina, adjured him to remember his obligations rather than his birth, and confirmed at the altar their holy vows of revenge and mutual defence. The dominion of Antonina was impaired by absence; and when she met her husband, on his return from the Persian confines, Belisarius, in his first and transient emotion, confined her person, and threatened her life. Photius was more resolved to punish, and less prompt to pardon; he flew to Ephesus; extorted from a trusty eunuch of his mother the full confession of her guilt; arrested Theodosius and his treasures in the church of St. John the Apostle, and concealed his captives, whose execution was only delayed, in a secure and sequestered fortress of Cilicia. Such a daring outrage against public justice could not pass with impunity; and the cause of Antonina was espoused by the empress, whose favour she had deserved by the recent services of the disgrace of a præfect, and the exile and murder of a pope. At the end of the campaign, Belisarius was recalled, he complied, as usual, with the Imperial mandate. His mind was not prepared for rebellion; his obedience, however adverse to the dictates of honour, was consonant to the wishes of his heart; and when he embraced his wife, at the command, and perhaps in the presence, of the empress, the tender husband was disposed to forgive or to be forgiven. The bounty of Theodora reserved for her companion a more precious favour. "I have found," she said, "my dearest patrician, a pearl of inestimable value; it has not yet been viewed by any mortal eye; but the sight and the possession of this jewel are destined for my friend." As soon as the curiosity and impatience of Antonina were kindled, the door of a bedchamber

was thrown open, and she beheld her lover, whom the diligence of the eunuchs had discovered in his secret prison. Her silent wonder burst into passionate exclamations of gratitude and joy, and she named Theodora her queen, her benefactress, and her saviour. The monk of Ephesus was nourished in the palace with luxury and ambition; but instead of assuming, as he was promised, the command of the Roman armies, Theodosius expired in the first fatigues of an amorous interview. The grief person of Antonina of Antonina could only be assuaged her son by the sufferings of her son. A youth of consular rank, and a sickly constitution, was punished, without a trial, like a malefactor and a slave; yet such was the constancy of his mind, that Photius sustained the tortures of the scourge and the rack, without violating the faith which he had sworn to Belisarius. After this fruitless cruelty, the son of Antonina, while his mother feasted with the empress, was buried in her subterraneous prisons, which admitted not the distinction of night and day. He twice escaped to the most venerable sanctuaries of Constantinople, the churches of St. Sophia and of the Virgin; but his tyrants were insensible of religion as of pity; and the helpless youth, amidst the clamours of the clergy and people, was twice dragged from the altar to the dungeon. His third attempt was more successful. At the end of three years, the prophet Zachariah, or some mortal friend, indicated the means of an escape: he eluded the spies and guards of the empress, reached the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem, embraced the profession of a monk; and the abbot Photius was employed, after the death of Justinian, to reconcile and regulate the churches of Egypt. The son of Antonina suffered all that an enemy can inflict; her patient husband imposed on himself the more exquisite misery of violating his promise and deserting his friend.

Desira and submission of Belisarius In the succeeding campaign, Belisarius was again sent against the Persians: he saved the East, but he offended Theodora, and perhaps the emperor himself. The malady of Justinian had countenanced the rumour of his death; and the Roman general, on the supposition of that probable event, spoke the free language of a citizen and a soldier. His colleague Buzes, who concurred in the same sentiments, lost his rank, his liberty, and his health, by the persecution of the empress. But the disgrace of Belisarius was alleviated by the dignity of his own character, and the influence of his wife, who might wish to humble, but could not desire to ruin, the partner of her fortunes. Even his removal was coloured by the assurance, that the sinking state of Italy would be retrieved by the single presence of its conqueror. But no sooner had he returned, alone and defenceless, than an hostile commission was sent to the East, to seize his treasures and criminate his actions; the guards and veterans who followed his private banner, were distributed among the chiefs of the army, and even the eunuchs presumed to cast lots for

<sup>116</sup> Theophanes, (Chronograph. p. 234) styles him *Photius*, the

son of Theodosius, and he is copied by the Hist. aux Mss. de la Bibl. Imp. de Paris.

the partition of his martial domestics. When he passed with a small and sordid retinue through the streets of Constantinople, his forlorn appearance excited the amazement and compassion of the people. Justinian and Theodora received him with cold ingratitude; the servile crowd, with insolence and contempt; and in the evening he retired with trembling steps to his deserted palace. An indisposition, feigned or real, had confined Antonina to her apartment; and she walked disdainfully silent in the adjacent portico, while Belisarius threw himself on his bed, and expected, in an agony of grief and terror, the death which he had so often braved under the walls of Rome. Long after sunset a messenger was announced from the empress; he opened, with anxious curiosity, the letter which contained the sentence of his fate. "You cannot be ignorant how much you have deserved my displeasure. I am not insensible of the services of Antonina. To her merits and intercession I have granted your life, and permit you to retain a part of your treasures, which might be justly forfeited to the state. Let your gratitude, where it is due, be displayed, not in words, but in your future behaviour." I know not how to believe or to relate the transports with which the hero is said to have received this ignominious pardon. He fell prostrate before his wife, he kissed the feet of his saviour, and he devoutly promised to live the grateful and submissive slave of Antonina. A fine of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling was levied on the fortunes of Belisarius; and with the office of count, or master of the royal stables, he accepted the conduct of the Italian war. At his departure from Constantinople, his friends, and even the public, were persuaded, that as soon as he regained his freedom, he would renounce his dissimulation, and that his wife, Theodora, and perhaps the emperor himself, would be sacrificed to the just revenge of a virtuous rebel. Their hopes were deceived; and the unconquerable patience and loyalty of Belisarius appear either *below* or *above* the character of a MAN. 117

genius, or virtue, either in active or speculative life, are measured, not so much by their real elevation, as by the height to which they ascend above the level of their age or country : and the same statue, which in a people of giants would pass unnoticed, must appear conspicuous in a race of pygmies. Leonidas, and his three hundred companions, devoted their lives at Thermopylæ ; but the education of the infant, the boy, and the man, had prepared, and almost ensured, this memorable sacrifice ; and each Spartan would approve, rather than admire, an act of duty, of which himself and eight thousand of his fellow-citizens were equally capable.<sup>1</sup> The great Pompey might inscribe on his trophies, that he had defeated in battle two millions of enemies, and reduced fifteen hundred cities from the lake Maotis to the Red Sea.<sup>2</sup> But the fortune of Rome flew before his eagles ; the nations were oppressed by their own fears, and the invincible legions which he commanded, had been formed by the habits of conquest and the discipline of ages. In this view, the character of Julius Cæsar may be deservedly placed above the heroes of the ancient republics. His imperfections flowed from the contagion of the times ; his virtues were his own, the free gift of nature or reflection ; he raised himself without a master or a rival ; and so inadequate were the arms committed to his hand, that his sole advantage was derived from the pride and presumption of his adversaries. Under his command, the subjects of Justinian often deserved to be called Romans : but the unwelcome appellation of Greeks was imposed as a term of reproach by the haughty Goths ; who affected to blush, that they must dispute the kingdom of Italy with a nation of negadans, pantomimes, and pirates.<sup>3</sup> The climate of Asia had indeed been found less congenial than that of Europe, to military spirit : those populous countries were enervated by luxury, despotism, and superstition ; and the monks were more expensive and more numerous than the soldiers of the East. The regular force of the empire had once amounted to six hundred and forty-five thousand men : it was reduced, in the time of Justinian, to one hundred and fifty thousand ; and this number, large as it may seem, was thinly scattered over the sea and land ; in Spain and Italy, in Africa and Egypt, on the banks of the Danube, the coast of the Euxine, and the frontiers of Persia. The citizen was exhausted, yet the soldier was unpaid ; his poverty was mischievously soothed by the privilege of rapine and indolence ; and the tardy payments were detained and intercepted by the fraud of those agents who usurp, without courage or danger, the emoluments of war. Public and private distress recruited the armies of the state ; but in the field, and still more in the presence of the enemy, their numbers were always defective. The want of national spirit

## CHAP. XLII.

*State of the barbaric World.—Establishment of the Lombards on the Danube.—Treaties and Inroads of the Schismatics.—Onigra, Empire, and Embassies of the Turks.—The Flight of the Jews.—Chosroes I. or Nushirvan King of Persia.—His powerful Armies and Wars with the Romans.—The Colchian or Loric War.—The Ethiopian War.*

Our estimate of personal merit is relative to the common faculties of mankind. The aspiring efforts of

117 The continuator of the *Chronicle of Marcho* has given in a few decent words, the substance of the *Annales de Bénédictino de Prædicto* vocatus, in others in better manner, in others a line, at most a sentence, rarely a remittitur in it, and so on.

1 It was to be a pleasure, not a task, for all his mind was to be put to rest. 60, 61, 62. The conversion of Nero and his friends at Thracia is one of the most interesting details of the history. It was the torture of the most Spartan to behold, with anguish and remorse, the virtue of his country.

[illegible]



executed by the emperor; but the arms of the Lombards were more seriously engaged by a contest of thirty years, which was terminated only by the extinction of the Gepidæ. The hostile nations often pleaded their cause before the throne of Constantinople; and the crafty Justinian, to whom the barbarians were almost equally odious, pronounced a partial and ambiguous sentence, and dextrously protracted the war by slow and ineffectual succours. Their strength was formidable, since the Lombards, who sent into the field several *myriads* of soldiers, still claimed, as the weaker side, the protection of the Romans. Their spirit was intrepid; yet such is the uncertainty of courage, that the two armies were suddenly struck with a panic; they fled from each other, and the rival kings remained with their guards in the midst of an empty plain. A short truce was obtained; but their mutual resentment again kindled; and the remembrance of their shame rendered the next encounter more desperate and bloody. Forty thousand of the Barbarians perished in the decisive battle, which broke the power of the Gepidæ, transferred the fears and wishes of Justinian, and first displayed the character of Alcin, the youthful prince of the Lombards, and the future conqueror of Italy.<sup>19</sup>

The wild people who dwell or wandered in the plains of Russia, Lithuania, and Poland, might be reduced, in the age of Justinian, under the two great families of the BULGARIANS<sup>11</sup> and the SLAVONIANS. According to the Greek writers, the former, who touched the Euxine and the lake Meotis, derived from the Huns their name or descent; and it is needless to renew the simple and well-known picture of Tatar nomads. They were bold and dexterous archers, who drank the milk, and fasted on the flesh, of their fleet and indefatigable horses; whose flocks and herds followed, or rather guided, the motions of their roving camps; to whose inroads no country was remote or impervious, and who were practised in flight, though incapable of fear. The nation was divided into two powerful and hostile tribes, who pursued each other with fraternal hatred. They eagerly disputed the friendship or rather the gifts of the emperor; and the distinction which nature had fixed between the faithful dog and the rapacious wolf, was applied by an ambassador who received only verbal instructions from the mouth of his illiterate prince.<sup>12</sup> The Bulgarians, of whatsoever species, were equally attracted by Roman wealth; they assumed a vague dominion over the Slavonian name, and their rapid marches could only be stopped by the Baltic Sea, or the extreme cold and poverty of the North. But the same race of Slavonians appears to

have maintained, in every age, the possession of the same countries. Their numerous tribes, however distant or adverse, used one common language it was harsh and irregular, and were known by the resemblance of their form, which deviated from the swarthy Tatar, and approached without attaining the lofty stature and fair complexion of the German. Four thousand six hundred villages<sup>13</sup> were scattered over the provinces of Russia and Poland, and their huts were hastily built of rough timber, in a country deficient both in stone and iron. Erected, or rather concealed, in the depth of forests, on the banks of rivers, or the edge of morasses, we may not perhaps, without flattery, compare them to the architecture of the beaver; which they resembled in a double issue, to the land and water, for the escape of the savage inhabitant, an animal less cleanly, less diligent, and less social, than that marvellous quadruped. The fertility of the soil, rather than the labour of the natives, supplied the rustic plenty of the Slavonians. Their sheep and horned cattle were large and numerous, and the fields which they sowed with millet and panic,<sup>14</sup> afforded, in the place of bread, a coarse and less nutritive food. The incessant rapine of their neighbours compelled them to bury this treasure in the earth; but on the appearance of a stranger, it was freely imparted by a people, whose unfavourable character is qualified by the epithets of chaste, patient, and hospitable. As their supreme God, they adored an invisible master of the thunder. The rivers and the nymphs obtained their subordinate honours, and the popular worship was expressed in vows and sacrifice. The Slavonians declined to obey a despot, a prince, or even a magistrate; but their experience was too narrow, their passions too headstrong, to compose a system of equal law or general defence. Some voluntary respect was yielded to age and valour; but each tribe or village existed as a separate republic, and all must be persuaded where none could be compelled. They fought on foot, almost naked, and, except an unwieldy shield, without any defensive armour: their weapons of offence were a bow, a quiver of small poisoned arrows, and a long rope, which they dexterously threw from a distance, and entangled their enemy in a running noose. In the field, the Slavonian infantry was dangerous by their speed, agility, and hardness: they swam, they dived, they remained under water, drawing their breath through a hollow cane; and a river or lake was often the scene of their unsuspected ambuscade. But these were the achievements of spies or stragglers; the military art was unknown to the Slavonians; their name was obscure, and their conquests were inglorious.<sup>15</sup>

10 I have read, without much satisfaction, the following: P. *Procopus* (Gmel.) p. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. *Procopus* is the Gesta-Ling. word for a "Man" (Mar. 10, 1897, letter from I. de Grammont, tome 1, p. 101, 410). I do not know the Spanish word *Procopus*, p. 242). The patient's name was determined to be an *Amorin* (Hist. of the Germans, and Amorin xxiv) and De Buaristinus Peoples, &c. tome ix, x, xi).

I had put the application of Bulgarians from Fomina (on Parnassus) Theodorov, Gyp Samard, born in 1878, 1900, Jovanides (de Hinc hietos), p. 61 p. 101 et alia. See also p. 101 b. Theophanes (p. 187), and the Chironian of those domains in Monelion. The name of Iuris is a Greek word; it means of the Caturagous and Caturagous in the mountains of the Alps.

12. For example, if  $\phi(x) = 100 - 10x$ , then  $\phi(1) = 90$ ,  $\phi(2) = 80$ ,  $\phi(3) = 70$ ,  $\phi(4) = 60$ ,  $\phi(5) = 50$ ,  $\phi(6) = 40$ ,  $\phi(7) = 30$ ,  $\phi(8) = 20$ ,  $\phi(9) = 10$ ,  $\phi(10) = 0$ . The average value of  $\phi(x)$  over the interval  $[0, 10]$  is  $50$ .

17 This sum is the result of a partial list, in a cursive MS. fragment of the 16th c., found in the library of Milan. The date given is of the 15th c. and the MS. provides and corrects the name of the count De Bort from p. 66. 1811. The French number classifies himself in a waderess which requires a Saxon and Polish guide.

[illegible]

Their invasions. I have marked the faint and general outline of the Slavonians and Bulgarians, without attempting to define their intermediate boundaries, which were not accurately known or respected by the barbarians themselves. Their importance was measured by their vicinity to the empire; and the level country of Moldavia and Walachia was occupied by the Antes,<sup>16</sup> a Slavonian tribe, which swelled the titles of Justinian with an epithet of conquest.<sup>17</sup> Against the Antes he erected the fortifications of the Lower Danube, and laboured to secure the alliance of a people seated in the direct channel of northern inundation, an interval of two hundred miles between the mountains of Transylvania and the Euxine Sea. But the Antes wanted power and inclination to stem the fury of the torrent; and the light-armed Slavonians, from an hundred tribes, pursued with almost equal speed the footsteps of the Bulgarian horse. The payment of one piece of gold for each soldier procured a safe and easy retreat through the country of the Gepidae, who commanded the passage of the Upper Danube.<sup>18</sup> The hopes or fears of the barbarians; their intestine union or discord; the accident of a frozen or shallow stream; the prospect of harvest or vintage; the prosperity or distress of the Romans; were the causes which produced the uniform repetition of annual visits,<sup>19</sup> tedious in the narrative, and destructive in the event. The same year, and possibly the same month, in which Ravenna surrendered, was marked by an invasion of the Huns or Bulgarians, so dreadful, that it almost effaced the memory of their past invasions. They spread from the suburbs of Constantinople to the Ionian Gulf, destroyed thirty-two cities or castles, erased Potidea, which Athens had built and Philip had besieged, and repassed the Danube, dragging at their horses' heels one hundred and twenty thousand of the subjects of Justinian. In a subsequent inroad they pierced the wall of the Thracian Chersonesus, extirpated the habitations and the inhabitants, boldly traversed the Hellespont, and returned to their companions, laden with the spoils of Asia. Another party, which seemed a multitude in the eyes of the Romans, penetrated, without opposition, from the straits of Thermopylae to the isthmus of Corinth; and the last ruin of Greece has appeared an object too minute for the attention of history. The works which the emperor raised for the protection, but at the expense of his subjects, served only to increase the weakness of some neglected part; and the walls, which by flattery had been deemed impregnable, were either deserted by the garrison, or sealed by the barbarians. Three thousand Slavonians, who insolently divided themselves

into two bands, discovered the weakness and misery of a triumphant reign. They passed the Danube and the Hebrus, vanquished the Roman generals who dared to oppose their progress, and plundered, with impunity, the cities of Myricum and Thrace, each of which had arms and numbers to overwhelm their contemptible assailants. Whatever praise the boldness of the Slavonians may deserve, it is sullied by the wanton and deliberate cruelty which they are accused of exercising on their prisoners. Without distinction of rank, or age, or sex, the captives were impaled or flayed alive, or suspended between four posts, and beaten with clubs till they expired, or enclosed in some spacious building, and left to perish in the flames with the spoil and cattle which might impede the march of these savage victors.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps a more impartial narrative would reduce the number, and qualify the nature, of these horrid acts; and they might sometimes be excused by the cruel laws of retaliation. In the siege of Topirus,<sup>21</sup> whose obstinate defence had enraged the Slavonians, they massacred fifteen thousand males; but they spared the women and children; the most valuable captives were always reserved for labour or ransom; the servitude was not rigorous, and the terms of their deliverance were speedy and moderate. But the subject, or the historian of Justinian, exhaled his just indignation in the language of complaint and reproach; and Procopius has confidently affirmed, that in a reign of thirty-two years, each annual inroad of the barbarians consumed two hundred thousand of the inhabitants of the Roman empire. The entire population of Turkish Europe, which nearly corresponds with the provinces of Justinian, would perhaps be incapable of supplying six millions of persons, the result of this incredible estimate.<sup>22</sup>

In the midst of these obscure calamities, Europe felt the shock of a revolution, which first revealed to the world the name and nation of the **TURKS**. Like Romulus, the founder of that martial people was suckled by a she-wolf, who afterwards made him the father of a numerous progeny; and the representation of that animal in the banners of the Turks preserved the memory, or rather suggested the idea, of a fable, which was invented, without any mutual intercourse, by the shepherds of Latium and those of Scythia. At the equal distance of two thousand miles from the Caspian, the Ley, the Chinese and the Bengal seas, a ridge of mountains is conspicuous, the centre, and perhaps the summit, of Asia; which, in the language of different nations, has been styled Imaus, and Caf;<sup>23</sup> and Altai, and the Golden Mountains, and the Girde of the Earth.

Or an and  
 the Turks in  
 Asia.  
 A.D. 545, &c.

16. The Antes, as Justinian, l. vi. c. 13. p. 151, 155.

17. The Antes, as Justinian, l. vi. c. 13. p. 151, 155.

18. Procopius, l. vi. c. 25.

19. An inroad of the Huns is connected, by Procopius, with a comet,

20. The cruelties of the Slavonians are related or magnified by Procopius, l. vi. c. 25.

21. Topirus, as Justinian, l. vi. c. 13. p. 151, 155.

22. Procopius, l. vi. c. 25.

23. From the word Kaf, which is more refined as geography would

The sides of the hills were productive of minerals; and the iron forges;<sup>24</sup> for the purpose of war, were exercised by the Turks, the most despised portion of the slaves of the great khan of the Gougen. But their servitude could only last till a leader, bold and eloquent, should arise, to persuade his countrymen that the same arms which they forged for their masters, might become, in their own hands, the instruments of freedom and victory. They sallied from the mountain;<sup>25</sup> a sceptre was the reward of his advice; and the annual ceremony, in which a piece of iron was heated in the fire, and the smith's hammer was successively handled by the prince and his nobles, recorded for ages the humble profession and rational pride of the Turkish nation. Bertezena, their first leader, signalised their valour and his own in successful combats against the neighbouring tribes; but when he presumed to ask in marriage the daughter of the great khan, the insolent demand of a slave and a mechanic was contemptuously rejected. The disgrace was expiated by a more noble alliance with a princess of China; and the decisive battle which almost extirpated the nation of the Gougen, established in Tartary the new and more powerful empire of the Turks. They reigned over the North; but they confessed the vanity of conquest, by their faithful attachment to the mountain of their fathers. The royal encampment seldom lost sight of Mount Altai, from whence the river Irisk descends to water the rich pastures of the Calmucks;<sup>26</sup> which nourish the largest sheep and oxen in the world. The soil is fruitful, and the climate mild and temperate: the happy region was ignorant of earthquake and pestilence; the emperor's throne was turned towards the east; and a golden wolf on the top of a spear seemed to guard the entrance of his tent. One of the successors of Bertezena was tempted by the luxury and superstition of China; but his design of building cities and temples was defeated by the simple wisdom of a barbarian counsellor. "The Turks," he said, "are not equal in number to one hundredth part of the inhabitants of China. If we balance their power, and elude their armies, it is because we wander without any fixed habitations, in the exercise of war and hunting. Are we strong? we advance and conquer: are we feeble? we retire and are concealed. Should the Turks confine themselves within the walls of cities, the loss of a battle would be the destruction of their empire. The bonzes preach only patience, humility, and the remission of the world. Such, O king! is not the religion of heroes." They entertained, with less reluctance, the doctrines of Zoroaster: but the greatest part of the nation

acquiesced, without enquiry, in the opinions, or rather in the practice, of their ancestors. The honours of sacrifice were reserved for the supreme Deity; they acknowledged, in rude hymns, their obligations to the air, the fire, the water, and the earth; and their priests derived some profit from the art of divination. Their unwritten laws were rigorous and impartial; theft was punished by a tenfold restitution: adultery, treason, and murder, with death; and no chastisement could be inflicted too severe for the rare and inextinguishable guilt of cowardice. As the subject nations marched under the standard of the Turks, their cavalry, both men and horses, were proudly computed by millions; one of their effective armies consisted of four hundred thousand soldiers, and in less than fifty years they were connected in peace and war with the Romans, the Persians, and the Chinese. In their northern limits, some vestige may be discovered of the form and situation of Kamtschatka, of a people of hunters and fishermen, whose sledges were drawn by dogs, and whose habitations were buried in the earth. The Turks were ignorant of astronomy; but the observation taken by some learned Chinese, with a gnomon of eight feet, fixes the royal camp in the latitude of forty-nine degrees, and marks their extreme progress within three, or at least ten degrees, of the polar circle.<sup>27</sup> Among their southern conquests, the most splendid was that of the Nephthalites or White Huns, a polite and warlike people, who possessed the commercial cities of Bochara and Samareand, who had vanquished the Persian monarch, and carried their victorious arms along the banks, and perhaps to the mouth, of the Indus. On the side of the west, the Turkish cavalry advanced to the lake Maoris. They passed that lake on the ice. The Khan who dwelt at the foot of Mount Altai, issued his commands for the siege of Bosphorus,<sup>28</sup> a city, the voluntary subject of Rome, and whose princes had formerly been the friends of Athens.<sup>29</sup> To the east, the Turks invaded China, as often as the vigour of the government was relaxed: and I am taught to read in the history of the times, that they mowed down their patient enemies like hemp or grass; and that the mandarins applauded the wisdom of an emperor who repulsed these barbarians with golden lances. This extent of savage empire compelled the Turkish monarch to establish three subordinate princes of his own blood, who soon forgot their gratitude and allegiance. The conquerors were enervated by luxury, which is always fatal except to an industrious people; the policy of China solicited the vanquished nations to resume their independence, and the power of the Turks was limited

24. The philosophy of the Mountains, the Mountains of Mount Altai, is much the same as that of the Mountains of the Caucasus. The Mountains of the Caucasus, which are situated in the Caucasus, are the most fertile and the most fertile of the Caucasus. The Mountains of the Caucasus, which are situated in the Caucasus, are the most fertile and the most fertile of the Caucasus. The Mountains of the Caucasus, which are situated in the Caucasus, are the most fertile and the most fertile of the Caucasus.

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dence to a favourite minister, he established four viziers, over the four great provinces of his empire, Assyria, Media, Persia, and Bactriana. In the choice of judges, præfects, and counsellors, he strove to remove the mask which is always worn in the presence of kings: he wished to substitute the natural order of talents for the accidental distinctions of birth and fortune; he professed, in specious language, his intention to prefer those men who carried the poor in their bosoms, and to banish corruption from the seat of justice, as dogs were excluded from the temples of the Magi. The code of laws, of the first Artaxerxes was revived and published as the rule of the magistrates; but the assurance of speedy punishment was the best security of their virtue. Their behaviour was inspected by a thousand eyes, their words were overheard by a thousand ears, the secret or public agents of the throne; and the provinces, from the Indian to the Arabian confines, were enlightened by the frequent visits of a sovereign, who affected to emulate his celestial brother in his rapid and salutary career. Education and agriculture he viewed as the two objects most deserving of his care. In every city of Persia, orphans, and the children of the poor, were maintained and instructed at the public expense; the daughters were given in marriage to the richest citizens of their own rank, and the sons, according to their different talents, were employed in mechanic trades, or promoted to more honourable service. The deserted villages were relieved by his bounty; to the peasants and farmers who were found incapable of cultivating their lands, he distributed cattle, seed, and the instruments of husbandry; and the rare and inestimable treasure of fresh water was parsimoniously managed, and skillfully dispersed over the arid territory of Persia.<sup>41</sup> The prosperity of that kingdom was the effect and the evidence of his virtues: his vices are those of Oriental despotism; but in the long competition between Chosroes and Justinian, the advantage both of merit and fortune is almost always on the side of the barbarian.<sup>42</sup>

To the praise of justice Nushirvan united the reputation of knowledge ; and the seven Greek philosophers, who visited his court, were invited and deceived by the strange assurance, that a disciple of Plato was seated on the Persian throne. Did they expect that a prince, strenuously exercised in the toils of war and government, should agitate, with

dexterity like their own, the abstruse and profound questions which amused the leisure of the schools of Athens? Could they hope that the precepts of philosophy should direct the life, and control the passions, of a despot, whose infancy had been taught to consider *his* absolute and fluctuating will as the only rule of moral obligation?<sup>46</sup> The studies of Chosroes were ostentatious and superficial: but his example awakened the curiosity of an ingenious people, and the light of science was diffused over the dominions of Persia.<sup>47</sup> At Gondi Sapor, in the neighbourhood of the royal city of Susa, an academy of physic was founded, which insensibly became a liberal school of poetry, philosophy, and rhetoric.<sup>48</sup> The annals of the monarchy<sup>49</sup> were composed; and while recent and authentic history might afford some useful lessons both to the prince and people, the darkness of the first ages was unembellished by the giants, the dragons, and the fabulous heroes of Oriental romance.<sup>50</sup> Every learned or confident stranger was enriched by the bounty, and flattered by the conversation, of the monarch: he nobly rewarded a Greek physician,<sup>51</sup> by the deliverance of three thousand captives; and the sophists, who contended for his favour, were exasperated by the wealth and insolence of Uranius, their more successful rival. Nushirvan believed, or at least respected, the religion of the Magi; and some traces of persecution may be discovered in his reign.<sup>52</sup> Yet he allowed himself freely to compare the tenets of the various sects; and the theological disputes, in which he frequently presided, diminished the authority of the priest, and enlightened the minds of the people. At his command, the most celebrated writers of Greece and India were translated into the Persian language; a smooth and elegant idiom, recommended by Mahomet to the use of paradise: though it is branded with the epithets of savage and unmusical, by the ignorance and presumption of Agathias.<sup>53</sup> Yet the Greek historian might reasonably wonder, that it should be found possible to execute an entire version of Plato and Aristotle in a foreign dialect, which had not been framed to express the spirit of freedom and the subtleties of philosophic disquisition. And, if the reason of the Stagyrte might be equally dark, or equally intelligible in every tongue, the dramatic art and verbal argumentation of the disciple of Socrates,<sup>54</sup> appear to be indissolubly mingled with the grace and perfection of his Attic style. In the search of uni-

41. In Persia, the prince of the waters is an officer of state. The number of acres and of the farmers charged is much diminished, and with it the tribute of the soil. But wells have been nearly lost near Haman, and 12,000 square acres are raised in the province of Khuzestan (Chahin), the soil is poor, the labourer, to make

[illegible][illegible]

47) On the former state of Persia, the Greek versions, which, however, say less, than Herodotus gives us, of the Perses, Avesta, which is a collection of old Persian poetry, and several other authorities.

6) The Shah Nishch, or Back of Kings, is perhaps the original record of history which was translated into Greek by the later ruler Seleucus Nicator. It is probably preserved after the *Shah-nama* (see

quest, and versified in the year 994, by the national poet Firdousi. See DEANQUEL (*Man de l'Académie*, tom. xxx, p. 779), and SIR WILLIAM JONES (*Hist. of Nader Shāh*, p. 161).

<sup>10</sup> In the 19th century, the name of Rostom or Rostan, an hero who confided the strength of twelve elephants, was familiar to the Armenians (Mose Chorenensis, Hist. Armen. l. c. 7, p. 56, edit.

Whitkins, a Greek, once used, in the second century, the Persian language of Bactria, and Kharidhi was adopted at Media, Saba, Korm, &c. XXXI, 1-7. Yet the exact nature of modern Persian history, is not given. Marquis D'Hervey de St. Denys, p. 411, 412.

Dr. George Guthrie, a Per. scholar, in a letter to the Greek press, at St. Petersburg, Feb. 18, 1827. The present is a reprint, and it is not known, what the advantage of Dunwells, of Constantinople, in 1822-1827.

<sup>72</sup> See *Pacific*, at n. p. 126. In one of the treatise on honourable article, as presented for the toleration and benefit of the Catholics. Mr. Under, in Excerpt 1, page 142. Nubendi, a son of Nubendi, was a Christian, who had been converted by Father John.

simultaneous reduction of the number of variables. In particular, the following theorem holds:

[illegible]

versal knowledge, Nushirvan was informed, that the moral and political fables of Pilpay, an ancient Brachman, were preserved with jealous reverence among the treasures of the kings of India. The physician Perozes was secretly despatched to the banks of the Ganges, with instructions to procure, at any price, the communication of this valuable work. His dexterity obtained a transcript, his learned diligence accomplished the translation; and the fables of Pilpay<sup>55</sup> were read and admired in the assembly of Nushirvan and his nobles. The Indian original, and the Persian copy, have long since disappeared; but this venerable monument has been saved by the curiosity of the Arabian caliphs, revived in the modern Persie, the Turkish, the Syriac, the Hebrew, and the Greek idioms, and transfused through successive versions into the modern languages of Europe. In their present form, the peculiar character, the manners and religion of the Hindoos, are completely obliterated; and the intrinsic merit of the fables of Pilpay is far inferior to the concise elegance of Phædrus, and the native graces of La Fontaine. Fifteen moral and political sentences are illustrated in a series of apologies; but the composition is intricate, the narrative prolix, and the precept obvious and barren. Yet the Brachman may assume the merit of *urenting* a pleasing fiction, which adorns the nakedness of truth, and alleviates, perhaps to a royal ear, the harshness of instruction. With a similar design, to admonish kings that they are strong only in the strength of their subjects, the same Indians invented the game of chess, which was likewise introduced into Persia under the reign of Nushirvan.<sup>56</sup>

The son of Kobad found his kingdom involved in a war with the successor of Constantine; and the anxiety of his domestic situation inclined him to grant the suspension of arms, which Justinian was impatient to purchase. Chosroes saw the Roman ambassadors at his feet. He accepted eleven thousand pounds of gold, as the price of an *endless* or indefinite peace,<sup>57</sup> some mutual exchanges were regulated; the Persian assumed the guard of the gates of Caneesus, and the demolition of Dana was suspended, on condition that it should never be made the residence of the general of the East. This interval of repose had been solicited, and was diligently improved by the ambition of the emperor. His African conquests were the first fruits of the Persian treaty; and the avarice of Chosroes was soothed by a large portion of the spoils of Carthage, which his ambassadors required in a tone of pleasantry, and under the colour of friendship.<sup>58</sup> But the trophies of Belisarius disturbed the slumbers of the Great King; and

he heard with astonishment, envy, and fear, that Sicily, Italy, and Rome itself, had been reduced, in three rapid campaigns, to the obedience of Justinian. Unpractised in the art of violating treaties, he secretly excited his bold and subtle vassal Almondar. That prince of the Saracens, who resided at Hira,<sup>59</sup> had not been included in the general peace, and still waged an obscure war against his rival Archas, the chief of the tribe of Gassan, and confederate of the empire. The subject of their dispute was an extensive sheep-walk in the desert to the south of Palmyra. An immemorial tribute for the licence of pasture, appeared to attest the rights of Almondar, while the Gassanite appealed to the Latin name of strata, a paved road, as an unquestionable evidence of the sovereignty and labours of the Romans.<sup>60</sup> The two monarchs supported the cause of their respective vassals; and the Persian Arab, without expecting the event of a slow and doubtful arbitration, enriched his flying camp with the spoil and captives of Syria. Instead of repelling the arms, Justinian attempted to seduce the fidelity of Almondar, while he called from the extremities of the earth the nations of Ethiopia and Scythia to invade the dominions of his rival. But the aid of such allies was distant and precarious, and the discovery of this hostile correspondence justified the complaints of the Goths and Armenians, who implored, almost at the same time, the protection of Chosroes. The descendants of Arsaces, who were still numerous in Armenia, had been provoked to assert the last relics of national freedom and hereditary rank; and the ambassadors of Vitiges had secretly traversed the empire to expose the instant, and almost inevitable, danger of the kingdom of Italy. Their representations were uniform, weighty, and effectual. "We stand before your throne, the advocates of your interest as well as of our own. The ambitions and faithless Justinian aspires to be the sole master of the world. Since the endless peace, which betrayed the common freedom of mankind, that prince, your ally in words, your enemy in actions, has alike insulted his friends and foes, and has filled the earth with blood and confusion. Has he not violated the privileges of Armenia, the independence of Colchis, and the wild liberty of the Tazian mountains? Has he not usurped, with equal avidity, the city of Bosphorus on the frozen Moors, and the vale of palm-trees on the shores of the Red Sea? The Moors, the Vandals, the Goths, have been successively oppressed, and each nation has calmly remained the spectator of their neighbour's ruin. Embrace, O king! the favourable moment; the East is left without defence, while the armies

<sup>55</sup> Of these Fables, I have seen three copies in three different languages. 1. In *Greek*, translated by Stewer Sath. A. D. 1160, from the Arabic, and published at Frankfort in 1697, in 12mo. 2. In *Latin*, a version from the Greek, Supplément à l'Asie, a serial by Peter Ponsart at the end of the collection of Polyhistor, p. 137, 6to. 3. In *French*, from the Arabic, edited at Paris in 1769, by M. de La Harpe. Copies of Fables Indiennes de Belisarius. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

<sup>56</sup> See the Historia Shahdudu of Dr. Hyde (Synagoga. D. sermo. l. n. p. 61-62).

<sup>57</sup> The endless peace (Procopius, Persec. l. i. c. 212) was concluded

or ratified in the sixth year, and not concluded in the fifth (A. D. 552), as some have thought. See the Appendix to the History of Justinian, p. 101. Marcellinus, in his Chronicle, uses the style of Meus and Persians.

<sup>58</sup> See the Appendix to the History of Justinian, p. 101.

<sup>59</sup> Almondar, king of Hira, was deposed by Kofad, and reduced to Scythia. In the story of the Arabian, was named *Almondar*. But in the original, he was called *Almondar*, and was deposed by Kofad, and reduced to Scythia. See the Appendix to the History of Justinian, p. 101.

<sup>60</sup> The name of the road, which was the subject of the dispute, was called *Almondar*. But in the original, he was called *Almondar*, and was deposed by Kofad, and reduced to Scythia. See the Appendix to the History of Justinian, p. 101.

“of Justinian and his renowned general are  
“detained in the distant regions of the West.  
“If you hesitate and delay, Belisarius and his  
“victorious troops will soon return from the  
“Tyber to the Tigris, and Persia may enjoy  
“the wretched consolation of being the last de-  
“voured.”<sup>61</sup> By such arguments, Choroës  
was easily persuaded to imitate the example  
which he condemned: but the Persian, am-  
bitious of military fame, disdained the inactive  
warfare of a rival, who issued his sanguinary  
commands from the secure station of the By-  
zantine palace.

Whatever might be the provocations of Choroës, he abused the confidence of treaties; and the just reproaches of dissimulation and falsehood could only be concealed by the lustre of his victories.<sup>2</sup> The Persian army, which had been assembled in the plains of Babylon, prudently declined the strong cities of Mesopotamia, and followed the western bank of the Euphrates, till the small though populous town of Dura presumed to arrest the progress of the Great King. The gates of Dura, by treachery and surprise, were burst open; and as soon as Choroës had stained his cineter with the blood of the inhabitants, he dismissed the ambassador of Justinian to inform his master in what place he had left the enemy of the Romans. The conqueror still affected the praise of humanity and justice; and as he beheld a noble matron with her infant rudely dragged along the ground, he sighed, he wept, and implored the divine justice to punish the author of these calamities. Yet the herd of twelve thousand captives was ransomed for two hundred pounds of gold; the neighbouring bishop of Sergiopolis pledged his faith for the payment; and in the subsequent year the unfeeling avarice of Choroës exacted the penalty of an obligation which it was generous to contract and impossible to discharge. He advanced into the heart of Syria; but a feeble enemy, who vanished at his approach, disappointed him of the honour of victory; and as he could not hope to establish his dominion, the Persian king displayed in this inroad the mean and rapacious vices of a robber. Hierapolis, Berrhæa or Aleppo, Apamea and Chalcis, were successively besieged: they redeemed their safety by a ransom of gold or silver, proportioned to their respective strength and opulence; and their new master enforced, without observing, the terms of capitulation. Educated in the religion of the Magi, he exercised, without remorse, the lucrative trade of sacrilege; and, after stripping of its gold and gems a piece of the true cross, he generously restored the naked relic to the devotion of the Christians of Apamea. No more than fourteen years had elapsed since Antioch was ruined by an earthquake, but the queen of the East, the new Theopoli, had been raised from the ground by the liberality of Justinian; and the

increasing greatness of the buildings and the people already erased the memory of this recent disaster. On one side, the city was defended by the mountain, on the other by the river Orontes; but the most accessible part was commanded by a superior eminence: the proper remedies were rejected, from the despicable fear of discovering its weakness to the enemy; and Germans, the emperor's nephew, refused to trust his person and dignity within the walls of a besieged city. The people of Antioch had inherited the vain and satirical genius of their ancestors: they were elated by a sudden reinforcement of six thousand soldiers; they disdained the offers of an easy capitulation; and their intemperate clamours insulted from the ramparts the majesty of the Great King. Under his eye the Persian myriads mounted with scaling-ladders to the assault; the Roman mercenaries fled through the opposite gate of Daphne; and the generous assistance of the youth of Antioch served only to aggravate the miseries of their country. As Chosroes, attended by the ambassadors of Justinian, was descending from the mountain, he affected, in a plaintive voice, to deplore the obstinacy and ruin of that unhappy people: but the slaughter still raged with unrelenting fury; and the city, at the command of a barbarian, was delivered to the flames. The cathedral of Antioch was indeed preserved by the avarice, not the piety, of the conqueror: a more honourable exemption was granted to the church of St. Julian, and the quarter of the town where the ambassadors resided; some distant streets were saved by the shifting of the wind, and the walls still subsisted to protect, and soon to betray, their new inhabitants. Fanci-  
faticism had defaced the ornaments of Daphne, but Chosroes breathed a purer air amidst her groves and fountains; and some idolaters in his train might sacrifice with impunity to the nymphs of that elegant retreat. Eighteen miles below Antioch, the river Orontes falls into the Mediterranean. The haughty Persian visited the term of his conquests, and, after basking alone in the sea, he offered a solemn sacrifice of thanksgiving to the sun, or rather to the Creator of the sun, whom the Magi adored. If this act of superstition offended the prejudices of the Syrians, they were pleased by the courteous and even eager attention with which he assisted at the games of the circus; and as Chosroes had heard that the *blue* faction was espoused by the emperor, his peremptory command secured the victory of the *green* champion. From the discipline of his camp the people derived more solid consolation; and they interceded in vain for the life of a soldier who had too faithfully copied the rapine of the just Nushirvan. At length, fatigued, though unsatiated, with the spoil of Syria, he slowly moved to the Euphrates, formed a temporary bridge in the neighbourhood of Barbas-sus, and defined the space of three days for the entire passage of his nu-

61 I have blended, in a short speech, the two orations of the Arcades of Armenia and the father and sons of Persius. Persius, in his public history, feels, and makes us feel, that Justin was the true author of the war (Persic l. i. c. 2, &c.).

collateral can be drawn from the Orientals, yet not they, but  
 1. Harb, or her out (p. 680) and the other, the other, the other,  
 making Jerusalem and Nether in a new form. The other, the other,  
 of the seat of war, D'Ambo, England, and the other, the other,  
 satisfaction.

merous host. After his return, he founded, at the distance of one day's journey from the palace of Ctesiphon, a new city, which perpetuated the joint names of Chosroes and of Antioch. The Syrian captives recognised the form and situation of their native abodes; baths and a stately circus were constructed for their use; and a colony of musicians and charioteers revived in Assyria the pleasures of a Greek capital. By the munificence of the royal founder, a liberal allowance was assigned to these fortunate exiles; and they enjoyed the singular privilege of bestowing freedom on the slaves whom they acknowledged as their kinsmen. Palestine, and the holy wealth of Jerusalem, were the next objects that attracted the ambition, or rather the avarice, of Chosroes. Constantinople, and the palace of the Cæsars, no longer appeared impregnable or remote; and his aspiring fancy already covered Asia Minor with the troops, and the Black Sea with the navies, of Persia.

These hopes might have been realised, if the conqueror of Italy had not been seasonably recalled to the defence of the East.<sup>63</sup> While Chosroes pursued his ambitious designs on the coast of the Euxine, Belisarius, at the head of an army without pay or discipline, encamped beyond the Euphrates, within six miles of Nisibis. He meditated, by a skilful operation, to draw the Persians from their impregnable citadel, and improving his advantage in the field, either to intercept their retreat, or perhaps to enter the gates with the flying barbarians. He advanced one day's journey on the territories of Persia, reduced the fortress of Sisaurane, and sent the governor, with eight hundred chosen horsemen, to serve the emperor in his Italian wars. He detached Arethas and his Arabs, supported by twelve hundred Romans, to pass the Tigris, and to ravage the harvests of Assyria, a fruitful province, long exempt from the calamities of war. But the plans of Belisarius were disconcerted by the untractable spirit of Arethas, who neither returned to the camp, nor sent any intelligence of his motions. The Roman general was fixed in anxious expectation to the same spot; the time of action elapsed, the ardent sun of Mesopotamia inflamed with fevers the blood of his European soldiers; and the stationary troops and officers of Syria affected to tremble for the safety of their defenceless cities. Yet this diversion had already succeeded in forcing Chosroes to return with loss and precipitation; and if the skill of Belisarius had been seconded by discipline and valour, his success might have satisfied the sanguine wishes of the public, who required at his hands the conquest of Ctesiphon, and the deliverance of the captives of Antioch.

At the end of the campaign, he was recalled to Constantinople by an ungrateful court, but the dangers of the ensuing spring restored his confidence and command; and the hero, almost alone, was despatched, with the speed of post-horses, to repel, by his name and presence, the invasion of Syria. He found

the Roman generals, among whom was a nephew of Justinian, imprisoned by their fears in the fortifications of Hierapolis. But instead of listening to their timid counsels, Belisarius commanded them to follow him to Europus, where he had resolved to collect his forces, and to execute whatever God should inspire him to achieve against the enemy. His firm attitude on the banks of the Euphrates restrained Chosroes from advancing towards Palestine; and he received with art and dignity, the ambassadors, or rather spies, of the Persian monarch. The plain between Hierapolis and the river was covered with the squadrons of cavalry, six thousand hunters, tall and robust, who pursued their game without the apprehension of an enemy. On the opposite bank the ambassadors descried a thousand Armenian horse, who appeared to guard the passage of the Euphrates. The tent of Belisarius was of the coarsest linen, the simple equipage of a warrior who disdained the luxury of the East. Around his tent, the nations who marched under his standard were arranged with skilful confusion. The Thracians and Illyrians were posted in the front, the Heruli and Goths in the centre; the prospect was closed by the Moors and Vandals, and their loose array seemed to multiply their numbers. Their dress was light and active; one soldier carried a whip, another a sword, a third a bow, a fourth, perhaps, a battle-axe, and the whole picture exhibited the intrepidity of the troops and the vigilance of the general. Chosroes was deluded by the address, and awed by the genius, of the lieutenant of Justinian. Conscious of the merit, and ignorant of the force, of his antagonist, he dreaded a decisive battle in a distant country, from whence not a Persian might return to relate the melancholy tale. The Great King hastened to repass the Euphrates; and Belisarius pressed his retreat, by affecting to oppose a measure so salutary to the empire, and which could scarcely have been prevented by an army of an hundred thousand men. Envy might suggest to ignorance and pride, that the public enemy had been suffered to escape: but the African and Gothic triumphs are less glorious than this safe and bloodless victory, in which neither fortune, nor the valour of the soldiers, can subtract any part of the general's renown. The second removal of Belisarius from the Persian to the Italian A. D. 543, &c. war, revealed the extent of his personal merit, which had corrected or supplied the want of discipline and courage. Fifteen generals, without concert or skill, led through the mountains of Armenia an army of thirty thousand Romans, inattentive to their signals, their ranks, and their ensigns. Four thousand Persians, entrenched in the camp of Dubis, vanquished, almost without a combat, this disorderly multitude; their useless arms were scattered along the road, and their horses sunk under the fatigue of their rapid flight. But the Arabs of the Roman party prevailed over their brethren; the Armenians returned to their alle-

<sup>63</sup> In the public history of Procopius (*Persæ* I. ii. c. 16, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.), and, with some slight exceptions, we may

reasonably doubt our ears against the prevalent whisper of the Anecdotes (c. 2, 3, with the Note, as usual, of Adamianus).

giance; the cities of Dara and Edessa resisted a sudden assault and a regular siege, and the calamities of war were suspended by those of pestilence. A tacit or formal agreement between the two sovereigns protected the tranquillity of the eastern frontier; and the arms of Chosroes were confined to the Colchian or Lazic war, which has been too minutely described by the historians of the times.<sup>64</sup>

The extreme length of the Euxine sea,<sup>65</sup> from Constantinople to the mouth of the Phasis, may be computed as a voyage of nine days, and a measure of seven hundred miles. From the Iberian Caucasus, the most lofty and craggy mountains of Asia, that river descends with such oblique vehemence, that in a short space it is traversed by one hundred and twenty bridges. Nor does the stream become placid and navigable, till it reaches the town of Sarapana, five days' journey from the Cyrus, which flows from the same hills, but in a contrary direction, to the Caspian lake. The proximity of these rivers has suggested the practice, or at least the idea, of wafting the precious merchandise of India down the Oxus, over the Caspian, up the Cyrus, and with the current of the Phasis into the Euxine and Mediterranean seas. As it successively collects the streams of the plain of Colchos, the Phasis moves with diminished speed, though accumulated weight. At the mouth it is sixty fathom deep, and half a league broad, but a small woody island is interposed in the midst of the channel: the water, so soon as it has deposited an earthy or metallic sediment, floats on the surface of the waves, and is no longer susceptible of corruption. In a course of one hundred miles, forty of which are navigable for large vessels, the Phasis divides the celebrated region of Colchos,<sup>66</sup> or Mingrelia,<sup>67</sup> which, on three sides, is fortified by the Iberian and Armenian mountains, and whose maritime coast extends about two hundred miles, from the neighbourhood of Trebizond to Dioscurias, and the confines of Circassia. Both the soil and climate are relaxed by excessive moisture: twenty-eight rivers, besides the Phasis and his dependent streams, convey their waters to the sea; and the hollowness of the ground appears to indicate the subterraneous channels between the Euxine and the Caspian. In the fields where wheat or barley is sown, the earth is too soft to sustain the action of the plough; but the *gom*, a small grain, not unlike the millet

or coriander seed, supplies the ordinary food of the people; and the use of bread is confined to the prince and his nobles. Yet the vintage is more plentiful than the harvest; and the bulk of the stems, as well as the quality of the wine, display the unassisted powers of nature. The same powers continually tend to overshadow the face of the country with thick forests; the timber of the hills, and the flax of the plains, contribute to the abundance of naval stores; the wild and tame animals, the horse, the ox, and the hog, are remarkably prolific, and the name of the pheasant is expressive of his native habitation on the banks of the Phasis. The gold mines to the south of Trebizond, which are still worked with sufficient profit, were a subject of national dispute between Justinian and Chosroes; and it is not unreasonable to believe, that a vein of precious metal may be equally diffused through the circle of the hills, although these secret treasures are neglected by the laziness, or concealed by the prudence, of the Mingrelians. The waters, impregnated with particles of gold, are carefully strained through sheep-skins or fleeces; but this expedient, the groundwork perhaps of a marvellous fable, affords a faint image of the wealth extracted from a virgin earth by the power and industry of ancient kings. Their silver palaces and golden chambers surpass our belief; but the fame of their riches is said to have excited the enterprising avarice of the Argonauts.<sup>68</sup> Tradition has affirmed, with some colour of reason, that Egypt planted on the Phasis, a learned and polite colony,<sup>69</sup> which manufactured linen, built navies, and invented geographical maps. The ingenuity of the moderns has peopled, with flourishing cities and nations, the isthmus between the Euxine and the Caspian;<sup>70</sup> and a lively writer, observing the resemblance of climate, and, in his apprehension, of trade, has not hesitated to pronounce Colchos the Holland of antiquity.<sup>71</sup>

But the riches of Colchos shine only through the darkness of conjecture or tradition; and its genuine history presents an uniform scene of rudeness and poverty. If one hundred and thirty languages were spoken in the market of Dioscurias,<sup>72</sup> they were the imperfect idioms of so many savage tribes or families, sequestered from each other in the valleys of Mount Caucasus; and their separation, which diminished the importance, must have multiplied the number, of their rustic

<sup>64</sup> The Lazic war, the contest of Rome and Persia on the Phasis, is tediously spun through many a page of Procopius Persica. l. ii. c. 13. l. v. c. 28, 29, 30. Gothic l. iv. c. 7-16, and Agathias (l. ii. m. and iv. p. 53-172, 173).

<sup>65</sup> The *Periplos*, or circumnavigation of the Euxine sea, was described in Latin by Salustius, and in Greek by Arrian. 1. The form or work, which no longer exists, has been restored to the *antiqua* language of M. de Brosses, first printed in the *parallèle* of Du Roi (Hist. de la République Romaine, tom. i. p. 199, 208), who ventures to assume the character of the Roman historian. His description of the Euxine is ingeniously formed of all the fragments of the original, and of all the Greek and Latin, whom Salustius might copy, or by whom he might be copied, and the merit of the execution atones for the whimsical design. 2. The *Periplos* of Arrian is addressed to the emperor Adrian in Geograph. Minor. Haunsan, tom. ii. and contains whatever the geographer of Pontus had seen from Trebizond to Dioscurias: whatever he had heard from Dioscurias to the Danube, and whatever he knew from the Danube to Trebizond.

<sup>66</sup> Besides the many occasional hints from the poets, historians, &c. of antiquity, we may consult the geographical descriptions of Colchos, by Strabo (l. xi. p. 760-765), and Ptolemy (Hist. Nat. v. 19, &c.).

<sup>67</sup> I shall quote, and have used, three modern descriptions of Mingrelia and the adjacent countries. 1. Of the Pere Archueve Lambert, *Relations de Thèvenot*, part i. p. 51-52, with a map, who has all

the knowledge and prejudices of a missionary. 2. Of Charley (Voyages en Perse, tom. i. p. 51, 65-106), his observations are tedious, and his own adventures in the country are still more tedious than Moslems' stories. 3. Of Poysson (Description des Indes Orientales, tom. i. p. 39, 50, 51, 52, 62, 63, 64, 65, 71, &c.) and a more recent traileur, Sur le Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. i. p. 1-5. He had long resided at Constantinople, as consul of France, and his erudition is less valuable than his experience.

<sup>68</sup> Ptolemy, Hist. Nat. l. vi. c. 13. The gold and silver mines of Colchos attracted the Argonauts, Strabo, l. c. 73. The ingenious Charley could not find any gold in the country, or the river. Yet a Moslem, but his hand and foot for showing some specimens at Constantinople, of native gold.

<sup>69</sup> Herodotus, l. ii. c. 104, 105, 106. Theodor Seidl, l. p. 77, edit. Weseling. Brosses, *Parallèle* l. vi. and Eusebius, ad l. p. Schol. ad *Apollonius* Arctoryx, l. iv. c. 252, 261.

<sup>70</sup> Montesquieu, *Esprit de Loix*, l. vi. c. 6. L'ethnie... couverte de villes et de nations qui ne s'agit point.

<sup>71</sup> Brosses, *Parallèle*, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvi. p. 25, on the African origin of Humo and the commerce of antiquity.

<sup>72</sup> A Greek historian, Theophrastus, had affirmed, in one of his treatises, that the language of the Phasis was the best for its content to add, et posita a multis, ex quibus et multis et multis et multis, but the words, and describe cover a multitude of different nations.



capitals. In the present state of Mingrelia, a village is an assemblage of huts within a wooden fence; the fortresses are seated in the depth of forests; the princely town of Cyta, or Cotatis, consists of two hundred houses, and a stone edifice appertains only to the magnificence of kings. Twelve ships from Constantinople, and about sixty barks, laden with the fruits of industry, annually cast anchor on the coast; and the list of Colchian exports is much increased, since the natives had only slaves and hides to offer in exchange for the corn and salt which they purchased from the subjects of Justinian. Not a vestige can be found of the art, the knowledge, or the navigation, of the ancient Colchians: few Greeks desired or dared to pursue the footsteps of the Argonauts; and even the marks of an Egyptian colony are lost on a nearer approach. The rite of circumcision is practised only by the Mahometans of the Euxine; and the curled hair and swarthy complexion of Africa no longer disfigure the most perfect of the human race. It is in the adjacent climates of Georgia, Mingrelia, and Circassia, that nature has placed, at least to our eyes, the model of beauty, in the shape of the limbs, the colour of the skin, the symmetry of the features, and the expression of the countenance.<sup>73</sup> According to the destination of the two sexes, the men seem formed for action, the women for love; and the perpetual supply of females from Mount Caucasus has purified the blood, and improved the breed, of the southern nations of Asia. The proper district of Mingrelia, a portion only of the ancient Colchos, has long sustained an exportation of twelve thousand slaves. The number of prisoners or criminals would be inadequate to the annual demand; but the common people are in a state of servitude to their lords: the exercise of fraud or rapine is unpunished in a lawless community; and the market is continually replenished by the abuse of civil and paternal authority. Such a trade,<sup>74</sup> which reduces the human species to the level of cattle, may tend to encourage marriage and population, since the multitude of children enriches their sordid and inhuman parent. But this source of hapite wealth must inevitably poison the national manners, obliterate the sense of honour and virtue, and almost extinguish the instincts of nature. The *Chalcidians* of Georgia and Mingrelia are the most dissolute of mankind; and their children, who, in a tender age, are sold into foreign slavery, have already learnt to imitate the rapine of the father and the prostitution of the mother. Yet, amidst the rudest ignorance, the untought natives discover a singular dexterity both of mind and hand; and although the want of union and discipline ex-

poses them to their more powerful neighbours, a bold and intrepid spirit has animated the Colchians of every age. In the host of Xerxes, they served on foot; and their arms were a dagger or a javelin, a wooden casque, and a buckler of raw hides. But in their own country the use of cavalry has more generally prevailed; the meanest of the peasants disdain to walk; the martial nobles are possessed, perhaps, of two hundred horses; and above five thousand are numbered in the train of the prince of Mingrelia. The Colchian government has been always a pure and hereditary kingdom; and the authority of the sovereign is only re-trained by the turbulence of his subjects. Whenever they were obedient, he could lead a numerous army into the field; but some faith is requisite to believe, that the single tribe of the Suanians was composed of two hundred thousand soldiers, or that the population of Mingrelia now amounts to four millions of inhabitants.<sup>75</sup>

It was the boast of the Colchians, <sup>Regulations of Colchians</sup> that their ancestors had checked the victories of Sesostris; and the defeat of the Egyptian is less incredible than his successful progress as far as the foot of Mount Caucasus. They sunk, without any memorable effort, under the arms of Cyrus; followed in distant wars the standard of the Great King, and presented him every fifth year with one <sup>under the Persian empire, before Christ, 500;</sup> hundred boys and as many virgins, the fairest produce of the land.<sup>76</sup> Yet he accepted this gift like the gold and clay of India, the frankincense of the Arabs, or the negroes and ivory of Ethiopia: the Colchians were not subject to the dominion of a satrap, and they continued to enjoy the name as well as substance of national independence.<sup>77</sup> After the fall of the Persian empire, Mithridates, king of Pontus, added Colchos to the wide circle of his dominions on the Euxine; and when the natives presumed to request that his son might reign over them, he bound the ambitious youth in chains of gold, and delegated a servant in his place. In the pursuit of Mithridates, the Romans advanced to the banks of the Phasis, and their galleys ascended the river till they reached the camp of Pompey and his legions.<sup>78</sup> But the senate, afterwards the emperor, declined to reduce that distant and useless conquest into the form of a province. The rebellion of a Greek thebanian was permitted to reign in Colchos and the adjacent kingdoms from the time of Marc Antony to that of Nero; and after the race of Polemo<sup>79</sup> was extinct, the eastern Pontus, which preserved his name, extended no farther than the neighbourhood of Trebizond. Beyond these limits the

<sup>73</sup> Buffon (*Hist. Nat. tom. x. p. 177) observes that the human species is divided into four orders, and that the first is the most perfect. He is of opinion that the Colchians were in the first order, and that they were in the second order, and that they were in the third order, and that they were in the fourth order. This is a very curious fact, and an example of the influence of climate on a human body.*

<sup>74</sup> The Mingrelian ambassador arrived at Constantinople with two hundred persons, but he was told that they were all his people, and that he was to be sold into slavery. He was told that he was to be sold into slavery, and that he was to be sold into slavery. This is a very curious fact, and an example of the influence of climate on a human body.

<sup>75</sup> Strabo, l. x. p. 765. The Colchians were a very numerous people, and they were very powerful. They were very powerful, and they were very numerous. This is a very curious fact, and an example of the influence of climate on a human body.

<sup>76</sup> Herodotus, l. iv. p. 107. See, also, l. v. p. 179, their arms and service in the expedition of Xerxes against Greece.

<sup>77</sup> Strabo, l. x. p. 765. The Colchians were a very numerous people, and they were very powerful. They were very powerful, and they were very numerous. This is a very curious fact, and an example of the influence of climate on a human body.

<sup>78</sup> Mithridates, king of Pontus, was a very powerful man, and he was very numerous. He was very powerful, and he was very numerous. This is a very curious fact, and an example of the influence of climate on a human body.

<sup>79</sup> Polemo, king of Pontus, was a very powerful man, and he was very numerous. He was very powerful, and he was very numerous. This is a very curious fact, and an example of the influence of climate on a human body.

fortifications of Hyssus, of Apsarus, of the Phasis, of Dioscurias or Sebastopolis, and of Pitius, were guarded by sufficient detachments of horse and foot; and six princes of Colchis received their diadems from the lieutenants of Cæsar. One of these lieutenants, the eloquent and philosophic Ariar, surveyed, and has described of you, the Euxine coast, under the

Visit of Arrian. A. D. 130. scribed, the Euxine coast, under the reign of Hadrian. The garrison

which he reviewed at the mouth of the Phasis, consisted of four hundred chosen legionaries; the brick walls and towers, the double ditch, and the military engines on the rampart, rendered this place inaccessible to the barbarians; but the new suburbs which had been built by the merchants and veterans, required, in the opinion of Arrian, some external defence.<sup>80</sup> As the strength of the empire was gradually impaired, the Romans stationed on the Phasis were either withdrawn or expelled; and the tribe of the Lazi, <sup>1</sup> whose posterity speak a foreign dialect, and inhabit the sea-coast of Trebizond, imposed their name and dominion on the ancient kingdom of Colchis. Their independence was soon invaded by a formidable neighbour, who had acquired, by arms and treaties, the sovereignty of Iberia. The dependent king of Lazica received his sceptre at the hands of the Persian monarch, and the successors of Constantine acquiesced in this injurious claim, which was proudly urged as a right of immemorial prescription. In the beginning of the sixth century, their influence was restored by the introduction of Christianity.

Conversion of  
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A. D. 532.

which the Mingrelians still profess with becoming zeal, without understanding the doctrines, or observing the precepts, of their religion. After the decease of his father, Zalus was exalted to the regal dignity by the favour of the Great King; but the pious youth abhorred the ceremonies of the Magi, and sought, in the palace of Constantinople, an orthodox baptism, a noble wife, and the alliance of the emperor Justin. The king of Lazica was solemnly invested with the shahen and his cloak and turban of white silk, with a gold border, displayed, in rich embroidery, the figure of his new patron; who soothed the jealousy of the Persian court, and excused the revolt of Colchis, by the venerable names of ho-pitality and religion. The common interest of both empires imposed on the Colchians the duty of guarding the passes of Mount Caucasus, where a wall of sixty miles is now defended by the monthly service of the mus-pashets of Mingrelia.<sup>82</sup>

But this honourable connection was soon corrupted by the avarice and ambition of the Romans. Degraded from the rank of allies, the Latins were incessantly reminded, by words and actions, of

So in the time of Procopius, there were no Roman firms on the Phoen. Papyrus and Schizopodium were abandoned, the ruins of the Persians Goth. I. v. c. 17, but the latter was afterwards restored, by Isidore le Delf. I. v. c. 7.

[illegible]

82 *Journal of Modern History*, 1960, p. 171-177. Thompson, p. 144.  
Hobbes, *Man's Liberty*, p. 103. The last is authentic, but the date exact.

their dependent state. At the distance of a day's journey beyond the Apsarus, they beheld the rising fortress of Petra,<sup>55</sup> which commanded the maritime country to the south of the Phasis. Instead

A. D. 542-549.

of being protected by the valour, Colchos was insulted by the heinousness, of foreign mercenaries; the benefits of commerce were converted into base and vexatious monopoly and Gubazes, the native prince, was reduced to a pageant of royalty, by the superior influence of the officers of Justinian. Disappointed in their expectations of Christian virtue, the indignant Lazi reposed some confidence in the justice of an unbeliever. After a private assurance that their ambassadors should not be delivered to the Romans, they publicly solicited the friendship and aid of Chosroes. The sagacious monarch instantly discerned the use and importance of Colchos; and meditated a plan of conquest, which was renewed at the end of a thousand years by Shah Abbas, the wisest and most powerful of his successors.<sup>44</sup>

This ambition was fired by the hope of launching a Persian navy from the Phasis, of commanding the trade and navigation of the Euxine Sea, of desolating the coast of Pontus and Bithynia, of distressing, perhaps of attacking, Constantinople, and of persuading the barbarians of Europe to second his arms and counsels against the common enemy of mankind. Under the pretence of a Scythian war, he silently led his troops to the frontiers of Iberia; the Colchian guides were prepared to conduct them through the woods and along the precipices of Mount Caucasus; and a narrow path was laboriously formed into a safe and spacious highway, for the march of cavalry, and even of elephants. Gubazes laid his person and diadem at the feet of the king of Persia; his Colchians imitated the submission of their prince; and after the walls of Petra had been taken, the Roman garrison prevented, by a capitulation, the impending fury of the last assault. But the Lazi soon discovered, that their impatience had urged them to choose an evil more intolerable than the calamities which they strove to escape. The monopoly of salt and corn was effectually removed by the loss of those valuable commodities. The authority of a Roman legislator was succeeded by the pride of an Oriental despot, who beheld, with equal disdain, the slaves whom he had exalted, and the kings whom he had humbled before the foot-stool of his throne. The adoration of fire was introduced into Colchos by the zeal of the Magi: their intolerant spirit provoked the fervour of a Christian people; and the prejudice of nature or education was wounded by the impious practice of exposing the dead bodies of their parents, on the summit of a lofty tower, to the crows and vultures

to point'. In speaking of their Persian ancestry, the Lazs contemporary of Ju'ban employ the most obdurate words — *sz gashakshak* *mu, xaxax, xaxax* etc. And could they belong to a connection which had with it the word above twenty times.<sup>2</sup>

87. The sole volume of Petrus subscripts in the writings of *Priscipalium* and *Agabus*. Most of the towns and cities of *Petrus* may be found by consulting their names and position with the map of *Ministerio*, in *Libro*.

of the air.<sup>85</sup> Conscious of the increasing hatred, which retarded the execution of his great designs, the just Nushirvan had secretly given orders to assassinate the king of the Lazi, to transplant the people into some distant land, and to fix a faithful and warlike colony on the banks of the Phasis. The watchful jealousy of the Colchians foresaw and averted the approaching ruin. Their repentance was accepted at Constantinople by the prudence, rather than the clemency, of Justinian; and he commanded Dagistens, with seven thousand Romans, and one thousand of the Zani, to expel the Persians from the coast of the Euxine.

Siege of Petra. A.D. 549-551. The siege of Petra, which the Roman general, with the aid of the Lazi, immediately undertook, is one of the most remarkable actions of the age. The city was seated on a craggy rock, which hung over the sea, and communicated by a steep and narrow path with the land. Since the approach was difficult, the attack might be deemed impossible: the Persian conqueror had strengthened the fortifications of Justinian; and the places least inaccessible were covered by additional bulwarks. In this important fortress, the vigilance of Chosroes had deposited a magazine of offensive and defensive arms, sufficient for five times the number, not only of the garrison, but of the besiegers themselves. The stock of flour and salt provisions was adequate to the consumption of five years; the want of wine was supplied by vinegar, and of grain from whence a strong liquor was extracted; and a triple aqueduct eluded the diligence, and even the suspicions, of the enemy. But the firmest defence of Petra was placed in the valour of fifteen hundred Persians, who resisted the assaults of the Romans, whilst, in a softer vein of earth, a mine was secretly perforated. The wall, supported by slender and temporary props, hung tottering in the air; but Dagistens delayed the attack till he had secured a specific recompense; and the town was relieved before the return of his messenger from Constantinople. The Persian garrison was reduced to four hundred men, of whom no more than fifty were exempt from sickness or wounds; yet such had been their inflexible perseverance, that they concealed their losses from the enemy, by enduring, without a murmur, the sight and putrefying stench of the dead bodies of their eleven hundred companions. After their deliverance, the breaches were hastily stopped with sand-bags; the mine was replenished with earth; a new wall was erected on a frame of substantial timber; and a fresh garrison of three thousand men was stationed at Petra to sustain the labours of a second siege. The operations, both of the attack and defence, were conducted with skillful obstinacy; and each party derived useful lessons from the experience of their past faults. A battering-ram was invented, of light construction and powerful effect: it was transported and worked by the hands of forty soldiers; and as the stones were loosened by its repeated strokes,

they were torn with long iron hooks from the wall. From those walls a shower of darts was incessantly poured on the heads of the assailants; but they were most dangerously annoyed by a fiery composition of sulphur and bitumen, which in Colchos might with some propriety he named the oil of Medea. Of six thousand Romans who mounted the scaling-ladders, their general, Bessas, was the first, a gallant veteran of seventy years of age: the courage of their leader, his fall, and extreme danger, animated the irresistible effort of his troops; and their prevailing numbers oppressed the strength, without subduing the spirit, of the Persian garrison. The fate of these valiant men deserves to be more distinctly noticed. Seven hundred had perished in the siege, two thousand three hundred survived to defend the breach. One thousand and seventy were destroyed with fire and sword in the last assault; and if seven hundred and thirty were made prisoners, only eighteen among them were found without the marks of honourable wounds. The remaining five hundred escaped into the citadel, which they maintained without any hopes of relief, rejecting the fairest terms of capitulation and service, till they were lost in the flames. They died in obedience to the commands of their prince; and such examples of loyalty and valour might excite their countrymen to deeds of equal despair and more prosperous event. The instant demolition of the works of Petra confessed the astonishment and apprehension of the conqueror.

A Spartan would have praised and pitied the virtue of these heroic slaves; but the tedious warfare and alternate success of the Roman and Persian arms cannot detain the attention of posterity at the foot of Mount Caucasus. The advantages obtained by the troops of Justinian were more frequent and splendid; but the forces of the Great King were continually supplied, till they amounted to eight elephants and seventy thousand men, including twelve thousand Scythian allies, and above three thousand Dilemites, who descended by their free choice from the hills of Hyrcania, and were equally formidable in close or in distant combat. The siege of Archæopolis, a name imposed or corrupted by the Greeks, was raised with some loss and precipitation; but the Persians occupied the passes of Iberia: Colchos was enslaved by their forts and garrisons; they devoured the scanty sustenance of the people; and the prince of the Lazi fled into the mountains. In the Roman camp, faith and discipline were unknown; and the independent leaders, who were invested with equal power, disputed with each other the pre-eminence of vice and corruption. The Persians followed, without a murmur, the commands of a single chief, who implicitly obeyed the instructions of their supreme lord. Their general was distinguished among the heroes of the East, by his wisdom in council and his valour in the field. The advanced age of Mermeroes, and the lame-

The Colchian or Iuxu war. A.D. 549-556.

<sup>85</sup> See Herodotus (l. i. c. 149. p. 69.), who speaks with diffidence, Larcher (tom. i. p. 299-301). Notes on Herodotus, Procopius (Persic. l. i. c. 10. b. and Aethiops. l. ii. c. 61. b. c. d. e. f. g. h. i. j. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. s. t. u. v. w. x. y. z. The practice, agreeable to the Zendavesta (Hydr. de Reig. Pers. c. 54. p. 414-421.)

demonstrate that the burial of the Persian kings (Xenophon, Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 552. b. c. d. e. f. g. h. i. j. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. s. t. u. v. w. x. y. z.) is a false notion, and that their tombs could be no more than cenotaphs.

ness of both his feet, could not diminish the activity of his mind, or even of his body; and, whilst he was carried in a litter in the front of battle, he inspired terror to the enemy, and a just confidence to the troops, who, under his banners, were always successful. After his death, the command devolved to Nacoragan, a proud satrap, who, in a conference with the Imperial chiefs, had presumed to declare that he disposed of victory as absolutely as of the ring on his finger. Such presumption was the natural cause and forerunner of a shameful defeat. The Romans had been gradually repulsed to the edge of the sea-shore; and their last camp, on the ruins of the Grecian colony of Phasis, was defended on all sides by strong intrenchments, the river, the Euxine, and a fleet of galleys. Despair united their counsels and invigorated their aims: they withstood the assault of the Persians; and the flight of Nacoragan preceded or followed the slaughter of ten thousand of his bravest soldiers. He escaped from the Romans to fall into the hands of an unforgiving master, who severely chastised the error of his own choice: the unfortunate general was flayed alive, and his skin, stuffed into the human form, was exposed on a mountain; a dreadful warning to those who might hereafter be intrusted with the fame and fortune of Persia.<sup>86</sup> Yet the prudence of Chosroes insensibly relinquished the prosecution of the Colchian war, in the just persuasion, that it is impossible to reduce, or at least to hold, a distant country against the wishes and efforts of its inhabitants. The fidelity of Gubazes sustained the most rigorous trials. He patiently endured the hardships of a savage life, and rejected, with disdain, the specious temptations of the Persian court. The king of the Lazi had been educated in the Christian religion; his mother was the daughter of a senator; during his youth, he had served ten years a silentiary of the Byzantine palace,<sup>87</sup> and the arrears of an unpaid salary were a motive of attachment as well as of complaint. But the long continuance of his sufferings extorted from him a naked representation of the truth; and truth was an unpardonable libel on the lieutenants of Justinian, who, amidst the delays of a ruinous war, had spared his enemies and trampled on his allies. Their malicious information persuaded the emperor that his faithless vassal already meditated a second defection: an order was surprised to send him prisoner to Constantinople; a treacherous clause was inserted, that he might be lawfully killed in case of resistance; and Gubazes, without arms, or suspicion of danger, was stabbed in the security of a friendly interview. In the first moments of rage and despair, the Colchians would have sacrificed their country and religion to the gratification of revenge. But the authority and eloquence of the wiser few obtained a salutary pause, the victory of

the Phasis restored the terror of the Roman arms, and the emperor was solicitous to absolve his own name from the imputation of so foul a murder. A judge of senatorial rank was commissioned to enquire into the conduct and death of the king of the Lazi. He ascended a stately tribunal, encompassed by the ministers of justice and punishment. in the presence of both nations, this extraordinary cause was pleaded, according to the forms of civil jurisprudence, and some satisfaction was granted to an injured people, by the sentence and execution of the meaner criminals.<sup>88</sup>

In peace, the king of Persia continually sought the pretences of a rupture; but no-sooner had he taken up arms, than he expressed his desire of a safe and honourable treaty. During the fiercest hostilities, the two monarchs entertained a deceitful negotiation; and such was the superiority of Chosroes, that whilst he treated the Roman ministers with insolence and contempt, he obtained the most unprecedented honours for his own ambassadors at the Imperial court. The successor of Cyrus assumed the majesty of the Eastern sun, and graciously permitted his younger brother Justinian to reign over the West, with the pale and reflected splendour of the moon. This gigantic style was supported by the pomp and eloquence of Isdigne, one of the royal chamberlains. His wife and daughters, with a train of eunuchs and camels, attended the march of the ambassador; two satraps with golden diadems were numbered among his followers. he was guarded by five hundred horse, the most valiant of the Persians; and the Roman governor of Dara wisely refused to admit more than twenty of this martial and hostile caravan. When Isdigne had saluted the emperor, and delivered his presents, he passed ten months at Constantinople without discussing any serious affairs. Instead of being confined to his palace, and receiving food and water from the hands of his keepers, the Persian ambassador, without spies or guards, was allowed to visit the capital; and the freedom of conversation and trade enjoyed by his domestics, offended the prejudices of an age which rigorously practised the law of nations, without confidence or courtesy.<sup>89</sup> By an unexampled indulgence, his interpreter, a servant below the notice of a Roman magistrate, was seated, at the table of Justinian, by the side of his master; and one thousand pounds of gold might be assigned for the expense of his journey and entertainment. Yet the repeated labours of Isdigne could procure only a partial and imperfect truce, which was always purchased with the treasures, and renewed at the solicitation, of the Byzantine court. Many years of fruitless desolation elapsed before Justinian and Chosroes were compelled, by mutual lassitude, to consult the repose of

<sup>86</sup> The punishment of flying alive could not be introduced into Persia by Napir-Atimand, the Hellenic king, p. 78. Nor could it be copied from the Jewish tale of Manasse the Ethiopian king, most foolishly quoted as a precedent by Agathangelos at p. 192, 177 f.

<sup>87</sup> In the palace of Constantine at Rome were three staircases, who are styled basiliati in Greek, although they were *not* *basilici*, all honorable men, who had converted to Christianity and were distinguished by the name of God. Theodosius l. vi. tit. 25. Gothofred. Commentum. tom. i. p. 122 f.

85 On these initial citations, Agathis II, pp. 81–82, l. v, p. 108–110. The text has eighteen or twenty pages of text, and the diacriticals. The argument of the text is less useful, as the strongest argument against the king of Lemna has been already.

The king of Egypt has been revolted.  
The pope writes to the practice of the father to the Ravenna  
forth... and through his hands he has been treated with  
the same... and again in Turkey (Bustop... E... 139,  
212, &c.; Bessy... of... and... Narrative of M. de  
Lange, in *Belle France*, vol. 6, p. 189-714).



the Nile, embarked on the Red Sea, and safely landed at the African port of Adulis. From Adulis to the royal city of Axume is no more than fifty leagues, in a direct line; but the winding passes of the mountains detained the ambassador fifteen days; and as he traversed the forests, he saw, and vaguely computed, about five thousand wild elephants. The capital, according to his report, was large and populous; and the village of Axume is still conspicuous by the regal coronations, by the ruins of a Christian temple, and by sixteen or seventeen obelisks inscribed with Grecian characters.<sup>90</sup> But the Negrus gave audience in the open field, seated on a lofty chariot, which was drawn by four elephants superbly caparisoned, and surrounded by his nobles and musicians. He was clad in a linen garment and cap, holding in his hand two javelins and a light shield; and, although his nakedness was imperfectly covered, he displayed the barbaric pomp of gold chains, collars, and bracelets, richly adorned with pearls and precious stones. The ambassador of Justinian knelt; the Negrus raised him from the ground, embraced Nonnosus, kissed the seal, perused the letter, accepted the Roman alliance, and, brandishing his weapons, denounced implacable war against the worshippers of fire. But the proposal of the silk trade was eluded; and notwithstanding the assurances, and perhaps the wishes, of the Abyssinians, these hostile menaces evaporated without effect. The Homerites were unwilling to abandon their aromatic groves, to explore a sandy desert, and to encounter, after all their fatigues, a formidable nation from whom they had never received any personal injuries. In stead of enlarging his conquests, the king of Ethiopia was the capable of defending his possessions. At which the slave of a Roman merchant of Alexandria seized the sceptre of the Homerites; the troops of Africa were seduced by the flattery of the eunuchs; and Justinian solicited the friendship of the usurper, who honoured, with a slight tribute, the supremacy of his prince. After a long series of prosperity, the power of Ababaha was overthrown before the gates of Mecca; his children were despoiled by the Persian conqueror; and the Ethiopians were finally expelled from the continent of Asia. This narrative of obscure and remote events is not foreign to the decline and fall of the Roman empire. If a Christian power had been maintained in Arabia, Mahomet must have been crushed in his cradle, and Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution which has changed the civil and religious state of the world.<sup>91</sup>

## CHAP. XLIII.

*Rebellion of Africa. — Restoration of the Gothic Kingdom by Totila. — Loss and Recovery of Rome. — Last Conquest of Italy by Narsetes. — Extinction of the Ostrogoths. — Defeat of the Franks and Alimanni. — Last Victory, Disgrace, and Death of Belisarius. — Death and Character of Justinian. — Comet, Earthquakes, and Plagues.*

THE review of the nations from the Danube to the Nile has exposed, on every side, the weakness of the Romans; and our wonder is reasonably excited that they should presume to enlarge an empire, whose ancient limits they were incapable of defending. But the wars, the conquests, and the triumphs of Justinian, are the feeble and pernicious efforts of old age, which exhaust the remains of strength, and accelerate the decay of the powers of life. He exulted in the glorious act of restoring Africa and Italy to the republic; but the calamities which followed the departure of Belisarius betrayed the impotence of the conqueror, and accomplished the ruin of those unfortunate countries.

From his new acquisitions, Justinian expected that his avarice, as well as pride, should be richly gratified. A rapacious minister of the finances closely pursued the footsteps of Belisarius; and as the old registers of tribute had been burnt by the Vandals, he indulged his fancy in a liberal estimation, and arbitrary assessment of the wealth of Africa.<sup>92</sup> The increase of taxes, which were drawn away by a variety of venal and general remission of the public or private lands, soon expelled the innovation of the policy; but the emperor was insensible to the modest complaints of the people, till he was awakened and alarmed by the clamours of military discontent. Many of the Roman soldiers had married the widows and daughters of the Vandals. As their own, by the double right of conquest and inheritance, they claimed the estates which Genseric had assigned to his victorious troops. They heard with disdain the cold and selfish representations of their officers, that the liberality of Justinian had raised them from a savage or servile condition; that they were already enriched by the spoils of Africa, the treasure, the slaves, and the moveables, of the vanquished barbarians; and that the ancient and lawful patrimony of the emperors would be applied only to the support of that government on which their own safety and reward must ultimately depend. The mutiny was secretly inflamed by a thousand soldiers, for the most part Heruli, who had imbibed the doctrines, and were instigated by the clergy, of

The troubles of Africa, A. D. 535-545.

<sup>90</sup> Alexaz in Bosphorus, tom. i. l. 1. l. 1. vers. 24. vers. 25. says, that the flourishing state of Axume in the reign of the emperor Justinian was such, that it was equal to the most powerful of the Turk empire, and that it was more than a hundred leagues from the sea, and that it was not far from the Nile. This is a very great exaggeration, and is not supported by any other authority.

<sup>91</sup> The revolutions of Yemen in the sixth century, and the history of the Persians, are not foreign to the decline and fall of the Roman empire. Justinian's policy, and the character of the emperor, are not foreign to the decline and fall of the Roman empire. Justinian's policy, and the character of the emperor, are not foreign to the decline and fall of the Roman empire.

The revolt of the Heruli is mentioned by Procopius, and his fact, that the emperor Justinian, in the year 541, sent a large army to the East, to the assistance of the emperor Justinian, and that the emperor Justinian, in the year 541, sent a large army to the East, to the assistance of the emperor Justinian, and that the emperor Justinian, in the year 541, sent a large army to the East, to the assistance of the emperor Justinian.

the Arian sect; and the cause of perjury and rebellion was sanctified by the dispensing powers of fanaticism. The Arians deplored the ruin of their church, triumphant above a century in Africa; and they were justly provoked by the laws of the conqueror, which interdicted the baptism of their children, and the exercise of all religious worship. Of the Vandals chosen by Belisarius, the far greater part, in the honours of the Eastern service, forgot their country and religion. But a generous band of four hundred obliged the mariners, when they were in sight of the isle of Lesbos, to alter their course: they touched on Peloponnesus, ran ashore on a desert coast of Africa, and boldly erected, on Mount Aurasius, the standard of independence and revolt. While the troops of the province disclaimed the commands of their superiors, a conspiracy was formed at Carthage against the life of Solomon, who filled with honour the place of Belisarius; and the Arians had piously resolved to sacrifice the tyrant at the foot of the altar, during the awful mysteries of the festival of Easter. Fear or remorse restrained the daggers of the assassins, but the patience of Solomon emboldened their discontent; and at the end of ten days, a furious sedition was kindled in the Circus, which desolated Africa above ten years. The pillage of the city, and the indiscriminate slaughter of its inhabitants, were suspended only by darkness, sleep, and intoxication: the governor, with seven companions, among whom was the historian Procopius, escaped to Sicily. Two thirds of the army were involved in the guilt of treason; and eight thousand insurgents, assembling in the field of Bulla, elected Stozza for their chief, a private soldier, who possessed in a superior degree the virtues of a rebel. Under the mask of freedom, his eloquence could lead, or at least impel, the passions of his equals. He raised himself to a level with Belisarius and the nephew of the emperor, by daring to encounter them in the field; and the victorious generals were compelled to acknowledge, that Stozza deserved a purer cause, and a more legitimate command. Vanquished in battle, he dexterously employed the arts of negotiation; a Roman army was seduced from their allegiance, and the chiefs who had trusted to his faithless promise were murdered by his order in a church of Numidia. When every resource, either of force or perfidy, was exhausted, Stozza, with some desperate Vandals, retired to the wilds of Mauritania, obtained the daughter of a barbarian prince, and eluded the pursuit of his enemies, by the report of his death. The personal weight of Belisarius, the rank, the spirit, and the temper, of Germanus, the emperor's nephew, and the vigour and success of the second administration of the eunuch Solomon, restored the modesty of the camp, and maintained for a while the tranquillity of Africa. But the vices of the Byzantine court were felt in that distant province; the troops complained that they were neither paid nor relieved, and as

soon as the public disorders were sufficiently mature, Stozza was again alive, in arms, and at the gates of Carthage. He fell in a single combat, but he smiled in the agonies of death, when he was informed that his own javelin had reached the heart of his antagonist. The example of Stozza, and the assurance that a fortunate soldier had been the first king, encouraged the ambition of Gontharis, and he promised, by a private treaty, to divide Africa with the Moors, if, with their dangerous aid, he should ascend the throne of Carthage. The feeble Areobindus, unskilled in the affairs of peace and war, was raised, by his marriage with the niece of Justinian, to the office of exarch. He was suddenly oppressed by a sedition of the guards, and his abject supplications, which provoked the contempt, could not move the pity, of the inexorable tyrant. After a reign of thirty days, Gontharis himself was stabbed at a banquet by the hand of Artaban; and it is singular enough, that an Armenian prince, of the royal family of Arsaces, should re-establish at Carthage the authority of the Roman empire. In the conspiracy which unsheathed the dagger of Brutus against the life of Cæsar, every circumstance is curious and important to the eyes of posterity; but the guilt or merit of these loyal or rebellious assassins could interest only the contemporaries of Procopius, who, by their hopes and fears, their friendship or resentment, were personally engaged in the revolutions of Africa.<sup>2</sup>

That country was rapidly sinking into the state of barbarism, from whence it had been raised by the Phœnician colonies and Roman laws; and every step of intestine discord was marked by some deplorable victory of savage man over civilised society. The Moors,<sup>3</sup> though ignorant of justice, were impatient of oppression: their vagrant life and boundless wilderness disappointed the arms, and eluded the chains, of a conqueror; and experience had shown, that neither oaths nor obligations could secure the fidelity of their attachment. The victory of Mount Auras had awed them into momentary submission; but if they respected the character of Solomon, they hated and despised the pride and luxury of his two nephews, Cyrus and Sergius, on whom their uncle had imprudently bestowed the provincial governments of Tripoli and Pentapolis. A Moorish tribe encamped under the walls of Leptis, to renew their alliance, and receive from the governor the customary gifts. Fourscore of their deputies were introduced as friends into the city; but, on the dark suspicion of a conspiracy, they were massacred at the table of Sergius; and the clamour of arms and revenge was re-echoed through the valleys of Mount Atlas, from both the Syrtes to the Atlantic Ocean. A personal injury, the unjust execution or murder of his brother, rendered Antadas the enemy of the Romans. The defeat of the Vandals had formerly signalled his valour; the rudiments of

<sup>2</sup> Yet I must not refuse him the merit of printing, in lively colours, the murder of Gontharis. One of the assassins uttered a sentiment not unworthy of a Roman patriot: "If I fail," said Artaban, "in the first stroke, kill me on the spot, lest the rack should extort a discovery of my accomplices."

<sup>3</sup> The Moorish wars are occasionally introduced into the narrative of Procopius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 19-23, 25, 27, 28, Gothic. l. iv. c. 17, 18). The particulars add some prosperous and adverse events in the last years of Justinian.

justice and prudence were still more conspicuous in a Moor; and while he laid Adrumetum in ashes, he calmly admonished the emperor that the peace of Africa might be secured by the recall of Solomon and his unworthy nephews. The exarch led forth his troops from Carthage: but, at the distance of six days' journey, in the neighbourhood of Tebeste,<sup>4</sup> he was astonished by the superior numbers and fierce aspect of the barbarians. He proposed a treaty; solicited a reconciliation; and offered to bind himself by the most solemn oaths. "By what oaths can he bind himself?" interrupted the indignant Moors. "Will he swear by the Gospels, the divine books of the Christians? It was on those books that the faith of his nephew Sergius was pledged to eighty of our innocent and unfortunate brethren. Before we trust them a second time, let us try their efficacy in the chastisement of perjury and the vindication of their own honour." Their honour was vindicated in the field of Tebeste, by the death of Solomon, and the total loss of his army. The arrival of fresh troops and more skillful commanders soon checked the insolence of the Moors; seventeen of their princes were slain in the same battle; and the doubtful and transient submission of their tribes was celebrated with lavish applause by the people of Constantinople. Successive inroads had reduced the province of Africa to one third of the measure of Italy; yet the Roman emperors continued to reign above a century over Carthage, and the fruitful coast of the Mediterranean. But the victories and the losses of Justinian were alike pernicious to mankind; and such was the desolation of Africa, that in many parts a stranger might wander whole days without meeting the face either of a friend or an enemy. The nation of the Vandals had disappeared; they once amounted to an hundred and sixty thousand warriors, without including the children, the women, or the slaves. Their numbers were infinitely surpassed by the number of the Moorish families extirpated in a relentless war; and the same destruction was retaliated on the Romans and their allies, who perished by the climate, their mutual quarrels, and the rage of the barbarians. When Procopius first landed, he admired the populousness of the cities and country, strenuously exercised in the labours of commerce and agriculture. In less than twenty years, that busy scene was converted into a silent solitude; the wealthy citizens escaped to Sicily and Constantinople; and the secret historian has confidently affirmed, that five millions of Africans were consumed by the wars and government of the emperor Justinian.<sup>5</sup>

The jealousy of the Byzantine court had not permitted Belisarius to achieve the conquest of Italy and his abrupt departure revived the courage of the Goths,<sup>6</sup> who respected his genius, his virtue, and even the laudable motive which had urged the ser-

vant of Justinian to deceive and reject them. They had lost their king (an inconsiderable loss), their capital, their treasures, the provinces, from Sicily to the Alps, and the military force of two hundred thousand barbarians, magnificently equipped with horses and arms. Yet all was not lost, as long as Pavia was defended by one thousand Goths, inspired by a sense of honour, the love of freedom, and the memory of their past greatness. The supreme command was unanimously offered to the brave Uraias; and it was in his eyes alone that the disgrace of his uncle Vitiges could appear as a reason of exclusion. His voice inclined the election in favour of Hildibald, whose personal merit was recommended by the vain hope that his kinsman Theudes, the Spanish monarch, would support the common interest of the Gothic nation. The success of his arms in Liguria and Venetia seemed to justify their choice; but he soon declared to the world, that he was incapable of forgiving or commanding his benefactor. The consort of Hildibald was deeply wounded by the beauty, the riches, and the pride of the wife of Uraias; and the death of that virtuous patriot excited the indignation of a free people. A bold assassin executed their sentence by striking off the head of Hildibald in the midst of a banquet: the Rugians, a foreign tribe, assumed the privilege of election; and Totila, the nephew of the late king, was tempted, by revenge, to deliver himself and the garrison of Treviso into the hands of the Romans. But the gallant and accomplished youth was easily persuaded to prefer the Gothic throne before the service of Justinian; and as soon as the palace of Pavia had been purified from the Rugian usurper, he reviewed the national force of five thousand soldiers, and generously undertook the restoration of the kingdom of Italy.

The successors of Belisarius, eleven generals of equal rank, neglected to crush the feeble and disunited Goths, till they were roused to action by the progress of Totila and the reproaches of Justinian. The gates of Verona were secretly opened to Artabazus, at the head of one hundred Persians in the service of the empire. The Goths fled from the city. At the distance of sixty furlongs the Roman generals halted to regulate the division of the spoil. While they disputed, the enemy discovered the real number of the victors; the Persians were instantly overpowered, and it was by leaping from the wall that Artabazus preserved a life which he lost in a few days by the lance of a barbarian, who had defied him to single combat. Twenty thousand Romans encountered the forces of Totila, near Faenza, and on the hills of Mingello, of the Florentine territory. The ardour of freedmen, who fought to regain their country, was opposed to the languid temper of mercenary troops, who were even destitute of the merits of strong and

4 Now Tibesh, in the kingdom of Algiers. It is watered by a river, the Supettes, which falls into the *Meyda* (Buz, *deh*). Tibesh is still remarkable for its walls of large stones like the *temple* of Bon di, a city situated, as it is said, is from an inscription, a Carthage to l'elocite inscription de l'Afrique, 506-51.

3 Prologue, *Arctot* c. 18. The series of the African history attests this meaning both from

continues the history of the city and the life of its people for the year of its air. As the evening approaches, the author, in the former period, he goes on to tell the story of the city's development in the first half of the 19th century, and the city's life in the latter half. The book is a very interesting and useful one, and has been used.





responsible for the crimes which they neglect to punish.

Second command of Belisarius in Italy, A. D. 541—548.

The return of Belisarius to save the country which he had subdued was pressed with equal vehemence by his friends and enemies; and the Gothic war was imposed as a trust or an exile on the veteran commander. An hero on the banks of the Euphrates, a slave in the palace of Constantinople, he accepted, with reluctance, the painful task of supporting his own reputation, and retrieving the faults of his successors. The sea was open to the Romans: the ships and soldiers were assembled at Sidonia, near the palace of Diocletian: he refreshed and reviewed his troops at Pola in Istria, coasted round the head of the Adriatic, entered the port of Ravenna, and despatched orders rather than supplies to the subordinate cities. His first public oration was addressed to the Goths and Romans, in the name of the emperor, who had suspended for a while the conquest of Persia, and listened to the prayers of his Italian subjects. He gently touched on the causes and the authors of the recent disasters; striving to remove the fear of punishment for the past, and the hope of impunity for the future, and labouring, with more zeal than success, to unite all the members of his government in a firm league of affection and obedience. Justinian, his gracious master, was inclined to pardon and reward; and it was their interest, as well as duty, to reclaim their deluded brethren, who had been seduced by the arts of the usurper. Not a man was tempted to desert the standard of the Gothic king. Belisarius soon discovered, that he was sent to remain the idle and impotent spectator of the glory of a young barbarian; and his own epistle exhibits a genuine and lively picture of the distress of a noble mind. "Most excellent prince, we are arrived in Italy, destitute of all the necessary implements of war, men, horses, arms, and money. In our late circuit through the villages of Thrace and Blykonia, we have collected, with extreme difficulty, about four thousand recruits, naked, and unskilled in the use of weapons and the exercises of the camp. The soldiers already stationed in the province are discontented, fearful, and dismayed; at the sound of an enemy, they dismiss their horses, and cast their arms on the ground. No taxes can be raised, since Italy is in the hands of the barbarians, the failure of payment has deprived us of the right of command, or even of admonition. Be assured, dread Sir, that the greater part of your troops have already deserted to the Goths. If the war could be achieved by the presence of Belisarius alone, your wishes are satisfied; Belisarius is in the midst of Italy. But if you desire to conquer, far other preparations are requisite: without a military force, the title of general is an empty name. It would be expedient to restore to my service my own veterans and domestic guards. Before I can take the field, I must receive an adequate supply of light and heavy armed troops; and it

"is only with ready money that you can procure the indispensable aid of a powerful body of the cavalry of the Huns."<sup>11</sup> An officer in whom Belisarius confided was sent from Ravenna to hasten and conduct the succours; but the message was neglected, and the messenger was detained at Constantinople by an advantageous marriage. After his patience had been exhausted by delay and disappointment, the Roman general repassed the Adriatic, and expected at Dyrrachium the arrival of the troops, which were slowly assembled among the subjects and allies of the empire. His powers were still inadequate to the deliverance of Rome, which was closely besieged by the Gothic king. The Appian way, a march of forty days, was covered by the barbarians; and as the prudence of Belisarius declined a battle, he preferred the safe and speedy navigation of five days from the coast of Epirus to the mouth of the Tiber.

After reducing, by force or treaty, the towns of inferior note in the midland provinces of Italy, Totila <sup>Rome besieged by the Goths, A. D. 546, May.</sup> proceeded, not to assault, but to encompass and starve, the ancient capital. Rome was afflicted by the advice, and guarded by the valour, of Bessas, a veteran chief of Gothic extraction, who filled, with a garrison of three thousand soldiers, the spacious circle of her venerable walls. From the distress of the people he extracted a profitable trade, and secretly rejoiced in the continuance of the siege. It was for his use that the granaries had been replenished: the charity of pope Vigilius had purchased and embarked an ample supply of Sicilian corn; but the vessels which escaped the barbarians were seized by a rapacious governor, who imparted a scanty subsistence to the soldiers, and sold the remainder to the wealthy Romans. The medians, or fifth part of the quarter of wheat, was exchanged for seven pieces of gold; fifty pieces were given for an ox, rare and accidental prize; the progress of famine enhanced this exorbitant value, and the mercenaries were tempted to deprive themselves of the allowance which was scarcely sufficient for the support of life. A tasteless and unwholesome mixture, in which the bran thrice exceeded the quantity of flour, appeased the hunger of the poor; they were gradually reduced to feed on dead horses, dogs, cats, and mice, and eagerly to snatch the grass, and even the nettles which grew among the ruins of the city. A crowd of spectres, pale and emaciated, their bodies oppressed with disease, and their minds with despair, surrounded the palace of the governor, urged, with unavailing truth, that it was the duty of a master to maintain his slaves, and humbly requested, that he would provide for their subsistence, permit their flight, or command their immediate execution. Bessas replied, with unfeeling tranquillity, that it was impossible to feed, unsafe to dismiss, and unlawful to kill, the subjects of the emperor. Yet the example of a private citizen might have shown his countrymen that a tyrant cannot withhold the privilege of death. Pierced by the cries of five children, who vainly called on their father

<sup>11</sup> Procopius, l. ii. c. 19. The soul of an hero is deep & moves; I in the letter, nor can we confound such genuine and original acts

of a noble and open spirit, and of the literature has-

for bread, he ordered them to follow his steps, advanced with calm and silent despair to one of the bridges of the Tyber, and, covering his face, threw himself headlong into the stream, in the presence of his family and the Roman people. To the rich and pusillanimous, Bessas<sup>12</sup> sold the permission of departure; but the greatest part of the fugitives expired on the public highways, or were intercepted by the flying parties of barbarians. In the mean while, the artful governor soothed the discontent, and revived the hopes, of the Romans, by the vague reports of the fleets and armies which were hastening to their relief from the extremities of the East. They derived more rational comfort from the assurance that Belisarius had landed at the port; and, without numbering his forces, they firmly relied on the humanity, the courage, and the skill of their great deliverer.

The foresight of Totila had raised obstacles worthy of such an antagonist. Ninety furlongs below the city, in the narrowest part of the river, he joined the two banks by strong and solid timbers in the form of a bridge; on which he erected two lofty towers, manned by the bravest of his Goths, and profusely stored with missile weapons and engines of offence. The approach of the bridge and towers was covered by a strong and massy chain of iron; and the chain, at either end, on the opposite sides of the Tyber, was defended by a numerous and chosen detachment of archers. But the enterprise of forcing these barriers, and relieving the capital, displays a shining example of the boldness and conduct of Belisarius. His cavalry advanced from the port along the public road, to awe the motions, and distract the attention, of the enemy. His infantry and provisions were distributed in two hundred large boats: and each boat was shielded by an high rampart of thick planks, pierced with many small holes for the discharge of missile weapons. In the front, two large vessels were linked together to sustain a floating castle, which commanded the towers of the bridge, and contained a magazine of fire, sulphur, and bitumen. The whole fleet, which the general led in person, was laboriously moved against the current of the river. The chain yielded to their weight, and the enemies who guarded the banks were either slain or scattered. As soon as they touched the principal barrier, the fire-ship was instantly grappled to the bridge; one of the towers, with two hundred Goths, was consumed by the flames; the assailants shouted victory; and Rome was saved, if the wisdom of Belisarius had not been defeated by the misconduct of his officers. He had previously sent orders to Bessas to second his operations by a timely sally from the town; and he had fixed his lieutenant, Isaac, by a peremptory command, to the station of the port. But avarice rendered Bessas immovable; while the youthful ardour of Isaac delivered him into the hands of

a superior enemy. The exaggerated rumour of his defeat was hastily carried to the ears of Belisarius: he paused; betrayed in that single moment of his life some emotions of surprise and perplexity; and reluctantly sounded a retreat to save his wife Antonina, his treasures, and the only harbour which he possessed on the Tuscan coast. The vexation of his mind produced an ardent and almost mortal fever; and Rome was left without protection to the mercy or indignation of Totila. The continuance of hostilities had embittered the national hatred; the Arian clergy was ignominiously driven from Rome; Pelagius, the archdeacon, returned without success from an embassy to the Gothic camp; and a Sicilian bishop, the envoy or nuncio of the pope, was deprived of both his hands, for daring to utter falsehoods in the service of the church and state.

Famine had relaxed the strength and discipline of the garrison of Rome. They could derive no effectual service from a dying people; and the inhuman avarice of the merchant at length absorbed the vigilance of the governor. Four Isaurian centinels, while their companions slept, and their officers were absent, descended by a rope from the wall, and secretly proposed to the Gothic king to introduce his troops into the city. The offer was entertained with coldness and suspicion; they returned in safety; they twice repeated their visit; the place was twice examined; the conspiracy was known and disregarded; and no sooner had Totila consented to the attempt, than they unbarred the Asinarian gate, and gave admittance to the Goths. Till the dawn of day they halted in order of battle, apprehensive of treachery or ambush; but the troops of Bessas, with their leader, had already escaped; and when the king was pressed to disturb their retreat, he prudently replied, that no sight could be more grateful than that of a flying enemy. The patricians, who were still possessed of horses, Decius, Basilus, &c. accompanied the governor; their brethren, among whom Olybrius, Orestes, and Maximus, are named by the historian, took refuge in the church of St. Peter; but the assertion, that only five hundred persons remained in the capital, inspires some doubt of the fidelity either of his narrative or of his text. As soon as daylight had displayed the entire victory of the Goths, their monarch devoutly visited the tomb of the prince of the apostles; but while he prayed at the altar, twenty-five soldiers, and sixty citizens, were put to the sword in the vestibule of the temple. The archdeacon Pelagius<sup>13</sup> stood before him with the Gospels in his hand. "O Lord, be merciful to your servant." "Pelagius," said Totila with an insulting smile, "your pride now condescends to become a suppliant." "I am a suppliant," replied the prudent archdeacon; "God has now made us your subjects, and, as your subjects,

<sup>12</sup> The avarice of Bessas is not dissimbled by Procopius (l. iii. c. 17, 20). He expiated the loss of Rome by the glorious conquest of Persia (Goth. l. vi. c. 12.), but the same vices followed him from the Tyber to the Phasis (c. 15.), and the historian is equally true to the merits and defects of his character. The enthusiasm which the author of the romance of *Belisarius* has inflicted on the oppressor of Rome is more agreeable to justice than to history.

<sup>13</sup> During the long exile, and after the death of Vigilius, the Roman church was governed, at first by the archdeacon, and at length (A. D. 555) by the pope Pelagius, who was not thought guilty of the sufferings of his predecessor. See the original lives of the popes under the name of Anastasius (Vigilius), script. Her. Ital. num. cont. at p. 130, 131), who relates several curious incidents of the sieges of Rome and the wars of Italy.

"we are entitled to your clemency." At his humble prayer, the lives of the Romans were spared; and the chastity of the maids and matrons was preserved inviolate from the passions of the hungry soldiers. But they were rewarded by the freedom of pillage, after the most precious spoils had been reserved for the royal treasury. The houses of the senators were plentifully stored with gold and silver; and the avarice of Bessas had laboured with so much guilt and shame for the benefit of the conqueror. In this revolution, the sons and daughters of Roman consuls tasted the misery which they had spurned or relieved, wandered in tattered garments through the streets of the city, and begged their bread, perhaps without success, before the gates of their hereditary mansions. The riches of Rusticiana, the daughter of Symmachus and widow of Boethius, had been generously devoted to alleviate the calamities of famine. But the barbarians were exasperated by the report, that she had prompted the people to overthrow the statues of the great Theodoric: and the life of that venerable matron would have been sacrificed to his memory, if Totila had not respected her birth, her virtues, and even the pious motive of her revenge. The next day he pronounced two orations, to congratulate and admonish his victorious Goths, and to reproach the senate, as the vilest of slaves, with their perjury, folly, and ingratitude: sternly declaring, that their estates and honours were justly forfeited to the companions of his arms. Yet he consented to forgive their revolt; and the senators repaid his clemency by despatching circular letters to their tenants and vassals in the provinces of Italy, strictly enjoining them to desert the standard of the Greeks, to cultivate their lands in peace, and to learn from their masters the duty of obedience to a Gothic sovereign. Against the city which had so long delayed the course of his victories he appeared inexorable: one third of the walls, in different parts, were demolished by his command; fire and engines prepared to consume or subvert the most stately works of antiquity; and the world was astonished by the fatal decree, that Rome should be changed into a pasture for cattle. The firm and temperate remonstrance of Belisarius suspended the execution; he warned the barbarian not to sully his fame by the destruction of those monuments which were the glory of the dead, and the delight of the living. and Totila was persuaded, by the advice of an enemy, to preserve Rome as the ornament of his kingdom, or the fairest pledge of peace and reconciliation. When he had signified to the ambassadors of Belisarius, his intention of sparing the city, he stationed an army at the distance of one hundred and twenty furlongs, to observe the motions of the Roman general. With the remainder of his forces, he

marched into Lucania and Apulia, and occupied on the summit of Mount Garganus<sup>14</sup> one of the camps of Hannibal. The senators were dragged in his train, and afterwards confined in the fortresses of Campania: the citizens, with their wives and children, were dispersed in exile; and during forty days Rome was abandoned to desolate and dreary solitude.<sup>15</sup>

The loss of Rome was speedily retrieved by an action, to which, according to the event, the public opinion would apply the names of rashness or heroism. After the departure of Totila, the Roman general sallied from the port at the head of a thousand horse, cut in pieces the enemy who opposed his progress, and visited with pity and reverence the vacant space of the *eternal* city. Resolved to maintain a station so conspicuous in the eyes of mankind, he summoned the greatest part of his troops to the standard which he erected on the Capitol: the old inhabitants were recalled by the love of their country and the hopes of food; and the keys of Rome were sent a second time to the emperor Justinian. The walls, as far as they had been demolished by the Goths, were repaired with rude and dissimilar materials; the ditch was restored; iron spikes<sup>17</sup> were profusely scattered in the highways to annoy the feet of the horses; and as new gates could not suddenly be procured, the entrance was guarded by a Spartan rampart of his bravest soldiers. At the expiration of twenty-five days, Totila returned by hasty marches from Apulia, to avenge the injury and disgrace. Belisarius expected his approach. The Goths were thrice repulsed in three general assaults; they lost the flower of their troops; the royal standard had almost fallen into the hands of the enemy, and the fame of Totila sunk, as it had risen, with the fortune of his arms. Whatever skill and courage could achieve, had been performed by the Roman general: it remained only, that Justinian should terminate, by a strong and seasonable effort, the war which he had ambitiously undertaken. The indolence, perhaps the impotence, of a prince who despised his enemies, and envied his servants, protracted the calamities of Italy. After a long silence, Belisarius was commanded to leave a sufficient garrison at Rome, and to transport himself into the province of Lucania, whose inhabitants, inflamed by Catholic zeal, had cast away the yoke of their Arian conquerors. In this ignoble warfare, the hero, invincible against the power of the barbarians, was basely vanquished by the delay, the disobedience, and the cowardice of his own officers. He reposed in his winter-quarters of Crotona, in the full assurance, that the two passes of the Lucanian hills were guarded by his cavalry. They were betrayed by treachery or weakness; and the rapid march of the Goths

Recovered by  
Belisarius.  
A. D. 547,  
February.

labouring and bellowing with the north wind that blew on that lofty coast (Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.10).

I cannot ascertain this particular camp of Hannibal, but the Punic quarters were long and often in the neighbourhood of Arpi (T. Liv. **xxii** 9 12. **xxiv**. 3. &c.).

16 Tōula . . . Romam ingreditur --- ac evertit muros, domos

aliquantas igni comburens, ac omnes Romanorum res in praedum  
accepit, hos ipsos Romanos in Campaniam captivos abduxit. Post  
quam devastationem, et aut amplius dies, Roma fuit ita desolata,  
ut " " bestiae morarentur (Marcellin.).

with four spikes, one fixed in the reverse (Procopius, *loc. cit.* p. 54). The metaphor was borrowed from the tribuli (*trial-caltrop*), an herb with a prickly fruit, common in Italy (Martini, ad Virgil, *Georgic.* 1: 135, vol. III, p. 55.)

scarcely allowed time for the escape of Belisarius to the coast of Sicily. At length a fleet and army were assembled for the relief of Ruscianum, or Rossano,<sup>18</sup> a fortress sixty furlongs from the ruins of Sybaris, where the nobles of Lucania had taken refuge. In the first attempt, the Roman forces were dissipated by a storm. In the second they approached the shore; but they saw the hills covered with archers, the landing-place defended by a line of spears, and the king of the Goths impatient for battle. The conqueror of Italy retired with a sigh, and continued to languish, inglorious and inactive, till Antonina, who had been sent to Constantinople to solicit succours, obtained, after the death of the empress, the permission of his return.

The five last campaigns of Belisarius might abate the envy of his competitors, whose eyes had been dazzled and wounded by the blaze of his former glory. Instead of delivering Italy from the Goths, he had wandered like a fugitive along the coast, without daring to march into the country, or to accept the bold and repeated challenge of Totila. Yet in the judgment of the few who could discriminate counsel from events, and compare the instruments with the execution, he appeared a more consummate master of the art of war, than in the season of his prosperity, when he presented two captive kings before the throne of Justinian. The valour of Belisarius was not chilled by age; his prudence was nurtured by experience, but the moral virtues of humanity and justice seem to have yielded to the hard necessity of the times. The parsimony or poverty of the emperor compelled him to deviate from the rule of conduct which had deserved the love and confidence of the Italians. The war was maintained by the oppression of Ravenna, Sicily, and all the faithful subjects of the empire; and the rigorous prosecution of Herodian provoked that injured or guilty officer to deliver Spolito into the hands of the enemy. The avarice of Antonina, which had been sometimes diverted by love, now reigned without a rival in her breast. Belisarius himself had always understood, that riches, in a corrupt age, are the support and ornament of personal merit. And it cannot be presumed that he should stain his honour for the public service, without applying a part of the spoil to his private emolument. The hero had escaped the sword of the barbarians, but the dagger of conspiracy<sup>19</sup> awaited his return. In the midst of wealth and honours, Artaban, who had chastised the African tyrant, complained of the ingratitude of courts. He aspired to Præjecta, the emperor's niece, who wished to reward her deliverer; but the impediment of his previous marriage was asserted by the piety of Theodora. The pride of royal de-

scend was irritated by flattery; and the service in which he gloried, had proved him capable of bold and sanguinary deeds. The death of Justinian was resolved, but the conspirators delayed the execution till they could surprise Belisarius disarmed, and naked, in the palace of Constantinople. Not a hope could be entertained of shaking his long-tryed fidelity; and they justly dreaded the revenge, or rather justice, of the veteran general, who might speedily assemble an army in Thrace to punish the assassins, and perhaps to enjoy the fruits of their crime. Delay afforded time for rash communications and honest confessions: Artaban and his accomplices were condemned by the senate, but the extreme clemency of Justinian detained them in the gentle confinement of the palace, till he pardoned their flagitious attempt against his throne and life. If the emperor forgave his enemies, he must cordially embrace a friend whose victories were alone remembered, and who was endeared to his prince by the recent circumstance of their common danger. Belisarius reposed from his toils, in the high station of general of the East and count of the domestics; and the older consuls and patricians respectfully yielded the precedence of rank to the peerless merit of the first of the Romans.<sup>20</sup> The first of the Romans still submitted to be the slave of his wife; but the servitude of habit and affection became less disgraceful when the death of Theodora had removed the baser influence of fear. Joannina their daughter, and the sole heiress of their fortunes, was betrothed to Anastasius, the grandson, or rather the nephew, of the empress,<sup>21</sup> whose kind interposition forwarded the consummation of their youthful loves. But the power of Theodora expired, the parents of Joannina returned, and her honour, perhaps her happiness, were sacrificed to the revenge of an unfeeling mother, who dissolved the imperfect nuptials before they had been ratified by the ceremonies of the church.<sup>22</sup>

Before the departure of Belisarius, Perugia was besieged, and few cities were impregnable to the Gothic arms. Ravenna, Ancona, and Crotona, still resisted the barbarians; and when Totila asked in marriage one of the daughters of France, he was stung by the just reproach that the king of Italy was unworthy of his title till it was acknowledged by the Roman people. Three thousand of the bravest soldiers had been left to defend the capital. On the suspicion of a monopoly, they massacred the governor, and announced to Justinian, by a deputation of the clergy, that unless their offence was pardoned, and their arrears were satisfied, they should instantly accept the tempting offers of Totila. But the officer who succeeded to the command

<sup>18</sup> Ruscianum, the name *Thaurinum* was transferred to the district of sixty stadia to Ruscianum, *locus ubi, in quibusdam, a theophrastis*. The republic of Sybaris was the seat of the tribe of Crugianis (Riedelii, *Travellando Magna Græcia* and Sicily, 109-117).

<sup>19</sup> This conspiracy is related by Procopius, *Historia* lib. 1, c. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>20</sup> The first of the Romans still submitted to be the slave of his wife; but the servitude of habit and affection became less disgraceful when the death of Theodora had removed the baser influence of fear. Joannina their daughter, and the sole heiress of their fortunes, was betrothed to Anastasius, the grandson, or rather the nephew, of the empress, whose kind interposition forwarded the consummation of their youthful loves. But the power of Theodora expired, the parents of Joannina returned, and her honour, perhaps her happiness, were sacrificed to the revenge of an unfeeling mother, who dissolved the imperfect nuptials before they had been ratified by the ceremonies of the church.

<sup>21</sup> This is the nephew of the empress, not the nephew of the emperor.

<sup>22</sup> The first of the Romans still submitted to be the slave of his wife; but the servitude of habit and affection became less disgraceful when the death of Theodora had removed the baser influence of fear. Joannina their daughter, and the sole heiress of their fortunes, was betrothed to Anastasius, the grandson, or rather the nephew, of the empress, whose kind interposition forwarded the consummation of their youthful loves. But the power of Theodora expired, the parents of Joannina returned, and her honour, perhaps her happiness, were sacrificed to the revenge of an unfeeling mother, who dissolved the imperfect nuptials before they had been ratified by the ceremonies of the church.

Rome again  
taken by the  
Goths.  
A.D. 547.

(his name was Diogenes) deserved their esteem and confidence; and the Goths, instead of finding an easy conquest, encountered a vigorous resistance from the soldiers and people, who patiently endured the loss of the port and of all maritime supplies. The siege of Rome would perhaps have been raised, if the liberality of Totila to the Isaurians had not encouraged some of their venal countrymen to copy the example of treason. In a dark night, while the Gothic trumpets sounded on another side, they silently opened the gate of St. Paul: the barbarians rushed into the city; and the flying garrison was intercepted before they could reach the harbour of Centumcellæ. A soldier trained in the school of Belisarius, Paul of Cilicia, retired with four hundred men to the mole of Hadrian. They repelled the Goths; but they felt the approach of famine; and their aversion to the taste of horse-flesh confirmed their resolution to risk the event of a desperate and decisive sally. But their spirit insensibly stooped to the offers of capitulation: they retrieved their arrears of pay, and preserved their arms and horses, by enlisting in the service of Totila; their chiefs, who pleaded a laudable attachment to their wives and children in the East, were dismissed with honour; and above four hundred enemies, who had taken refuge in the sanctuaries, were saved by the clemency of the victor. He no longer entertained a wish of destroying the edifices of Rome,<sup>83</sup> which he now respected as the seat of the Gothic kingdom: the senate and people were restored to their country; the means of subsistence were liberally provided; and Totila, in the robe of peace, exhibited the equestrian games of the circus. Whilst he amused the eyes of the multitude, four hundred vessels were prepared for the embarkation of his troops. The cities of Rhegium and Tarentum were reduced; he passed into Sicily, the object of his implacable resentment; and the island was stripped of its gold and silver, of the fruits of the earth, and of an infinite number of horses, sheep, and oxen. Sardinia and Corsica obeyed the fortune of Italy; and the sea-coast of Greece was visited by a fleet of three hundred galleys.<sup>84</sup> The Goths were landed in Coreyra and the ancient continent of Epirus; they advanced as far as Nicopolis, the trophy of Augustus, and Dodona,<sup>85</sup> once famous by the oracle of Jove. In every step of his victories, the wise barbarian repeated to Justinian his desire of peace, applauded the concord of their predecessors, and offered to employ the Gothic arms in the service of the empire.

Justinian was deaf to the voice of peace ; but he neglected the prosecution of war : and the indolence of his temper disappointed, in some degree, the

obstinacy of his passions. From this salutary slumber the emperor was awakened by the pope Vigilius and the patrician Cethegus, who appeared before his throne, and adjured him, in the name of God and the people, to resume the conquest and deliverance of Italy. In the choice of the generals, caprice, as well as judgment, was shown. A fleet and army sailed for the relief of Sicily, under the conduct of Liberius; but his youth and want of experience were afterwards discovered, and before he touched the shores of the island he was overtaken by his successor. In the place of Liberius, the conspirator Artaban was raised from a prison to military honours; in the pious presumption, that gratitude would animate his valour and fortify his allegiance. Belisarius reposed in the shade of his laurels, but the command of the principal army was reserved for Germanus,<sup>26</sup> the emperor's nephew, whose rank and merit had been long depressed by the jealousy of the court. Theodora had injured him in the rights of a private citizen, the marriage of his children, and the testament of his brother; and although his conduct was pure and blameless, Justinian was displeased that he should be thought worthy of the confidence of the malecontents. The life of Germanus was a lesson of implicit obedience: he nobly refused to prostitute his name and character in the factions of the circus: the gravity of his manners was tempered by innoeent cheerfulness; and his riches were lent without interest to indigent or deserving friends. His valour had formerly triumphed over the Slavonians of the Danube and the rebels of Africa: the first report of his promotion revived the hopes of the Italians; and he was privately assured, that a crowd of Roman deserters would abandon on his approach, the standard of Totila. His second marriage with Malasombia, the granddaughter of Theodoric, endeared Germanus to the Goths themselves; and they marched with reluctance against the father of a royal infant, the last off-spring of the line of Amali.<sup>27</sup> A splendid allowance was assigned by the emperor: the general contributed his private fortune; his two sons were popular and active; and he surpassed, in the promptitude and success of his levies, the expectation of mankind. He was permitted to select some squadrons of Thracian cavalry: the veterans, as well as the youth of Constantinople and Europe, engaged their voluntary service; and as far as the heart of Germany, his fame and liberality attracted the aid of the barbarians. The Romans advanced to Sardica; an army of Slavonians fled before their march; but within two days of their final departure, the designs of Germanus were terminated by his malady and death. Yet the impulse which he had given to the Italian war

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33 M. de la Cruz, 'Memories del Acad. tom. xxvii, p. 147-168) describes the Pact of Andahuayla, but he does not mention the role of Potosí. A country in sight of Italy is well known than the world of Europe.

still continued to act with energy and effect. The maritime towns, Ancona, Crotona, Centumcellæ, resisted the assaults of Totila. Sicily was reduced by the zeal of Artaban, and the Gothic navy was defeated near the coast of the Hadriatic. The two fleets were almost equal, forty-seven to fifty galleys: the victory was decided by the knowledge and dexterity of the Greeks; but the ships were so closely grappled, that only twelve of the Goths escaped from this unfortunate conflict. They affected to depreciate an element in which they were unskilled, but their own experience confirmed the truth of a maxim, that the master of the sea will always acquire the dominion of the land.<sup>28</sup>

After the loss of Germanus, the nations were provoked to smile, by the strange intelligence, that the command of the Roman armies was given to an eunuch. But the eunuch Narses<sup>29</sup> is ranked among the few who have rescued that unhappy name from the contempt and hatred of mankind. A feeble diminutive body concealed the soul of a statesman and a warrior. His youth had been employed in the management of the loom and distaff, in the cares of the household, and the service of female luxury; but while his hands were busy, he secretly exercised the faculties of a vigorous and discerning mind. A stranger to the schools and the camp, he studied in the palace to dissemble, to flatter, and to persuade; and as soon as he approached the person of the emperor, Justinian listened with surprise and pleasure to the manly counsels of his chamberlain and private treasurer.<sup>30</sup> The talents of Narses were tried and improved in frequent embassies; he led an army into Italy, acquired a practical knowledge of the war and the country, and presumed to strive with the genius of Belisarius. Twelve years after his return, the eunuch was chosen to achieve the conquest which had been left imperfect by the first of the Roman generals. Instead of being dazzled by vanity or emulation, he seriously declared, that unless he were armed with an adequate force, he would never consent to risk his own glory, and that of his sovereign. Justinian granted to the favourite, what he might have denied to the hero: the Gothic war was undertaken from its ills, and the preparations were not unworthy of the ancient majesty of the empire. The key of the public treasure was put into his hand, to collect magazines, to levy soldiers, to purchase arms and horses, to discharge the arrears of pay, and to tempt the fidelity of the fugitives and deserters. The troops of Germanus were still in arms; they halted at Salona in the expectation of a new leader; and

legions of subjects and allies were created by the well-known liberality of the eunuch Narses. The king of the Lombards<sup>31</sup> satisfied or surpassed the obligations of a treaty, by lending two thousand two hundred of his bravest warriors, who were followed by three thousand of their martial attendants. Three thousand Heruli fought on horseback under Philemuth, their native chief; and the noble Aratus, who adopted the manners and discipline of Rome, conducted a band of veterans of the same nation. Dagistheus was released from prison to command the Huns; and Kobad, the grandson and nephew of the Great King, was conspicuous by the regal tiara at the head of his faithful Persians, who had devoted themselves to the fortunes of their prince.<sup>32</sup> Absolute in the exercise of his authority, more absolute in the affection of his troops, Narses led a numerous and gallant army from Philippopolis to Salona, from whence he coasted the eastern side of the Hadriatic as far as the confines of Italy. His progress was checked. The East could not supply vessels capable of transporting such multitudes of men and horses. The Franks, who, in the general confusion, had usurped the greater part of the Venetian province, refused a free passage to the friends of the Lombards. The station of Verona was occupied by Teias, with the flower of the Gothic forces; and that skilful commander had overspread the adjacent country with the fall of woods and the inundation of waters.<sup>33</sup> In this perplexity, an officer of experience proposed a measure, secured by the appearance of rashness; that the Roman army should cautiously advance along the sea-shore, while the fleet preceded their march, and successively cast a bridge of boats over the mouths of the rivers, the Timavus, the Brenta, the Adige, and the Po, that fall into the Hadriatic to the north of Ravenna. Nine days he reposed in the city, collected the fragments of the Italian army, and marched towards Rimini to meet the defiance of an insulting enemy.

The prudence of Narses impelled him to speedy and decisive action. His powers were the last effort of the state: the cost of each day accumulated the enormous account; and the nations, untrained to discipline or fatigue, might be rashly provoked to turn their arms against each other, or against their benefactor. The same considerations might have tempered the ardour of Totila. But he was conscious, that the clergy and people of Italy aspired to a second revolution: he felt or suspected the rapid progress of treason; and he resolved to risk the Gothic kingdom on the chance of a day, in which the valiant would be

Defeat and death of Totila.

A. D. 552, July.

28. The third book of Procopius is terminated by the death of Germanus, A. D. 526, c. 25, 26, 27.

29. Procopius relates, with a series of this word, the victory of Narses, A. D. 528, c. 12, 13, 14. See also the account of the battle of the Gothic navy, A. D. 528, c. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

30. The countess of Narses is mentioned, since he is not to be confounded with the Persian count. Procopius, c. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. In an inscription of the same age, the bridge is called the bridge of Narses. See the inscription of the bridge of Narses, in the collection of the Constantinian inscriptions, c. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

31. Paul Warnfried, the Lombard, reigned with complacency the successor of his father, the death of his countrymen—

32. He was a Persian, not a Hun, the son of the blind Zames, saved by compassion, and educated in the Byzantine court by the eunuch Narses. Procopius, c. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

33. In the time of Augustus, and in the middle ages, the whole was from Aquileia to the mountains covered with woods, lakes, and marshes. All the soil was in nature, and the land has been cultivated since the wars of the Goths and the Lombards. See the learned researches of Martinus (Antiquities of the Venetian Republic, c. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100).

animated by instant danger, and the disaffected might be awed by mutual ignorance. In his march from Ravenna, the Roman general chastised the garrison of Rimini, traversed in a direct line the hills of Urbino, and re-entered the Flaminian way, nine miles beyond the perforated rock, an obstacle of art and nature which might have stopped or retarded his progress.<sup>34</sup> The Goths were assembled in the neighbourhood of Rome, they advanced without delay to seek a superior enemy, and the two armies approached each other at the distance of one hundred furlongs, between Tagina<sup>35</sup> and the sepulchres of the Gauls.<sup>36</sup> The haughty message of Narses was an offer, not of peace, but of pardon. The answer of the Gothic king declared his resolution, to die or conquer. "What day," said the messenger, "will you fix for the combat?" "The eighth day," replied Totila: but early the next morning he attempted to surprise a foe, suspicious of deceit, and prepared for battle. Ten thousand Heruli and Lombards, of approved valour and doubtful faith, were placed in the centre. Each of the wings was composed of eight thousand Romans; the right was guarded by the cavalry of the Huns, the left was covered by fifteen hundred chosen horse, destined, according to the emergencies of action, to sustain the retreat of their friends, or to encompass the flank of the enemy. From his proper station at the head of the right wing, the eunuch rode along the line, expressing by his voice and countenance the assurance of victory; exciting the soldiers of the emperor to punish the guilt and madness of a band of robbers; and exposing to their view gold clains, collars, and bracelets, the rewards of military virtue. From the event of a single combat, they drew an omen of success; and they beheld with pleasure the courage of fifty archers, who maintained a small eminence against three successive attacks of the Gothic cavalry. At the distance only of two bowshots, the armies spent the morning in dreadful suspense, and the Romans tasted some necessary food, without unloosening the cuirass from their breast, or the bridle from their horses. Narses awaited the charge; and it was delayed by Totila till he had received his last succours of two thousand Goths. While he consumed the hours in fruitless treaty, the king exhibited in a narrow space the strength and agility of a warrior. His armour was encased with gold; his purple banner floated with the wind: he cast his lance into the air; caught it with the right hand; shifted it to the left: threw himself backwards; recovered his seat; and managed a fiery steed in all the paces and evolutions of the equestrian school. As soon as the succours had arrived, he retired to his tent, assumed the dress and arms of a private soldier, and gave the

signal of battle. The first line of cavalry advanced with more courage than discretion, and left behind them the infantry of the second line. They were soon engaged between the horns of a crescent, into which the adverse wings had been insensibly curved, and were saluted from either side by the volleys of four thousand archers. Their ardour, and even their distress, drove them forwards to a close and unequal conflict, in which they could only use their lances against an enemy equally skilled in all the instruments of war. A generous emulation inspired the Romans and their barbarian allies; and Narses, who calmly viewed and directed their efforts, doubted to whom he should adjudge the prize of superior bravery. The Gothic cavalry was astonished and disordered, pressed and broken; and the line of infantry, instead of presenting their spears, or opening their intervals, were trampled under the feet of the flying horse. Six thousand of the Goths were slaughtered without mercy in the field of Tagina. Their prince, with five attendants, was overtaken by Asbad, of the race of the Gepidæ; "Spare the king of Italy," cried a loyal voice, and Asbad struck his lance through the body of Totila. The blow was instantly revenged by the faithful Goths; they transported their dying monarch seven miles beyond the scene of his disgrace; and his last moments were not embittered by the presence of an enemy. Compassion afforded him the shelter of an obscure tomb: but the Romans were not satisfied of their victory, till they beheld the corpse of the Gothic king. His hat, enriched with gems, and his bloody robe, were presented to Justinian by the messengers of triumph.

As soon as Narses had paid his  
devotions to the author of victory,  
and the blessed Virgin, his peculiar  
patroness, he praised, rewarded, and dismissed  
the Lombards. The villages had been reduced  
to ashes by these valiant savages; they ravished  
matrons and virgins on the altar; their retreat  
was diligently watched by a strong detachment  
of regular forces, who prevented a repetition  
of the like disorders. The victorious eunuch pur-  
sued his march through Tuscany, accepted the  
submission of the Goths, heard the acclamations,  
and often the complaints, of the Italians, and  
encompassed the walls of Rome with the re-  
mainder of his formidable host. Round the  
wide circumference, Narses assigned to himself,  
and to each of his lieutenants, a real or a feigned  
attack, while he silently marked the place of  
easiness and unguarded entrance. Neither the for-  
tifications of Hadrian's mole, nor of the port,  
could long delay the progress of the conqueror;  
and Justinian once more received the keys of  
Rome, which, under his reign, had been five

[illegible]

Curry, p. 87, 88 A. Guazzesi-Ducrot p. 177-217 a professed en-  
gineer, and the maps of the Ecclesiastical State and the March of  
Ancona, by Le Maire and Magnan.

The little was bought in the year of Rome 478, and the copious Dieters, following his example, assured the triumph of his country and his colleague Fabius (F. F. L. N. S. S.). Procopius assumes that such a sacrifice of the *Pachylophorus*, and his error is proved by Cuvier's work the national reproach of Graecorum nugamenta.

to Niles the number of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* 3, p. 1131.



times taken and recovered.<sup>37</sup> But the deliverance of Rome was the last calamity of the Roman people. The barbarian allies of Narses too frequently confounded the privileges of peace and war. The despair of the flying Goths found some consolation in sanguinary revenge: and three hundred youths of the noblest families, who had been sent as hostages beyond the Po, were inhumanly slain by the successor of Totila. The fate of the senate suggests an awful lesson of the vicissitude of human affairs. Of the senators whom Totila had banished from their country, some were rescued by an officer of Belisarius, and transported from Campania to Sicily; while others were too guilty to confide in the clemency of Justinian, or too poor to provide horses for their escape to the sea-shore. Their brethren languished five years in a state of indigence and exile: the victory of Narses revived their hopes; but their premature return to the metropolis was prevented by the furious Goths; and all the fortresses of Campania were stained with patrician<sup>40</sup> blood. After a period of thirteen centuries, the institution of Romulus expired; and if the nobles of Rome still assumed the title of senators, few subsequent traces can be discovered of a public council, or constitutional order. Ascend six hundred years, and contemplate the kings of the earth soliciting an audience, as the slaves or freedmen of the Roman senate!<sup>41</sup>

The Gothic war was yet alive. The bravest of the nation retired beyond the Po; and Teias was unanimously chosen to succeed and revenge their departed hero. The new king immediately sent ambassadors to implore, or rather to purchase, the aid of the Franks, and nobly lavished, for the public safety, the riches which had been deposited in the palace of Pavia. The residue of the royal treasure was guarded by his brother Aligern at Cumæ in Campania; but the strong castle which Totila had fortified was closely besieged by the arms of Narses. From the Alps to the foot of Mount Vesuvius, the Gothic king, by rapid and secret marches, advanced to the relief of his brother, eluded the vigilance of the Roman chiefs, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Sarnus or *Dracoo*,<sup>42</sup> which flows from Nuceria into the Bay of Naples. The river separated the two armies; sixty days were consumed in distant and fruitless combats, and Teias maintained this important post, till he was deserted by his fleet and the hope of subsistence. With reluctant steps he ascended the *Lactarian* mount, where the physicians of Rome, since the time of Galen, had sent their patients

for the benefit of the air and the milk.<sup>43</sup> But the Goths soon embraced a more generous resolution: to descend the hill, to dismiss their horses, and to die in arms, and in the possession of freedom. The king marched at their head, bearing in his right hand a lance, and an ample buckler in his left: with the one he struck dead the foremost of the assailants; with the other he received the weapons which every hand was ambitious to aim against his life. After a combat of many hours, his left arm was fatigued by the weight of twelve javelins which hung from his shield. Without moving from his ground, or suspending his blows, the hero called aloud on his attendants for a fresh buckler, but in the moment, while his side was uncovered, it was pierced by a mortal dart. He fell: and his head, exalted on a spear, proclaimed to the nations, that the Gothic kingdom was no more. But the example of his death served only to animate the companions who had sworn to perish with their leader. They fought till darkness descended on the earth. They reposed on their arms. The combat was renewed with the return of light, and maintained with unabated vigour till the evening of the second day. The repose of the second night, the want of water, and the loss of their bravest champions, determined the surviving Goths to accept the fair capitulation which the prudence of Narses was inclined to propose. They embraced the alternative of residing in Italy, as the subjects and soldiers of Justinian, or departing with a portion of their private wealth, in search of some independent country.<sup>44</sup> Yet the oath of fidelity or exile was alike rejected by one thousand Goths, who broke away before the treaty was signed, and boldly effected their retreat to the walls of Pavia. The spirit as well as the situation of Aligern, prompted him to imitate rather than to bewail his brother; a strong and dexterous archer, he transpired with a single arrow the armour and breast of his antagonist; and his military conduct defended Cumæ<sup>45</sup> above a year against the forces of the Romans. Their industry had scooped the Sibyl's cave<sup>46</sup> into a prodigious mine; combustible materials were introduced to consume the temporary props: the wall and the gate of Cumæ sunk into the cavern, but the ruins formed a deep and inaccessible precipice. On the fragment of a rock, Aligern stood alone and unshaken, till he calmly surveyed the hopeless condition of his country, and judged it more honourable to be the friend of Narses than the slave of the Franks. After the death of Teias, the Roman general separated his troops to reduce the cities of Italy; Lucca sustained a

<sup>37</sup> Εἰς τούτων βασιλεύοντες το νεώτερον αἶμα. In the year 556 by Belisarius, in 546 by Totila, in 547 by Belisarius, in 549 by Totila, and in 552 by Narses. Malurus had maliciously translated αἶμα a mistake which he afterwards retraced; but the misapprehension, and Cousin, with a train of French and Latin readers, have fallen into the snare.

<sup>40</sup> Compare two passages of Procopius. I. iii. c. 25. § 21, which, with some collateral hints from Marcellinus and Justin, illustrate the state of the expiring senate.

<sup>41</sup> See, in the example of Trajan, as it is delivered in the fragments of Pothus (Excerpt. Legit. x. vii. p. 927, 928), a curious picture of a royal slave.

<sup>42</sup> The *Dracoo* of Procopius (Goth. i. iv. c. 53) is evidently the Sarnus. The text is amended or altered by the rash version of Cousin (l. iv. c. 53. p. 1156), but Camillo Pellegrini of Naples, *Dissert. sopra la Campania Felix*, p. 579, 581, has proved from old records, that as early as the year 522 that river was called the *Draconto*, or *Dracoonello*.

<sup>43</sup> Galen (de Method. Medendi, l. v. apud Cluver. l. iv. c. 3

p. 1159, 1160) describes the lofty site, pure air, and rich milk, of Mount Lactarius, whose medicinal benefits were equally known, and sought in ancient times of Sempronius at vi. Epist. 18, and (Assadourian) vi. p. 10. Sardinia is now left except the name of the town of *Lectura*.

<sup>44</sup> But from vi. p. 2, § 3 it conveys to be favourable to the opinion of those who, who by others are blamed in the community of Ur, or referred to their native land of Gaul and Hispania, Am or xvii. c. 1. I have seen Aligern (monarch in Epist. p. 59) and Salmasius (Excerpt. Platini, p. 31, 32) to inquire about the origin of Cumæ, the oldest of the Greek colonies in Italy (Strabo, l. vi. c. 75). Aligern's name, l. i. c. 4, already vacant in Juvenal's time (Sat. viii), and now in ruins.

<sup>45</sup> In Actonius (l. i. c. 21) settles the Sibyl's cave under the wall of Cumæ. He agrees with Strabo and l. vi. p. 1160; nor can I perceive why, if it is upon the hill, and he is right, the excellent effect of the Sibyl's cave, p. 1160, 601, in the milk which secreted religion. But the cave was not at Cumæ, but the Sibyl's cave, p. 1160, 601, would become ridiculous, if it was actually in a Greek city.

long and vigorous siege; and such was the humanity or the prudence of Narses, that the repeated perfidy of the inhabitants could not provoke him to exact the forfeit lives of their hostages. These hostages were dismissed in safety; and their grateful zeal at length subdued the obstinacy of their countrymen.<sup>47</sup>

Before Lucca had surrendered, Italy was overwhelmed by a new deluge of barbarians. A feeble youth, the grandson of Clovis, reigned over the Austrasians, or Oriental Franks. The guardians of Theodebald entertained with coldness and reluctance the magnificent promises of the Gothic ambassadors. But the spirit of a martial people outstripped the timid counsels of the court: two brothers, Lothaire and Buccelin,<sup>48</sup> the dukes of the Alamanni, stood forth as the leaders of the Italian war; and seventy-five thousand Germans descended in the autumn from the Rhaetian Alps into the plain of Milan. The vanguard of the Roman army was stationed near the Po, under the conduct of Fulcaris, a bold Herulian, who rashly conceived that personal bravery was the sole duty and merit of a commander. As he marched without order or precaution along the Æmilian way, an ambuscade of Franks suddenly rose from the amphitheatre of Parma: his troops were surprised and routed; but their leader refused to fly; declaring, to the last moment, that death was less terrible than the angry countenance of Narses. The death of Fulcaris, and the retreat of the surviving chiefs, decided the fluctuating and rebellious temper of the Goths; they flew to the standard of their deliverers, and admitted them into the cities which still resisted the arms of the Roman general. The conqueror of Italy opened a free passage to the irresistible torrent of barbarians. They passed under the walls of Cesena, and answered by threats and reproaches the advice of Aligern, that the Gothic treasures could no longer repay the labour of an invasion. Two thousand Franks were destroyed by the skill and valour of Narses himself, who sailed from Rimini at the head of three hundred horse, to chastise the licentious rapine of their march. On the confines of Samnium, the two brothers divided their forces. With the right wing, Buccelin assumed the spoil of Campania, Lucania, and Bruttium; with the left, Lothaire accepted the plunder of Apulia and Calabria. They followed the coast of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, as far as Rhegium and Otranto, and the extreme lands of Italy were the term of their destructive progress. The Franks, who were Christians and Catholics, contented themselves with simple pillage and occasional murder. But the churches which their piety had spared, were stripped by the sacrilegious hands of the Alamanni, who sacrificed horses' heads to their native deities of the woods and rivers.<sup>49</sup> they melted or

profaned the consecrated vessels, and the ruins of shrines and altars were stained with the blood of the faithful. Buccelin was actuated by ambition, and Lothaire by avarice. The former aspired to restore the Gothic kingdom: the latter, after a promise to his brother of speedy succours, returned by the same road to deposit his treasure beyond the Alps. The strength of their armies was already wasted by the change of climate and contagion of disease: the Germans revelled in the vintage of Italy; and their own intemperance avenged, in some degree, the miseries of a defenceless people.

At the entrance of the spring, the Imperial troops, who had guarded the cities, assembled, to the number of eighteen thousand men, in the neighbourhood of Rome. Their winter hours had not been consumed in idleness. By the command, and after the example of Narses, they repeated each day their military exercise on foot and on horseback, accustomed their ear to obey the sound of the trumpet, and practised the steps and evolutions of the Pyrrhic dance. From the Straits of Sicily, Buccelin, with thirty thousand Franks and Alamanni, slowly moved towards Capua, occupied with a wooden tower the bridge of Casilinum, covered his right by the stream of the Vulturius, and secured the rest of his encampment by a rampart of sharp stakes, and a circle of wagons, whose wheels were buried in the earth. He impatiently expected the return of Lothaire; ignorant, alas! that his brother could never return, and that the chief and his army had been swept away by a strange disease<sup>50</sup> on the banks of the lake Benacus, between Trent and Verona. The banners of Narses soon approached the Vulturius, and the eyes of Italy were anxiously fixed on the event of this final contest. Perhaps the talents of the Roman general were most conspicuous in the calm operations which precede the tumult of a battle. His skilful movements intercepted the subsistence of the barbarian, deprived him of the advantage of the bridge and river, and in the choice of the ground and moment of action reduced him to comply with the inclination of his enemy. On the morning of the important day, when the ranks were already formed, a servant, for some trivial fault, was killed by his master, one of the leaders of the Heruli. The justice or passion of Narses was awakened: he summoned the offender to his presence, and without listening to his excuses, gave the signal to the minister of death. If the cruel master had not infringed the laws of his nation, this arbitrary execution was not less unjust than it appears to have been imprudent. The Heruli felt the indignity; they halted: but the Roman general, without soothing their rage, or expecting their resolution, called aloud, as the trumpets sounded, that unless they hastened to occupy their place,

Invasion of Italy  
by the Franks  
and Alamanni.  
A. D. 552.  
August.

Defeat of the  
Franks and  
Alamanni by  
Narses.  
A. D. 554.

<sup>47</sup> The 5th chapter of the first book of the *Satesman and Soldier*, (l. 1. p. 11. l. 1. p. 71. edit. Louvre).

<sup>48</sup> The names of the Franks, Lothaire and Buccelin, are mentioned in the history of the year 552, and in the history of the year 553, and in the history of the year 554.

<sup>49</sup> Anathas notices their superstition in a philosophy, (l. 1. p. 180.) At Zug, in Switzerland, idols still prevailed in the year 613. St. Columban and St. Gall were the apostles of that rude country, and the latter founded an hermitage, which has swelled into an ecclesiastical principality and a populous city, the seat of freedom and commerce. The death of Lothaire in Aquitaine (l. 1. p. 35. and l. 1. p. 36.) was the cause of the death of Narses. He had founded churches, and had raised and built his death. He had founded churches.





soners quickened the payment of heavy ransoms; and the departure of Zabergan was hastened by the report, that double-proved vessels were built on the Danube to intercept his passage. The danger was soon forgotten; and a vain question, whether their sovereign had shown more wisdom or weakness, amused the idleness of the city.<sup>64</sup>

About two years after the last victory of Belisarius, the emperor returned from a Thracian journey of health, or business, or devotion. Justinian was afflicted by a pain in his head; and his private entry countenanced the rumour of his death. Before the third hour of the day, the bakers' shops were plundered of their bread, the houses were shut, and every citizen, with hope or terror, prepared for the impending tumult. The senators themselves, fearful and suspicious, were convened at the ninth hour; and the præfect received their commands to visit every quarter of the city, and proclaim a general illumination for the recovery of the emperor's health. The ferment subsided; but every accident betrayed the impotence of the government, and the factious temper of the people: the guards were disposed to mutiny as often as their quarters were changed, or their pay was withheld: the frequent calamities of fires and earthquakes afforded the opportunities of disorder; the disputes of the blues and greens, of the orthodox and heretics, degenerated into bloody battles; and, in the presence of the Persian ambassador, Justinian blushed for himself and for his subjects. Capricious pardon and arbitrary punishment embittered the irksomeness and discontent of a long reign: a conspiracy was formed in the palace; and, unless we are deceived by the names of Marcellus and Sergius, the most virtuous and the most profligate of the courtiers were associated in the same designs. They had fixed the time of the execution; their rank gave them access to the royal banquet; and their black slaves<sup>65</sup> were stationed in the vestibule and porticoes, to announce the death of the tyrant, and to excite a sedition in the capital. But the indiscretion of an accomplice saved the poor remnant of the days of Justinian. The conspirators were detected and seized, with daggers hidden under their garments. Marcellus died by his own hand, and Sergius was dragged from the sanctuary.<sup>66</sup> Pressed by remorse, or tempted by the hopes of safety, he accused two officers of the household of Belisarius; and torture forced them to declare that they had acted

according to the secret instructions of their patron.<sup>67</sup> Posterity will not hastily believe that an hero who, in the vigour of life, had disdained the fairest offers of ambition and revenge, should stoop to the murder of his prince, whom he could not long expect to survive. His followers were impatient to fly; but flight must have been supported by rebellion, and he had lived enough for nature and for glory. Belisarius appeared before the council with less fear than indignation: after forty years' service, the emperor had prejudged his guilt; and injustice was sanctified by the presence and authority of the patriarch. The life of Belisarius was graciously spared; but his fortunes were sequestered, and, from December to July, he was guarded as a prisoner in his own palace. At length his innocence was acknowledged; his freedom and honours were restored; and death, which might be hastened by resentment and grief, removed him from the world about eight months after his deliverance. The name of Belisarius can never die: but instead of the funeral, the monuments, the statues, so justly due to his memory, I only read, that his treasures, the spoils of the Goths and Vandals, were immediately confiscated by the emperor. Some decent portion was reserved, however, for the use of his widow; and as Antonina had much to repent, she devoted the last remains of her life and fortune to the foundation of a convent. Such is the simple and genuine narrative of the fall of Belisarius and the ingratitude of Justinian.<sup>68</sup> That he was deprived of his eyes, and reduced by envy to beg his bread, "Give a penny to Belisarius the general!" is a fiction of later times,<sup>69</sup> which has obtained credit, or rather favour, as a strange example of the vicissitudes of fortune.<sup>70</sup>

If the emperor could rejoice in the death of Belisarius, he enjoyed the base satisfaction only eight months, the last period of a reign of thirty-eight, and a life of eighty-three years. It would be difficult to trace the character of a prince who is not the most conspicuous object of his own times; but the confessions of an enemy may be received as the safest evidence of his virtues. The resemblance of Justinian to the bust of Domitian is maliciously urged;<sup>71</sup> with the acknowledgment, however, of a well-proportioned figure, a ruddy complexion, and a pleasing countenance. The emperor was easy of access, patient of hearing, courteous and

Death and character of Justinian. A. D. 565, Nov. 14.

<sup>64</sup> The Bulgarian war, and the last victory of Belisarius, are improperly represented in the prefix to the edition of Agath. (l. vi. p. 134-137) and the dry Chronicle of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>65</sup> L. vi. They could scarcely be non-indians, and the epithet, sometimes known by this name, were never used by the ancient guards or followers. They were the traitors, though guilty, of the fatal and royal luxury (Lycett. Euræus. in a scene in Suet. in August. c. 25, with a good note of Cæsar, not of Tacit. c. 25).

<sup>66</sup> The Socrates (Vandal. l. ii. c. 17, 20. Apollod. c. 5) and Marcellus (Goth. l. iii. c. 32) are mentioned by Procopius. See Theophrast. p. 197, 201.

<sup>67</sup> Anastasius (p. 5) quotes an old Byzantine MS. which has been preserved in the Imperial Library of Constantinople.

<sup>68</sup> Of the disgrace and restoration of Belisarius, the genuine account is preserved in the fragment of John Malacta (l. vi. p. 234-235) and the extracts of Phot. (p. 134-135) of Cæterus (Corp. ed. p. 57, 58) and Joannes (l. vi. p. 134-135) seem to hesitate between the old-time truth and the growing falsehood.

<sup>69</sup> The source of this idle fable may be derived from a misapprehension of the sixth century, the lifetime of John Lytes, a monk (Bosch. l. vi. ad c. 10. in the same text. Mores. l. ii. c. 14. Corp. Lat. Græc.). He relates the blindness and beggary of Belisarius in the palace or golden verses (C. l. iii. No. 339-348. in Corp. Lat. Græc. l. vi. p. 711).

cards in ten volume or golden verses (C. l. iii. No. 339-348. in Corp. Lat. Græc. l. vi. p. 711).

<sup>70</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>71</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>72</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>73</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>74</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>75</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>76</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>77</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>78</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>79</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>80</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>81</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>82</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>83</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>84</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>85</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>86</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

<sup>87</sup> The other of the age (sup. l. vii. p. 13).

affable in discourse, and a master of the angry passions, which rage with such destructive violence in the breast of a despot. Procopius praises his temper, to reproach him with calm and deliberate cruelty; but in the conspiracies which attacked his authority and person, a more candid judge will approve the justice, or admire the clemency of Justinian. He excelled in the private virtues of chastity and temperance: but the impartial love of beauty would have been less mischievous than his conjugal tenderness for Theodora; and his abstemious diet was regulated, not by the prudence of a philosopher, but the superstition of a monk. His repasts were short and frugal: on solemn fasts, he contented himself with water and vegetables; and such was his strength, as well as fervour, that he frequently passed two days, and as many nights, without tasting any food. The measure of his sleep was not less rigorous: after the repose of a single hour, the body was awakened by the soul; and, to the astonishment of his chamberlains, Justinian walked or studied till the morning light. Such restless application prolonged his time for the acquisition of knowledge<sup>72</sup> and the despatch of business; and he might seriously deserve the reproach of confounding, by minute and preposterous diligence, the general order of his administration. The emperor professed himself a musician and architect, a poet and philosopher, a lawyer and theologian; and if he failed in the enterprise of reconciling the Christian sects, the review of the Roman jurisprudence is a noble monument of his spirit and industry. In the government of the empire, he was less wise or less successful. the age was unfortunate; the people was oppressed and discontented; Theodora abused her power; a succession of bad ministers disgraced his judgment; and Justinian was neither beloved in his life, nor regretted at his death. The love of fame was deeply implanted in his breast, but he condescended to the poor ambition of titles, honours, and contemporary praise; and while he laboured to fix the admiration, he forfeited the esteem and affection of the Romans. The design of the African and Italian wars was boldly conceived and executed; and his penetration discovered the talents of Belisarius in the camp, of Narses in the palace. But the name of the emperor is eclipsed by the names of his victorious generals; and Belisarius still lives, to upbraid the envy and ingratitude of his sovereign. The partial favour of mankind applauds the genius of a conqueror, who leads and directs his subjects in the exercise of arms. The characters of Philip the Second and of Justinian are distinguished by the cold ambition which delights in war, and declines the dangers of the field. Yet a colossal

statue of bronze represented the emperor on horseback, preparing to march against the Persians in the habit and armour of Achilles. In the great square before the church of St. Sophia, this monument was raised on a brass column and a stone pedestal of seven steps; and the pillar of Theodosius, which weighed seven thousand four hundred pounds of silver, was removed from the same place by the avarice and vanity of Justinian. Future princes were more just or indulgent to *his* memory; the elder Andronicons, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, repaired and beautified his equestrian statue: since the fall of the empire, it has been melted into cannon by the victorious Turks.<sup>73</sup>

I shall conclude this chapter with the comets, the earthquakes, and the plague, which astonished or afflicted the age of Justinian.

1. In the fifth year of his reign, Comets,  
A. D. 531-539. and in the month of September, comet<sup>74</sup> was seen during twenty days in the western quarter of the heavens, and which shot its rays into the north. Eight years afterwards, while the sun was in Capricorn, another comet appeared to follow in the Sagittary: the size was gradually increasing; the head was in the east, the tail in the west, and it remained visible above forty days. The nations, who gazed with astonishment, expected wars and calamities from their baleful influence; and these expectations were abundantly fulfilled. The astronomers dissembled their ignorance of the nature of these blazing stars, which they affected to represent as the floating meteors of the air; and few among them embraced the simple notion of Seneca and the Chaldeans, that they are only planets of a longer period and more eccentric motion.<sup>75</sup> Time and science have justified the conjectures and predictions of the Roman sage: the telescope has opened new worlds to the eyes of astronomers;<sup>76</sup> and, in the narrow space of history and fable, one and the same comet is already found to have revisited the earth in seven equal revolutions of five hundred and seventy-five years. The *first*,<sup>77</sup> which ascends beyond the Christian era one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven years, is coeval with Ogyges, the father of Grecian antiquity. And this appearance explains the tradition which Varro has preserved, that under his reign the planet Venus changed her colour, size, figure, and course; a prodigy without example either in past or succeeding ages.<sup>78</sup> The *second* visit, in the year eleven hundred and ninety-three, is darkly implied in the fable of Electra, the seventh of the Pleiads, who have been reduced to six since the time of the Trojan war. That nymph, the wife of Dardanus, was unable to support the ruin of her country: she abandoned the dances of

72 The studies and science of Justinian are attested by the canon (Anecd. t. 8, p. 15), still more than by the praises of Grotius (c. 51, de Felicit. Præm.) 7) of Præmon. (about the year, is index of Almannus, and read the life of Justinian by Præmon. (p. 175, 114).

77 See in the C P Christman of Durango I.1. c.24. No 1. a chain of original testimonies, from Procopius in the sixth, to the eighth century.

7) Seneca's sixth book of *Natural Questions* describes, in the story of comets, a philosophic mind. Yet should we not too calmly ...

found a vague production, a venet tempo, &c. with the merit of real

76. A final remark of Mr. Newton and Haller. I draw my humble science from the author's work, in the French Encyclopédie by M. d'Alembert.

77. Well then, the heaven is not, as some Whiston, had fancied, for the first of Noah's flood 1712 years before Christ, a prior apparition of the great comet which deluged the earth with its tail.

[illegible]

her sister orbs, fled from the zodiac to the north pole, and obtained, from her dishevelled locks, the name of the *comet*. The *third* period expires in the year six hundred and eighteen, a date that exactly agrees with the tremendous comet of the Sibyl, and perhaps of Pliny, which arose in the west two generations before the reign of Cyrus. The *fourth* apparition, forty-four years before the birth of Christ, is of all others the most splendid and important. After the death of Cæsar, a long-haired star was conspicuous to Rome and to the nations, during the games which were exhibited by young Octavian, in honour of Venus and his uncle. The vulgar opinion, that it conveyed to heaven the divine soul of the dictator, was cherished and consecrated by the piety of a statesman; while his secret superstition referred the comet to the glory of his own times.<sup>79</sup> The *fifth* visit has been already ascribed to the fifth year of Justinian, which coincides with the five hundred and thirty-first of the Christian æra. And it may deserve notice, that in this, as in the preceding instance, the comet was followed, though at a longer interval, by a remarkable paleness of the sun. The *sixth* return, in the year eleven hundred and six, is recorded by the chronicles of Europe and China; and in the first fervour of the Crusades, the Christians and the Mahometans might surmise, with equal reason, that it portended the destruction of the Infidels. The *seventh* phenomenon, of one thousand six hundred and eighty, was presented to the eyes of an enlightened age.<sup>80</sup> The philosophy of Bayle dispelled a prejudice which Milton's muse had so recently adorned, that the comet, "from its horrid hair shakes pestilence and war."<sup>81</sup> Its road in the heavens was observed with exquisite skill by Flamsteed and Cassini; and the mathematical science of Bernoulli, Newton, and Halley, investigated the laws of its revolutions. At the *eighth* period, in the year two thousand three hundred and fifty-five, their calculations may perhaps be verified by the astronomers of some future æge in the Siberian or American wilderness.

II. The near approach of a comet may injure or destroy the globe which we inhabit; but the changes on its surface have been hitherto produced by the action of volcanoes and earthquakes.<sup>82</sup> The nature of the soil may indicate the countries most exposed to these formidable convulsions, since they are caused by subterraneous fires, and such fires are kindled by the union and fermentation of iron

and sulphur. But their times and effects appear to lie beyond the reach of human curiosity, and the philosopher will discreetly abstain from the prediction of earthquakes, till he has counted the drops of water that silently filtrate on the inflammable mineral, and measured the caverns which increase by resistance the explosion of the imprisoned air. Without assigning the cause, history will distinguish the periods in which these calamitous events have been rare or frequent, and will observe, that this fever of the earth raged with uncommon violence during the reign of Justinian.<sup>83</sup> Each year is marked by the repetition of earthquakes, of such duration, that Constantinople has been shaken above forty days; of such extent, that the shock has been communicated to the whole surface of the globe, or at least of the Roman empire. An impulsive or vibratory motion was felt; enormous chasms were opened, huge and heavy bodies were discharged into the air, the sea alternately advanced and retreated beyond its ordinary bounds, and a mountain was torn from Libanus,<sup>84</sup> and cast into the waves, where it protected, as a mole, the new harbour of Botrys<sup>85</sup> in Phœnicia. The stroke that agitates an ant-hill, may crush the insect myriads in the dust; yet truth must extort a confession, that man has industriously laboured for his own destruction.

The institution of great cities, which include a nation within the limits of a wall, almost realises the wish of Caligula, that the Roman people had but one neck. Two hundred and fifty thousand persons are said to have perished in the earthquake of Antioch, whose domestic multitudes were swelled by the conflux of strangers to the festival of the Ascension. The loss of Berytus<sup>86</sup> was of smaller account, but of much greater value.

That city, on the coast of Phœnicia, was illustrated by the study of the civil law, which opened the surest road to wealth and dignity; the schools of Berytus were filled with the rising spirits of the age, and many a youth was lost in the earthquake, who might have lived to be the scourge or the guardian of his country. In these disasters, the architect becomes the enemy of mankind. The bar of a savage, or the tent of an Arab, may be thrown down without injury to the inhabitant; and the Peruvians had reason to deride the folly of their Spanish conquerors, who with so much cost and labour erected their own sepulchres. The rich marbles of a patrician are dashed on his own head, a whole people is buried under the ruins of public and private

<sup>79</sup> Pliny (Hist. Nat. in 273) has preserved the original memorial of Augustus. Nodding in his *Essai sur les Comètes* (p. 106) has, in his translation, removed the date and the comet of Augustus, from the year B. C. to the year A. D. 18, because, he says, the comet of Augustus is not the same as the comet of the year A. D. 18, but a different comet. This is a mistake, and the comet of Augustus is the same as the comet of the year A. D. 18.

<sup>80</sup> This last comet was visible in the month of December, 1783, and was observed by Flamsteed and Cassini. It was the same as the comet of the year A. D. 1783, which was observed by Flamsteed and Cassini. It was the same as the comet of the year A. D. 1783, which was observed by Flamsteed and Cassini.

<sup>81</sup> Partridge's *History of the Earth* (p. 107), and the famous lines (l. 798, &c.) which describe the comet, are all taken from the recent comet of 1783, observed by Flamsteed and Cassini. The comet of 1783 is the same as the comet of the year A. D. 1783, which was observed by Flamsteed and Cassini. It was the same as the comet of the year A. D. 1783, which was observed by Flamsteed and Cassini.

<sup>83</sup> The earthquakes that shook the Roman world in the reign of Justinian, are described by Procopius (l. 1, c. 1, &c.). See also, *Académie des Sciences* (p. 24, 25, 31, &c.). See also, *Académie des Sciences* (p. 24, 25, 31, &c.). See also, *Académie des Sciences* (p. 24, 25, 31, &c.).

<sup>84</sup> An abrupt height, a perpendicular cape, between Aradus and Berytus, was thrown down by the earthquake of Justinian. It was the same as the comet of the year A. D. 1783, which was observed by Flamsteed and Cassini. It was the same as the comet of the year A. D. 1783, which was observed by Flamsteed and Cassini.

<sup>85</sup> Berytus was destroyed in the year Christ 955 (953) by Ishmael king of Tyre (Marshall, *Annals* Chron. p. 387, 388). Its present representative, the village of Batroun, is now desolate of an harbour. See also, *Académie des Sciences* (p. 24, 25, 31, &c.). See also, *Académie des Sciences* (p. 24, 25, 31, &c.). See also, *Académie des Sciences* (p. 24, 25, 31, &c.).

edifices; and the conflagration is kindled and propagated by the innumerable fires which are necessary for the subsistence and manufactures of a great city. Instead of the mutual sympathy which might comfort and assist the distressed, they dreadfully experience the vices and passions which are relaxed from the fear of punishment; the tottering houses are pillaged by intrepid avarice; revenge embraces the moment, and selects the victim; and the earth often swallows the assassin, or the ravisher, in the consummation of their crimes. Superstition involves the present danger with invisible terrors; and if the image of death may sometimes be subservient to the virtue or repentance of individuals, an affrighted people is more forcibly moved to expect the end of the world, or to deprecate with servile homage the wrath of an avenging Deity.

Plague - its origin and nature  
A. D. 342.

Plague—its  
origin and  
nature. A. D. 542.

III. *Æthiopia and Egypt have been stigmatised in every age, as the original source and seminary of the plague.*<sup>57</sup> In a damp, hot, stagnating air, this African fever is generated from the putrefaction of animal substances, and especially from the swarms of locusts, not less destructive to mankind in their death than in their lives. The fatal disease which depopulated the earth in the time of Justinian and his successors,<sup>58</sup> first appeared in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, between the Serbonian bog and the eastern channel of the Nile. From thence, tracing as it were a double path, it spread to the east, over Syria, Persia, and the Indies, and penetrated to the west, along the coast of Africa, and over the continent of Europe. In the spring of the second year, Constantinople, during three or four months, was visited by the pestilence; and Procopius, who observed its progress and symptoms with the eyes of a physician, has articulated the skill and diligence of Theophrastus in the description of the plague of Athens.<sup>59</sup> The infection was sometimes announced by the visions of a distempered fancy, and the victim despaired as soon as he had heard the murmur and felt the stroke of an invisible spectre. But the greater number, in their beds, in the streets, in their usual occupation, were surprised by a slight fever; so slight, indeed, that neither the pulse nor the colour of the patient gave any signs of the approaching danger. The same, the next, or the succeeding day, it was declared by the swelling of the glands, particularly those of the groin, of the arm-pits, and under the ear; and when these buboes or tumours were opened, they were found to contain a *coal*, or black substance, of the size of a lentil. If they came to a just swelling and suppuration, the patient was saved

by this kind and natural discharge of the morbid humour. But if they continued hard and dry, a mortification quickly ensued, and the fifth day was commonly the term of his life. The fever was often accompanied with lethargy or delirium; the bodies of the sick were covered with black pustules or carbuncles, the symptoms of immediate death; and in the constitutions too feeble to produce an eruption, the vomiting of blood was followed by a mortification of the bowels. To pregnant women the plague was generally mortal; yet one infant was drawn alive from his dead mother, and three mothers survived the loss of their infected fetus. Youth was the most perilous season; and the female sex was less susceptible than the male: but every rank and profession was attacked with indiscriminate rage, and many of those who escaped were deprived of the use of their speech, without being secure from a return of the disorder.<sup>61</sup> The physicians of Constantinople were zealous and skilful; but their art was baffled by the various symptoms and pertinacious vehemence of the disease: the same remedies were productive of contrary effects, and the event capriciously disappointed their prognostics of death or recovery. The order of funerals, and the right of sepulchres, were confounded; those who were left without friends or servants, lay unburied in the streets, or in their desolate houses; and a magistrate was authorised to collect the promiscuous heaps of dead bodies, to transport them by land or water, and to inter them in deep pits beyond the precincts of the city. Their own danger, and the prospect of public distress, awakened some remorse in the minds of the most vicious of mankind; the confidence of health again revived their passions at all abilities; but philosophy must disdain the observation of Procopius, that the lives of such men were guarded by the peculiar favour of fate or providence. He forgot, or perhaps he secretly reflected, that the plague had touched the person of Justinian himself; but the abundant diet of the emperor may suggest, as in the case of Socrates, a more rational and honourable cause for his recovery.<sup>62</sup> During his sickness, the public conurbation was expressed in the habits of the citizens; and their idleness and despondence occasioned a general scarcity in the capital of the East.

Contagion is the in-separable symptom of the plague ; which, by mutual respiration, is transfused from the infected persons to the lungs and stomach of those who approach them. While philosophers believe and tremble, it is singular, that the existence of a real danger should have been denied by a people most prone to vain and imaginary

Extent and  
duration.  
A. D. 542—594.

57 I have read with pleasure Mead's short, but elegant, treatise concerning Pesticidal Dissections, the 4<sup>th</sup> edition, London, 1772.

88 The great plagues which raged in Italy in the following years (Bari, 1922, 277). Agostini di v. p. 156, 157. Evidently, v. p. 204. Paul Baccaro (Bari, v. p. 176, 177), speaks of the plague in Bari, c. p. 205, who states that *The Inquisition* and the efforts of Victor Turchiarolo (p. 9) in the year 1690, and of Michele (p. 11), and of Theophanes (p. 15).

<sup>19</sup> Dr. Freund (Hist. Medicine on Hipp. p. 416, 430, Lond. 1777) is satisfied that Procrustes must have studied physics, from his knowledge and use of the technical words. Yet many words that are now scientific were common and peculiar in the Greek idiom.

<sup>30</sup> See Theocritus, l. n. c. 17-34, p. 137-157, and Duker, and the poetical description of the same place by Lucretius, l. vi 115.

—1281) I was indebted to Dr Hunter for an elaborate commentary on this part of Thucydides, 4 quarto of 100 pages (Venet. 1007, and Junius), which was pronounced in St Mark's library, by Fabius Paulinus. This was a physical aid to my work.

9) This would be a 1:1 infection, that the infection could only be once taken. But Fungus, with a family experience of the plague, observed, that a person could be infected the first time under the second attack, and this repetition is confirmed by Fabius Laurentius of 1581. I observed that on this head physicians decided, that a person could be infected the first time under the second attack.

By 1932 it was clear that serious had been spread by the temperance cause in the province of Athens. And because of that, Athens in 1932 for the first time accounted for the popular vote of the two constituencies, by the two advantages of exclusion and abstention of 1929-1932.



terrors.<sup>93</sup> Yet the fellow-citizens of Procopius were satisfied, by some short and partial experience, that the infection could not be gained by the closest conversation;<sup>94</sup> and this persuasion might support the assiduity of friends or physicians in the care of the sick, whom inhuman prudence would have condemned to solitude and despair. But the fatal security, like the predestination of the Turks, must have aided the progress of the contagion; and those salutary precautions to which Europe is indebted for her safety, were unknown to the government of Justinian. No restraints were imposed on the free and frequent intercourse of the Roman provinces: from Persia to France, the nations were mingled and infected by wars and emigrations; and the pestilential odour which lurks for years in a bale of cotton, was imported, by the abuse of trade, into the most distant regions. The mode of its propagation is explained by the remark of Procopius himself, that it always spread from the sea-coast to the inland country; the most sequestered islands and mountains were successively visited; the places which had escaped the fury of its first passage, were alone exposed to the contagion of the ensuing year. The winds might diffuse that subtle venom; but unless the atmosphere be previously disposed for its reception, the plague would soon expire in the cold or temperate climates of the earth. Such was the universal corruption of the air, that the pestilence which burst forth in the fifteenth year of Justinian was not checked or alleviated by any difference of the seasons. In time, its first malignity was abated and dispersed; the disease alternately languished and revived; but it was not till the end of a calamitous period of fifty-two years, that mankind recovered their health, or the air resumed its pure and salubrious quality. No facts have been preserved to sustain an account, or even a conjecture, of the numbers that perished in this extraordinary mortality. I only find, that during three months, five, and at length ten, thousand persons died each day at Constantinople; that many cities of the East were left vacant, and that in several districts of Italy the harvest and the vintage withered on the ground. The triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine, afflicted the subjects of Justinian, and his reign is disgraced by a visible decrease of the

human species, which has never been repaired in some of the fairest countries of the globe.<sup>95</sup>

## CHAP. XLIV.

*Idea of the Roman Jurisprudence. — The Laws of the Kings. — The Twelve Tables of the Decemvirs. — The Laws of the People. — The Decrees of the Senate. — The Edicts of the Magistrates and Emperors. — Authority of the Civilian. — Code, Pandects, Novels, and Institutes of Justinian: — I. Rights of Persons. — II. Rights of Things. — III. Private Injuries and Actions. — IV. Crimes and Punishments.*

THE vain titles of the victories of <sup>The Civil</sup> Justinian are crumbled into dust; or Roman law, but the name of the legislator is inscribed on a fair and everlasting monument. Under his reign, and by his care, the civil jurisprudence was digested in the immortal works of the CODE, the PANDECTS, and the INSTITUTES: <sup>1</sup> the public reason of the Romans has been silently or studiously transfused into the domestic institutions of Europe,<sup>2</sup> and the laws of Justinian still command the respect or obedience of independent nations. Wise or fortunate is the prince who connects his own reputation with the honour and interest of a perpetual order of men. The defence of their founder is the first cause which in every age has exercised the zeal and industry of the civilian. They piously commemorate his virtues; dissemble or deny his failings, and fiercely chastise the guilt or folly of the rebels who presume to sully the majesty of the purple. The idolatry of love has provoked, as it usually happens, the rancour of opposition: the character of Justinian has been exposed to the blind vehemence of flattery and invective; and the injustice of a sect (the *Anti-Tribonianians*) has refused all praise and merit to the prince, his ministers, and his laws.<sup>3</sup> Attached to no party, interested only for the truth and candour of history, and directed by the most temperate and skilful guides,<sup>4</sup> I enter with just diffidence on the subject of civil law, which has exhausted so many learned lives, and clothed the walls of such spacious libraries. In a single, if possible, in a short chapter, I shall trace the Roman jurisprudence from Romulus to Justinian,<sup>5</sup> appre-

<sup>93</sup> Mead proves that the plague is contagious, from Thucydides, Lucianus, Arrianus, Galen, and common experience (p. 102-103), and he refuses Procopius p. 1-10 for the contrary opinion of the French physicians who visited Marseilles in the year 1720. Yet these were the recent and the most violent symptoms of a plague which, in a few months, swept away 500,000 inhabitants (see the table of Marseilles, Paris, 1720) in a city that, in the present hour of prosperity and trade, contains no more than 50,000 souls (see Verri, *ser. Finanz.* tom. 1. p. 251).

<sup>94</sup> The strong assertions of Procopius, *de re edicta* c. 10-12, are confirmed by the silence of the compilers of Paganus, after some figures of rhetoric, the still silence of the *Novellæ*, and the *Novellæ* itself, which had been interrupted under the reign of the Imperial dominion. The expression is obscure in grammar and in sense, and a liberal interpretation would produce several millions of millions. Aldermanus (p. 107) is not consistent in p. 175, translate this passage, "two hundred millions," but I am ignorant of their motives. If we drop the *avariæ*, the remaining *avariæ* is a word of measure, would furnish one hundred millions, a number not very inconsiderable.

<sup>95</sup> The cruelties of the pluck ages I have established on altered and incomprehensible mode of quotation, which is supported by authorities and custom. In their references to the *Code*, the *Laws*, &c., and the *Institutes*, they mention the number, not of the book, but only of the

<sup>2</sup> Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and Scotland, have received them as a common law, in France, Italy, &c. they possess a secret or inferior influence, and they were respected in England, from Weoban to Edin and our national juristman (Huck de Usu et Auctoritate Juris Civis, lib. 1. c. 18-17. Henricus, Hist. Juris Germanici, c. 5, lib. 10. 77-121, and the legal historians of each country).

<sup>3</sup> Francis Hotoman, a learned and acute lawyer of the xvth century, wished to mortify Catholics, and to please the Chancellor de l'Hôpital. His *Anti-Tribonianians* (which I have never been able to procure) was published in French in 1600, and his sect was propagated in Germany (Huetius, *Opp.* tom. iii. syll. p. p. 171-175).

<sup>4</sup> I fully place the learned *scot*, who died at Halle, *scilicet* Bibliotheca Germanica, have been collected.

<sup>5</sup> The treatises which I have separately used are, 1. *Historia Juris Romani et Germanici*, Lugd. Batav. 1710, in 8vo. 2. *Synagoga*, *prædicta* in *illustrationem*, 2 vols. 3. *Elementa Juris Civilis secundum Tit. 1. lib. 1. Elementa Juris*, Tract. 1772, in 8vo. 2 vols.

<sup>6</sup> Our original text is a fragment of Origine Juris (Pandect. l. i. tit. 10) of Pomponius, a Roman lawyer, who lived under the Antonines (Huetius, tom. iii. syll. p. p. 66-120). It has been abridged, and probably corrupted, by Tribonian, and since restored by Bynkershoek (p. 100-101, p. 279-301).

ciate the labours of that emperor, and pause to contemplate the principles of a science so important to the peace and happiness of society. The laws of a nation form the most instructive portion of its history; and, although I have devoted myself to write the annals of a declining monarchy, I shall embrace the occasion to breathe the pure and invigorating air of the republic.

The primitive government of Rome<sup>5</sup> was composed, with some political skill, of an elective king, a council of nobles, and a general assembly of the people. War and religion were administered by the supreme magistrate; and he alone proposed the laws, which were debated in the senate, and finally ratified or rejected by a majority of votes in the thirty *curiæ* or parishes of the city. Romulus, Numa, and Servius Tullius, are celebrated as the most ancient legislators; and each of them claims his peculiar part in the threefold division of jurisprudence.<sup>7</sup> The laws of marriage, the education of children, and the authority of parents, which may seem to draw their origin from nature itself, are ascribed to the untutored wisdom of Romulus. The law of *nations* and of religious worship, which Numa introduced, was derived from his nocturnal converse with the nymph Egeria. The *civil* law is attributed to the experience of Servius; he balanced the rights and fortunes of the seven classes of citizens; and guarded, by fifty new regulations, the observance of contracts and the punishment of crimes. The state, which he had inclined towards a democracy, was changed by the last Tarquin into lawless despotism; and when the kingly office was abolished, the patricians engrossed the benefits of freedom. The royal laws became odious or obsolete; the mysterious deposit was silently preserved by the priests and nobles; and, at the end of sixty years, the citizens of Rome still complained that they were ruled by the arbitrary sentence of the magistrates. Yet the positive institutions of the kings had blended themselves with the public and private manners of the city; some fragments of that venerable jurisprudence<sup>8</sup> were

compiled by the diligence of antiquarians,<sup>9</sup> and above twenty texts still speak the rudeness of the Pelasgic idiom of the Latins.<sup>10</sup>

I shall not repeat the well-known story of the Decemvirs,<sup>11</sup> who sullied by their actions the honour of inscribing on brass, or wood, or ivory, the TWELVE TABLES of the Roman laws.<sup>12</sup> They were dictated by the rigid and jealous spirit of an aristocracy, which had yielded with reluctance to the just demands of the people. But the substance of the twelve tables was adapted to the state of the city; and the Romans had emerged from barbarism, since they were capable of studying and embracing the institutions of their more enlightened neighbours. A wise Ephesian was driven by envy from his native country: before he could reach the shores of Latium, he had observed the various forms of human nature and civil society; he imparted his knowledge to the legislators of Rome, and a statue was erected in the forum to the perpetual memory of Hermodorus.<sup>13</sup> The names and divisions of the copper money, the sole coin of the infant state, were of Dorian origin:<sup>14</sup> the harvests of Campania and Sicily relieved the wants of a people whose agriculture was often interrupted by war and faction; and since the trade was established,<sup>15</sup> the deputies who sailed from the Tyber might return from the same harbours with a more precious cargo of political wisdom. The colonies of Great Greece had transported and improved the arts of their mother country. Cumæ and Rhegium, Crotona and Tarentum, Aurigentum and Syracuse, were in the rank of the most flourishing cities. The disciples of Pythagoras applied philosophy to the use of government; the unwritten laws of Charondas accepted the aid of poetry and music;<sup>16</sup> and Zaleucus framed the republic of the Locrians, which stood without alteration above two hundred years.<sup>17</sup> From a similar motive of national pride, both Livy and Dionysius are willing to believe that the deputies of Rome visited Athens under the wise and splendid administration of Pericles; and the

The twelve tables of the Decemvirs

Cicero (*Orator*, Inscript. tom. ii. p. cxi.). Scipion Maffei, *Istoria Diplomatica*, p. 241—245. Philotheus Italique, tom. iii. p. 39—41. 174—205, tom. xiv. p. 1—32.

503 with Themistius *Hilicammasensis* the Locrian judged the

to 265 manuscript of the Locrian judged the

employed. 17 His exile is mentioned by Cicero (*Tusculan Disputation*, v. 36.); his return by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 11.). The latter, dream, and prophes of Heracles, are alike spurious (*Epistola Græc. Doyers*, p. 372.).

18 This intricate subject of the Sabeus and Ron in money, is ably discussed by Dr. Beccles (*Observation on the Epitaph of Phalaris*, p. 127—129), whose notions in this controversy were called forth by his critical treatment.

19 The Romans, or their ancestors, styled themselves a free people, and were called by the Greeks (*Hist. Nat.* xiv. 11.). Their usages to the Romans, are recorded by Livy and Dionysius.

20 The circumstance would improve the simplicity of Charondas, the legislator of Leurgium and Crotona, who, by a strange error of Thucydides (*Siculus*, tom. i. l. x. p. 87. 88. 89.), is called raised long afterwards, the author of the policy of Themistius.

21 Zaleucus, whose existence has been rashly attacked, had the merit and glory of converting a band of outlaws into the Romans, the most virtuous and orderly of the Greek republics (see two Vols. more of the *Bibliotheca Græca*, and *Plutarchus de la Græce*, tom. i. p. 270. 271.). The laws of Zaleucus and Charondas, which are said to be still in use at Sybaris, are the same in comparison of a few centuries as the laws of Solon, which are still in use at Athens, and which have been noticed by the citizens of Sicily of Sicily (p. 355—377.).

admitted by Muretor, his German editor. 8 The most ancient Code or Digest was styled *Lex Papianorum*, who flourished somewhat before or after the last judicial title, 53 and Hermodorus (*Hist. Nat.* xiv. 11.). The latter, dream, and prophes of Heracles, are alike spurious (*Epistola Græc. Doyers*, p. 372.). 10 This intricate subject of the Sabeus and Ron in money, is ably discussed by Dr. Beccles (*Observation on the Epitaph of Phalaris*, p. 127—129), whose notions in this controversy were called forth by his critical treatment.

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had aspired to be equal ; they were levelled by the equality of servitude ; and the dictates of Augustus were patiently ratified by the formal consent of the tribes or centuries. Once, and once only, he experienced a sincere and strenuous opposition. His subjects had resigned all political liberty ; they defended the freedom of domestic life. A law which enforced the obligation, and strengthened the bonds of marriage, was clamorously rejected ; Propertius, in the arms of Delia, applauded the victory of licentious love ; and the project of reform was suspended till a new and more tractable generation had arisen in the world.<sup>30</sup> Such an example was not necessary to instruct a prudent usurper of the mischief of popular assemblies ; and their abolition, which Augustus had silently prepared, was accomplished without resistance, and almost without notice, on the accession of his successor.<sup>31</sup> Sixty thousand plebeian legislators, whom numbers made formidable, and poverty secure, were supplanted by six hundred senators, who held their honours, their fortunes, and their lives, by the clemency of the emperor. The loss

Decrees of the senate. of executive power was alleviated by the gift of legislative authority ; and Ulpian might assert, after the practice of two hundred years, that the decrees of the senate obtained the force and validity of laws. In the times of freedom, the resolves of the people had often been dictated by the passion or error of the moment : the Cornelian, Pompeian, and Julian laws, were adapted by a single hand to the prevailing disorders ; but the senate, under the reign of the Cæsars, was composed of magistrates and lawyers, and in questions of private jurisprudence, the integrity of their judgment was seldom perverted by fear or interest.<sup>32</sup>

The silence or ambiguity of the laws was supplied by the occasional edicts of those magistrates who were invested with the *honours* of the state.<sup>3</sup> This ancient prerogative of the Roman kings was transferred, in their respective offices, to the consuls and dictators, the censors and prætors; and a similar right was assumed by the tribunes of the people, the ædiles, and the proconsuls. At Rome, and in the provinces, the duties of the subject, and the intentions of the governor, were proclaimed; and the civil jurisprudence was reformed by the annual edicts of the supreme judge, the prætor of the city. As soon as he ascended his tribunal, he announced by the voice of the crier, and afterwards inscribed on a white wall, the rules which he proposed to follow in the decision of doubtful cases, and the relief which his equity would afford from the precise rigour of ancient statutes. A principle of discretion more congenial to monarchy was introduced into the repub-

lic : the art of respecting the name, and eluding the efficacy, of the laws, was improved by successive prators ; subtleties and fictions were invented to defeat the plainest meaning of the Decemvirs, and where the end was salutary, the means were frequently absurd. The secret or probable wish of the dead was suffered to prevail over the order of succession and the forms of testaments ; and the claimant, who was excluded from the character of heir, accepted with equal pleasure from an indulgent prator the pos-session of the goods of his late kinsman or benefactor. In the redress of private wrongs, compensations and fines were substituted to the obsolete rigour of the twelve tables ; time and space were annihilated by fanciful suppositions ; and the plea of youth, or fraud, or violence, annulled the obligation, or excused the performance, of an inconvenient contract. A jurisdiction thus vague and arbitrary was exposed to the most dangerous abuse : the substance, as well as the form of justice, were often sacrificed to the prejudices of virtue, the bias of laudable affection, and the grosser seductions of interest or resentment.

But the errors or vices of each prætor expired with his annual office; such maxims alone as had been approved by reason and practice were copied by succeeding judges; the rule of proceeding was defined by the solution of new cases; and the temptations of injustice were removed by the Cornelian law, which compelled the prætor of the year to adhere to the letter and spirit of his first proclamation.<sup>34</sup> It was reserved for the curiosity and learning of Hadrian, to accomplish the design which had been conceived by the genius of Cæsar; and the prætorship of Salvius Julian, an eminent lawyer, was immortalised by the composition of the *perpetual* *edict*. This well-digested code was ratified by the emperor and the senate; the long divorce of law and equity was at length reconciled; and, instead of the twelve tables, the perpetual edict was fixed as the invariable standard of civil jurisprudence.<sup>35</sup>

From Augustus to Trajan, the modest Caesars were content to promulgate their edicts in the various characters of a Roman magistrate; and, in the decrees of the senate, the *epistles* and *orations* of the prince were respectfully inserted. Hadrian<sup>36</sup> appears to have been the first who assumed, without disguise, the plenitude of legislative power. And this innovation, so agreeable to his active mind, was countenanced by the patience of the times, and his long absence from the seat of government. The same policy was embraced by succeeding monarchs, and, according to the harsh metaphor of Tertullian, "the

50. *Piretumultus consuetum* perferre non potest (Cicero, in August c. 31). See Probert's *Index*. Hübner's *Index*, p. 2, history, has exhausted the whole subject of the Julian and Papian-Poppian laws, although not a Page 14731.

72 Non augustinian sentiment is further seen in the notion of *Umanitas* as *Udum* in Luther's Latin translation of 1534. Procopius fixes the *comitas* of the people as a *tertium hominum* (Hand et al., 1997, p. 104).

57 The inscriptional program of the pretors and other magistrates is strictly defined in the Latin text of the inscription ILLVMINATIO N<sup>o</sup> 76 and more fully explained in the Greek paraphrase of Theodoridis (p. 75). The word *kentz*, who drops the initial word *ka-* (*κα-*)

58 Diodorus also tells us that the *ἐκκλησία* was the perpetual edict in the year of Rome 686. Their institution, however, is dated to

[illegible][illegible]

"gloomy and intricate forest of ancient laws" was cleared away by the axe of royal mandates "and constitutions."<sup>37</sup> During four centuries, from Hadrian to Justinian, the public and private jurisprudence was moulded by the will of the sovereign; and few institutions, either human or divine, were permitted to stand on their former basis. The origin of Imperial legislation was concealed by the darkness of ages and the terrors of armed despotism; and a double fiction was propagated by the servility, or perhaps the ignorance, of the civilians, who basked in the sunshine of the Roman and Byzantine courts.

1. To the prayer of the ancient Cæsars, the people or the senate had sometimes granted a personal exemption from the obligation and penalty of particular statutes; and each indulgence was an act of jurisdiction exercised by the republic over the first of her citizens. His humble privilege was at length transformed into the prerogative of a tyrant; and the Latin expression of "released from the laws,"<sup>38</sup> was supposed to exalt the emperor above all human restraints, and to leave his conscience and reason as the sacred measure of his conduct. 2. A similar dependence was implied in the decrees of the senate, which, in every reign, defined the titles and powers of an elective magistrate. But it was not before the ideas, and even the language, of the Romans had been corrupted, that a royal law,<sup>39</sup> and an irrevocable gift of the people, were created by the fancy of Ulpian, or more probably of Tribonian himself,<sup>40</sup> and the origin of Imperial power, though false in fact, and slavish in its consequence, was supported on a principle of freedom and justice. "The

pleasure of the emperor has the vigour and effect of law, since the Roman people, by the royal law, have transferred to their prince the full extent of their own power and sovereignty."<sup>41</sup> The will of a single man, of a child perhaps, was allowed to prevail over the wisdom of ages and the inclinations of millions; and the degenerate Greeks were proud to declare, that in his hands alone the arbitrary exercise of legislation could be safely deposited. "What interest or passion," exclaims Theophilus in the court of Justinian, "can reach the calm and sublime elevation of the monarch? he is already master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects; and those who have incurred his displeasure, are already numbered with the dead."<sup>42</sup> Dis-

daining the language of flattery, the historian may confess, that in questions of private jurisprudence, the absolute sovereign of a great empire can seldom be influenced by any personal considerations. Virtue, or even reason, will suggest to his impartial mind, that he is the guardian of peace and equity, and that the interest of society is inseparably connected with his own. Under the weakest and most vicious reign, the seat of justice was filled by the wisdom and integrity of Papinian and Ulpian;<sup>43</sup> and the purest materials of the Code and Pandects are inscribed with the names of Caracalla and his ministers.<sup>44</sup> The tyrant of Rome was sometimes the benefactor of the provinces. A dagger terminated the crimes of Domitian; but the prudence of Nerva confirmed his acts, which, in the joy of their deliverance, had been rescinded by an indignant senate.<sup>45</sup>

Yet in the *rescripts*,<sup>46</sup> replies to the consultations of the magistrate, the wisest of princes might be deceived by a partial exposition of the case. And this abuse, which placed their hasty decisions on the same level with mature and deliberate acts of legislation, was effectually condemned by the sense and example of Trajan. The *rescripts* of the emperor, his *grants* and *decrees*, his *edicts* and *pragmatic sanctions*, were subscribed in purple ink,<sup>47</sup> and transmitted to the provinces as general or special laws, which the magistrates were bound to execute, and the people to obey. But as their number continually multiplied, the rule of obedience became each day more doubtful and obscure, till the will of the sovereign was fixed and ascertained in the Gregorian, the Hieronymian, and the Theodosian codes. The two first, of which some fragments have escaped, were framed by two private lawyers, to preserve the constitutions of the Pagan emperors from Hadrian to Constantine. The third, which is still extant, was digested in sixteen books by the order of the younger Theodosius, to consecrate the laws of the Christian princes from Constantine to his own reign. But the three codes obtained an equal authority in the tribunals; and any act which was not included in the sacred deposit might be disregarded by the judge as spurious or obsolete.<sup>48</sup>

Among savage nations, the want of letters is imperfectly supplied by the use of visible signs, which awaken attention, and perpetuate the remembrance of any public

Forms of the Roman law.

37 Totam illam veterem et squallentem sylvam legum novis principum receptis et edictis arboribus rursus et cedris (Apolog. c. 4. p. 56. edit. Havercamp). He professes to praise the recent firmness of Severus, who repealed the useless or pernicious laws, without any regard to their age or authority.

38 The constitutional style of *Legibus solutus* is misinterpreted by the art or ignorance of Dion Cassius (tom. i. lib. vi. p. 715.) On this

of royalty.

40 See Gravina (Opp. p. 501-512) and Bausfort (Republique Romaine, tom. i. p. 255-256). He has made a proper use of two dissertations by John Frederic Gronovius and Noodt, both translated, with valuable notes, by Barbeyrac, 2 vols. in 4to. 1748.

41 Institut. l. tit. vi. No. 6. Pandect. l. i. tit. vi. leg. i. Cod. Justinian. l. i. tit. xvii. leg. l. No. 7. In his Antiquities and Laws of the constitution and principles of the constitution of the Roman Empire, ed. Theodosius l. i.

42 Institut. p. 55. 74. edit. Reitz For his person, time, writings, see the Theophilus of J. H. Mylius, Excurs. iii. p. 1074-1075.

43 There is more even than reason in the complaint of Macrinus (Jul. Capitolin. c. 15.) Nefas esse leges videri Commodi et Caracallæ (Cassiodor. de legibus antiquarum volum. i.). Commodus was made a Divus by Severus (Dodwell, Pandect. viii. p. 324, 325.). Yet he occurs only twice in the Pandect.

44 Of Antoninus Code, and with his time in the Pandect.

45 Hist. Second. l.

46 It was a max. in of Constantine, contra his rescripta non valent (Cod. Theodos. l. i. tit. i. leg. 1.). The emperor reluctantly allowed some rescripts into the law, and the fact, some delay, yet none, No. 1, but these insufficient remedies are too much in the discretion and at the peril of the judge.

47 A coup d'oeil of variation and number, which marks the Imperial diplomas from Leo I. A. D. 450 to the fall of the Greek empire. (Bibliothèque R. sous le titre de Diplomatique, tom. i. p. 339-344. Lemaire de Eruditione Augustor. tom. i. p. 720-725.)

48 Schulting, Jurisprudentia Antiquissima, p. 681-718. Cujacius assigns to Gregory the reges from Hadrian to Gallienus, and the continuation to his fellow-labourer Hieronymus. This general division may be just, but they often trespass on each other's ground.

or private transaction. The jurisprudence of the first Romans exhibited the scenes of a pantomime; the words were adapted to the gestures, and the slightest error or neglect in the *forms* of proceeding was sufficient to annul the *substance* of the fairest claim. The communion of the marriage-life was denoted by the necessary elements of fire and water;<sup>49</sup> and the divorced wife resigned the bunch of keys, by the delivery of which she had been invested with the government of the family. The manumission of a son, or a slave, was performed by turning him round with a gentle blow on the cheek; a work was prohibited by the casting of a stone; prescription was interrupted by the breaking of a branch; the clenched fist was the symbol of a pledge or deposit; the right hand was the gift of faith and confidence. The indenture of covenants was a broken straw; weights and scales were introduced into every payment; and the heir who accepted a testament, was sometimes obliged to snap his fingers, to cast away his garments, and to leap and dance with real or affected transport.<sup>50</sup> If a citizen pursued any stolen goods into a neighbour's house, he concealed his nakedness with a linen towel, and hid his face with a mask or basin, lest he should encounter the eyes of a virgin or a matron.<sup>51</sup> In a civil action, the plaintiff touched the ear of his witness, seized his reluctant adversary by the neck, and implored, in solemn lamentation, the aid of his fellow-citizens. The two competitors grasped each other's hand as if they stood prepared for combat before the tribunal of the prætor: he commanded them to produce the object of the dispute; they went, they returned with measured steps, and a clod of earth was cast at his feet to represent the field for which they contended. This occult science of the words and actions of law was the inheritance of the pontiffs and patricians. Like the Chaldean astrologers, they announced to their clients the days of business and repose; these important trifles were interwoven with the religion of Numa; and, after the publication of the twelve tables, the Roman people was still enslaved by the ignorance of judicial proceedings. The treachery of some plebeian officers at length revealed the profitable mystery: in a more enlightened age, the legal actions were derided and observed; and the same antiquity which sanctified the practice, obliterated the use and meaning, of this primitive language.<sup>52</sup>

A more liberal art was cultivated, however, by the sages of Rome, who, in a stricter sense, may be considered as the authors of the civil law. The alteration of the idiom and manners of the Romans rendered the style of the twelve tables

less familiar to each rising generation, and the doubtful passages were imperfectly explained by the study of legal antiquarians. To define the ambiguities, to circumscribe the latitude, to apply the principles, to extend the consequences, to reconcile the real or apparent contradictions, was a much nobler and more important task ; and the province of legislation was silently invaded by the expounders of ancient statutes. Their subtle interpretations concurred with the equity of the prator, to reform the tyranny of the darker ages : however strange or intricate the means, it was the aim of artificial jurisprudence to restore the simple dictates of nature and reason, and the skill of private citizens was usefully employed to undermine the public institutions of their country. The revolution of almost one thousand years, from the twelve tables to the reign of Justinian, may be divided into three periods almost equal in duration, and distinguished from each other by the mode of instruction and the character of the civilians.<sup>55</sup>

Pride and ignorance contributed, during the first period, to confine within narrow limits the science of the Roman law. On the public days of market or assembly, the masters of the art were seen walking in the forum, ready to impart the needful advice to the meanest of their fellow-citizens, from whose votes, on a future occasion, they might solicit a grateful return. As their years and honours increased, they seated themselves at home on a chair or throne, to expect with patient gravity the visits of their clients, who at the dawn of day, from the town and country, began to thunder at their door. The duties of social life, and the incidents of judicial proceeding, were the ordinary subject of these consultations, and the verbal or written opinion of the *jurisconsults* was framed according to the rules of prudence and law. The youths of their own order and family were permitted to listen; their children enjoyed the benefit of more private lessons, and the Mucian race was long renowned for the hereditary knowledge of the civil law.

The second period, the learned and splendid age of jurisprudence, may be extended from the birth of Cicero to the reign of Severus Alexander. A system was formed, schools were instituted, books were composed, and both the living and the dead became subservient to the instruction of the student. The *tripartite* of Ælius Pætus, surnamed Catus, or the Cunning, was preserved as the oldest work of jurisprudence. Cato the censor derived some additional fame from his legal studies, and those of his son the kindred appellation of Mucius Scævola was illustrated by three sages of the law; but the perfection of the science was

Second period.  
A. U. C.  
618-798.

Scorvola the master of Pa-  
and water is the essence of  
See HEMLOCK, Hist. J. R.

50 Cicero (de Officiis, in 10) may state an ideal case, but St. Ambrose (de Officiis, in 2) appeals to the practice of his own times, which he understood as a lawyer and a magistrate (Schulting ad Plinius Epistolas lib. 9, c. 10, p. 617 Ed.).

the forms and mysteries of the elements, which are represented with more candour by Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Attic.* xv. 16), Gravius (*Opp.* p. 265, 266, 267), and Hemeceus (*Antiquit.* l. vi. tit. vi).

55 The series of the civil lawyers is deduced by Pomponius (de Origine Juris, Praefatio, 1-10, 11-13). The moderns have discussed, with learning and criticism, this branch of literary history, and among these I have chiefly been guided by (the *op. cit.*, pp. 41-79), and Hübner (*Hist. J. R. N.*, 117-741). Cicero, more especially, in his book of *Oratoribus*, of C. R. (117-741), and the *Oratorum* of Ernesti (under the name of *Oratorum*), are of great value for genuine and pleasing information.

Agricola laudat, pars legumque, citius  
Sub grana cantant, convulsit ubi est, a pulsat  
Rorae dum e diu fiat et sublimis, reclusa  
Mare domo vigilat, cunctis in turris, aura.



the laws of the republic ; and the judges might disregard the authority of the *Scævolas* themselves, which was often overthrown by the eloquence or sophistry of an ingenious pleader.<sup>60</sup> Augustus and Tiberius were the first to adopt, as an useful engine, the science of the civilians ; and their servile labours accommodated the old system to the spirit and views of despotism. Under the fair pretence of securing the dignity of the art, the privilege of subscribing legal and valid opinions was confined to the sages of senatorian or equestrian rank, who had been previously approved by the judgment of the prince ; and this monopoly prevailed, till Hadrian restored the freedom of the profession to every citizen conscious of his abilities and knowledge. The discretion of the prætor was now governed by the lessons of his teachers ; the judges were enjoined to obey the comment as well as the text of the law ; and the use of codicils was a memorable innovation, which Augustus ratified by the advice of the civilians.<sup>61</sup>

**Sects.**

The most absolute mandate could only require that the judges should agree with the civilians, if the civilians agreed among themselves. But positive institutions are often the result of custom and prejudice ; laws and language are ambiguous and arbitrary where reason is incapable of pronouncing, the love of argument is inflamed by the envy of rivals, the vanity of masters, the blind attachment of their disciples ; and the Roman jurisprudence was divided by the once famous sects of the *Proculians* and *Sabinians*.<sup>62</sup> Two sages of the law, *Atcius Capito* and *Antistius Labeo*,<sup>63</sup> adorned the peace of the Augustan age ; the former distinguished by the favour of his sovereign ; the latter more illustrious by his contempt of that favour, and his stern though harmless opposition to the tyrant of Rome. Their legal studies were influenced by the various colours of their temper and principles. *Labeo* was attached to the form of the old republic ; his rival embraced the more profitable substance of the rising monarchy. But the disposition of a courtier is tame and submissive ; and *Capito* seldom presumed to deviate from the sentiments, or at least from the words, of his predecessors ; while the bold republican pursued his independent ideas without fear of paradox or innovations. The freedom of *Labeo* was enslaved, however, by the rigour of his own conclusions, and he decided, according to the letter of the law, the same questions which his indulgent competitor resolved with a latitude of

60 Read Cicero, l. i de Oratore, Topica, pro Murena.  
61 See Pomponius' *Origine Juris*. Evident l. i tit. p. leg. 2  
No. 47). Memoires (ed. Inguet) l. i tit. i No. 5 l. ii tit. xxxvii  
Element. et Antiquit. lib. Gravati (p. II-III). Yet the monopoly  
of Ausimius, an Irish measure, would appear well suited  
to offering in contemporary evidence, and it was probably valued by a  
large part of the Senate.

62 I have perused the Dietrich of Gottholdus Masovius, the learned Masovian, de *Sectis Jurisconsultorum* (Lipsiae, 1728, in 4mo. p. 276), a learned treatise on a narrow and barren ground.

a learned treatise on *Indignitas* in a letter to Gellius (65). See the character of Aemilius Labeo in Tacitus (Annals, ii, 75) and in an epistle of Aetius Capito (Aur. Gem., viii, 121) who accuses his rival of *libertas minus et modestas*. Yet Horace would not have lashed a virtuous and respectable senator, and I must admit the emendation of Bentley, who reads *libertas inanimata* (term 1 in 82). See Masc. in de *Actis* (c. i, p. 1-21).

p. 677, 680) has commemorated this weighty doctrine, and the verses

Pr. cumans. to su-  
with the aphorism

equity more suitable to the common sense and feelings of mankind. If a fair exchange had been substituted to the payment of money, Capito still considered the transaction as a legal sale;<sup>64</sup> and he consulted nature for the age of puberty, without confining his definition to the precise period of twelve or fourteen years.<sup>65</sup> This opposition of sentiments was propagated in the writings and lessons of the two founders; the schools of Capito and Labeo maintained their inveterate conflict from the age of Augustus to that of Hadrian;<sup>66</sup> and the two sects derived their appellations from Sabinus and Proculus, their most celebrated teachers. The names of *Cassians* and *Pegasians* were likewise applied to the same parties; but, by a strange reverse, the popular cause was in the hands of Pegasus,<sup>67</sup> a timid slave of Domitian, while the favourite of the Cæsars was represented by Cassius,<sup>68</sup> who gloried in his descent from the patriot assassin.

By the perpetual edict, the controversies of the sects were in a great measure determined. For that important work, the emperor Hadrian preferred the chief of the Sabinians: the friends of monarchy prevailed; but the moderation of **Salvius Julian** insensibly reconciled the victors and the vanquished. Like the contemporary philosophers, the lawyers of the age of the **Antonines** disclaimed the authority of a master, and adopted from every system the most probable doctrines.<sup>69</sup> But their writings would have been less voluminous, had their choice been more unanimous. The conscience of the judge was perplexed by the number and weight of discordant testimonies, and every sentence that his passion or interest might pronounce, was justified by the sanction of some venerable name. An indulgent edict of the younger **Theodosius** excused him from the labour of comparing and weighing their arguments. Five civilians, **Caius**, **Papinian**, **Paul**, **Ulpian**, and **Modestinus**, were established as the oracles of jurisprudence: a majority was decisive; but if their opinions were equally divided, a casting vote was ascribed to the superior wisdom of **Papinian**.<sup>70</sup>

When Justinian ascended the throne, the reformation of the Roman jurisprudence was an arduous but indispensable task. In the space of ten centuries, the infinite variety of laws and legal opinions had filled many thousand volumes, which no fortune could purchase and no capacity could digest. Books could not easily be found; and the judges, poor in the midst of riches, were

Reformation of the Roman law by Justinian. A. D. 527, &c.

Reformation  
of the Roman  
law by Justi-  
nian.  
A. D. 527, &c.

A. D. McI, &amp;c.

of 14 pnycteres, who was attached to the septenary number of two weeks of years, or 700 of days (Instit. lib. tit. xxi) — Plutarch and the Stoics (de lib. et sap. 15, 1, 21) assign a more natural reason. Fourteen years is the age —  $\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma\ \delta\ \sigma\upsilon\mu\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$  — see the table of the series in Macrobius 1, 1, 11 — 20.

11. The series and conclusion of the sect. are described by Maxera (c. 1 - vii p. 21-120), and it would be almost ridiculous to praise his equal justice to these obnoxious sects.

[illegible][illegible]



reduced to the exercise of their illiterate discretion. The subjects of the Greek provinces were ignorant of the language that disposed of their lives and properties; and the *barbarous* dialect of the Latins was imperfectly studied in the academies of Berytus and Constantinople. As an Illyrian soldier, that idiom was familiar to the infancy of Justinian; his youth had been instructed by the lessons of jurisprudence, and his Imperial choice selected the most learned civilians of the East, to labour with their sovereign in the work of reformation.<sup>71</sup> The theory of professors was assisted by the practice of advocates, and the experience of magistrates; and the whole undertaking was animated by the spirit of Tribonian.<sup>72</sup> This extra-

the quaestor was speedily restored, and till the hour of his death, he possessed, above twenty years, the favour and confidence of the emperor. His passive and dutiful submission has been honoured with the praise of Justinian himself, whose vanity was incapable of discerning how often that submission degenerated into the grossest adulation. Tribonian adored the virtues of his gracinus master: the earth was unworthy of such a prince; and he affected a pious fear, that Justinian, like Elijah or Romulus, would be snatched into the air, and translated alive to the mansions of celestial glory.<sup>74</sup>

If Cæsar had achieved the reformation of the Roman law, his creative genius, enlightened by reflection and study, would have given to the world a pure and original system of jurisprudence. Whatever flattery might suggest, the emperor of the East was afraid to establish his private judgment as the standard of equity : in the possession of legislative power, he borrowed the aid of time and opinion ; and his laborious compilations are guarded by the sages and legislators of past times. Instead of a statue cast in a simple mould by the hand of an artist, the works of Justinian represent a tessellated pavement of antique and costly, but too often of incoherent, fragments. In the first year of his reign, he directed the faithful Tribonian, and nine learned associates, to revise the ordinances of his predecessors, as they were contained, since the time of Hadrian, in the Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodosian codes ; to purge the errors and contradictions, to retrench whatever was obsolete or superfluous, and to select the wise and salutary laws best adapted to the practice of the tribunals and the use of his subjects. The work was accomplished in fourteen months ; and the twelve books or *tables*, which the new decemvirs produced, might be designed to imitate the labours of their Roman predecessors. The new Code of Justinian was honoured with his name, and confirmed by his royal signature : authentic transcripts were multiplied by the pens of notaries and scribes ; they were transmitted to the magistrates of the European, the Asiatic, and afterwards the African provinces : and the law of the empire was proclaimed on solemn festivals at the doors of churches. A more arduous operation was still behind : to extract the spirit of jurisprudence from the decisions and conjectures, the questions and disputes, of the Roman civilians. Seventeen lawyers, with Tribonian at their head, were appointed by the emperor to exercise an absolute jurisdiction over the works of their predecessors. If they had obeyed his commands in ten years, Justinian would have

The code of Justinian, A.D. 529, Feb. 15, A.D. 529, April 7.

The Pandects or Digest, A.D. 530, Dec. 15, A.D. 530, Dec. 15, 1757.

The code of  
Justinian.  
A. D. 528,  
Feb. 13.  
A. D. 529,  
April 7.

The Pandects  
or Digest.  
A D 530,  
Dec. 11.  
A D 529,  
Dec. 11.

A. D. 527—516, ordinary man, the object of so much praise and censure, was a native of Side in Pamphylia; and his genius, like that of Bacon, embraced, as his own, all the business and knowledge of the age. Tribonian composed, both in prose and verse, on a strange diversity of curious and abstruse subjects: <sup>72</sup> a double panegyric of Justinian and the life of the philosopher Theodotus; the nature of happiness and the duties of government; Homer's catalogue and the four and twenty sorts of metre; the astronomical canon of Ptolemy; the changes of the months; the houses of the planets; and the harmonic system of the world. To the literature of Greece he added the use of the Latin tongue; the Roman civilians were deposited in his library and in his mind; and he most assiduously cultivated those arts which opened the road of wealth and perfection. From the bar of the prætorian præfects, he raised himself to the honours of quæstor, of consul, and of master of the offices: the council of Justinian listened to his eloquence and wisdom, and envy was mitigated by the gentleness and affability of his manners. The reproaches of impiety and avarice have stained the virtues or the reputation of Tribonian. In a bigoted and persecuting court, the principal minister was accused of a secret aversion to the Christian faith, and was supposed to entertain the sentiments of an Atheist and a Pagan, which have been imputed, inconsistently enough, to the last philosophers of Greece. His avarice was more clearly proved and more sensibly felt. If he were swayed by gifts in the administration of justice, the example of Bacon will again occur; nor can the merit of Tribonian atone for his baseness, if he degraded the sanctity of his profession; and if laws were every day enacted, modified, or repealed, for the base consideration of his private emolument. In the sedition of Constantinople, his removal was granted to the clamours, perhaps to the just indignation, of the people: but

71 For the legal labours of Justinian, I have studied the Preface to the Institutes, the 1st, 2d, and 3d Prefaces to the Pandects, the 1st and 2d Prefaces to the Code and the Code itself (l. i. tit. xvi. de Veteri Jure enuchando). After these original testimonies, I have

19-125.  
D. est or

72 For the character of Tribonian, see the testimonies of Procopius (Persic. l. i. c. 23, 24; Anecd. c. 13 (203) and Spulaskian in p. 101, edit. Kuster). Indewig (in V. Justinian, p. 175-205) works hard, very hard, to white wash — the black — record.

circumstance so exactly tallies. Yet the lawyers appear ignorant; and Fabreus is inclined to separate the two characters (Rabbot, *Græc.* tom. i p. 541 n. p. 545 in p. 448, xii. p. 316, 323, 474.).

74 The story is related by Heliodorus (de Viris Illustribus), Praepositus (Anecdota C. 153), and Suidas (tom. m. p. 361). Such flattery is incredible.<sup>1</sup>

been satisfied with their diligence; and the rapid composition of the *DIGEST OF PANDECTS*,<sup>75</sup> in three years, will deserve praise or censure, according to the merit of the execution. From the library of Tribonian, they chose forty, the most eminent civilians of former times: <sup>76</sup> two thousand treatises were comprised in an abridgment of fifty books; and it has been carefully recorded, that three millions of lines, or sentences,<sup>77</sup> were reduced, in this abstract, to the moderate number of one hundred and fifty thousand. The edition of this great work was delayed a month after that of the *INSURREXES*; and it seemed reasonable that the elements should precede the digest of the Roman law. As soon as the emperor had approved their labours, he ratified, by his legislative power, the speculations of these private citizens: their commentaries, on the twelve tables, the perpetual edict, the laws of the people, and the decrees of the senate, succeeded to the authority of the text; and the text was abandoned, as an useless, though venerable, relic of antiquity. The *Code*, the *Pandects*, and the *Institutes*, were declared to be the legitimate system of civil jurisprudence; they alone were admitted in the tribunals, and they alone were taught in the academies of Rome, Constantinople, and Berytus. Justinian addressed to the senate and provinces, his *eternal oracles*; and his pride, under the mask of piety, ascribed the consummation of this great design to the support and inspiration of the Deity.

Since the emperor declined the fame and envy of original composition, we can only require at his hands, method, choice, and fidelity, the humble, though indispensable, virtues of a compiler. Among the various combinations of ideas, it is difficult to assign any reasonable preference; but as the order of Justinian is different in his three works, it is possible that all may be wrong; and it is certain that two cannot be right. In the selection of ancient laws, he seems to have viewed his predecessors without jealousy, and with equal regard: the series could not ascend above the reign of Hadrian, and the narrow distinction of Paganism and Christianity, introduced by the superstition of Theodosius, had been abolished by the consent of mankind. But the jurisprudence of the *Pandects* is circumscribed within a period of an hundred years, from the perpetual edict to the death of Severus Alexander: the civilians who lived under the first Cæsars are seldom permitted to speak, and only three names

can be attributed to the age of the republic. The favourite of Justinian (it has been fiercely urged) was fearful of encountering the light of freedom and the gravity of Roman sages. Tribonian condemned to oblivion the genuine and native wisdom of Cato, the Særvolus, and Sulpicius; while he invoked spirits more congenial to his own, the Syrians, Greeks, and Africans, who flocked to the Imperial court to study Latin as a foreign tongue, and jurisprudence as a lucrative profession. But the ministers of Justinian<sup>78</sup> were instructed to labour, not for the curiosity of antiquarians, but for the immediate benefit of his subjects. It was their duty to select the useful and practical parts of the Roman law; and the writings of the old republicans, however curious or excellent, were no longer suited to the new system of manners, religion, and government. Perhaps, if the preceptors and friends of Cicero were still alive, our emulous would acknowledge, that, except in purity of language,<sup>79</sup> their intrinsic merit was excelled by the school of Papinian and Ulpian. The science of the laws is the slow growth of time and experience, and the advantage both of method and materials is naturally assumed by the most recent authors. The civilians of the reign of the Antonines had studied the works of their predecessors: their philosophic spirit had mitigated the rigour of antiquity, simplified the forms of proceeding, and emerged from the jealousy and prejudice of the rival sects. The choice of the authorities that compose the *Pandects*, depended on the judgment of Tribonian; but the power of his sovereign could not absolve him from the sacred obligations of truth and fidelity. As the legislator of the empire, Justinian might repeal the acts of the Antonines, or condemn, as seditious, the free principles, which were maintained by the last of the *Roman lawyers*.<sup>80</sup> But the existence of past facts is placed beyond the reach of despotism; and the emperor was guilty of fraud and forgery, when he corrupted the integrity of their text, inscribed with their venerable names the words and ideas of his servile reign,<sup>81</sup> and suppressed, by the hand of power, the pure and authentic copies of their sentiments. The changes and interpolations of Tribonian and his colleagues, are excused by the pretence of uniformity: but their cares have been insufficient, and the *antinomies*, or contradictions of the *Code* and *Pandects*, still exercise the patience and subtlety of modern civilians.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>75</sup> *Harbœus* (general receivers) was a common title of the Greek miscellaneous (*Phil. Prefat. ad Hist. Natur.*). The *Digest* of Savary, Marcellinus, Gellius, were similarly familiar to the civilians; but Justinian was in the wrong when he named the two appellations as synonymous. Is the word *Pandect* for *liber* or *litteræ*—in *medicina* or *medicines*? The diligent Brechenian will not promise to divide these momentous controversies. (*Hist. Pandect. Florentinæ*, p. 700—704.)

<sup>76</sup> Angustinus Polidorianus (*U. Epist. ad Tit. de leg. l. 1. p. 142—144*) civilians quoted in the *Pandects*—*Alciacius*, and, for his times, an extraordinary list. The Greek index to the *Pandects* enumerates thirty-nine, and forty are produced by the *Index* of the *Ulpian* (Biblioth. Græc. Rom. in. p. 188—202). Antoninus Augustus the Nomophilus, Proculus, Pandectus (*Ulpian*, p. 297) is still to have added fifty-four names, but they must be a spurious or second-hand references.

<sup>77</sup> The *Text* of the ancient MSS. may be strictly denominated sentences or periods of a complete sense, who, on the breadth of the parchment roll—or—

<sup>78</sup> The number of *scribes* (Ludew. . . . .) . . . . .

<sup>79</sup> An ingenious and learned edition of Schultingius (*Unsprædita Ante-Justiniana*, p. 553—507.) justifies the choice of Tribonian, against the passionate charges of Francis Hottonian and his

several.

<sup>79</sup> Strip away the crust of Tribonian, and allow for the use of technical words, and the Latin of the *Pandects* will be found not unworthy of the *literæ* use. It has been vehemently attacked by Laurentius Valla, Crisostomus grammaticus in the 15th century, and by his apostle at Floridus Salomus. It has been defended by Alciac, and a number of authors, who insist, probably justly, that it is a very elegant treatise as collected by Beker (*Opuscula de Latinitate veterum Jurisconsultorum*, Lugd. Bat. 1721, in 12mo.).

<sup>80</sup> Nonnulli quidem veteribus servationibus, legum antem veritatem restituerunt. Insuper singulis in his *novis* omnia multa antea falsa erant, et reperta, hoc decembris et octiduum, et in periculum hinc deducit ad est quæque legi (Cod. Justinian. l. 1. tit. xvi. leg. 3. No. 10.) A frank confession!

<sup>81</sup> The number of these *novæ* (l. 1. tit. xvi. leg. 3. No. 10.) is more for forgery, than for the correction of the law, which is the object of the *novæ* (l. 1. tit. xvi. leg. 3. No. 10.) A frank confession!

<sup>82</sup> The *antinomie*, or opposite laws of the *Code* and *Pandects*, are some, even the same, with the *novæ*, and some are the property of the *novæ*, which is the object of the *novæ* (l. 1. tit. xvi. leg. 3. No. 10.) A frank confession!



shame his judgments and his laws.<sup>5</sup> The charge of the secret historian is indeed explicit and vehement ; but the sole instance, which he produces, may be ascribed to the devotion as well as to the avarice of Justinian. A wealthy bigot had bequeathed his inheritance to the church of Emesa ; and its value was enhanced by the dexterity of an artist, who subscribed confessions of debt and promises of payment with the names of the richest Syrians. They pleaded the established prescription of thirty or forty years ; but their defence was overruled by a retrospective edict, which extended the claims of the church to the term of a century ; an edict so pregnant with injustice and disorder, that, after serving this occasional purpose, it was prudently abolished in the same reign.<sup>6</sup> If candour will acquit the emperor himself, and transfer the corruption to his wife and favourites, the suspicion of so foul a vice must still degrade the majesty of his laws ; and the advocates of Justinian may acknowledge, that such levity, whatsoever be the motive, is unworthy of a legislator and a man.

Monarchs seldom condescend to become the preceptors of their subjects; and some praise is due to Justinian, by whose command an ample system was reduced to a short and elementary treatise. Among the various institutes of the Roman law,<sup>67</sup> those of Cuius<sup>68</sup> were the most popular in the East and West; and their use may be considered as an evidence of their merit. They were selected by the Imperial delegates, Tribonian, Theophilus, and Dorotheus: and the freedom and purity of the Antonines was incrustrated with the coarser materials of a degenerate age. The same volume which introduced the youth of Rome, Constantinople, and Berytus, to the gradual study of the Code and Pandects, is still precious to the historian, the philosopher, and the magistrate. The *INSTITUTES* of Justinian are divided into four books; they proceed, with no contemptible method, from, I. *Persons*, to, II. *Things*, and from things, to, III. *Actions*; and the article IV. of *Private Wrongs*, is terminated by the principles of *Criminal Law*.

I. The distinction of ranks and persons, is the firmest basis of a mixed and limited government. In France, the remains of liberty are kept alive by the spirit, the honour, and even the prejudices, of fifty thousand nobles.<sup>(4)</sup> Two hundred families supply, in lineal descent, the second branch of the English legislature, which maintains, between the king and commons, the balance of the constitution. A gradation of patricians and plebeians, of strangers and subjects, has supported the aristocracy of Genoa, Venice, and ancient Rome. The perfect equality of men is the

point in which the extremes of democracy and despotism are confounded : since the majesty of the prince or people would be offended, if any heads were exalted above the level of their fellow-slaves or fellow-citizens. In the decline of the Roman empire, the proud distinctions of the republic were gradually abolished, and the reason or instinct of Justinian completed the simple form of an absolute monarchy. The emperor could not eradicate the popular reverence which always waits on the possession of hereditary wealth, or the memory of famous ancestors. He delighted to honour, with titles and emoluments, his generals, magistrates, and senators ; and his precarious indulgence communicated some rays of their glory to the persons of their wives and children. But in the eye of the law, all Roman citizens were equal, and all subjects of the empire were citizens of Rome. That inestimable character was degraded to an obsolete and empty name. The voice of a Roman could no longer enact his laws, or create the annual ministers of his power : his constitutional rights might have checked the arbitrary will of a master ; and the bold adventurer from Germany or Arabia was admitted, with equal favour, to the civil and military command, which the citizen alone had been once entitled to assume over the conquests of his fathers. The first Cæsars had scrupulously guarded the distinction of *ingenuous* and *servile* birth, which was decided by the condition of the mother ; and the candour of the laws was satisfied, if *her* freedom could be ascertained, during a single moment, between the conception and the delivery. The slaves, who were liberated by a generous master, immediately entered into the middle class of *libertus* or freedmen ; but they could never be enfranchised from the duties of obedience and gratitude : whatever were the fruits of their industry, their patron and his family inherited the third part ; or even the whole of their fortune, if they died without children and without a testament. Justinian respected the rights of patrons ; but his indulgence removed the badge of disgrace from the two inferior orders of freedmen : whoever ceased to be a slave, obtained, without reserve or delay, the station of a citizen ; and at length the dignity of an ingenuous birth, which nature had refused, was created, or supposed, by the omnipotence of the emperor. Whatever restraints of age, or forms, or numbers, had been formerly introduced to check the abuse of manumissions, and the too rapid increase of vile and indigent Romans, he finally abolished ; and the spirit of his laws promoted the extinction of domestic servitude. Yet the eastern provinces were filled, in the time of Justinian, with multitudes of slaves, either born or purchased for the use of their masters ; and the price, from ten to seventy

95 Montesquieu, *Considerations sur la Grandeur et la Détérioration des Romains*, c. 20, torn. III, p. 171. On trouve l'occasion he  
thru we, while the gown and cap of a French courtier. Montesquieu  
96. Priam's, *Préface*, p. 18. As a result, the work was granted to

the church of Rome (Noyes, 1970, p. 232). For 200 years, it was at the  
 midst of previous indulgences, see Noyes, 1970, p. 232.

9. Lactantius, in his *Institutiones Divinae*, wrote a treatise on the  
 specious work, progress to the state of the world, and the state of  
 civilians. Quoted in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1973, p. 100.

10. *Juris composita*, edited by the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1973, p. 100. Such as  
 Ulpian, Paul, Perennius, Marcian.

98 The emperor Justinian calls his *sacra*, the *usque* in a *lex* *habetur*.

[illegible]



were more sensibly felt by the humanity, of the Augustan age; and the cruel Erixo, who whipt his son till he expired, was saved by the emperor from the just fury of the multitude.<sup>109</sup> The Roman father, from the licence of servile dominion, was reduced to the gravity and moderation of a judge. The presence and opinion of Augustus confirmed the sentence of exile pronounced against an intentional parricide by the domestic tribunal of Arius. Hadrian transported to an island the jealous parent, who, like a robber, had seized the opportunity of hunting, to assassinate a youth, the incestuous lover of his step-mother.<sup>110</sup> A private jurisdiction is repugnant to the spirit of monarchy; the parent was again reduced from a judge to an accuser; and the magistrates were enjoined by Severus Alexander to hear his complaints and execute his sentence. He could no longer take the life of a son without incurring the guilt and punishment of murder; and the pains of parricide, from which he had been excepted by the Pompeian law, were finally inflicted by the justice of Constantine.<sup>111</sup> The same protection was due to every period of existence; and reason must applaud the humanity of Paulus, for imputing the crime of murder to the father, who strangles, or starves, or abandons his new-born infant; or exposes him in a public place to find the mercy which he himself had denied. But the exposition of children was the prevailing and stubborn vice of antiquity: it was sometimes prescribed, often permitted, almost always practised with impunity, by the nations who never entertained the Roman ideas of paternal power; and the dramatic poets, who appeal to the human heart, represent with indifference a popular custom which was palliated by the motives of economy and compassion.<sup>112</sup> If the father could subdue his own feelings, he might escape, though not the censure, at least the chastisement of the laws; and the Roman empire was stained with the blood of infants, till such murders were included, by Valentinian and his colleagues, in the letter and spirit of the Cornelian law. The lessons of jurisprudence<sup>113</sup> and Christianity had been insufficient to eradicate this inhuman practice, till their gentle influence was fortified by the terrors of capital punishment.<sup>114</sup>

Husbands and  
WIVES. Experience has proved, that sa-  
vages are the tyrants of the female

sex, and that the condition of women is usually softened by the refinements of social life. In the hope of a robust progeny, Lycurgus had delayed the season of marriage : it was fixed by Numa at the tender age of twelve years, that the Roman husband might educate to his will a pure and obedient virgin.<sup>113</sup> According to the custom of antiquity, <sup>The religious  
rites of mar-  
riage</sup> he bought his bride of her parents, and she fulfilled the *coemptio*, by purchasing, with three pieces of copper, a just introduction to his house and household duties. A sacrifice of fruits was offered by the pontiff in the presence of ten witnesses ; the contracting parties were seated on the same sheepskin ; they tasted a salt cake of *far* or rice ; and this *confractio*,<sup>115</sup> which denoted the ancient food of Italy, served as an emblem of their mystic union of mind and body. But this union on the side of the woman was rigorous and unequal ; and she renounced the name and worship of her father's house, to embrace a new servitude, decorated only by the title of adoption. A fiction of the law, neither rational nor elegant, bestowed on the mother of a family<sup>117</sup> (her proper appellation) the strange characters of sister to her own children, and of daughter to her husband or master, who was invested with the plenitude of paternal power. By his judgment or caprice her behaviour was approved, or censured, or chastised ; he exercised the jurisdiction of life and death ; and it was allowed, that in the cases of adultery or drunkenness,<sup>118</sup> the sentence might be properly inflicted. She acquired and inherited for the sole profit of her lord ; and so clearly was woman defined, not as a *person*, but as a *thing*, that, if the original title were deficient, she might be claimed, like other moveables, by the *use* and possession of an entire year. The inclination of the Roman husband discharged or withheld the conjugal debt, so scrupulously exacted by the Athenian and Jewish laws :<sup>119</sup> but as polygamy was unknown, he could never admit to his bed a fairer or more favoured partner.

After the Punic triumphs, the matrons of Rome aspired to the common benefits of a free and opulent republic: their wishes were gratified by the indulgence of fathers and lovers, and their ambition was unsuccessfully resisted by the gravity of Cato the Censor.<sup>120</sup> They declined the

109 The examples of Eryx and Aras are related by Seneca (de Clementia, 1.11.14), the former with horror, the latter with amusement.

Titulus 1. xix. in Pandect. l. xxi. tit. ix. leg. i.

111 The Pompeian and Cornelian laws de *municiis* and *parricidis*, are repeated, or rather abridged, with the last supplements of Alexander Severus, Constantine, and Valentinian, in the Prefect. (Glynn. tit. viii. c. 1. and Code. tit. ix. tit. xvi. c. 1.) See likewise the Theodosian Code. tit. xv. tit. xvi. c. 1. with the most commentaries from, in, p. 81–117, who pours a flood of ancient and modern learning on the three municipal laws.

112 When the Chieries of Terence reproaches his wife for not obeying his order, and exposing their infant, he speaks like a father and a master, and sentences the scurvy of a foolish woman. See Apuleius (*Metamorph.* l. x. p. 551. edit. Dolphin).

113 The opinion of the lawyers, and the discretion of the magistrates, who had the honor to be consulted, were in favor of the petitioners.

and humane sentence of the crime. Paul the  
Sentential, in his *Autobiography*, has recorded a  
more moral precept for Gerard Noddy, the  
1777-1788, and *Amica Responsum*, p. 231-232, who maintain the  
opinion of Justus Lipsius (1596-1606), cont.  
1777, and is a positive binding by the  
1777-1788, and *Amica Responsum*, p. 231-232.

--127). In a learned but angry controversy the two friends deviated into the opposite extremes.

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the *adige*, or the unburnt oil, the *per*, infant, *urges*, whose description perfectly tallies with the rice of Spain and Ital. I adopt this identity on the credit of M. Fauchon in his useful and laborious *Métrologie* (p. 117-124).

117. Aulus Gellius (N. Aes. Att. v, xvi, 63) gives a ridiculous definition of *Aulus Melissus*. Mutton spiced with *melissae* (garlic) is *quisqueus peperti*, as *proscra* and *stroph* in the sow kind. He then adds the genuine meaning, *quis in matrimonium vel in manum*

115 It was enough to have fasted wine, or to have stolen the key of the cellar (Phn. Hist. Nat. xiv 114).

only debt was imposed on an idle, vigorous, young husband twice a week on a citizen, once on a peasant, once in thirty days on a coach driver, once in six months on a seaman. But the student or doctor was free from tribute, and a wife, if she received a weekly sustenance, neither from her husband, nor from the state, could be called upon to

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$\lambda_1, \lambda_2, \dots, \lambda_n$  are the eigenvalues of  $A$ , then  $\lambda_1, \lambda_2, \dots, \lambda_n$  are the eigenvalues of  $A^T$ .  
 If  $A$  is a real symmetric matrix, then  $A$  is orthogonally diagonalizable, i.e., there exists an orthogonal matrix  $Q$  such that  $Q^T A Q = D$ , where  $D$  is a diagonal matrix whose entries are the eigenvalues of  $A$ .  
 If  $A$  is a real symmetric matrix, then the eigenvectors corresponding to distinct eigenvalues are orthogonal.



and gently inclined the scale in favour of the guiltless and injured party. Augustus, who united the powers of both magistrates, adopted their different modes of repressing or chastising the licence of divorce.<sup>128</sup> The presence of seven Roman witnesses was required for the validity of this solemn and deliberate act: if any adequate provocation had been given by the husband, instead of the delay of two years, he was compelled to refund immediately, or in the space of six months: but if he could arraign the manners of his wife, her guilt or levity was expiated by the loss of the sixth or eighth part of her marriage portion. The Christian princes were the first who specified the just causes of a private divorce; their institutions, from Constantine to Justinian, appear to fluctuate between the custom of the empire and the wishes of the church,<sup>129</sup> and the author of the Novels too frequently reforms the jurisprudence of the Code and Pandects. In the most rigorous laws, a wife was condemned to support a gamester, a drunkard, or a libertine, unless he were guilty of homicide, poison, or sacrilege, in which cases the marriage, as it should seem, might have been dissolved by the hand of the executioner. But the sacred right of the husband was invariably maintained, to deliver his name and family from the disgrace of adultery: the list of mortal sins, either male or female, was curtailed and enlarged by successive regulations; and the obstacles of incurable impotence, long absence, and monastic profession, were allowed to rescind the matrimonial obligation. Whoever transgressed the permission of the law was subject to various and heavy penalties. The woman was stripped of her wealth and ornaments, without excepting the bedding of her hair, if the man introduced a new bride into his bed, *her* fortune might be lawfully seized by the vengeance of his exiled wife. Forfeiture was sometimes committed to a fine; the fine was sometimes aggravated by transportation to an island, or imprisonment in a monastery; the injured party was released from the bonds of marriage; but the offender, during life, or a term of years, was disabled from the repetition of nuptials. The successor of Justinian yielded to the prayers of his unhappy subjects, and restored the liberty of divorce by mutual consent: the civilians were unanimous,<sup>130</sup> the theologians were divided,<sup>131</sup> and the ambiguous word, which contains the precept of Christ, is flexible to any interpretation that the wisdom of a legislator can demand.

The freedom of love and marriage was restrained among the Romans by natural and civil impe-

diments. An instinct, almost innate and universal, appears to prohibit the incestuous commerce<sup>132</sup> of parents and children in the infinite series of ascending and descending generations. Concerning the oblique and collateral branches, nature is indifferent, rea-on mute, and custom various and arbitrary. In Egypt, the marriage of brothers and sisters was admitted without scruple or exception: a Spartan might espouse the daughter of his father; an Athenian, that of his mother: and the nuptials of an uncle with his niece were applauded at Athens as an happy union of the dearest relations. The profane lawgivers of Rome were never tempted by interest or superstition to multiply the forbidden degrees, but they inflexibly condemned the marriage of sisters and brothers, hesitated whether first cousins should be touched by the same interdict; revered the parental character of aunts and uncles, and treated affinity and adoption as a just imitation of the ties of blood. According to the proud maxims of the republic, a legal marriage could only be contracted by free citizens; an honourable, at least an ingenuous birth, was required for the spouse of a senator; but the blood of kings could never mingle in legitimate nuptials with the blood of a Roman; and the name of Stranger degraded Cleopatra and Berenice,<sup>133</sup> to live the *concubines* of Marc Antony and Titus.<sup>134</sup> This appellation, indeed, so injurious to the majesty, cannot without indulgence be applied to the manners, of these Oriental queens. A concubine, in the strict sense of the civilians, was a woman of servile or plebeian extraction, the sole and faithful companion of a Roman citizen, who continued in a state of celibacy. Her modest station, below the honours of a wife, above the mimicry of a prostitute, was acknowledged and approved by the laws. From the age of Augustus to the tenth century, the use of this secondary marriage prevailed both in the West and East, and the humble virtues of a concubine were often preferred to the pomp and insolence of a noble matron. In this connection, the two Antonines, the best of princes and of men, enjoyed the comforts of domestic love: the example was imitated by many citizens impatient of celibacy, but regardful of their families. If at any time they desired to legitimate their natural children, the conversion was instantly performed by the celebration of their nuptials with a partner whose fruitfulness and fidelity they had already tried. By this epithet of *natural*, the offspring of the concubine were distinguished from the spurious brood of adultery, prostitution, and incest, to whom Justinian re-

128 See the laws of Augustus and his successors, in H. H. Jones, *ad Legem Papianam-Poppianam*, 1.11 in *Opuscula*, ed. P. J. 327-337.

129. *Alce sunt leges* *clerum*, der Christen, und *lyones*, *Paul*  
*Paulus mater prapit clerum*, tom. 1. p. 129. Selden, *l. var. librica*,  
l. m. c. 31. p. 847. u. 848.

170 The Institutes are silent, but we may consult the *Opes* of Theodorus (l. iii. tit. xvi with Gordius's Commentary, tome i, p. 314–315) and Justinian (*l. vi. tit. xxv*), the *Pandects* (*l. xxv. tit. i. l.*) and the *Novels* (*xxv. xxvi. xxxv. xxxvi. cxi*). Justinian fluctuated to the last between civil and canonist, alike.

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have presumed to think, by an evasive answer, he avoided the giving of an answer to the effect of "Same" or to that of "Indel" (Selden, Ex. 13, pp. 114-118, 122, 128, 131).

172. The principles of the Positive Jurisprudence are exposed by J. in the first five titles, and the laws and manners of the different nations of antiquity concerning forbidden degrees, &c. are explained and by Mr. Dodonius the Elements of civil law (p. lxxv. 334-353) are likewise, though in a cursory, but a judicious manner, explained.

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luctantly grants the necessary aliments of life; and these natural children alone were capable of succeeding to a sixth part of the inheritance of their reputed father. According to the rigour of law, bastards were entitled only to the name and condition of their mother, from whom they might derive the character of a slave, a stranger, or a citizen. The outcasts of every family were adopted without reproach as the children of the state.<sup>135</sup>

**Guardians and wards.** The relation of guardian and ward, or, in Roman words, of *tutor* and *pupil*, which covers so many titles of the Institutes and Pandects,<sup>136</sup> is of a very simple and uniform nature. The person and property of an orphan must always be trusted to the custody of some discreet friend. If the deceased father had not signified his choice, the *agnats*, or paternal kindred of the nearest degree, were compelled to act as the natural guardians: the Athenians were apprehensive of exposing the infant to the power of those most interested in his death; but an axiom of Roman jurisprudence has pronounced, that the charge of tutelage should constantly attend the emolument of succession. If the choice of the father, and the line of consanguinity, afforded no efficient guardian, the failure was supplied by the nomination of the prætor of the city, or the president of the province. But the person whom they named to this *public* office might be legally excused by insanity or blindness, by ignorance or inability, by previous enmity or adverse interest, by the number of children or guardianships with which he was already burdened, and by the immunities which were granted to the useful labours of magistrates, lawyers, physicians, and professors. Till the infant could speak and think, he was represented by the tutor, whose authority was finally determined by the age of puberty. Without his consent, no act of the pupil could bind himself to his own prejudice, though it might oblige others for his personal benefit. It is needless to observe, that the tutor often gave security, and always rendered an account, and that the want of diligence or integrity exposed him to a civil and almost criminal action for the violation of his sacred trust. The age of puberty had been rashly fixed by the civilians at fourteen; but as the faculties of the mind ripen more slowly than those of the body, a *curator* was interposed to guard the fortunes of a Roman youth from his own inexperience and headstrong passions. Such a trustee had been first instituted by the prætor, to save a family from the blind havoc of a prodigal or madman: and the minor was compelled, by the laws, to solicit the same protection, to give validity to his acts till he accomplished the full period of twenty-five years. Women were condemned to the perpetual tutelage of parents, husbands, or guardians; a sex created to please and obey was never supposed to have attained

the age of reason and experience. Such at least was the stern and haughty spirit of the ancient law, which had been insensibly mollified before the time of Justinian.

II. The original right of property can only be justified by the accident or merit of prior occupancy; and on this foundation it is wisely established by the philosophy of the civilians.<sup>137</sup> The savage who hollows a tree, inserts a sharp stone into a wooden handle, or applies a string to an elastic branch, becomes in a state of nature the just proprietor of the canoe, the bow, or the hatchet. The materials were common to all, the new form, the produce of his time and simple industry, belongs solely to himself. His hungry brethren cannot, without a sense of their own injustice, extort from the hunter the game of the forest overtaken or slain by his personal strength and dexterity. If his provident care preserves and multiplies the tame animals, whose nature is tractable to the arts of education, he acquires a perpetual title to the use and service of their numerous progeny, which derives its existence from him alone. If he encloses and cultivates a field for their sustenance and his own, a barren waste is converted into a fertile soil; the seed, the manure, the labour, create a new value, and the rewards of harvest are painfully earned by the fatigues of the revolving year. In the successive states of society, the hunter, the shepherd, the husbandman, may defend their possessions by two reasons, which forcibly appeal to the feelings of the human mind: that whatever they enjoy is the fruit of their own industry; and that every man who envies their felicity, may purchase similar acquisitions by the exercise of similar diligence. Such, in truth, may be the freedom and plenty of a small colony cast on a fruitful island. But the colony multiplies, while the space still continues the same: the common rights, the equal inheritance of mankind, are engrossed by the bold and crafty; each field and forest is circumscribed by the land-marks of a jealous master; and it is the peculiar praise of the Roman jurisprudence, that it asserts the claim of the first occupant to the wild animals of the earth, the air, and the waters. In the progress from primitive equity to final injustice, the steps are silent, the shades are almost imperceptible, and the absolute monopoly is guarded by positive laws and artificial reason. The active insatiable principle of self-love can alone supply the arts of life and the wages of industry; and as soon as civil government and exclusive property have been introduced, they become necessary to the existence of the human race. Except in the singular institutions of Sparta, the wisest legislators have disapproved an agrarian law as a false and dangerous innovation. Among the Romans, the enormous disproportion of wealth surmounted the ideal restraints of a doubtful

II. OF THINGS.  
Right of property.

135 The humble but legal rights of concubines and natural children, are stated in the Institutes (l. i. tit. 2. de Pædectis, l. i. tit. viii.), the Code (l. v. tit. xxv.), and the Novels (xviii., lxxv.). The researches of Heineccius and Gnanone ad Legem Juliam et Papiam-Poppæam, c. vi. p. 164-175, Opus Posthume, p. 195-175, are the most interesting and domestic subject.

136 See the article of guardians and ward, in the Institutes, (l. i.

tit. xiii.-xxvi.), the Pandects (l. xxvi. xxvii.), and the Code (l. v. tit. xxviii.-xxx.).

137 Institute l. i. tit. i. n. Compare the pure and precise reasoning of Cuius and Heineccius (l. i. tit. i. p. 69-91) with the loose profusion of Theophrastus (p. 207-243). The opinions of Ulpian are preserved in the Pandects (l. i. tit. viii. leg. 11. No. 1.).

tradition, and an obsolete statute; a tradition that the poorest follower of Romulus had been endowed with the perpetual inheritance of two *jugera*,<sup>138</sup> a statute which confined the richest citizen to the measure of five hundred jugera, or three hundred and twelve acres of land. The original territory of Rome consisted only of some miles of wood and meadow along the banks of the Tyber; and domestic exchange could add nothing to the national stock. But the goods of an alien or enemy were lawfully exposed to the first hostile occupier; the city was enriched by the profitable trade of war; and the blood of her sons was the only price that was paid for the Volscian sheep, the slaves of Britain, or the gems and gold of Asiatic kingdoms. In the language of ancient jurisprudence, which was corrupted and forgotten before the age of Justinian, these spoils were distinguished by the name of *manceps* or *mancipium*, taken with the hand; and whenever they were sold or *emancipated*, the purchaser required some assurance that they had been the property of an enemy, and not of a fellow-citizen.<sup>139</sup> A citizen could only forfeit his rights by apparent dereliction, and such dereliction of a valuable interest could not easily be presumed. Yet, according to the twelve tables, a prescription of one year for moveables, and of two years for immoveables, abolished the claim of the ancient master, if the actual possessor had acquired them by a fair transaction from the person whom he believed to be the lawful proprietor.<sup>140</sup> Such conscientious injustice, without any mixture of fraud or force, could seldom injure the members of a small republic; but the various periods of three, of ten, or of twenty years, determined by Justinian, are more suitable to the latitude of a great empire. It is only in the term of prescription that the distinction of real and personal fortune has been remarked by the civilians, and their general idea of property is that of simple, uniform, and absolute dominion. The subordinate exceptions of *use*, of *usufruct*,<sup>141</sup> of *servitudes*,<sup>142</sup> imposed for the benefit of a neighbour on lands and houses, are abundantly explained by the professors of jurisprudence. The claims of property, as far as they are altered by the mixture, the division, or the transformation of substances, are investigated with metaphysical subtlety by the same civilians.

Of inheritance  
and succession.

The personal title of the first proprietor must be determined by his death, but the possession, without any appearance of change, is peaceably continued in

his children, the associates of his toil, and the partners of his wealth. This natural inheritance has been protected by the legislators of every climate and age, and the father is encouraged to persevere in slow and distant improvements, by the tender hope, that a long posterity will enjoy the fruits of his labour. The principle of hereditary succession is universal, but the order has been variously established by convenience or caprice, by the spirit of national institutions, or by some partial example which was originally decided by fraud or violence. The jurisprudence of the Romans appears to have deviated from the equality of nature, much less than the Jewish,<sup>143</sup> the Athenian,<sup>144</sup> or the English institutions.<sup>145</sup> On the death of a citizen, all his descendants, unless they were already freed from his paternal power, were called to the inheritance of his possessions. The insolent prerogative of primogeniture was unknown; the two sexes were placed on a just level; all the sons and daughters were entitled to an equal portion of the patrimonial estate; and if any of the sons had been intercepted by a premature death, his person was represented, and his share was divided, by his surviving children. On the failure of the direct line, the right of succession must diverge to the collateral branches. The degrees of kindred<sup>146</sup> are numbered

Civil degrees  
of kindred.

by the civilians, ascending from the last possessor to a common parent, and descending from the common parent to the next heir: my father stands in the first degree, my brother in the second, his children in the third, and the remainder of the series may be conceived by fancy, or pictured in a genealogical table. In this computation, a distinction was made, essential to the laws and even the constitution of Rome; the *agnats*, or persons connected by a line of males, were called, as they stood in the nearest degree, to an equal partition; but a female was incapable of transmitting any legal claims; and the *cognats* of every rank, without excepting the dear relation of a mother and a son, were disinherited by the twelve tables, as strangers and aliens. Among the Romans a *gens* or lineage was united by a common name and domestic rites; the various *cognomens* or surnames of Scipio, or Marcellus, distinguished from each other the subordinate branches or families of the Cornelian or Claudian race: the default of the *agnats*, of the same surname, was supplied by the larger denomination of *gentiles*; and the vigilance of the laws maintained, in the same name, the perpetual descent of religion and property. A similar principle dictated the Voca-

138 The *heredium* of the first Romans is defined by Varro (de Re Rustica, l. i. c. 11) to be 112 s. v. p. 100, 101, 102 (somer), and divided by Pliny's declaration (Hist. Natur. 21) into 120 s. v. p. 100, 101, 102 (somer). The definition is somewhat uncertain, and as none except myself have assigned a reason, I am in the doubt of my own.

139 From this short prescription, Hume (dissert. vi. p. 435) infers, that there could not then be more order and settlement in Italy than now among the Tartars. By the civil and the religious law, Wallace, he is reproached, and not without reason, for overlooking the condition (Institut. l. i. tit. vi.).

140 See the Institutes (l. i. tit. xv. c. 1), and the Prefects of the law (Digest, l. i. tit. xv. c. 1). The condition of the law (Institut. l. i. tit. xv. c. 1) is, that the possessor must have acquired the property by a fair transaction from the person whom he believed to be the lawful proprietor.

141 The questions of *servitudes* are discussed in the Institutes (l. i. tit. iii.), and Prefects (l. i. tit. iii.). (C. de pro. Marenz. c. 1) and Justinian (Institut. l. i. tit. iii. c. 1) affect to laugh at the magnifi-

cant doctrine, de qua plura videntur, &c. Yet it might be of frequent use among litigious neighbours, both in town and country.

142 Among the Tartars, the first born enjoyed a rustic and spiritual primogeniture (Hume, xvi. 31). In the land of Canaan he was entitled to a third portion of inheritance (Deuteronomy, xxi. 17, with Leviticus, additions to Genesis).

143 At Athens the sons were equal, but the poor daughters were endowed at the discretion of their brothers. See the elegant placings of Lucius (in the sixth course of the Greek Orators), illustrated in the version and comment of Sir William Jones, a scholar, a lawyer, and a man of genius.

144 In England, the eldest son alone inherits all the land, a law, says the orthodox Judge Blackstone (commentaries on the laws of England, v. l. p. 21), against civil as the opinion of natural rights. It may be observed, however, that in the opinion of natural rights, the eldest son is not entitled to a third portion of the inheritance.

145 The Blackstones (l. i. tit. i. p. 21) represent and regulate the degrees of the civil with those of the canon and common law. A separate tract of Julius Paulus, de gradibus et affinitate, is printed in the Pandects (l. i. tit. x.). In the sixth degree he computes (No. 153) 1024 persons.



similar substitution.<sup>154</sup> But the power of the testator expired with the acceptance of the testament : each Roman of mature age and discretion acquired the absolute dominion of his inheritance, and the simplicity of the civil law was never clouded by the long and intricate entail, which confine the happiness and freedom of unborn generations.

Codcils and trusts.—Conquest and the formalities of law established the use of *codicils*. If a Roman was surprised by death in a remote province of the empire, he addressed a short epistle to his legitimate or testamentary heir; who fulfilled with honour, or neglected with impunity, this last request, which the judges before the age of Augustus were not authorised to enforce. A codicil might be expressed in any mode, or in any language; but the subscription of five witnesses must declare that it was the genuine composition of the author. His intention, however laudable, was sometimes illegal; and the invention of *fidei-commissa*, or trusts, arose from the struggle between natural justice and positive jurisprudence. A stranger of Greece or Africa might be the friend or benefactor of a childless Roman, but none, except a fellow-citizen, could act as his heir. The Voconian law, which abolished female succession, restrained the legacy or inheritance of a woman to the sum of one hundred thousand sesterces; <sup>155</sup> and an only daughter was condemned almost as an alien in her father's house. The zeal of friendship, and parental affection, suggested a liberal artifice: a qualified citizen was named in the testament, with a prayer or injunction that he would restore the inheritance to the person for whom it was truly intended. Various was the conduct of the trustees in this painful situation; they had sworn to observe the laws of their country, but honour prompted them to violate their oath; and if they preferred their interest under the mask of patriotism, they forfeited the esteem of every virtuous mind. The declaration of Augustus relieved their doubts, gave a legal sanction to confidential testaments and codicils, and gently unravelled the forms and restraints of the republican jurisprudence. <sup>156</sup> But as the new practice of trusts degenerated into some abuse, the trustee was enabled, by the Trebellian and Pegasian decrees, to reserve one fourth of the estate, or to transfer on the head of the real heir all the debts and actions of the succession. The interpretation of testaments was strict and literal, but the language of *trusts* and codicils was delivered from the minute and technical accuracy of the civilians. <sup>157</sup>

III. The general duties of mankind are imposed by their public and

154 The substitutionary fulfilment of the ceremonial law is a feudal idea grafted on the homestead principle, and it bears no real resemblance to the ancient institutions of France or elsewhere. François, *tom. i*, p. 547-78; De la Motte, *Dictionnaire de jurisprudence*, tom. iv., p. 577-603. They were strictly limited to the fourth degree by the Council of Trent.

1.56 The revolutions of the British laws of inheritance are fully, though sometimes fancifully, deduced by Mémegleu (*É-pist des Loix*, l. xxvii).

157 Of the civil jurisprudence of successions, testaments, codicils, legacies, and trusts, the principles are ascertained in the Institutes of Caus (l. n. tit. ix. p. 101—111), Justinian (l. n. tit. x—xxi.) and Theophilus (p. 328—311) and the immense detail occupies twelve books (xxviii.—xxxix.) of the Pandects.

158 The Institutes of Caus (l. n. tit. ix. p. 111—214) of Jus-

private relations: but their specific *obligations* to each other can only be the effect of, 1. a promise, 2. a benefit, or 3. an injury: and when these obligations are ratified by law, the interested party may compel the performance by a judicial *action*. On this principle the civilians of every country have erected a similar jurisprudence, the fair conclusion of universal reason and justice.<sup>138</sup>

1. The goddess of *fath* (of human and social faith) was worshipped, not only in her temples, but in the lives of the Romans; and if that nation was deficient in the more amiable qualities of benevolence and generosity, they astonished the Greeks by their sincere and simple performance of the most burdensome engagements.<sup>159</sup> Yet among the same people, according to the rigid maxims of the patricians and decemvirs, a *naked pact*, a *promise*, or even an oath, did not create any civil obligation, unless it was confirmed by the legal form of a *stipulation*. Whatever might be the etymology of the Latin word, it conveyed the idea of a firm and irrevocable contract, which was always expressed in the mode of a question and answer. Do you promise to pay me one hundred pieces of gold? was the solemn interrogation of *Seius*. I do promise — was the reply of *Sempronius*. The friends of *Sempronius*, who answered for his ability and inclination, might be separately sued at the option of *Seius*; and the benefit of partition, or order of reciprocal actions, insensibly deviated from the strict theory of stipulation. The most cautious and deliberate consent was justly required to sustain the validity of a gratuitous promise; and the citizen who might have obtained a legal security, incurred the suspicion of fraud, and paid the forfeit of his neglect. But the ingenuity of the civilians successfully laboured to convert simple engagements into the form of solemn stipulations. The *priores*, as the guardians of social faith, admitted every rational evidence of a voluntary and deliberate act, which in their tribunal produced an equitable obligation, and for which they gave an action and a remedy.<sup>160</sup>

2. The obligations of the second class, as they were contracted by the delivery of a thing, are marked by the civilians with the epithet of real.<sup>161</sup> A grateful return is due to the author of a benefit; and whoever is intrusted with the property of another, has bound himself to the sacred duty of restitution. In the case of a friendly loan, the merit of generosity is on the side of the lender only; in a deposit, on the side of the receiver; but in a *pledge*, and the rest of the selfish commerce of ordinary life, the benefit is compensated by an

now I see the xxx<sup>d</sup> & xxiij<sup>d</sup> and of Theophilus  
Ep<sup>l</sup> 16 §7<sup>e</sup>, also agree better with our editions — aut ee, aut  
ee ee, aut ffeeb, aut eueeuee — but I confess myself partial to my  
own edition.

1. The *Historia Augusta* is the chief rational evidence of Valerius II. vi. p. 137, *l.* 17, *l.* 20, *l.* 21, *l.* 22, *l.* 23, *l.* 24, *l.* 25, *l.* 26, *l.* 27, *l.* 28, *l.* 29, *l.* 30, *l.* 31, *l.* 32, *l.* 33, *l.* 34, *l.* 35, *l.* 36, *l.* 37, *l.* 38, *l.* 39, *l.* 40, *l.* 41, *l.* 42, *l.* 43, *l.* 44, *l.* 45, *l.* 46, *l.* 47, *l.* 48, *l.* 49, *l.* 50, *l.* 51, *l.* 52, *l.* 53, *l.* 54, *l.* 55, *l.* 56, *l.* 57, *l.* 58, *l.* 59, *l.* 60, *l.* 61, *l.* 62, *l.* 63, *l.* 64, *l.* 65, *l.* 66, *l.* 67, *l.* 68, *l.* 69, *l.* 70, *l.* 71, *l.* 72, *l.* 73, *l.* 74, *l.* 75, *l.* 76, *l.* 77, *l.* 78, *l.* 79, *l.* 80, *l.* 81, *l.* 82, *l.* 83, *l.* 84, *l.* 85, *l.* 86, *l.* 87, *l.* 88, *l.* 89, *l.* 90, *l.* 91, *l.* 92, *l.* 93, *l.* 94, *l.* 95, *l.* 96, *l.* 97, *l.* 98, *l.* 99, *l.* 100, *l.* 101, *l.* 102, *l.* 103, *l.* 104, *l.* 105, *l.* 106, *l.* 107, *l.* 108, *l.* 109, *l.* 110, *l.* 111, *l.* 112, *l.* 113, *l.* 114, *l.* 115, *l.* 116, *l.* 117, *l.* 118, *l.* 119, *l.* 120, *l.* 121, *l.* 122, *l.* 123, *l.* 124, *l.* 125, *l.* 126, *l.* 127, *l.* 128, *l.* 129, *l.* 130, *l.* 131, *l.* 132, *l.* 133, *l.* 134, *l.* 135, *l.* 136, *l.* 137, *l.* 138, *l.* 139, *l.* 140, *l.* 141, *l.* 142, *l.* 143, *l.* 144, *l.* 145, *l.* 146, *l.* 147, *l.* 148, *l.* 149, *l.* 150, *l.* 151, *l.* 152, *l.* 153, *l.* 154, *l.* 155, *l.* 156, *l.* 157, *l.* 158, *l.* 159, *l.* 160, *l.* 161, *l.* 162, *l.* 163, *l.* 164, *l.* 165, *l.* 166, *l.* 167, *l.* 168, *l.* 169, *l.* 170, *l.* 171, *l.* 172, *l.* 173, *l.* 174, *l.* 175, *l.* 176, *l.* 177, *l.* 178, *l.* 179, *l.* 180, *l.* 181, *l.* 182, *l.* 183, *l.* 184, *l.* 185, *l.* 186, *l.* 187, *l.* 188, *l.* 189, *l.* 190, *l.* 191, *l.* 192, *l.* 193, *l.* 194, *l.* 195, *l.* 196, *l.* 197, *l.* 198, *l.* 199, *l.* 200, *l.* 201, *l.* 202, *l.* 203, *l.* 204, *l.* 205, *l.* 206, *l.* 207, *l.* 208, *l.* 209, *l.* 210, *l.* 211, *l.* 212, *l.* 213, *l.* 214, *l.* 215, *l.* 216, *l.* 217, *l.* 218, *l.* 219, *l.* 220, *l.* 221, *l.* 222, *l.* 223, *l.* 224, *l.* 225, *l.* 226, *l.* 227, *l.* 228, *l.* 229, *l.* 230, *l.* 231, *l.* 232, *l.* 233, *l.* 234, *l.* 235, *l.* 236, *l.* 237, *l.* 238, *l.* 239, *l.* 240, *l.* 241, *l.* 242, *l.* 243, *l.* 244, *l.* 245, *l.* 246, *l.* 247, *l.* 248, *l.* 249, *l.* 250, *l.* 251, *l.* 252, *l.* 253, *l.* 254, *l.* 255, *l.* 256, *l.* 257, *l.* 258, *l.* 259, *l.* 260, *l.* 261, *l.* 262, *l.* 263, *l.* 264, *l.* 265, *l.* 266, *l.* 267, *l.* 268, *l.* 269, *l.* 270, *l.* 271, *l.* 272, *l.* 273, *l.* 274, *l.* 275, *l.* 276, *l.* 277, *l.* 278, *l.* 279, *l.* 280, *l.* 281, *l.* 282, *l.* 283, *l.* 284, *l.* 285, *l.* 286, *l.* 287, *l.* 288, *l.* 289, *l.* 290, *l.* 291, *l.* 292, *l.* 293, *l.* 294, *l.* 295, *l.* 296, *l.* 297, *l.* 298, *l.* 299, *l.* 300, *l.* 301, *l.* 302, *l.* 303, *l.* 304, *l.* 305, *l.* 306, *l.* 307, *l.* 308, *l.* 309, *l.* 310, *l.* 311, *l.* 312, *l.* 313, *l.* 314, *l.* 315, *l.* 316, *l.* 317, *l.* 318, *l.* 319, *l.* 320, *l.* 321, *l.* 322, *l.* 323, *l.* 324, *l.* 325, *l.* 326, *l.* 327, *l.* 328, *l.* 329, *l.* 330, *l.* 331, *l.* 332, *l.* 333, *l.* 334, *l.* 335, *l.* 336, *l.* 337, *l.* 338, *l.* 339, *l.* 340, *l.* 341, *l.* 342, *l.* 343, *l.* 344, *l.* 345, *l.* 346, *l.* 347, *l.* 348, *l.* 349, *l.* 350, *l.* 351, *l.* 352, *l.* 353, *l.* 354, *l.* 355, *l.* 356, *l.* 357, *l.* 358, *l.* 359, *l.* 360, *l.* 361, *l.* 362, *l.* 363,

161. The nice and various subject of contracts is so spread over four books, *Leçons* of the Pandects, and is one of the parts best deserving of the attention of an English student.



ture of a limb, by condemning the aggressor to the common penalty of twenty-five *asses*. But the same denomination of money was reduced, in three centuries, from a pound to the weight of half an ounce; and the insolence of a wealthy Roman indulged himself in the cheap amusement of breaking and satisfying the law of the twelve tables. Veratius ran through the streets striking on the face the inoffensive passengers, and his attendant purse-bearer immediately silenced their clamours by the legal tender of twenty-five pieces of copper, about the value of one shilling.<sup>170</sup> The equity of the prætors examined and estimated the distinct merits of each particular complaint. In the adjudication of civil damages, the magistrate assumed a right to consider the various circumstances of time and place, of age and dignity, which may aggravate the shame and sufferings of the injured person; but if he admitted the idea of a fine, a punishment, an example, he invaded the province, though, perhaps, be supplied the defects, of the criminal law.

Punishments. The execution of the Alban dictator, who was dismembered by eight horses, is represented by Livy as the first and the last instance of Roman cruelty in the punishment of the most atrocious crimes.<sup>171</sup> But this act of justice, or revenge, was inflicted on a foreign enemy in the heat of victory, and at the command of a single man. The twelve

Severity of the  
twelve tables.

tables afford a more decisive proof of the national spirit, since they were framed by the wisest of the senate, and accepted by the free voices of the people; yet these laws, like the statutes of Draco,<sup>172</sup> are written in characters of blood.<sup>173</sup> They approve the inhuman and unequal principle of retaliation; and the forfeit of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a limb for a limb, is rigorously exacted, unless the offender can redeem his pardon by a fine of three hundred pounds of copper. The decemvirs distributed with much liberality the slighter chastisements of flagellation and servitude; and nine crimes of a very different complexion are adjudged worthy of death. 1. Any act of *treason* against the state, or of correspondence with the public enemy. The mode of execution was painful and ignominious: the head of the degenerate Roman was shrouded in a veil; his hands were tied behind his back; and, after he had been scourged by the lictor, he was suspended in the midst of the

forum on a cross or inauspicious tree. 2. Nocturnal meetings in the city; whatever might be the pretence, of pleasure, or religion, or the public good. 3. The murder of a citizen; for which the common feelings of mankind demand the blood of the murderer. Poison is still more odious than the sword or dagger; and we are surprised to discover, in two flagitious events, how early such subtle wickedness had infected the simplicity of the republic, and the chaste virtues of the Roman matrons.<sup>174</sup> The parricide who violated the duties of nature and gratitude was east into the river or the sea, enclosed in a sack; and a cock, a viper, a dog, and a monkey, were successively added, as the most suitable companions.<sup>175</sup> Italy produces no monkeys; but the want could never be felt, till the middle of the sixth century first revealed the guilt of a parricide.<sup>176</sup> 4. The malice of an incendiary. After the previous ceremony of whipping, he himself was delivered to the flames; and in this example alone our reason is tempted to applaud the justice of retaliation. 5. Judicial perjury. The corrupt or malicious witness was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock to expiate his falsehood, which was rendered still more fatal by the severity of the penal laws, and the deficiency of written evidence. 6. The corruption of a judge, who accepted bribes, to pronounce an iniquitous sentence. 7. Libels and satires, whose rude strains sometimes disturbed the peace of an illiterate city. The author was beaten with clubs, a worthy chastisement; but it is not certain that he was left to expire under the blows of the executioner.<sup>177</sup> 8. The nocturnal mischief of damaging or destroying a neighbour's corn. The criminal was suspended as a grateful victim to Ceres. But the sylvan deities were less implacable, and the extirpation of a more valuable tree was compensated by the moderate fine of twenty-five pounds of copper. 9. Magical incantations; which had power, in the opinion of the Latian shepherds, to exhaust the strength of an enemy, to extinguish his life, and to remove from their seats his deep-rooted plantations. The cruelty of the twelve tables against insolvent debtors still remains to be told; and I shall dare to prefer the literal sense of antiquity to the specious refinements of modern criticism.<sup>178</sup> After the judicial proof or confession of the debt, thirty days of grace were allowed before a Roman was delivered into the power of his fellow-citizen.

170. Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Attic.* **xx.** 1) borrowed his story from the Commentaries of C. Julius on the *xii* tables.

171 The narrative of *Levi* (28) is weighty and solemn. It in-  
dicts Allah; matters is in harsh reflections, worthy of Virgil's  
humanity (Jund, vii 615). Heyne, with his usual good taste,  
observes that the subject was too horrid for the hand of *Levi*.  
(*Ann. m. p.* 229.)

17 *The Age of Draco* (olsyn p. 443, xxxix, 1) is fixed by Sir John Marsham (*Chron. Chr.*, p. 37, 700), and by some it is 'Athen. in. p. 62'. For his laws, see the writers on the government of Athens, Sigeronius, Meursius, Potter, &c.

173 The vith, de blants, of the mablis is dilated 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 8

174 Livi mentions two remarkable and strange cases, of "900 persons accused, and of 190 noble nations, of which, of the nine, a poisoning" (sl. 15. viii. 190). Mr. Hume discriminates the cases of private and public virtue (*Essays*, vol. i. p. 22, 23). I would not say that such excellencies of morality are in nature the worst, but are accidents and proagues, which leave no marks on the human constitution.

it with serpents. Internal pores, the pinholes on keel, innominate sulcus, and sacral foramina. External shape of the snout. Measurements: 1. 19.5, 21.5-27.5, with 24.5 being the mean. Measurements of the dorsal fin in 19.5, 21.5, 27.5, 30.5, 32.5, 35.5, 38.5, 40.5, 42.5, 45.5, and 48.5 mm (Plateau 1947). The sex is commensurate with the comparison of the paracanth. The first and third vertebrae were sampled for protein. The dentition was examined and all of the dentals dated in the present record. The sex was judged to be female.

Plateau (1947) has shown that the first dorsal fin was 1.0 cm long after the second. Plateau (1947) found in Panama that 95% of the first dorsal fin was 1.0 cm long. 1.0 Malinche was one of the first material that I examined.

177. Horace talks of the funeral oration of Augustus in 131, but Cicero made Republic 2.145 only in Augustus in the Cynical Decays from Fragment 11 lines 16-20, in p. 797 only Cicero admits that the deceptions made by this are political advice, thus, perhaps, respite six years in *pro. mil. cap.*

1. Is Barker a Communist? Yes. He is a Communist.  
2. Puller, being a Communist, is a Communist.  
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9. Puller, being a Communist, is a Communist.  
10. Puller, being a Communist, is a Communist.

In this private prison, twelve ounces of rice were his daily food; he might be bound with a chain of fifteen pounds' weight; and his misery was thrice exposed in the market place, to solicit the compassion of his friends and countrymen. At the expiration of sixty days, the debt was discharged by the loss of liberty or life; the insolvent debtor was either put to death, or sold in foreign slavery beyond the Tyber: but if several creditors were alike obstinate and unrelenting, they might legally dismember his body, and satiate their revenge by this horrid partition. The advocates for this savage law have insisted, that it must strongly operate in deterring idleness and fraud from contracting debts which they were unable to discharge; but experience would dissipate this salutary terror, by proving that no creditor could be found to exact this unprofitable penalty of life or limb. As the manners of Rome were insensibly polished, the criminal code of the *decevmirs* was abolished by the humanity of accusers, witnesses, and judges; and impunity became the consequence of immoderate rigour. The Porcian and Valerian laws prohibited the magistrates from inflicting on a free citizen any capital, or even corporal punishment; and the obsolete statutes of blood were artfully, and perhaps truly, ascribed to the spirit, not of patrician, but of legal, tyranny.

In the absence of penal laws and the insufficiency of civil actions, the peace and justice of the city were imperfectly maintained by the private jurisdiction of the citizens. The malefactors who replenish our gaols are the outcasts of society, and the crimes for which they suffer may be commonly ascribed to ignorance, poverty, and brutal appetite. For the perpetration of similar enormities, a vile plebeian might claim and abuse the sacred character of a member of the republic; but, on the proof or suspicion of guilt, the slave, or the stranger, was nailed to a cross, and this strict and summary justice might be exercised without restraint over the greatest part of the populace of Rome. Each family contained a domestic tribunal, which was not confined, like that of the prætor, to the cognisance of external actions. virtuous principles and habits were inculcated by the discipline of education; and the Roman father was accountable to the state for the manners of his children, since he disposed, without appeal, of their life, their liberty, and their inheritance. In some pressing emergencies, the citizen was authorised to avenge his private or public wrongs. The consent of the Jewish, the Athenian, and the Roman laws, approved the slaughter of the nocturnal thief; though in open daylight a robber

could not be slain without some previous evidence of danger and complaint. Whoever surprised an adulterer in his nuptial bed might freely exercise his revenge; <sup>179</sup> the most bloody or wanton outrage was excused by the provocation; <sup>180</sup> nor was it before the reign of Augustus that the husband was reduced to weigh the rank of the offender, or that the parent was condemned to sacrifice his daughter with her guilty seducer. After the expulsion of the kings, the ambitious Roman who should dare to assume their title or imitate their tyranny, was devoted to the infernal gods: each of his fellow-citizens was armed with the sword of justice; and the act of Brutus, however repugnant to gratitude or prudence, had been already sanctified by the judgment of his country. <sup>181</sup> The barbarous practice of wearing arms in the midst of peace, <sup>182</sup> and the bloody maxims of honour, were unknown to the Romans; and, during the two purest ages, from the establishment of equal freedom to the end of the Punic wars, the city was never disturbed by sedition, and rarely polluted with atrocious crimes. The failure of penal laws was more sensibly felt when every vice was inflamed by faction at home and dominion abroad. In the time of Cicero, each private citizen enjoyed the privilege of anarchy; each minister of the republic was exalted to the temptations of regal power; and their virtues are entitled to the warmest praise, as the spontaneous fruits of nature or philosophy. After a triennial indulgence of lust, rapine, and cruelty, Verres, the tyrant of Sicily, could only be sued for the pecuniary restitution of three hundred thousand pounds sterling; and such was the temper of the laws, the judges, and perhaps the accuser himself, <sup>183</sup> that, on refunding a thirteenth part of his plunder, Verres could retire to an easy and luxurious exile. <sup>184</sup>

The first imperfect attempt to restore the proportion of crimes <sup>Revised of capital punishment</sup> and punishments was made by the dictator Sylla, who, in the midst of his sanguinary triumph, aspired to restrain the licence, rather than to oppress the liberty, of the Romans. He gloried in the arbitrary proscription of four thousand seven hundred citizens. <sup>185</sup> But, in the character of a legislator, he respected the prejudices of the times; and instead of pronouncing a sentence of death against the robber or assassin, the general who betrayed an army, or the magistrate who ruined a province, Sylla was content to aggravate the pecuniary damages by the penalty of exile, or, in more constitutional language, by the interdiction of fire and water. The Cornelian, and afterwards the Pompeian, and Julian, laws, introduced a new system of

<sup>179</sup> The first exception of *interdiction* was made by the law of *Gracchus* tom. v. p. 2. <sup>180</sup> The first exception of *interdiction* was made by the law of *Gracchus* tom. v. p. 2. <sup>181</sup> The first exception of *interdiction* was made by the law of *Gracchus* tom. v. p. 2.

<sup>182</sup> See Caumont ad Athenæum, l. i. c. 4, p. 10. <sup>183</sup> See Caumont ad Athenæum, l. i. c. 4, p. 10. <sup>184</sup> See Caumont ad Athenæum, l. i. c. 4, p. 10.

<sup>185</sup> This law is noticed by Livy (l. vi. c. 1) and Plutarch in *Publius*, tom. i. p. 187, and it fully justifies the public opinion on the death of Cæsar, which *Quæstus* could publish and the Imperial government *Jure casus evicturatur* in *Jano*, c. 76. Re. J. the letters that passed between Cæsar and Marius a few months after the fall of March (ad Fam. xi. 27, 28).

<sup>180</sup> *ἡ δὲ πόλις δὲ Ἀθηναίων τὸν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν*, Thucyd. l. i. c. 6. The historian who considers this circumstance as the test of civi-

<sup>181</sup> *ἡ δὲ πόλις δὲ Ἀθηναίων τὸν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν*, Thucyd. l. i. c. 6. The historian who considers this circumstance as the test of civi-

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<sup>184</sup> *ἡ δὲ πόλις δὲ Ἀθηναίων τὸν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν*, Thucyd. l. i. c. 6. The historian who considers this circumstance as the test of civi-

criminal jurisprudence; <sup>186</sup> and the emperors, from Augustus to Justinian, disguised their increasing rigour under the names of the original authors. But the invention and frequent use of *extraordinary pains* proceeded from the desire to extend and conceal the progress of despotism. In the condemnation of illustrious Romans, the senate was always prepared to confound, at the will of their masters, the judicial and legislative powers. It was the duty of the governors to maintain the peace of their province, by the arbitrary and rigid administration of justice; the freedom of the city evaporated in the extent of empire; and the Spanish malefactor, who claimed the privilege of a Roman, was elevated, by the command of Galba, on a fairer and more lofty cross.<sup>187</sup> Occasional rescripts issued from the throne to decide the questions which, by their novelty or importance, appeared to surpass the authority and discernment of a proconsul. Transportation and beheading were reserved for honourable persons; meaner criminals were either hanged or burnt, or buried in the mines, or exposed to the wild beasts of the amphitheatre. Armed robbers were pursued and exterminated as the enemies of society; the driving away horses or cattle was made a capital offence; <sup>188</sup> but simple theft was uniformly considered as a mere civil and private injury. The degrees of guilt, and the modes of punishment, were too often determined by the discretion of the rulers, and the subject was left in ignorance of the legal danger which he might incur by every action of his life.

Measure of  
guilt.

A sin, a vice, a crime, are the objects of theology, ethics, and jurisprudence. Whenever their judgments agree, they corroborate each other; but as often as they differ, a prudent legislator appreciates the guilt and punishment according to the measure of social injury. On this principle, the most daring attack on the life and property of a private citizen is judged less atrocious than the crime of treason or rebellion, which invades the *majesty* of the republic: the obsequious civilians unanimously pronounced, that the republic is contained in the person of its chief; and the edge of the Julian law was sharpened by the incessant diligence of the emperors. The licentious commerce of the sexes may be tolerated as an impulse of nature, or forbidden as a source of

[illegible]

187 It is a man who had poisoned his ward. The crime was atrocious, yet the punishment is reckoned by Suetonius to be among the arts in which Trajan showed himself a reformer, et in delictis reus, reus, innocens.

158 The abductees or abductees, who did not come here, or to the  
males or even, or five boys, or for girls, were sent to the capital for  
punishment (Paul. Sentent. Recipit. in tit. xxv. p. 47, p. 48). In the  
[ad] Council, he is a most severe where the officers were sent to the  
condemns the criminals, ad gladium, iud. duntaxat (l. l. p. 47, p. 48).  
Officio Proconsulis, l. vii. in Collatione Legum Mosae et Rom.  
tit. xi. p. 235).

180 Till the publication of the *Julius Papius* of Salzburg (Ant. xvi. p. 517, 523), it was affirmed and believed, that the *Prætor* punished adultery with death, and the mistake arose from the fraud or error of *Trifolium*. Yet Lipsius had suspected the truth from the narratives of Tacitus (Annal. i. c. 10 in 24 in 42), and even from the practice of Augustus, who distinguished the *transcriptio* *fratilis* of his family kindred.

190 In cases of duress, Severin confined to the husband the right of public accusation (cod. Justinian l. ix tit. ix leg. 1). Nor was this privilege unjust — so different are the effects of male or female immaturity.

disorder and corruption; but the fane, the fortunes, the family of the husband, are seriously injured by the adultery of the wife. The wisdom of Augustus, after curbing the freedom of revenge, applied to this domestic offence the animadversion of the laws; and the guilty parties, after the payment of heavy forfeitures and fines, were condemned to long or perpetual exile in two separate islands.<sup>189</sup> Religion pronounces an equal censure against the infidelity of the husband; but as it is not accompanied by the same civil effects, the wife was never permitted to vindicate her wrongs;<sup>190</sup> and the distinction of simple or double adultery, so familiar and so important in the canon law, is unknown to the jurisprudence of the Code and Pandects. I touch with reluctance, and despatch with impatience, a more odious <sup>Unnatural vice,</sup> vice, of which modesty rejects the name, and nature abominates the idea. The primitive Romans were infected by the example of the Etruscans<sup>191</sup> and Greeks.<sup>192</sup> In the mad abuse of prosperity and power, every pleasure that is innocent was deemed insipid; and the Scythian law,<sup>193</sup> which had been extorted by an act of violence, was insensibly abolished by the lapse of time and the multitude of criminals. By this law, the rape, perhaps the seduction, of an ingenuous youth, was compensated, as a personal injury, by the poor damages of ten thousand sesterces, or fourscore pounds; the ravisher might be slain by the resistance or revenge of chastity; and I wish to believe that at Rome, as in Athens, the voluntary and effeminate deserter of his sex was degraded from the honours and the rights of a citizen.<sup>194</sup> But the practice of vice was not discouraged by the severity of opinion. the indelible stain of manhood was confounded with the more venial transgressions of fornication and adultery, nor was the licentious lover exposed to the same dishonour which he impressed on the male or female partner of his guilt. From Catullus to Juvenal,<sup>195</sup> the poets accuse and celebrate the degeneracy of the times; and the reformation of manners was feebly attempted by the reason and authority of the civilians, till the most virtuous of the Cæsars proscribed the sin against nature as a crime against society.<sup>196</sup>

A new spirit of legislation, respectable even in its error, arose in

191 Timon (I. i.) and Theopompus (I. xiii.) apud Athenæum, I. xii. p. 517) describe the luxury and lust of the Etruscans: πολλοὶ μὲν τοὶ γὰρ ἡγεῖσθαι πεισιντες τοῖς παῖσι καὶ τοῖς μεμπτικοῖς. About the same period (A. U. C. 465) the Roman youth studied in Etruria (Liv. ix. 8.).

1. 2 The Persians had been corrupted in the same school as  
'Ἰσὼς ἀνὰ μάστιγι, πρὸς μαρτυρίᾳ (Hrood. 1. 1. 17). A curious  
discrepancy might be formed on the introduction of poetry after  
the manner of Homer, its progress among the Greeks of Asia and Europe,  
the violence of their passions, and the then device of virtue and  
freedom, which opposed the philosophers at Athens. But, scelerata

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110 A crowd of dogmatic passages will find themselves on the  
 majority of the classic reader. I will only remind him of the cool de-  
 claration of that —

196. *Elaeagnus argentea*, in var. *laevigata* in Hort. Argent. p. 112. According to Vioron, in *Pl. speciosa* (ex Flore de la France), 1907, and Godt. in *Com. ment.*, 1908, p. 107, *argentea* is identical with *laevigata*, the synonymy of the names of *laevigata* and *argentea* in the present case of both species was acted upon quite.





to the English juries.<sup>202</sup> To discharge this important though burdensome office, an annual list of ancient and respectable citizens was formed by the prætor. After many constitutional struggles, they were chosen in equal numbers from the senate, the equestrian order, and the people; four hundred and fifty were appointed for single questions; and the various rolls or *decuries* of judges must have contained the names of some thousand Romans, who represented the judicial authority of the state. In each particular cause, a sufficient number was drawn from the urn; their integrity was guarded by an oath; the mode of ballot secured their independence; the suspicion of partiality was removed by the mutual challenges of the accuser and defendant; and the judges of Milo, by the retrenchment of fifteen on each side, were reduced to fifty-one voices or tablets, of acquittal, of condemnation, or of favourable doubt.<sup>203</sup> 3. In his civil jurisdiction, the prætor

doubt.<sup>203</sup> 3. In his civil jurisdiction, the prætor of the city was truly a judge, and almost a legislator; but as soon as he had prescribed the action of law, he often referred to a delegate the determination of the fact. With the increase of legal proceedings, the tribunal of the *centumvirs*, in which he presided, acquired more weight and reputation. But whether he acted alone, or with the advice of his council, the most absolute powers might be trusted to a magistrate who was annually chosen by the votes of the people. The rules and precautions of freedom have required some explanation; the order of *de-potism* is simple and inanimate. Before the age of Justinian, or perhaps of Diocletian, the decuries of Roman judges had sunk to an empty title: the

Assessors. humble advice of the assessors might be accepted or despised ; and in each tribunal the civil and criminal jurisdiction was administered by a single magistrate, who was raised and disgraced by the will of the emperor.

Voluntary exile  
and death.

A Roman accused of any capital crime might prevent the sentence of the law by voluntary exile, or death. Till his guilt had been legally proved, his innocence was presumed, and his person was free ; till the votes of the last century had been counted and declared, he might peaceably secede to any of the allied cities of Italy, or Greece, or Asia.<sup>294</sup> His fame and fortunes were preserved, at least to his children, by this civil death ; and he might still be happy in every rational and sensual enjoyment, if a mind accustomed to the ambitious tumult of Rome could support the uniformity and silence of Rhodes or Athens. A bolder effort was required to escape from the tyranny of the Cæsars ; but this effort was rendered familiar by the maxims of the Stoics, the example of the bravest Romans, and the legal encourage-

ments of suicide. The bodies of condemned criminals were exposed to public ignominy, and their children, a more serious evil, were reduced to poverty by the confiscation of their fortunes. But if the victims of Tiberius and Nero anticipated the decree of the prince or senate, their courage and despatch were recompensed by the applause of the public, the decent honours of burial, and the validity of their testaments.<sup>305</sup> The exquisite avarice and cruelty of Domitian appear to have deprived the unfortunate of this last consolation, and it was still denied even by the clemency of the Antonines. A voluntary death, which, in the case of a capital offence, intervened between the accusation and the sentence, was admitted as a confession of guilt, and the spoils of the deceased were seized by the inhuman claims of the treasury.<sup>306</sup> Yet the civilians have always respected the natural right of a citizen to dispose of his life; and the posthumous disgrace invented by Tarquin<sup>307</sup> to check the despair of his subjects, was never revived or imitated by succeeding tyrants. The powers of this world have indeed lost their dominion over him who is resolved on death; and his arm can only be restrained by the religious apprehension of a future state. Suicides are enumerated by Virgil among the unfortunate, rather than the guilty;<sup>308</sup> and the poetical fables of the infernal shades could not seriously influence the faith or practice of mankind. But the precepts of the Gospel, or the church, have at length imposed a pious servitude on the minds of Christians, and condemned them to expect, without a murmur, the last stroke of disease or the executioner.

The penal statutes form a very small proportion of the sixty-two books of the Code and Pandects; and, in all judicial proceeding, the life or death of a citizen is determined with less caution and delay than the most ordinary question of covenant or inheritance. This singular distinction, though something may be allowed for the urgent necessity of defending the peace of society, is derived from the nature of criminal and civil jurisprudence. Our duties to the state are simple and uniform; the law by which he is condemned is inscribed not only on brass or marble, but on the conscience of the offender, and his guilt is commonly proved by the testimony of a single fact. But our relations to each other are various and infinite: our obligations are created, annulled, and modified, by injuries, benefits, and promises; and the interpretation of voluntary contracts and testaments, which are often dictated by fraud or ignorance, affords a long and laborious exercise to the sagacity of the judge. The business of life is multiplied by the extent of commerce and do-

¶202 The office, both at Rome and in England, must be considered as an occasional duty, and not a magistracy or profession. But the obligation of an unanimous verdict is peculiar to our laws, which

...the ...

205 Qui de se statuebant, humabantur corpora, manebant testamenta, pretium festinandi. Tacit. *Annal.* vi. 25. with the Notes of L. 11. 188.

206. Julius Paulus (Sentent. Recept. l. c. tit. xii. p. 476), the Pandect (l. alvin tit. xx.), the

207 *Plin. Hist. Natur.* xxxvi. 21. When he flogged his subjects in building the Capitol, many of the labourers were provoked to despatch themselves, & he nailed their dead bodies to crosses.

205 The sole resemblance of a violent and premature death has engaged Virgil (Æneid, vi, 131–170) to confound sands, with infants, lovers, and parents to it is demanded. Heyne, the best of his editors, is entitled to demand the idea, or assertion of a similarity, of the Roman poet.

minion, and the residence of the parties in the distant provinces of an empire, is productive of doubt, delay, and inevitable appeals from the local to the supreme magistrate. Justinian, the Greek emperor of Constantinople and the East, was the legal successor of the Latian shepherd who had planted a colony on the banks of the Tyber. In a period of thirteen hundred years, the laws had reluctantly followed the changes of government and manners; and the laudable desire of conciliating ancient names with recent institutions, destroyed the harmony, and swelled the magnitude, of the obscure and irregular system. The laws which excuse, on any occasions, the ignorance of their subjects, confess their own imperfections; the civil jurisprudence, as it was abridged by Justinian, still continued a mysterious science, and a profitable trade, and the innate perplexity of the study was involved in tenfold darkness by the private industry of the practitioners. The expense of the pursuit sometimes exceeded the value of the prize, and the fairest rights were abandoned by the poverty or prudence of the claimants. Such costly justice might tend to abate the spirit of litigation, but the unequal pressure serves only to increase the influence of the rich, and to aggravate the misery of the poor. By these dilatory and expensive proceedings, the wealthy pleader obtains a more certain advantage than he could hope from the accidental corruption of his judge. The experience of an abuse, from which our own age and country are not perfectly exempt, may sometimes provoke a generous indignation, and exhort the hasty wish of exchanging our elaborate jurisprudence for the simple and summary decrees of a Turkish cadi. Our calmer reflection will suggest, that such forms and delays are necessary to guard the person and property of the citizen; that the discretion of the judge is the first engine of tyranny, and that the laws of a free people should foresee and determine every question that may probably arise in the exercise of power and the transactions of industry. But the government of Justinian united the evils of liberty and servitude; and the Romans were oppressed at the same time by the multiplicity of their laws and the arbitrary will of their master.

## CHAP. XLV.

*Reign of the younger Justin. — Embassy of the Avars. — Their Settlement on the Danube. — Conquest of Italy by the Lombards. — Adoption and Reign of Tiberius. — Of Maurice. — State of Italy under the Lombards and the Emperors of Ravenna. — Distress of Rome. — Character and Pontificate of Gregory the First.*

Death of Justinian.  
A. D. 527,  
Nov. 14.

**D**URING the last years of Justinian, his infirm mind was devoted to heavenly contemplation, and he neglected

the business of the lower world. His subjects were impatient of the long continuance of his life and reign: yet all who were capable of reflection, apprehended the moment of his death, which might involve the capital in tumult, and the empire in civil war. Seven nephews<sup>1</sup> of the childless monarch, the sons or grandsons of his brother and sister, had been educated in the splendour of a princely fortune; they had been shown in high commands to the provinces and armies; their characters were known, their followers were zealous, and as the jealousy of age postponed the declaration of a successor, they might expect with equal hopes the inheritance of their uncle. He expired in his palace, after a reign of thirty-eight years; and the decisive opportunity was embraced by the friends of Justin, the son of Vigilantia.<sup>2</sup> At the hour of midnight, his domestics were awakened by an importunate crowd, who thundered at his door, and obtained admittance by revealing themselves to be the principal members of the senate. These welcome deputies announced the recent and momentous secret of the emperor's decease: reported, or perhaps invented, his dying choice of the best beloved and most deserving of his nephews; and conjured Justin to prevent the disorders of the multitude, if they should perceive, with the return of light, that they were left without a master. After composing his countenance to surprise, sorrow, and decent modesty, Justin, by the advice of his wife Sophia, submitted to the authority of the senate. He was conducted with speed and silence to the palace; the guards saluted their new sovereign, and the martial and religious rites of his coronation were diligently accomplished. By the hands of the proper officers he was invested with the Imperial garments, the red buskins, white tunic, and purple robe. A fortunate soldier, whom he instantly promoted to the rank of tribune, encircled his neck with a military collar; four robust youths exalted him on a shield; he stood firm and erect to receive the adoration of his subjects; and their choice was sanctified by the benediction of the patriarch, who imposed the diadem on the head of an orthodox prince. The hippodrome was already filled with innumerable multitudes; and no sooner did the emperor appear on his throne, than the voices of the blue and the green factions were

Reign of Justin II. or the Younger.  
A. D. 565,  
Nov. 15.—  
A. D. 578,  
December.

confounded in the same loyal acclamations. In the speeches which Justin addressed to the senate and people, he promised to correct the abuses which had disgraced the age of his predecessor, displayed the maxims of a just and beneficent government, and declared, that on the approaching calends of January,<sup>3</sup> he would revive in his own person the name and liberality of a Roman consul. The immediate discharge of his uncle's debts exhibited a solid pledge of his faith and generosity: a train of porters laden

His consulship.  
A. D. 566,  
January 1.

Corippus, De Laudibus Justin!, Appendix Hist. Byzant. p. 401—416 Runtz. 1777.

<sup>2</sup> It is surprising how Pagi (Critica in Annot. Baron. tom. ii. p. 679.) could be tempted by any chronicles to contradict the plain and decisive text of Corippus (vicina dona, l. ii. 354. vicina dies, l. iv. 1.), and to postpone, till A. D. 567, the consulship of Justin.

with bags of gold advanced into the midst of the hippodrome, and the hopeless creditors of Justinian accepted this equitable payment as a voluntary gift. Before the end of three years, his example was imitated and surpassed by the empress Sophia, who delivered many indigent citizens from the weight of debt and usury: an act of benevolence the best entitled to gratitude, since it relieves the most intolerable distress; but in which the bounty of a prince is the most liable to be abused by the claims of prodigality and fraud.<sup>1</sup>

Embassy of  
the Avars.  
A. D. 566.

On the seventh day of his reign, Justin gave audience to the ambassadors of the Avars, and the scene was decorated to impress the barbarians with astonishment, veneration, and terror. From the palace gate, the spacious courts and long porticoes were lined with the lofty crests and gilt bucklers of the guards, who presented their spears and axes with more confidence than they would have shown in a field of battle. The officers who exercised the power, or attended the person, of the prince, were attired in their richest habits, and arranged according to the military and civil order of the hierarchy. When the veil of the sanctuary was withdrawn, the ambassadors beheld the emperor of the East on his throne, beneath a canopy, or dome, which was supported by four columns, and crowned with a winged figure of Victory. In the first emotions of surprise, they submitted to the servile adoration of the Byzantine court; but as soon as they rose from the ground, Targetus, the chief of the embassy, expressed the freedom and pride of a barbarian. He extolled, by the tongue of his interpreter, the greatness of the chagan, by whose clemency the kingdoms of the south were permitted to exist, whose victorious subjects had traversed the frozen rivers of Scythia, and who now covered the banks of the Danube with innumerable tents. The late emperor had cultivated, with annual and costly gifts, the friendship of a grateful monarch, and the enemies of Rome had respected the allies of the Avars. The same prudence would instruct the nephew of Justinian to imitate the liberality of his uncle, and to purchase the blessings of peace from an invincible people, who delighted and excelled in the exercise of war. The reply of the emperor was delivered in the same strain of haughty defiance, and he derived his confidence from the God of the Christians, the ancient glory of Rome, and the recent triumphs of Justinian. "The empire," said he, "abounds with men and horses, and arms sufficient to defend our frontiers, and to chastise the barbarians. You offer aid, you threaten hostilities: we despise your enmity and your aid. The conquerors of the Avars solicit our alliance; shall we dread their fugitives and exiles?"

<sup>1</sup> Theophan. Chronograph. p. 295. Whenever Codrucus or Zenarus are mere transcribers, it is superfluous to allege their testimony.

<sup>2</sup> Corippus, l. iii. p. 790. The unquestionable sense relates to the Turks, the conquerors of the Avars, but the word *audax* has no appropriate derivative.

<sup>3</sup> The emperors p. 238—  
em. are of different  
d to the

"The bounty of our uncle was granted to your misery, to your humble prayers. From us you shall receive a more important obligation, the knowledge of your own weakness. Retire from our presence; the lives of ambassadors are safe; and if you return to implore our pardon, perhaps you will taste of our benevolence."<sup>6</sup> On the report of his ambassadors, the chagan was awed by the apparent firmness of a Roman emperor, of whose character and resources he was ignorant. Instead of executing his threats against the Eastern empire, he marched into the poor and savage countries of Germany, which were subject to the dominion of the Franks. After two doubtful battles, he consented to retire, and the Austrasian king relieved the distress of his camp with an immediate supply of corn and cattle.<sup>7</sup> Such repeated disappointments had chilled the spirit of the Avars, and their power would have dissolved away in the Sarmatian desert, if the alliance of Alboin, king of the Lombards, had not given a new object to their arms, and a lasting settlement to their wretched fortunes.

While Alboin served under his father's standard, he encountered in battle, and transpierced with his lance, the rival prince of the Gepidae. The Lombards, who applauded such early prowess, requested his father, with unanimous acclamations, that the heroic youth, who had shared the dangers of the field, might be admitted to the feast of victory. "You are not unmindful," replied the inflexible Audoin, "of the wise customs of our ancestors. Whatever may be his merit, a prince is incapable of sitting at table with his father till he has received his arms from a foreign and royal hand." Alboin bowed with reverence to the institutions of his country; selected forty companions, and boldly visited the court of Turisund, king of the Gepidae, who embraced and entertained, according to the laws of hospitality, the murderer of his son. At the banquet, whilst Alboin occupied the seat of the youth whom he had slain, a tender remembrance arose in the mind of Turisund. "How dear is that place—how hateful is that person!" were the words that escaped, with a sigh, from the indignant father. His grief exasperated the national resentment of the Gepidae; and Cunimund, his surviving son, was provoked by wine, or fraternal affection, to the desire of vengeance. "The Lombards," said the rude barbarian, "resemble, in figure and in smell, the mares of our Sarmatian plains." And this insult was a coarse allusion to the white bands which enveloped their legs. "Add another resemblance," replied an audacious Lombard; "you have felt how strongly they kick." "Visit the plain of Asfeld, and seek for the bones of thy brother: they are mingled with

Alboin, king of  
the Lombards  
— his valour,  
love, and re-  
venge.

Arabic and Chaldean tongues, and the date to the beginning of the sixth century, when it was bestowed by the Khalif of Bagdad on Mahmud Prince of Turan, and conqueror of India.

<sup>6</sup> For these barbarous speeches, compare the verse of Corippus (l. iii. p. 790) with the prose of Menander, *Excerpt Legit.* p. 162, 163.

<sup>7</sup> Their diversity proves that they drew from a common original, the present clause, that they drew from a common original.

<sup>8</sup> For the Austrasian war, see Mercurius (*Excerpt Legit.* p. 116), Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* l. iv. c. 29), and Paul the deacon (*de Gest. Langobard.* l. iii. c. 10).

"those of the vilest animals." The Gepidæ, a nation of warriors, started from their seats, and the fearless Alboin, with his forty companions, laid their hands on their swords. The tumult was appeased by the venerable interposition of Turisund. He saved his own honour, and the life of his guest: and after the solemn rites of investiture, dismissed the stranger in the bloody arms of his son; the gift of a weeping parent. Alboin returned in triumph; and the Lombards, who celebrated his matchless intrepidity, were compelled to praise the virtues of an enemy.<sup>8</sup> In this extraordinary visit he had probably seen the daughter of Cunimund, who soon after ascended the throne of the Gepidæ. Her name was Rosamond, an appellation expressive of female beauty, and which our own history or romance has consecrated to amorous tales. The king of the Lombards (the father of Alboin no longer lived) was contracted to the granddaughter of Clovis; but the restraints of faith and policy soon yielded to the hope of possessing the fair Rosamond, and of insulting her family and nation. The arts of persuasion were tried without success; and the impatient lover, by force and stratagem, obtained the object of his desires. War was the consequence which he foresaw and solicited; but the Lombards could not long withstand the furious assault of the Gepidæ, who were sustained by a Roman army. And as the offer of marriage was rejected with contempt, Alboin was compelled to relinquish his prey, and to partake of the disgrace which he had inflicted on the house of Cunimund.<sup>9</sup>

When a public quarrel is envenomed by private injuries, a blow that is not mortal or decisive can be productive only of a short truce, which allows the unsuccessful combatant to sharpen his arms for a new encounter. The strength of Alboin had been found unequal to the gratification of his love, ambition, and revenge; he condescended to implore the formidable aid of the chagan; and the arguments that he employed are expressive of the art and policy of the barbarians. In the attack of the Gepidæ, he had been prompted by the just desire of extirpating a people whom their alliance with the Roman empire had rendered the common enemies of the nations, and the personal adversaries of the chagan. If the forces of the Avars and the Lombards should unite in this glorious quarrel, the victory was secure, and the reward inestimable: the Danube, the Hebrus, Italy, and Constantinople, would be exposed, without a barrier, to their invincible arms. But if they hesitated or delayed to prevent the malice of the Romans, the same spirit which had insulted, would pursue the Avars to the extremity of the earth. These specious reasons were heard by

the chagan with coldness and disdain: he detained the Lombard ambassadors in his camp, protracted the negotiation, and by turns alleged his want of inclination, or his want of ability, to undertake this important enterprise. At length he signified the ultimate price of his alliance, that the Lombards should immediately present him with the title of their cattle; that the spoils and captives should be equally divided; but that the lands of the Gepidæ should become the sole patrimony of the Avars. Such hard conditions were eagerly accepted by the passions of Alboin; and as the Romans were dissatisfied with the ingratitude and perfidy of the Gepidæ, Justin abandoned that incorrigible people to their fate, and remained the tranquil spectator of this unequal conflict. The despair of Cunimund was active and dangerous. He was informed that the Avars had entered his confines; but on the strong assurance that, after the defeat of the Lombards, these foreign invaders would easily be repelled, he rushed forwards to encounter the implacable enemy of his name and family. But the courage of the Gepidæ could secure them no more than an honourable death. The bravest of the nation fell in the field of battle; the king of the Lombards contemplated with delight the head of Cunimund, and his skull was fashioned into a cup to satiate the hatred of the conqueror, or, perhaps, to comply with the savage custom of his country.<sup>10</sup> After this victory, no farther obstacle could impede the progress of the confederates, and they faithfully executed the terms of their agreement.<sup>11</sup> The fair countries of Walachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, and the parts of Hungary beyond the Danube, were occupied, without resistance, by a new colony of Scythians; and the Dacian empire of the chagans subsisted with splendour above two hundred and thirty years. The nation of the Gepidæ was dissolved; but in the distribution of the captives, the slaves of the Avars were less fortunate than the companions of the Lombards, whose generosity adopted a valiant foe, and whose freedom was incompatible with cool and deliberate tyranny. One moiety of the spoil introduced into the camp of Alboin more wealth than a barbarian could readily compute. The fair Rosamond was per-suaded, or compelled, to acknowledge the rights of her victorious lover; and the daughter of Cunimund appeared to forgive those crimes which might be imputed to her own irresistible charms.

The destruction of a mighty king- Alboin under-  
dom established the fame of Alboin. takes the con-  
In the days of Charlemagne, the quest of Italy.  
Bavarians, the Saxons, and the other tribes of the Teutonic language, still repeated the songs which described the heroic virtues, the valour, liberality, and fortune of the king of the Lombards.<sup>12</sup> But his ambition was yet unsatisfied;

<sup>8</sup> Paul Warræford, the historian of Frisia, de Gest. Longobard. l. i. c. 25, 26. His picture, in the old manners, though rudely sketched, are more lively and faithful than those of Beric, or Guecar of Turin. The story is told by an impostor (Theophylact. Simoc. l. v. c. 10.); but he had art enough to build his notions on public and notorious facts.

<sup>11</sup> Paul. l. i. c. 27. Menzies, in Excerpt. Tacit. p. 110, 111.  
<sup>12</sup> Cf. Liebert, Chron. l. vii. cap. 1. in Episcopio gentium, quem et Saxones, sed et alios condidit lingue homines. . . . in eorum carminibus celebratur. Paul. l. i. c. 27. Bedæ A.D. 799 (Muratori, in Præfat. tom. i. p. 367). These German songs, some of which might be as old as Tacitus, (the 24th century, c. 2.), were compiled and translated by Charlemagne. Bædæ et antiquissima carmina, quibus membra p. 695, appear

and the conqueror of the Gepidæ turned his eyes from the Danube to the richer banks of the Po and the Tyber. Fifteen years had not elapsed, since his subjects, the confederates of Narses, had visited the pleasant climate of Italy; the mountains, the rivers, the highways, were familiar to their memory: the report of their success, perhaps the view of their spoils, had kindled in the rising generation the flame of emulation and enterprise. Their hopes were encouraged by the spirit and eloquence of Alboin; and it is affirmed, that he spoke to their senses, by producing, at the royal feast, the fairest and most exquisite fruits that grew spontaneously in the garden of the world. No sooner had he erected his standard, than the native strength of the Lombards was multiplied by the adventurous youth of Germany and Scythia. The robust peasantry of Noricum and Pannonia had resumed the manners of barbarians; and the names of the Gepidæ, Bulgarians, Sarmatians, and Bavarians, may be distinctly traced in the provinces of Italy.<sup>13</sup> Of the Saxons, the old allies of the Lombards, twenty thousand warriors, with their wives and children, accepted the invitation of Alboin. Their bravery contributed to his success; but the accession or the absence of their numbers was not sensibly felt in the magnitude of his host. Every mode of religion was freely practised by its respective votaries. The king of the Lombards had been educated in the Arian heresy; but the Catholics, in their public worship, were allowed to pray for his conversion; while the more stubborn barbarians sacrificed a she-goat, or perhaps a captive, to the gods of their fathers.<sup>14</sup> The Lombards, and their confederates, were united by their common attachment to a chief, who excelled in all the virtues and vices of a savage hero; and the vigilance of Alboin provided an ample magazine of offensive and defensive arms for the use of the expedition. The portable wealth of the Lombards attended the march; their lands they cheerfully relinquished to the Avars, on the solemn promise, which was made and accepted without a smile, that if they failed in the conquest of Italy, these voluntary exiles should be reinstated in their former possessions.

Disfection and death of Narses.

They might have failed, if Narses had been the antagonist of the Lombards; and the veteran warrior, the associates of his Gothic victory, would have encountered with reluctance an enemy whom they dreaded and esteemed. But the weakness of the Byzantine court was subservient to the barbarian cause; and it was for the ruin of Italy, that the emperor once listened to the complaints of his subjects. The virtues of Narses were stained with avarice; and in his provincial reign of fifteen years he accumulated a treasure of gold and silver which surpassed the modesty of

a private fortune. His government was oppressive or unpopular, and the general discontent was expressed with freedom by the deputies of Rome. Before the throne of Justin they boldly declared, that their Gothic servitude had been more tolerable than the despotism of a Greek eunuch; and that, unless their tyrant were instantly removed, they would consult their own happiness in the choice of a master. The apprehension of a revolt was urged by the voice of envy and detraction, which had so recently triumphed over the merit of Belisarius. A new exarch, Longinus, was appointed to supersede the conqueror of Italy, and the base motives of his recall were revealed in the insulting mandate of the empress Sophia, "that he should leave to *men* the exercise of arms, and return to his proper station among the maidens of the palace, where a distaff should be again placed in the hand of the eunuch." "I will spin her such a thread, as she shall not easily unravel!" is said to have been the reply which indignation and conscious virtue extorted from the hero. Instead of attending, a slave and a victim, at the gate of the Byzantine palace, he retired to Naples, from whence (if any credit is due to the belief of the times) Narses invited the Lombards to chastise the ingratitude of the prince and people.<sup>15</sup> But the passions of the people are furious and changeable, and the Romans soon recollected the merits, or dreaded the resentment, of their victorious general. By the mediation of the pope, who undertook a special pilgrimage to Naples, their repentance was accepted; and Narses, assuming a milder aspect and a more dutiful language, consented to fix his residence in the Capitol. His death,<sup>16</sup> though in the extreme period of old age, was unseasonable and premature, since his genius alone could have repaired the last and fatal error of his life. The reality, or the suspicion, of a conspiracy disarmed and disunited the Italians. The soldiers resented the disgrace, and bewailed the loss, of their general. They were ignorant of their new exarch; and Longinus was himself ignorant of the state of the army and the province. In the preceding years Italy had been desolated by pestilence and famine, and a disaffected people ascribed the calamities of nature to the guilt or folly of their rulers.<sup>17</sup>

Whatever might be the grounds of his security, Alboin neither expected nor encountered a Roman army in the field. He ascended the Julian Alps, and looked down with contempt and desire on the fruitful plains to which his victory communicated the perpetual appellation of LOVBARDY. A faithful chieftain, and a select band, were stationed at Forum Julii, the modern Fiumi, to guard the passes of the mountains.

Conquest of a great part of Italy, by the Lombards. A. D. 565-570.

15 The other nations are rehearsed by Paul (II. c. 6. 2<sup>o</sup>). Vn-  
rioni (Antichità Italiane, tom. 2. di sart. 1. p. 113) has discovered the  
village of the Illyrians, thirty miles from Mediolan.

11 Gregory the Roman (Dialog. l. iii. c. 27, 28, apud Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 579, No. 109) supposes that they likewise adorned this she-goat. I know but of one religion in which the god and the victim are the same.

1) The charge of the deacon against Nurses (I n. c.) may be groundless, but the weak apology of the Council (Baron Anst. Eccles. A.D. 967, no S-12) is rejected by the last critics—P<sup>2</sup> (tom II, p. 339, 404), Murton (Anst. d'États tom I, p. 1-16, 3), and the last editors, Hering and Holmes (Syr. Reun. I, p.

tom. i. p. 147, 128\* and *Thilo Angelatus* (Sigon. Opera, tom. ii. p. 11, 12). The Xeres who assisted at the coronation of Justin (Corippus, l. vi. 221) is clearly understood to be a different person.

[illegible]

Conquest of a  
great part of  
Italy by the  
Lombards.  
A. D. 568-570.

The Lombards respected the strength of Pavia, and listened to the prayers of the Trevisans: their slow and heavy multitudes proceeded to occupy the palace and city of Verona; and Milan, now rising from her ashes, was invested by the powers of Alboin five months after his departure from Pannonia. Terror preceded his march; he found every where, or he left, a dreary solitude; and the pusillanimous Italians presumed, without a trial, that the stranger was invincible. Escaping to lakes, or rocks, or morasses, the affrighted crowds concealed some fragments of their wealth, and delayed the moment of their servitude. Paulinus, the patriarch of Aquileia, removed his treasures, sacred and profane, to the Isle of Grado,<sup>18</sup> and his successors were adopted by the infant republic of Venice, which was continually enriched by the public calamities. Honoratus, who filled the chair of St. Ambrose, had credulously accepted the faithless offers of a capitulation; and the archbishop, with the clergy and nobles of Milan, were driven by the perfidy of Alboin to seek a refuge in the less accessible ramparts of Genoa. Along the maritime coast, the courage of the inhabitants was supported by the facility of supply, the hopes of relief, and the power of escape; but from the Trentine hills to the gates of Ravenna and Rome, the inland regions of Italy became, without a battle or a siege, the lasting patrimony of the Lombards. The submission of the people invited the barbarian to assume the character of a lawful sovereign, and the helpless exarch was confined to the office of announcing to the emperor Justin, the rapid and irretrievable loss of his provinces and cities.<sup>19</sup> One city, which had been diligently fortified by the Goths, resisted the arms of a new invader; and while Italy was subdued by the flying detachments of the Lombards, the royal camp was fixed above three years before the western gate of Ticinum, or Pavia. The same courage which obtains the esteem of a civilised enemy, provokes the fury of a savage, and the impatient besieger had bound himself by a tremendous oath, that age, and sex, and dignity, should be confounded in a general massacre. The aid of famine at length enabled him to execute his bloody vow; but as Alboin entered the gate, his horse stumbled, fell, and could not be raised from the ground. One of his attendants was prompted by compassion, or piety, to interpret this miraculous sign of the wrath of Heaven; the conqueror paused and relented; he sheathed his sword, and peacefully reposing himself in the palace of Theodorici, proclaimed to the trembling multitude, that they should live and obey. Delighted with the situation of a city, which was endeared to his pride by the difficulty of the purchase, the prince of the Lombards disdained the ancient glories of Milan; and

Pavia, during some ages, was respected as the capital of the kingdom of Italy.<sup>20</sup>

The reign of the founder was splendid and transient; and before he could regulate his new conquests, Alboin fell a sacrifice to domestic treason and female revenge. In a palace near Verona, which had not been erected for the barbarians, he feasted the companions of his arms: intoxication was the reward of valour, and the king himself was tempted by appetite, or vanity, to exceed the ordinary measure of his intemperance. After draining many capacious bowls of Rhætan or Falernian wine, he called for the skull of Cunimund, the noblest and most precious ornament of his sideboard. The cup of victory was accepted with horrid applause by the circle of the Lombard chiefs. "Fill it again with wine," exclaimed the inhuman conqueror; "fill it to the brim; carry this goblet to the queen, and request in my name that she would rejoice with her father." In an agony of grief and rage, Rosamond had strength to utter, "Let the will of my lord be obeyed!" and touching it with her lips, pronounced a silent imprecation, that the insult should be washed away in the blood of Alboin. Some indulgence might be due to the resentment of a daughter, if she had not already violated the duties of a wife. Implacable in her enmity, or inconstant in her love, the queen of Italy had stooped from the throne to the arms of a subject; and Helmichis, the king's armour-bearer, was the secret minister of her pleasure and revenge. Against the proposal of the murder, he could no longer urge the scruples of fidelity or gratitude; but Helmichis trembled when he revolved the danger as well as the guilt, when he recollected the matchless strength and intrepidity of a warrior whom he had so often attended in the field of battle. He pressed, and obtained, that one of the bravest champions of the Lombards should be associated to the enterprise, but no more than a promise of secrecy could be drawn from the gallant Peredeus; and the mode of seduction employed by Rosamond betrays her shameless insensibility both to honour and love. She supplied the place of one of her female attendants who was beloved by Peredeus, and contrived some excuse for darkness and silence, till she could inform her companion that he had enjoyed the queen of the Lombards, and that his own death, or the death of Alboin, must be the consequence of such treasonable adultery. In this alternative, he chose rather to be the accomplice than the victim of Rosamond,<sup>21</sup> whose undaunted spirit was incapable of fear or remorse. She expected, and soon found, a favourable moment, when the king, oppressed with wine, had retired from the table to his afternoon slumbers.

Alboin is murdered by his wife Rosamond. A. D. 573, June 28.

18 Which from this translation was called, *New Aquila* (Chron. Venet. p. 32). The patriarch of Grado soon became the first citizen of the republic (p. 32, &c.); but his seat was not removed to Venice till the year 1150. He is now deputed with titles and honours, but the genius of the church has bowed to that of the state, and the government of a Catholic city is strictly presided in. Thomassin, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 156, 157 (ed. 16). Vincent de la Rivière, *Gouvernement de Venise*, tom. i. p. 262, 263.

20 For the conquest of Italy, see the original materials of Paul (l. ii. c. 7-10, 12, 11, 25, 26, 27), the eloquent narrative of Sigismund (tom. ii. de Regno Italico, l. i. p. 15-17), and the correct and critical review of Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. v. p. 164-180).

21 The classical reader will recollect the wife and murder of Andalus, so agreeably told in the first book of Herodotus. The honest and sincere avowal of Peredeus may serve as the excuse of Rosamond, and this is the first instance of an odious deed having been imputed by the best writers of antiquity (Grævius, ad Ciceron. *Orat. pro Milone*, c. 10).

His faithless spouse was anxious for his health and repose: the gates of the palace were shut, the arms removed, the attendants dismissed, and Rosamond, after lulling him to rest by her tender caresses, unbolted the chamber door, and urged the reluctant conspirators to the instant execution of the deed. On the first alarm, the warrior started from his couch: his sword, which he attempted to draw, had been fastened to the scabbard by the hand of Rosamond; and a small stool, his only weapon, could not long protect him from the spears of the assassins. The daughter of Cunimund smiled in his fall; his body was buried under the staircase of the palace, and the grateful posterity of the Lombards revered the tomb and the memory of their victorious leader.

Her flight and death. The ambitious Rosamond aspired to reign in the name of her lover; the city and palace of Verona were awed by her power, and a faithful band of her native Gepidae was prepared to applaud the revenge, and to second the wishes, of their sovereign. But the Lombard chiefs, who fled in the first moments of consternation and disorder, had resumed their courage and collected their powers; and the nation, instead of submitting to her reign, demanded, with unanimous cries, that justice should be executed on the guilty spouse and the murderers of their king. She sought a refuge among the enemies of her country, and a criminal who deserved the abhorrence of mankind was protected by the selfish policy of the exarch. With her daughter, the heiress of the Lombard throne, her two lovers, her trusty Gepidae, and the spoils of the palace of Verona, Rosamond descended the Adige and the Po, and was transported by a Greek vessel to the safe harbour of Ravenna. Longinus beheld with delight the charms and the treasures of the widow of Alboin: her situation and her past conduct might justify the most licentious proposals; and she readily listened to the passion of a minister, who, even in the decline of the empire, was respected as the equal of kings. The death of a jealous lover was an easy and grateful sacrifice; and as Helimichis issued from the bath, he received the deadly potion from the hand of his mistress. The taste of the liquor, its speedy operation, and his experience of the character of Rosamond, convinced him that he was poisoned: he pointed his dagger to her breast, compelled her to drain the remainder of the cup, and expired in a few minutes, with the consolation that she could not survive to enjoy the fruits of her wickedness. The daughter of Alboin and Rosamond, with the richest spoils of the Lombards, was embarked for Constantinople; the surprising strength of Peredeus amused and terrified the Imperial court: his blindness and revenge exhibited an imperfect copy of the adventures of

Sampson. By the free suffrage of Clepho, king of the nation, in the assembly of Pavia, Clepho, one of their noblest chiefs, was elected as the successor of Alboin. Before the end of eighteen months, the throne was polluted by a second murder; Clepho was stabbed by the hand of a domestic; the regal office was suspended above ten years, during the minority of his son Anthais; and Italy was divided and oppressed by a ducal aristocracy of thirty tyrants.<sup>22</sup>

When the nephew of Justinian ascended the throne, he proclaimed a new æra of happiness and glory. The annals of the second Justin<sup>23</sup> are marked with disgrace abroad and misery at home. In the West, the Roman empire was afflicted by the loss of Italy, the desolation of Africa, and the conquests of the Persians. Injustice prevailed both in the capital and the provinces; the rich trembled for their property, the poor for their safety; the ordinary magistrates were ignorant or venal; the occasional remedies appear to have been arbitrary and violent, and the complaints of the people could no longer be silenced by the splendid names of a legislator and a conqueror. The opinion which imputes to the prince all the calamities of his times, may be countenanced by the historian as a serious truth or a salutary prejudice. Yet a candid suspicion will arise, that the sentiments of Justin were pure and benevolent, and that he might have filled his station without reproach, if the faculties of his mind had not been impaired by disease, which deprived the emperor of the use of his feet, and confined him to the palace, a stranger to the complaints of the people and the vices of the government. The tardy knowledge of his own impotence determined him to lay down the weight of the diadem; and in the choice of a worthy substitute, he showed some symptoms of a discerning and even magnanimous spirit. The only son of Justin and Sophia died in his infancy: their daughter Arabia was the wife of Baduarins,<sup>24</sup> superintendent of the palace, and afterwards commander of the Italian armies, who vainly aspired to confirm the rights of marriage by those of adoption. While the empire appeared an object of desire, Justin was accustomed to behold with jealousy and hatred his brothers and cousins, the rivals of his hopes; nor could he depend on the gratitude of those who would accept the purple as a restitution, rather than a gift. Of these competitors, one had been removed by exile, and afterwards by death; and the emperor himself had inflicted such cruel insults on another, that he must either dread his resentment or despise his patience. This domestic animosity was refined into a generous resolution of seeking a successor, not in his family, but in the republic; and the artful Sophia recommended Tiberius,<sup>25</sup> his faithful captain of

<sup>22</sup> See the history of Paul, I. ii. c. 28—32. I have borrowed some interesting circumstances from the Liber Penthiensis of Anthon, in Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. p. 124. Of all chronological guides, Muratori is the safest.

<sup>23</sup> The original authors for the reign of Justin the younger, are Evagrius, Hist. Eccles. I. v. c. 1—12. Theophanes, in Chronograph. p. 204—210. Zenarus, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 70—72. Cedrenus, in Compend. p. 588—592.

<sup>24</sup> Dispositusque novus cæsar Baduarinus suble successor suorum mox furis Curia-patari. Corippus. Baduarins is enumerated among the descendants and allies of the

house of Justinian. A family of noble Venetians (Casa Badoro) built churches and gave dukedom to the republic as early as the ninth century. And if their descent be admitted, no kings in Europe can produce a pedigree so ancient and illustrious. Du-Roi, Essai sur l'histoire de Venise, p. 69. Anquet de la Houssaye, Gouvernement de Venise, tom. ii. p. 555.

<sup>25</sup> The oracle bestowed on princes before their election, is the purest and most weighty. Europe has celebrated Tiberius at the time of his accession, p. 212—222. And even a captain of the guards might attract the dignity of an African exile.



the guards, whose virtues and fortune the emperor might cherish as the fruit of his judicious choice. The ceremony of his elevation to the rank of Cæsar, or Augustus, was performed in the portico of the palace, in the presence of the patriarch and the senate. Justin collected the remaining strength of his mind and body; but the popular belief that his speech was inspired by the Deity, betrays a very humble opinion both of the man and of the times.<sup>26</sup> "You behold," said the emperor, "the ensigns of supreme power. You are about to receive them, not from my hand, but from the hand of God. Honour them, and from them you will derive honour. Respect the empress your mother; you are now her son; before, you were her servant. Delight not in blood; abstain from revenge; avoid those actions by which I have incurred the public hatred; and consult the experience, rather than the example, of your predecessor. As a man, I have sinned; as a sinner, even in this life I have been severely punished: but these servants (and he pointed to his ministers), who have abused my confidence, and inflamed my passions, will appear with me before the tribunal of Christ. I have been dazzled by the splendour of the diadem: be thou wise and modest; remember what you have been, remember what you are. You see around us your slaves and your children; with the authority, assume the tenderness, of a parent. Love your people like yourself; cultivate the affections, maintain the discipline, of the army: protect the fortunes of the rich, relieve the necessities of the poor."<sup>27</sup> The assembly, in silence and in tears, applauded the counsels, and sympathised with the repentance, of their prince: the patriarch rehearsed the prayers of the church; Tiberius received the diadem on his knees; and Justin, who in his abdication appeared most worthy to reign, addressed the new monarch in the following words: "If you consent, I live; if you command, I die: may the God of heaven and earth infuse into your heart whatever

"I have neglected or forgotten!"  
 Death of Justin II.  
 A. D. 578,  
 October 2.

Justin was passed in tranquil obscurity: his conscience was no longer tormented by the remembrance of those duties which he was incapable of discharging; and his choice was justified by the filial reverence and gratitude of Tiberius.

Among the virtues of Tiberius,<sup>28</sup> his beauty (he was one of the tallest and most comely of the Romans) might introduce him to the favour of Sophia; and the widow of Justin was persuaded, that she should preserve her station and influence under the reign of a second and more youthful husband. But if the ambitious candidate had been tempted to flatter and dissemble, it was no longer in his power to fulfil

<sup>26</sup> Evagrius (l. v. c. 15.) has added the reproach to his ministers, when Tiberius was elected, that he was more than the father to his forgetful creature.

<sup>27</sup> Justin declares that he did give to posterity the speech of Justin as it was pronounced, without attempting to correct the imperfections of language or rhetoric.

her expectations, or his own promise. The factions of the hippodrome demanded, with some impatience, the name of their new empress; both the people and Sophia were astonished by the proclamation of Anastasia, the secret, though lawful wife of the emperor Tiberius. Whatever could alleviate the disappointment of Sophia, Imperial honours, a stately palace, a numerous household, was liberally bestowed by the piety of her adopted son; on solemn occasions he attended and consulted the widow of his benefactor: but her ambition disdained the vain semblance of royalty, and the respectful appellation of mother served to exasperate, rather than appease, the rage of an injured woman. While she accepted, and repaid with a courtly smile, the fair expressions of regard and confidence, a secret alliance was concluded between the dowager empress and her ancient enemies; and Justinian, the son of Germanus, was employed as the instrument of her revenge. The pride of the reigning house supported, with reluctance, the dominion of a stranger; the youth was deservedly popular; his name, after the death of Justin, had been mentioned by a tumultuous faction; and his own submissive offer of his head, with a treasure of sixty thousand pounds, might be interpreted as an evidence of guilt, or at least of fear. Justinian received a free pardon, and the command of the Eastern army. The Persian monarch fled before his arms; and the acclamations which accompanied his triumph declared him worthy of the purple. His artful patroness had chosen the month of the vintage, while the emperor, in a rural solitude, was permitted to enjoy the pleasures of a subject. On the first intelligence of her designs he returned to Constantinople, and the conspiracy was suppressed by his presence and firmness. From the pomp and honours which she had abused, Sophia was reduced to a modest allowance: Tiberius dismissed her train, intercepted her correspondence, and committed to a faithful guard the custody of her person. But the services of Justinian were not considered by that excellent prince as an aggravation of his offences; after a mild reproof, his treason and ingratitude were forgiven; and it was commonly believed, that the emperor entertained some thoughts of contracting a double alliance with the rival of his throne. The voice of an angel (such a fable was propagated) might reveal to the emperor, that he should always triumph over his domestic foes; but Tiberius derived a firmer assurance from the innocence and generosity of his own mind.

With the odious name of Tiberius, he assumed the more popular appellation of Constantine, and imitated the purer virtues of the Antonines. After recording the vice or folly of so many Roman princes, it is pleasing to repose, for a moment, on a character conspicuous by the qualities of humanity, justice, temperance, and fortitude; to contem-

His virtues.

Perhaps the vain sophist would have been incapable of producing such sentiments.

<sup>28</sup> For the character and reign of Tiberius, see Evagrius, l. v. c. 15. Theophrastus, l. iii. c. 12, &c. Theophanes, in Chron. p. 210. 215. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. vi. p. 72. Orosius, p. 392. Paul. Winesford, de Gestis Langobard. p. iii. c. 11, 12. The deacon of Forum Julii appears to have possessed some curious and authentic facts.

plate a sovereign affable in his palace, pious in the church, impartial on the seat of judgment, and victorious, at least by his generals, in the Persian war. The most glorious trophy of his victory consisted in a multitude of captives, whom Tiberius entertained, redeemed, and dismissed to their native homes with the charitable spirit of a Christian hero. The merit or misfortunes of his own subjects had a dearer claim to his beneficence, and he measured his bounty not so much by their expectations as by his own dignity. This maxim, however dangerous in a trustee of the public wealth, was balanced by a principle of humanity and justice, which taught him to abhor, as of the basest alloy, the gold that was extracted from the tears of the people. For their relief, as often as they had suffered by natural or hostile calamities, he was impatient to remit the arrears of the past, or the demands of future taxes: he sternly rejected the servile offerings of his ministers, which were compensated by tenfold oppression; and the wise and equitable laws of Tiberius excited the praise and regret of succeeding times. Constantinople believed that the emperor had discovered a treasure: but his genuine treasure consisted in the practice of liberal economy, and the contempt of all vain and superfluous expense. The Romans of the East would have been happy, if the best gift of heaven, a patriot king, had been confirmed as a proper and permanent blessing. But in less than four years after the death of Justin, his worthy successor sunk into a mortal disease, which left him only sufficient time to restore the diadem, according to the tenure by which he held it, to the most deserving of his fellow-citizens. He selected Maurice from the crowd, a judgment more precious than the purple itself, the patriarch and senate were summoned to the bed of the dying prince; he bestowed his daughter and the empire; and his last advice was solemnly delivered by the voice of the quaestor. Tiberius expressed his hope, that the virtues of his son and successor would erect the noblest mausoleum to his memory. His memory was embalmed by the public affliction; but the most sincere grief evaporates in the tumult of a new reign, and the eyes and acclamations of mankind were speedily directed to the rising sun.

The reign of Maurice. A. D. 582, Aug. 15—A. D. 602, Nov. 27. The emperor Maurice derived his origin from ancient Rome; <sup>29</sup> but his immediate parents were settled at Arabissus in Cappadocia, and their singular felicity preserved them alive to behold and partake the fortune of their august son. The youth of Maurice was spent in the profession of arms: Tiberius promoted him to the command of a new and favourite legion of twelve thousand confederates; his valour and conduct were signalised in the Persian war; and he returned to Constantinople to accept, as his just reward, the

inheritance of the empire. Maurice ascended the throne at the mature age of forty-three years; and he reigned above twenty years over the East and over himself; <sup>30</sup> expelling from his mind the wild democracy of passions, and establishing (according to the quaint expression of Evagrius) a perfect aristocracy of reason and virtue. Some suspicion will degrade the testimony of a subject, though he protests that his secret praise should never reach the ear of his sovereign, <sup>31</sup> and some failings seem to place the character of Maurice below the purer merit of his predecessor. His cold and reserved demeanour might be imputed to arrogance; his justice was not always exempt from cruelty, nor his clemency from weakness; and his rigid economy too often exposed him to the reproach of avarice. But the rational wishes of an absolute monarch must tend to the happiness of his people; Maurice was endowed with sense and courage to promote that happiness, and his administration was directed by the principles and example of Tiberius. The pusillanimity of the Greeks had introduced so complete a separation between the offices of king and of general, that a private soldier who had deserved and obtained the purple, seldom or never appeared at the head of his armies. Yet the emperor Maurice enjoyed the glory of restoring the Persian monarch to his throne; his lieutenants waged a doubtful war against the Avars of the Danube, and he cast an eye of pity, of ineffectual pity, on the abject and distressful state of his Italian provinces.

From Italy the emperors were incessantly tormented by tales of misery and demands of succour, which extorted the humiliating confession of their own weakness. The expiring dignity of Rome was only marked by the freedom and energy of her complaints: "If you are incapable," she said, "of delivering us from the sword of the Lombards, save us at least from the calamity of famine." Tiberius forgave the reproach, and relieved the distress: a supply of corn was transported from Egypt to the Tyber; and the Roman people, invoking the name, not of Camillus, but of St. Peter, repulsed the barbarians from their walls. But the relief was accidental, the danger was perpetual and pressing: and the clergy and senate, collecting the remains of their ancient opulence, a sum of three thousand pounds of gold, despatched the patrician Pamphorius to lay their gifts and their complaints at the foot of the Byzantine throne. The attention of the court, and the forces of the East, were diverted by the Persian war; but the justice of Tiberius applied the subsidy to the defence of the city; and he dismissed the patrician with his best advice, either to bribe the Lombard chiefs, or to purchase the aid of the kings of France. Notwithstanding this weak invention, Italy was still

<sup>29</sup> It is therefore singular enough that Paul (l. vi. c. 15) should distinguish him as the first Greek emperor—*primus ex Graecis in Imperio constitutus*. His immediate predecessors had indeed been born in the Asian provinces of Europe, and a virgin residing in Graecia (Justin. lxxvii.) would apply the expression to the emperors rather than the prince.

<sup>30</sup> Consult, for the character and reign of Maurice, the fifth and sixth books of Evagrius, particularly l. vi. c. 1, the eight books of

the Greek and Roman history by Theophalet Simocatta; Theophalet, p. 15, A. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. vi. p. 77. Cedrenus, p. 791.

<sup>31</sup> *Ανεκδοκία* was the name given to the secret praise of a prince, which was never to be made public. Evagrius, c. 10, quoted his history in the twelfth century of Maurice, and he had been a contemporary of the emperor, who rewarded his favourable opinion, l. vi. c. 21.

afflicted, Rome was again besieged, and the suburb of Classe, only three miles from Ravenna, was pillaged and occupied by the troops of a simple duke of Spoleto. Maurice gave audience to a second deputation of priests and senators; the duties and the menaces of religion were forcibly urged in the letters of the Roman pontiff; and his nuncio, the deacon Gregory, was alike qualified to solicit the powers either of heaven or of the earth. The emperor adopted, with stronger effect, the measures of his predecessor; some formidable chiefs were persuaded to embrace the friendship of the Romans; and one of them, a mild and faithful barbarian, lived and died in the service of the exarch: the passes of the Alps were delivered to the Franks; and the pope encouraged them to violate, without scruple, their oaths and engagements to the mi-believers. Childbert, the great-grandson of Clovis, was persuaded to invade Italy by the payment of fifty thousand pieces; but as he had viewed with delight some Byzantine coin of the weight of one pound of gold, the king of Austrasia might stipulate, that the gift should be rendered more worthy of his acceptance, by a proper mixture of these respectable medals. The dukes of the Lombards had provoked by frequent inroads their powerful neighbours of Gaul. As soon as they were apprehensive of a just retaliation, they renounced their feeble and disorderly independence: the advantages of regal government, union, secrecy, and vigour, were unanimously confessed; and Autharis, the son of Clepho, had already attained the strength and reputation of a warrior. Under the standard of their new king, the conquerors of Italy withstood three successive invasions, one of which was led by Childbert himself, the last of the Merovingian race who descended from the Alps. The first expedition was defeated by the jealous animosity of the Franks and Alemanni. In the second they were vanquished in a bloody battle, with more loss and dishonour than they had sustained since the foundation of their monarchy. Impatient for revenge, they returned a third time with accumulated force, and Autharis yielded to the fury of the torrent. The troops and treasures of the Lombards were distributed in the walled towns between the Alps and the Apennine. A nation, less sensible of danger, than of fatigue and delay, soon murmured against the folly of their twenty commanders; and the hot vapours of an Italian sun infected with disease those tramontane bodies which had already suffered the vicissitudes of intemperance and famine. The powers that were inadequate to the conquest, were more than sufficient for the desolation, of the country; nor could the trembling natives distinguish between their enemies and their deliverers. If the junction of

the Merovingian and Imperial forces had been effected in the neighbourhood of Milan, perhaps they might have subverted the throne of the Lombards; but the Franks expected six days the signal of a flaming village, and the arms of the Greeks were idly employed in the reduction of Modena and Parma, which were torn from them after the retreat of their Transalpine allies. The victorious Autharis asserted his claim to the dominion of Italy. At the foot of the Rætian Alps, he subdued the resistance, and rifled the hidden treasures, of a sequestered island in the lake of Comum. At the extreme point of Calabria, he touched with his spear a column on the sea-shore of Rhegium,<sup>32</sup> proclaiming that ancient landmark to stand the immovable boundary of his kingdom.<sup>33</sup>

During a period of two hundred years, Italy was unequally divided between the kingdom of the Lombards and the exarchate of Ravenna. The offices and professions, which the jealousy of Constantine had separated, were united by the indulgence of Justinian; and eighteen successive exarchs were invested, in the decline of the empire, with the full remains of civil, of military, and even of ecclesiastical power. Their immediate jurisdiction, which was afterwards consecrated as the patrimony of Saint Peter, extended over the modern Romagna, the marshes or valleys of Ferrara and Comacchio,<sup>34</sup> five maritime cities from Rimini to Ancona, and a second, inland Pentapolis, between the Adriatic coast and the hills of the Apennine. Three subordinate provinces, of Rome, of Venice, and of Naples, which were divided by hostile lands from the palace of Ravenna, acknowledged, both in peace and war, the supremacy of the exarch. The duchy of Rome appears to have included the Tuscan, Sabine, and Latian conquests, of the first four hundred years of the city, and the limits may be distinctly traced along the coast, from Civita Vecchia to Terracina, and with the course of the Tyber from Ameria and Narni to the port of Ostia. The numerous islands from Grado to Chiozza, composed the infant dominion of Venice; but the more accessible towns on the continent were overthrown by the Lombards, who beheld with impotent fury a new capital rising from the waves. The power of the dukes of Naples was circumscribed by the bay and the adjacent isles, by the hostile territory of Capua, and by the Roman colony of Anaphi,<sup>35</sup> whose industrious citizens, by the invention of the mariner's compass, have unveiled the face of the globe. The three islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, still adhered to the empire; and the acquisition of the farther Calabria removed the landmark of Autharis from the shore of Rhegium to the isthmus of Consentia. In Sardinia, the savage moun-

<sup>32</sup> The Columna Rhegina, in the narrowest part of the Faro of Messina, one hundred stadia from Rhegium itself, is frequently mentioned in ancient geographers. (Civiter. Ital. Antiqu. tom. i. p. 129.) Lucius Holsten Annotat. ad Cluver. p. 201. Wesseling. Itinerar. p. 106.

<sup>33</sup> The Greek historians afford some faint hints of the wars of Italy (Memorand. in Excerpt. Lectur. p. 121. 126). Theophylact. Hist. eccl. 4. The Latins are more satisfactory, and especially Paul Warfried (l. iii. 13-31), who had read the more ancient histories of Secundus and Gregory of Tours. Barotius produces some letters

of the popes, &c. and the times, are measured by the accurate scale of Pagi and Muratori.

<sup>34</sup> The paper address was, Zaccaria and Pontormo, might justly claim the valleys or marshes of Comacchio as a part of the exarchate. But the union of including Modena, Reggio, Parma, and Piacenza, has a known geographical acquisition somewhat doubtful and obscure. Even Nicotriti is the servant of the house of Este, is not free from a Greek and preta in it.

<sup>35</sup> See Breviarium. Divert. Ima de Republica Amalphitana, p. 1-12. Ad calcem Hist. Pandect. Florent.

taineers preserved the liberty and religion of their ancestors; but the husbandmen of Sicily were chained to their rich and cultivated soil. Rome was oppressed by the iron sceptre of the exarchs, and a Greek, perhaps an eunuch, insulted with impunity the ruins of the Capitol. But Naples soon acquired the privilege of electing her own dukes: <sup>36</sup> the independence of Amalfi was the fruit of commerce; and the voluntary attachment of Venice was finally ennobled by an equal alliance with the Eastern empire. On the map of Italy, the measure of the exarchate occupies a very inadequate space, but it included an ample proportion of wealth, industry, and population. The most faithful and valuable subjects escaped from the barbarian yoke; and the banners of Pavia and Verona, of Milan and Padua, were displayed in their respective quarters by the new inhabitants of

Ravenna. The remainder of Italy was possessed by the Lombards; and from Pavia, the royal seat, their kingdom was extended to the east, the north, and the west, as far as the confines of the Avars, the Bavarians, and the Franks of Austrasia and Burgundy. In the language of modern geography, it is now represented by the Terra Firma of the Venetian republic, Tyrol, the Milanese, Piedmont, the coast of Genoa, Mantua, Parma, and Modena, the grand duchy of Tuscany, and a large portion of the ecclesiastical state from Perugia to the Adriatic. The dukes, and at length the princes of Benevento, survived the monarchy, and propagated the name of the Lombards. From Capua to Tarentum, they reigned near five hundred years over the greatest part of the present kingdom of Naples.<sup>37</sup>

In comparing the proportion of the victorious and the vanquished people, the change of language will afford the most probable inference. According to this standard it will appear, that the Lombards of Italy, and the Visigoths of Spain, were less numerous than the Franks or Burgundians; and the conquerors of Gaul must yield, in their turn, to the multitude of Saxons and Angles who almost eradicated the idioms of Britain. The modern Italian has been insensibly formed by the mixture of nations; the awkwardness of the barbarians in the nice management of declensions and conjugations, reduced them to the use of articles and auxiliary verbs; and many new ideas have been expressed by Teutonic appellations. Yet the principal stock of technical and familiar words is found to be of Latin derivation; <sup>38</sup> and if we were sufficiently conversant with the obsolete, the rustic, and the municipal dialects of ancient Italy, we should trace the origin of many terms which might,

perhaps, be rejected by the classic purity of Rome. A numerous army constitutes but a small nation, and the powers of the Lombards were soon diminished by the retreat of twenty thousand Saxons, who scorned a dependent situation, and returned, after many bold and perilous adventures, to their native country.<sup>39</sup> The camp of Alboin was of formidable extent, but the extent of a camp would be easily circumscribed within the limits of a city; and its martial inhabitants must be thinly scattered over the face of a large country. When Alboin descended from the Alps, he invested his nephew, the first duke of Friuli, with the command of the province and the people; but the prudent Gisulf would have declined the dangerous office, unless he had been permitted to choose, among the nobles of the Lombards, a sufficient number of families <sup>40</sup> to form a perpetual colony of soldiers and subjects. In the progress of conquest, the same option could not be granted to the dukes of Brescia or Bergamo, of Pavia or Turin, of Spoleto or Benevento; but each of these, and each of their colleagues, settled in his appointed district with a band of followers who resorted to his standard in war, and his tribunal in peace. Their attachment was free and honourable; resigning the gifts and benefits which they had accepted, they might emigrate with their families into the jurisdiction of another duke; but their absence from the kingdom was punished with death, as a crime of military desertion.<sup>41</sup> The posterity of the first conquerors struck a deeper root into the soil, which, by every motive of interest and honour, they were bound to defend. A Lombard was born the soldier of his king and his duke; and the civil assemblies of the nation displayed the banners, and assumed the appellation, of a regular army. Of this army, the pay and the rewards were drawn from the conquered provinces; and the distribution, which was not effected till after the death of Alboin, is disgraced by the foul marks of injustice and rapine. Many of the most wealthy Italians were slain or banished; the remainder were divided among the strangers, and a tributary obligation was imposed (under the name of hospitality), of paying to the Lombards a third part of the fruits of the earth. Within less than seventy years, this artificial system was abolished by a more simple and solid tenure.<sup>42</sup> Either the Roman landlord was expelled by his strong and insolent guest; or the annual payment, a third of the produce, was exchanged by a more equitable transaction for an adequate proportion of landed property. Under these foreign masters, the business of agriculture, in the cultivation of corn, vines, and olives, was exercised with degenerate skill and industry by the labour of the slaves and natives. But the occupations of a

<sup>36</sup> Greuter. Magn. l. in Epist. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

<sup>37</sup> I have described the state of Italy from the excellent Dissertation of Beretti. *Giornale d'Italia* (vile, tom. i. p. 371-387) has followed the learned Camillo Pellegrini in the geography of the kingdom of Naples. After the loss of the true Italian, the saints of the forefathers substituted that name instead of the more humble appellation of Bruttium, and the change appears to have taken place before the time of Constantine (Euseb. l. p. 72).

<sup>38</sup> Malherbe, *Antiquités de la France*, part. p. p. 304-311 l. 304. Vossius (*Antiquités Italiques*, tom. i. Dissertationes, xxxi. xxxii. p. 12-13) has asserted the native claims of the Italian idiom: the former with

ecclesiasticism, the latter with discretion, both with learning, ingenuity, and truth.

<sup>39</sup> Pauli de Gest. Langobard. l. i. c. 5, 6, 7.

<sup>40</sup> Pauli l. i. c. 9. He adds these families or generations by the thousand name of *tribus*, which I have explained in the second note, l. 1. but by which we must understand the number of three hundred.

<sup>41</sup> Pauli l. i. c. 17. and l. ii. c. 17. of the laws of Rothari.

<sup>42</sup> Pauli l. i. c. 17. and l. ii. c. 17. of the laws of Rothari. The same system was abolished by the emperor Charlemagne, who, in the year 800, issued a decree, that the annual payment should be commuted for a fixed proportion of the land.



profits of justice. When the independent dukes agreed that Autharis should ascend the throne of his father, they endowed the regal office with a fair moiety of their respective domains. The proudest nobles aspired to the honours of servitude near the person of their prince: he rewarded the fidelity of his vassals by the precarious gift of pensions and *benefices*; and atoned for the injuries of war, by the rich foundation of monasteries and churches. In peace a judge, a leader in war, he never usurped the powers of a sole and absolute legislator. The king of Italy convened the national assemblies in the palace, or more probably in the fields, of Pavia: his great council was composed of the persons most eminent by their birth and dignities; but the validity, as well as the execution, of their decrees, depended on the approbation of the *faithful* people, the *fortunate* army of the Lombards.

About fourscore years after the <sup>Laws</sup> A. D. 645, <sup>Seco.</sup> conquest of Italy, their traditional customs were transcribed in Teutonic Latin,<sup>53</sup> and ratified by the consent of the prince and people; some new regulations were introduced, more suitable to their present condition; the example of Rotharis was imitated by the wisest of his successors, and the laws of the Lombards have been esteemed the least imperfect of the barbaric codes.<sup>54</sup> Secure by their courage in the possession of liberty, these rude and hasty legislators were incapable of balancing the powers of the constitution, or of discussing the nice theory of political government. Such crimes as threatened the life of the sovereign, or the safety of the state, were adjudged worthy of death; but their attention was principally confined to the defence of the person and property of the subject. According to the strange jurisprudence of the times, the guilt of blood might be redeemed by a fine; yet the high price of nine hundred pieces of gold declares a just sense of the value of a simple citizen. Less atrocious injuries, a wound, a fracture, a blow, an opprobrious word, were measured with scrupulous and almost ridiculous diligence; and the prudence of the legislator encouraged the ignoble practice of bartering honour and revenge for a pecuniary compensation. The ignorance of the Lombards, in the state of Paganism or Christianity, gave implicit credit to the malice and mischief of witchcraft; but the judges of the seventeenth century might have been instructed and confounded by the wisdom of Rotharis, who derides the absurd superstition, and protects the wretched victims of popular or judicial cruelty.<sup>55</sup> The same spirit of a legislator, superior to his age and country, may be ascribed to Liutprand, who condemns, while he tolerates, the impious and inveterate abuse of duels,<sup>56</sup> observing, from his

own experience, that the juster cause had often been oppressed by successful violence. Whatever merit may be discovered in the laws of the Lombards, they are the genuine fruit of the reason of the barbarians, who never admitted the bishops of Italy to a seat in their legislative councils.

But the succession of their kings is marked with virtue and ability; the troubled series of their annals is adorned with fair intervals of peace, order, and domestic happiness; and the Italians enjoyed a milder and more equitable government, than any of the other kingdoms which had been founded on the ruins of the Western empire.<sup>57</sup>

Amidst the arms of the Lombards, <sup>Misery of</sup> and under the despotism of the <sup>Rome.</sup> Greeks, we again enquire into the fate of Rome,<sup>58</sup> which had reached, about the close of the sixth century, the lowest period of her depression. By the removal of the seat of empire, and the successive loss of the provinces, the sources of public and private opulence were exhausted; the lofty tree, under whose shade the nations of the earth had reposed, was deprived of its leaves and branches, and the sapless trunk was left to wither on the ground. The ministers of command, and the messengers of victory, no longer met on the Appian or Flaminian way; and the hostile approach of the Lombards was often felt, and continually feared. The inhabitants of a potent and peaceful capital, who visit without an anxious thought the garden of the adjacent country, will faintly picture in their fancy the distress of the Romans; they shut or opened their gates with a trembling hand, beheld from the walls the flames of their houses, and heard the lamentations of their brethren, who were coupled together like dogs, and dragged away into distant slavery beyond the sea and the mountains. Such incessant alarms must annihilate the pleasures and interrupt the labours of a rural life; and the Campagna of Rome was speedily reduced to the state of a dreary wilderness, in which the land is barren, the waters are impure, and the air is infectious. Curiosity and ambition no longer attracted the nations to the capital of the world; but if chance or necessity directed the steps of a wandering stranger, he contemplated with horror the vacancy and solitude of the city, and might be tempted to ask, Where is the senate, and where are the people? In a season of excessive rains, the Tyber swelled above its banks, and rushed with irresistible violence into the valleys of the Seven Hills. A pestilential disease arose from the stagnation of the deluge; and so rapid was the contagion, that fourscore persons expired in an hour, in the midst of a solemn procession which implored the mercy of Heaven.<sup>59</sup> A society in which mar-

<sup>53</sup> The most accurate edition of the Laws of the Lombards, yet to be found in the *Scriptores Rerum Italianarum*, tom. i. art. 1. p. 1. Is collated from the most ancient MSS. and is illustrated by the critical notes of Muratori.

<sup>54</sup> Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, l. xxviii. c. 1. Les loix des Lombards sont assez judicieuses, celles de Rotharis et des autres princes Lombards le sont encore plus.

<sup>55</sup> See *Leges Rothari*, tom. 524, p. 47. Strabo used the name of a witch. It is of the purest classic origin (*θητιανή* and *θητιανή* *Λεων.* c. 174.). and, from the words of Petronius (*quædam dæmonum nervos tuos* &c.) it may be inferred that the prejudice was of Italian rather than barbarian extraction.

<sup>56</sup> *Quia necesse sumus de iudicio Dei et multis aliis rebus periculum sine qua vita nostra causam perdetur. Sed properat et sustinendum genus nostrum largulorum legem imitari, ut*

non possimus. See p. 71. No 63. of the Laws of Liutprand, promulgated A. D. 724.

<sup>57</sup> In all the history of Italy, Worms find, partly in l. i. art. 16. *Euonymus*, c. 1. the plague, which appears to contradict the assertions of Pope Gregory the first, that Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. v. p. 17.) presumes to ascribe that the saint may have magnified the evils of Athens and Jerusalem.

<sup>58</sup> The passages of the histories of Gregory, which represent the miserable state of the city and country, are transcribed in the *Annals of Baronius*, A. D. 570. No 16. A. D. 585. No 2. No 3.

<sup>59</sup> The inroads and plague were reported by a vision, whom his bishop, Gregory of Tours, had dispatched to Rome to enquire about it. The common messenger published his tale and then was a great dragon and a train of other serpents (for *Gregorius*, l. c. 1. p. 174.).

riage is encouraged, and industry prevails, soon repairs the accidental losses of pestilence and war; but as the far greater part of the Romans was condemned to hopeless indigence and celibacy, the depopulation was constant and visible, and the gloomy enthusiasts might expect the approaching failure of the human race.<sup>60</sup> Yet the number of citizens still exceeded the measure of subsistence: their precarious food was supplied from the harvests of Sicily or Egypt; and the frequent repetition of famine betrays the inattention of the emperor to a distant province. The edifices of Rome were exposed to the same ruin and decay; the mouldering fabrics were easily overthrown by inundations, tempests, and earthquakes; and the monks who had occupied the most advantageous stations exulted in their base triumph over the ruins of antiquity.<sup>61</sup> It is commonly believed that pope Gregory the First attacked the temples and mutilated the statues of the city; that, by the command of the barbarian, the Palatine library was reduced to ashes, and that the history of Livy was the peculiar mark of his absurd and mischievous fanaticism. The writings of Gregory himself reveal his implacable aversion to the monuments of classic genius; and he points his severest censure against the profane learning of a bishop who taught the art of grammar, studied the Latin poets, and pronounced with the same voice the praises of Jupiter and those of Christ. But the evidence of his destructive rage is doubtful and recent: the temple of Peace, or the theatre of Marcellus, have been demolished by the slow operation of ages; and a formal proscription would have multiplied the copies of Virgil and Livy in the countries which were not subject to the ecclesiastical dictator.<sup>62</sup>

Like Thebes, or Babylon, or Carthage, the name of Rome might have been erased from the earth, if the city had not been animated by a vital principle, which again restored her to honour and dominion. A vague tradition was embraced, that two Jewish teachers, a tent-maker, and a fisherman, had formerly been executed in the circus of Nero, and at the end of five hundred years their genuine or fictitious relics were adored as the Palladium of Christian Rome. The pilgrims of the East and West resorted to the

holy threshold; but the shrines of the apostles were guarded by miracles and invisible terrors; and it was not without fear that the pious Catholic approached the object of his worship. It was fatal to touch, it was dangerous to behold, the bodies of the saints; and those who from the purest motives presumed to disturb the repose of the sanctuary, were afflicted by visions, or punished with sudden death. The unreasonable request of an empress, who wished to deprive the Romans of their sacred treasure, the head of St. Paul, was rejected with the deepest abhorrence; and the pope asserted, most probably with truth, that a linen which had been sanctified in the neighbourhood of his body, or the filings of his chain, which it was sometimes easy and sometimes impossible to obtain, possessed an equal degree of miraculous virtue.<sup>63</sup> But the power as well as virtue of the apostles resided with living energy in the breast of their successors; and the chair of St. Peter was filled under the reign of Maurice by the first and greatest of the name of Gregory.<sup>64</sup> His grandfather Felix had himself been pope, and as the bishops were already bound by the law of celibacy, his consecration must have been preceded by the death of his wife. The parents of Gregory, Sylvia and Gordian, were the noblest of the senate, and the most pious of the church of Rome; his female relations were numbered among the saints and virgins; and his own figure with those of his father and mother were represented near three hundred years in a family portrait,<sup>65</sup> which he offered to the monastery of St. Andrew. The design and colouring of this picture afford an honourable testimony, that the art of painting was cultivated by the Italians of the sixth century; but the most abject ideas must be entertained of their taste and learning, since the epistles of Gregory, his sermons, and his dialogues, are the work of a man who was second in erudition to none of his contemporaries;<sup>66</sup> his birth and abilities had raised him to the office of præfect of the city, and he enjoyed the merit of renouncing the pomp and ambition of this world. His ample patrimony was dedicated to the foundation of seven monasteries;<sup>67</sup> one in Rome,<sup>68</sup> and six in Sicily; and it was the wish of Gregory that he might be unknown in this life, and glorious only

Ruth and  
prophet son of  
Levi, the  
Roman.

The tombs  
and relics of  
the apostles

<sup>60</sup> Gregory of Rome (Dialog. i. c. 12) has observed, with reason, that the destruction of St. Basilica, the loss of the library, and the devastation of the temple of Peace, were the principal causes of the decline of the empire. Such a hypothesis is not only plausible, but has also the evidence of the fact, which will be seen in the sequel.

<sup>61</sup> The same opinion is expressed by the same author in his collection of epistles, et in unius epistolæ præfatione, c. 12. He also mentions the destruction of the temple of Peace, and the loss of the library, as the principal causes of the decline of the empire.

<sup>62</sup> Basilica (then called the church of St. Peter) was destroyed by fire in the reign of Gregory the First. The same is mentioned by the same author in his collection of epistles, et in unius epistolæ præfatione, c. 12.

<sup>63</sup> Gregory the First (Dialog. i. c. 12) has observed, with reason, that the destruction of St. Basilica, the loss of the library, and the devastation of the temple of Peace, were the principal causes of the decline of the empire. Such a hypothesis is not only plausible, but has also the evidence of the fact, which will be seen in the sequel.

<sup>64</sup> Besides the 24 epistles of Gregory, there are 12 epistles, which are attributed to him by Baronius. The first 12 are the epistles of the pope, the last 12 are the epistles of the emperor. The first 12 are the epistles of the pope, the last 12 are the epistles of the emperor. The first 12 are the epistles of the pope, the last 12 are the epistles of the emperor.

posthumous fame, and by the mere name of Felix (Hist. Eccles. i. c. 12) he is distinguished from the other Felixes, who have been mentioned by the same author.

<sup>65</sup> In the life of Gregory, he is described like an eye-witness (see c. 12) and his own portrait is mentioned by Agath. Angelus, a Roman painter, who lived in the reign of Gregory the First, and who is still preserved in the collection of the pope's pictures in the Vatican. The same is mentioned by the same author in his collection of epistles, et in unius epistolæ præfatione, c. 12.

<sup>66</sup> The same is mentioned by the same author in his collection of epistles, et in unius epistolæ præfatione, c. 12. The same is mentioned by the same author in his collection of epistles, et in unius epistolæ præfatione, c. 12. The same is mentioned by the same author in his collection of epistles, et in unius epistolæ præfatione, c. 12.

<sup>67</sup> The same is mentioned by the same author in his collection of epistles, et in unius epistolæ præfatione, c. 12. The same is mentioned by the same author in his collection of epistles, et in unius epistolæ præfatione, c. 12. The same is mentioned by the same author in his collection of epistles, et in unius epistolæ præfatione, c. 12.

<sup>68</sup> The same is mentioned by the same author in his collection of epistles, et in unius epistolæ præfatione, c. 12.

in the next. Yet his devotion, and it might be sincere, pursued the path which would have been chosen by a crafty and ambitious statesman. The talents of Gregory, and the splendour which accompanied his retreat, rendered him dear and useful to the church; and implicit obedience has been always inculcated as the first duty of a monk. As soon as he had received the character of deacon, Gregory was sent to reside at the Byzantine court, the nuncio or minister of the apostolic see; and he boldly assumed, in the name of St. Peter, a tone of independent dignity, which would have been criminal and dangerous in the most illustrious laymen of the empire. He returned to Rome with a just increase of reputation, and after a short exercise of the monastic virtues, he was dragged from the cloister to the papal throne, by the unanimous voice of the clergy, the senate, and the people. He alone resisted, or seemed to resist, his own elevation; and his humble petition, that Maurice would be pleased to reject the choice of the Romans, could only serve to exalt his character in the eyes of the emperor and the public. When the fatal mandate was proclaimed, Gregory solicited the aid of some friendly merchants to convey him in a basket beyond the gates of Rome, and modestly concealed himself some days among the woods and mountains, till his retreat was discovered, as it is said, by a celestial light.

Pontificate  
of Gregory  
the Great,  
or First,  
A. D. 590,  
Feb. 4.  
A. D. 604,  
March 12.

The pontificate of Gregory the Great, which lasted thirteen years six months and ten days, is one of the most edifying periods of the history of the church. His virtues, and even his faults, a singular mixture of simplicity and cunning, of pride and humility, of sense and superstition, were happily suited to his station and to the temper of the times. In his rival, the patriarch of Constantinople, he condemned the Antichristian title of universal bishop, which the successor of St. Peter was too haughty to concede, and too feeble to assume; and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Gregory was confined to the triple character of Bishop of Rome, Primate of Italy, and Apostle of the West. He frequently ascended the pulpit, and kindled, by his rude, though pathetic, eloquence, the congenial passions of his audience; the language of the Jewish prophets was interpreted and applied, and the minds of a people, depressed by their present calamities, were directed to the hopes and fears of the invisible world. His precepts and example defined the model of the Roman liturgy;<sup>69</sup> the distribution of the parishes, the calendar of festivals, the order of processions, the service of the priests and deacons, the variety and change of sacerdotal garments. Till the last days of his life, he officiated

in the canon of the mass, which continued above three hours; the Gregorian chant<sup>70</sup> has preserved the vocal and instrumental music of the theatre, and the rough voices of the barbarians attempted to imitate the melody of the Roman school.<sup>71</sup> Experience had shown him the efficacy of these solemn and pompous rites, to soothe the distress, to confirm the faith, to mitigate the fierceness, and to dispel the dark enthusiasm of the vulgar, and he readily forgave their tendency to promote the reign of priesthood and superstition. The bishops of Italy and the adjacent islands acknowledged the Roman pontiff as their special metropolitan. Even the existence, the union, or the translation of episcopal seats, was decided by his absolute discretion; and his successful inroads into the provinces of Greece, of Spain, and of Gaul, might countenance the more lofty pretensions of succeeding popes. He interposed to prevent the abuses of popular elections; his jealous care maintained the purity of faith and discipline, and the apostolic shepherd assiduously watched over the faith and discipline of the subordinate pastors. Under his reign, the Arians of Italy and Spain were reconciled to the Catholic church, and the conquest of Britain reflects less glory on the name of Cæsar, than on that of Gregory the First. Instead of six legions, forty monks were embarked for that distant island, and the pontiff lamented the austere duties which forbade him to partake the perils of their spiritual warfare. In less than two years he could announce to the archbishop of Alexandria, that they had baptized the king of Kent with ten thousand of his Anglo-Saxons, and that the Roman missionaries, like those of the primitive church, were armed only with spiritual and supernatural powers. The credulity or the prudence of Gregory was always disposed to confirm the truths of religion by the evidence of ghosts, miracles, and resurrections; and posterity has paid to his memory the same tribute, which he freely granted to the virtue of his own or the preceding generation. The celestial honours have been liberally bestowed by the authority of the popes, but Gregory is the last of their own order whom they have presumed to inscribe in the calendar of saints.

Their temporal power insensibly and temporal government, arose from the calamities of the times; and the Roman bishops, who have deluged Europe and Asia with blood, were compelled to reign as the ministers of charity and peace. I. The church of Rome, as it has been formerly observed, was endowed with ample possessions in Italy, Sicily, and the more distant provinces; and her agents, who were commonly subdeacons, had acquired a civil, and even criminal, jurisdiction over their tenants and hus-

<sup>69</sup> The Lord's Prayer consists of half a dozen lines, the Sacramental and Antiphonal offices of Gregory himself, composed in the Fifth century, yet these only constitute a part of the *Mass*, *Canon*, and *Missa* as it is called, and Feurs has abridged this Ecclesiastical work, vol. p. 179-182.

<sup>70</sup> I learn from the Abbe Bales (Preliminary to the Preface of the Pontificale, tom. vi. p. 124-127) that the Gregorian chant, which Gregory the Great was supposed to have introduced, was composed by the eight voices of the Roman church, and the Gregorian chant, which Gregory the Great was supposed to have introduced, was composed by the eight voices of the Roman church, and the Gregorian chant, which Gregory the Great was supposed to have introduced, was composed by the eight voices of the Roman church.

<sup>71</sup> John the deacon in his *Life of Gregory*, lib. 2, expresses his surprise, that the Romans, for the sake of a single note, should have been so much attached to the Gregorian chant.

though with some reluctance, admitted the justice of the reformation, *Monks*, *Desert*, &c.

<sup>72</sup> A. F. de la Croix (Peregrinatio, Opera, tom. i. p. 112-113) has observed, that the Gregorian chant, which Gregory the Great was supposed to have introduced, was composed by the eight voices of the Roman church, and the Gregorian chant, which Gregory the Great was supposed to have introduced, was composed by the eight voices of the Roman church.



bandmen. The successor of St.

Peter administered his patrimony with the temper of a vigilant and moderate landlord;<sup>73</sup> and the epistles of Gregory are filled with salutary instructions to abstain from doubtful or vexatious lawsuits; to preserve the integrity of weights and measures; to grant every reasonable delay, and to reduce the capitation of the slaves of the glebe, who purchased the right of marriage by the payment of an arbitrary fine.<sup>74</sup> The rent or the produce of these estates was transported to the mouth of the Tyber, at the risk and expense of the pope; in the use of wealth he acted like a faithful steward of the church and the poor, and liberally applied to their wants the inexhaustible resources of abstinence and order. The voluminous account of his receipts and disbursements was kept above three hundred years in the Lateran, as the model of Christian economy. On the four great festivals, he divided their quarterly allowance to the clergy, to his domestics, to the monasteries, the churches, the places of burial, the alms-houses, and the hospitals of Rome, and the rest of the

CHAP. XLVI.

*Revolutions of Persia after the Death of Chosroes or Nushirvan. — His Son Hormouz, a Tyrant, is deposed. — Usurpation of Baharam. — Flight and Restoration of Chosroes II. — His Gratitude to the Romans. — The Chagan of the Avars. — Revolt of the Army against Maurice. — His Death. — Tyranny of Phocas. — Elevation of Heraclius. — The Persian War. — Chosroes subdues Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. — Siege of Constantinople by the Persians and Avars. — Persian Expeditions. — Victories and Triumph of Heraclius.*

THE conflict of Rome and Persia was prolonged from the death of Crassus to the reign of Heraclius. An experience of seven hundred years might convince the rival nations of the impossibility of maintaining their conquests beyond the fatal limits of the Tigris and Euphrates. Yet the emulation of Trajan and Julian was awakened by the trophies of Alexander, and the sovereigns of Persia indulged the ambitious hope of restoring the empire of Cyrus.<sup>1</sup> Such extraordinary efforts of power and courage will always command the attention of posterity; but the events by which the fate of nations is not materially changed, leave a faint impression on the page of history, and

73 Bironius is unwilling to expatiate on the story of the "strumones," lest he should betray that they consisted not of *Kuc'sims* but of *firms*. The French writer, the Benedictine edition (from xv. li. p. 172, 68), and Fleury (*Annales*, viii. p. 29, 68), are not afraid of entering into details on the social status of *firms*;—and the humanity of Fleury dwells on the social miseries of *firms*.

74 I much suspect that this peculiar fine on the marriages of widows produced the famous, and often fabulous, tales of *marriage*, which were made night coincide the payment in the arms of a young husband.

and the mutual favour might afford a precedent of local rather than local tyranny.

74 The temporal reign of Gregory I is ably exposed by Sigonius in the first book, *de Regno* I<sup>o</sup> lib. See his works, tom. II, p. 44-76.

1. Musculi - - representant - - veteres Per-arum de M. edon-  
in terminis, sequa iura-um posses- a Cyro et post Alexandr. per  
viqueque trum a mora. abest. Iact. Ann. a. 71. Such was  
the language of the *Chronicles*. I have repeatedly marked the left  
c. 100. of the *Chronicles*.

the patience of the reader would be exhausted by the repetition of the same hostilities, undertaken without cause, prosecuted without glory, and terminated without effect. The arts of negotiation, unknown to the simple greatness of the senate and the Cæsars, were assiduously cultivated by the Byzantine princes; and the memorials of their perpetual embassies<sup>2</sup> repeat, with the same uniform prolixity, the language of falsehood and declamation, the insolence of the barbarians, and the servile temper of the tributary Greeks. Lamenting the barren superfluity of materials, I have studied to compress the narrative of these uninteresting transactions: but the just Nushirvan is still applauded as the model of Oriental kings, and the ambition of his grandson Chosroes prepared the revolution of the East, which was speedily accomplished by the arms and the religion of the successors of Mahomet.

In the useless altercations, that precede and justify the quarrels of the princes, the Greeks and the barbarians accused each other of violating the peace which had been concluded between the two empires about four years before the death of Justinian. The sovereign of Persia and India aspired to reduce under his obedience the province of Yemen or Arabia<sup>3</sup> Felix; the distant land of myrrh and frankincense, which had escaped, rather than opposed, the conquerors of the East. After the defeat of Abraham under the walls of Mecca, the discord of his sons and brothers gave an easy entrance to the Persians; they chased the strangers of Abyssinia beyond the Red Sea; and a native prince of the ancient Homerites was restored to the throne as the vassal or viceroy of the great Nushirvan.<sup>4</sup> But the nephew of Justinian declared his resolution to avenge the injuries of his Christian ally the prince of Abyssinia, as they suggested a decent pretence to discontinue the annual *tribute*, which was poorly disguised by the name of pension. The churches of Persarmenia were oppressed by the intolerant spirit of the Magi; they secretly invoked the protector of the Christians, and after the pious murder of their satraps, the rebels were avowed and supported as the brethren and subjects of the Roman emperor. The complaints of Nushirvan were disregarded by the Byzantine court; Justin yielded to the importunities of the Turks, who offered an alliance against the common enemy; and the Persian monarchy was threatened at the same instant by the united forces of Europe, of Ethiopia, and of Scythia. At the age of four-score the sovereign of the East would perhaps have chosen the peaceful enjoyment of his glory and greatness; but as soon as war became inevitable, he took the field with the alacrity of youth, whilst the aggressor trampled in the palace of Constantinople. Nushirvan, or Chosroes, conducted in person the siege of Dara; and although

that important fortress had been left destitute of troops and magazines, the valour of the inhabitants resisted above five months the archers, the elephants, and the military engines of the Great King. In the mean while his general Adarnam advanced from Babylon, traversed the desert, passed the Euphrates, insulted the suburbs of Antioch, reduced to ashes the city of Apamea, and laid the spoils of Syria at the feet of his master, whose perseverance in the midst of winter at length subverted the bulwark of the East. But these losses, which astonished the provinces and the court, produced a salutary effect in the repentance and abdication of the emperor Justin: a new spirit arose in the Byzantine councils; and a truce of three years was obtained by the prudence of Tiberius. That seasonable interval was employed in the preparations of war; and the voice of rumour proclaimed to the world, that from the distant countries of the Alps and the Rhine, from Scythia, Mæsia, Pannonia, Illyria, and Isauria, the strength of the Imperial cavalry was reinforced with one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers. Yet the king of Persia, without fear, or without faith, resolved to prevent the attack of the enemy: again passed the Euphrates, and dismissing the ambassadors of Tiberius, arrogantly commanded them to await his arrival at Cæsarea, the metropolis of the Cappadocian provinces. The two armies encountered each other in the battle of Melitene: the barbarians, who darkened the air with a cloud of arrows, prolonged their line, and extended their wings across the plain; while the Romans, in deep and solid bodies, expected to prevail in closer action, by the weight of their swords and lances. A Scythian chief, who commanded their right wing, suddenly turned the flank of the enemy, attacked their rear-guard in the presence of Chosroes, penetrated to the midst of the camp, pillaged the royal tent, profaned the eternal fire, loaded a train of camels with the spoils of Asia, cut his way through the Persian host, and returned with songs of victory to his friends, who had consumed the day in single combats, or ineffectual skirmishes. The darkness of the night, and the separation of the Romans, afforded the Persian monarch an opportunity of revenge; and one of their camps was swept away by a rapid and impetuous assault. But the review of his loss, and the consciousness of his danger, determined Chosroes to a speedy retreat: he burnt, in his passage, the vacant town of Melitene; and, without consulting the safety of his troops, boldly swam the Euphrates on the back of an elephant. After this unsuccessful campaign, the want of magazines, and perhaps some inroad of the Turks, obliged him to disband or divide his forces; the Romans were left masters of the field, and their general, Justinian, advancing to the relief of the Persarmenian rebels, erected his standard on the banks of the Araxes. The great Pompey had

his last war with the Romans.  
A. D. 578, &c.

<sup>2</sup> See the embassies of Menander, extracted and preserved in the 11th century by the order of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

<sup>3</sup> The general independence of the Arabs, who would be admitted without many limitations, is fully asserted in a separate dissertation of the authors of the Universal History, vol. x. p. 240. A perpetual miracle is supposed to have attended the conquest in favour of the posterity of Ishmael; and these sacred facts are not afraid to risk the truth of Christianity on this frail and specious foundation.

<sup>4</sup> Differet tot. Biblio. th. Orient. p. 177. Pausan. Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 64. c. 1. Eutarch. Hist. orient. p. 16. c. 1. c. 2. has proved that after ten years, i. e. after the first year, which continued twenty years, was read A. D. 71. Mohammed was born A. D. 570, in the year of the elephant, or the defeat of Abraham (600 a. r. Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 84. lib. 28. c. 1) and this account allows two years for the conquest of Yemen.

formerly halted within three days' march of the Caspian :<sup>5</sup> that inland sea was explored, for the first time, by an hostile fleet,<sup>6</sup> and seventy thousand captives were transplanted from Hyrcania to the isle of Cyprus. On the return of spring, Justinian descended into the fertile plains of Assyria, the flames of war approached the residence of Nushirvan, the indignant monarch sunk

into the grave, and his last edict restrained his successors from exposing their person in a battle against the Romans. Yet the memory of this transient affliction was lost in the glories of a long reign ; and his formidable enemies, after indulging their dream of conquest, again solicited a short respite from the calamities of war.<sup>7</sup>

The throne of Chosroes Nushirvan was filled by Hormouz, or Hormisdas, the eldest and the most favoured of his sons. With the kingdoms of Persia and India, he inherited the reputation and example of his father, the service, in every rank, of his wise and valiant officers, and a general system of administration, harmonised by time and political wisdom to promote the happiness of the prince and people. But the royal youth enjoyed a still more valuable blessing, the friendship of a sage who had presided over his education, and who always preferred the honour, to the interest, of his pupil, his interest to his inclination. In a dispute with the Greek and Indian philosophers, Buzurg<sup>8</sup> had once maintained, that the most grievous misfortune of life is old age without the remembrance of virtue ; and our candour will presume that the same principle compelled him, during three years, to direct the councils of the Persian empire. His zeal was rewarded by the gratitude and docility of Hormouz, who acknowledged himself more indebted to his preceptor than to his parent : but when age and labour had impaired the strength, and perhaps the faculties, of this prudent counsellor, he retired from court, and abandoned the youthful monarch to his own passions and those of his favourites. By the fatal vicissitude of human affairs, the same scenes were renewed at Ctesiphon, which had been exhibited in Rome after the death of Marcus Antoninus. The ministers of flattery and corruption, who had been banished by the father, were recalled and cherished by the son, the disgrace and exile of the friends of Nushirvan established their tyranny, and virtue was driven by degrees from the mind of Hormouz, from his palace, and from the government of the state. The faithful agents, the eyes and ears of the king, informed him of the progress of disorder, that the provincial governors

flew to their prey with the fierceness of lions and eagles, and that their rapine and injustice would teach the most loyal of his subjects to abhor the name and authority of their sovereign. The sincerity of this advice was punished with death, the murmurs of the cities were despised, their tumults were quelled by military execution ; the intermediate powers between the throne and the people were abolished ; and the childish vanity of Hormouz, who affected the daily use of the tiara, was fond of declaring, that he alone would be the judge as well as the master of his kingdom. In every word, and in every action, the son of Nushirvan degenerated from the virtues of his father. His avice defrauded the troops ; his jealous caprice degraded the satraps ; the palace, the tribunals, the waters of the Tigris, were stained with the blood of the innocent, and the tyrant exulted in the sufferings and execution of thirteen thousand victims. As the excuse of his cruelty, he sometimes condescended to observe, that the fears of the Persians would be productive of hatred, and that their hatred must terminate in rebellion ; but he forgot that his own guilt and folly had inspired the sentiments which he deplored, and prepared the event which he so justly apprehended. Exasperated by long and hopeless oppression, the provinces of Babylon, Susa, and Carmania, erected the standard of revolt ; and the princes of Arabia, India, and Seythia, refused the customary tribute to the unworthy successor of Nushirvan. The arms of the Romans, in slow sieges and frequent inroads, afflicted the frontiers of Mesopotamia and Assyria : one of their generals professed himself the disciple of Scipio, and the soldiers were animated by a miraculous image of Christ, whose mild aspect should never have been displayed in the front of battle.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, the eastern provinces of Persia were invaded by the great khan, who passed the Oxus at the head of three or four hundred thousand Turks. The imprudent Hormouz accepted their perfidious and formidable aid ; the cities of Khorasan or Bactriana were commanded to open their gates ; the march of the barbarians towards the mountains of Hyrcania revealed the correspondence of the Turkish and Roman arms ; and their union must have subverted the throne of the house of Sassan.

Persia had been lost by a king ; it was saved by an hero. After his revolt, Vahanus or Bahram is stigmatised by the son of Hormouz as an ungrateful slave : the proud and ambiguous orphan of despotism, since he was truly descended from the ancient princes of Roi,<sup>10</sup> one of the seven

Exploits of  
Bahram  
A. D. 590.

<sup>5</sup> He had vanquished the Alans, who brought to the total 150,000 horses, and 14,000 tent, and he divided the booty into three equal portions, where existence may admit of some doubt, as well as that of the neighbouring Amazons. — Plutarch, in Crassus, book ii. p. 1165, 1170.

<sup>6</sup> In the history of the world I can only perceive two instances on the Caspian. 1. Of the Macedonians, when Patroclus, the admiral of the kings of Syria, Scythia, and Armenia, de. could not proceed to the river Borz, from the coasts of India (Flor. Hist. Natur. vi. c. 2. Of the Russians, when Peter the First conducted a fleet and army from the neighbourhood of Moscow to the coast of Persia. (His Travels, vol. ii. p. 542—552.) He put to death, that such martial pomp had never been displayed on the Volga.

<sup>7</sup> See Mosander, in Exercit. p. apud Fabricii Cod. Alex. Theophrastus, lib. ii. c. 20. 16.

<sup>8</sup> In character and style, as well as in the texture, the dress

known than those of the Roman, who appears to have been much more barbarous. The Persian side was the person who imported from India the game of chess, and the tribes of Persia. Such has been the force of his wisdom and virtues, that the Christians (I am not as a believer in the Gospel, and the Mohammedans never Buzurg, a premature Muslim. — D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 218.

<sup>9</sup> See the imitation of Scipio in Theophrastus, lib. ii. c. 14. the image of Christ, lib. ii. c. 5. For other I shall speak more amply of the Christian images. — I had almost said also. But, if I am not mistaken, is the oldest appearance of divine manufacture, but in the next thousand years, many others issued from the same workshop.

<sup>10</sup> Bahram, or Roi, is mentioned in the apocryphal book of Tobit as already existing, 500 years before Christ, under the Assyrian empire. Under the foreign names of Paropus and Arsacia, this city, 100 miles to the south of the Caspian gulf, was successively governed by the Arabs, the Turks, and the Persians, &c. &c. The Persian of a few centuries ago in the sixth century, is exaggerated beyond the bounds



he expatiated on the advantages of order and obedience, the danger of innovation, and the inevitable discord of those who had encouraged each other to trample on their lawful and hereditary sovereign. By a pathetic appeal to their humanity, he extorted that pity which is seldom refused to the fallen fortunes of a king; and while they beheld the abject posture and squalid appearance of the prisoner, his tears, his chains, and the marks of ignominious stripes, it was impossible to forget how recently they had adored the divine splendour of his diadem and purple. But an angry murmur arose in the assembly as soon as he presumed to vindicate his conduct, and to applaud the victories of his reign. He defined the duties of a king, and the Persian nobles listened with a smile of contempt; they were fired with indignation when he dared to vilify the character of Chosroes; and by the indiscreet offer of resigning the sceptre to the second of his sons, he subscribed his own condemnation, and sacrificed the life of his innocent favourite. The mangled bodies of the boy and his mother were exposed to the people; the eyes of Hormouz were pierced with a hot needle; and the punishment of the father was succeeded by the coronation of his eldest son. Chosroes

Elevation of  
his son Ches-  
tress.

had ascended the throne without guilt, and his piety strove to alleviate the misery of the abdicated monarch ;

from the dungeon he removed Hormouz to an apartment of the palace, supplied with liberality the consolations of sensual enjoyment, and patiently endured the furious sallies of his resentment and despair. He might despise the resentment of a blind and unpopular tyrant, but the tiara was trembling on his head, till he could subvert the power, or acquire the friendship, of the great Bahram, who sternly denied the justice of a revolution, in which himself and his soldiers, the true representatives of Persia, had never been consulted. The offer of a general amnesty, and of the second rank in his kingdom, was answered by an epistle from Bahram, friend of the gods, conqueror of men, and enemy of tyrants, the satrap of satraps, general of the Persian armies, and a prince adorned with the title of eleven virtues.<sup>14</sup> He commands Chosroes, the son of Hormouz, to shun the example and fate of his father, to confine the traitors who had been released from their chains, to deposit in some holy place the diadem which he had usurped, and to accept from his gracious benefactor the pardon of his faults and the government of a province. The rebel might not be proud, and the king most assuredly was not humble; but the one was conscious of his strength, the other was sensible of his weakness; and even the modest language of his reply still left room for treaty and reconciliation. Chosroes

led into the field the slaves of the palace and the populace of the capital: they beheld with terror the banners of a veteran army; they were encompassed and surprised by the evolutions of the general; and the satraps who had deposed Hormouz, received the punishment of their revolt, or expiated their first treason by a second and more criminal act of disloyalty. The life and liberty of Chos-roes were saved, but he was reduced to the necessity of imploring aid or refuge in some foreign land; and the implacable Bindoes, anxious to secure an unquestionable title, hastily returned to the palace, and ended, with a bowstring, the wretched existence of the son of Nushirvan.<sup>15</sup>

Death of Hormouz.  
A. D. 590.

and this general, of his own nation, and his own choice, was directed to pass the Tigris, and never to sheath his sword till he had restored Chosroes to the throne of his ancestors. The

enterprise, however splendid, was less arduous than it might appear.

Persia had already repented of her fatal rashness, which betrayed the heir of the house of Sassan to the ambition of a rebellious subject; and the bold refusal of the Magi to consecrate his usurpation, compelled Bahram to assume the sceptre, regardless of the laws and prejudices of the nation. The palace was soon distracted with conspiracy, the city with tumult, the provinces with insurrection; and the cruel execution of the guilty and the suspected served to irritate rather than subdue the public discontent. No sooner did the grandson of Nushirvan display his own and the Roman banners beyond the Tigris, than he was joined, each day, by the increasing multitudes of the nobility and people; and as he advanced, he received from every side the grateful offerings of the keys of his cities and the heads of his enemies. As soon as Modain was freed from the presence of the usurper, the loyal inhabitants obeyed the first summons of Mebodes at the head of only two thousand horse, and Chosroes accepted the sacred and precious ornaments of the palace as the pledge of their truth and a presage of his approaching success. After the junction of the Imperial troops, which Bahram vainly struggled to prevent, the contest was decided by two battles on the banks of the Zab, and the confines of Media.

The Romans, with the faithful subjects of Persia, amounted to sixty thousand, while the whole force of the usurper did not exceed forty thousand men: the two generals signalled their valour and ability, but the victory was finally determined by the prevalence of numbers and discipline. With the remnant of a broken army, Bahram fled towards the eastern provinces of the Oxus: the enmity of Persia reconciled him to the Turks: but his days were shortened by poison, perhaps the most incurable of poisons; the stings of remorse and despair, and the bitter remembrance of lost glory. Yet the modern Persians still commemorate the exploits of Bahram; and some excellent laws have prolonged the duration of his troubled and transitory reign.

The restoration of Chosroes was celebrated with feasts and executions; and the music of the royal banquet was often disturbed by the groans of dying or mutilated criminals. A general pardon might have diffused comfort and tranquillity through a country which had been shaken by the late revolutions: yet, before the sanguinary temper of Chosroes is blamed, we should learn whether the Persians had not been accustomed

either to dread the rigour, or to despise the weakness, of their sovereign. The revolt of Bahram, and the conspiracy of the satraps, were impatiently punished by the revenge or justice of the conqueror; the merits of Bindoes himself could not purify his hand from the guilt of royal blood; and the son of Hormouz was desirous to assert his own innocence, and to vindicate the sanctity of kings. During the vigour of the Roman power, several princes were seated on the throne of Persia by the arms and the authority of the first Cæsars. But their new subjects were soon disgusted with the vices or virtues which they had imbibed in a foreign land; the instability of their dominion gave birth to a vulgar observation, that the choice of Rome was solicited and rejected with equal ardour by the capricious levity of Oriental slaves.<sup>18</sup> But the glory of Maurice was conspicuous in the long and fortunate reign of his son and his ally. A band of a thousand Romans, who continued to guard the person of Chosroes, proclaimed his confidence in the fidelity of the strangers; his growing strength enabled him to dismiss this unpopular aid, but he steadily professed the same gratitude and reverence to his adopted father; and till the death of Maurice, the peace and alliance of the two empires were faithfully maintained. Yet the mercenary friendship of the Roman prince had been purchased with costly and important gifts: the strong cities of Martyropolis and Dara were restored, and the Persarmenians became the willing subjects of an empire, whose eastern limit was extended, beyond the example of former times, as far as the banks of the Araxes and the neighbourhood of the Caspian. A pious hope was indulged, that the church as well as the state might triumph in this revolution: but if Chosroes had sincerely listened to the Christian bishops, the impression was erased by the zeal and eloquence of the Magi: if he was armed with philosophic indifference, he accommodated his belief, or rather his professions, to the various circumstances of an exile and a sovereign. The imaginary conversion of the king of Persia was reduced to a local and superstitious veneration for Sergius,<sup>19</sup> one of the saints of Antioch, who heard his prayers and appeared to him in dreams; he enriched the shrine with offerings of gold and silver, and ascribed to this invisible patron the success of his arms, and the pregnancy of Sira, a devout Christian and the best beloved of his wives.<sup>20</sup> The beauty of Sira, or Schirin,<sup>21</sup> her wit, her musical talents, are still famous in the history or rather in the romances of the East: her own name is expressive, in the Persian tongue, of sweetness and grace; and the epithet of *Parvîz* alludes to the charms of her royal lover. Yet Sira never shared the passion which she inspired, and the bliss of Chosroes was tortured by a

<sup>18</sup> Experimentis cognitum est barbaros molle Româ petere reges quam habere. These experiments are admirably represented in the invitation and expulsion of Vologes (Annals, ii. 1-32). For dates (Annals, vi. 32-44, and Meherates' Annals, xi. 10, 11, 12, 13). The era of Tacitus seems to have transpired the camp of the Parthians and the walls of the hazard.

<sup>19</sup> Sergius and his companion Burchus, who are said to have suffered in the persecution of Maximian, obtained divine honours in their tomb at Casap's. Their tomb at Casap's is now acquired the name Mem. Eccles. tom. v.

<sup>20</sup> Evagrius (l. vi. c. 21), and Theophylact (l. v. c. 13, 14), have preserved the original letters of Chosroes, written in Greek, signed with his own hand, and afterwards inscribed on crosses and tables of gold, which were deposited in the church of Sergius at Antioch. They had been sent to the bishop of Antioch, as primate of Syria.

<sup>21</sup> The Greeks have described her as a Roman by birth, a Christian by religion, but she is represented as the daughter of the emperor Maurice in the Persian and Turkish romances, which celebrate the love of Khosroes for Schirin, or Schirin for Ferhad, the most beautiful youth of the East. D'Harcourt, Biblioth. Orient. p. 782, 997, 998.



knees, he accelerated the labour of the bridge, and despatched an envoy to proclaim what he no longer wished to conceal. "Inform the emperor," said the perfidious Baian, "that Sirmium is invested on every side. Advise his prudence to withdraw the citizens and their effects, and to resign a city which it is now impossible to relieve or defend." Without the hope of relief, the defence of Sirmium was prolonged above three years: the walls were still untouched; but famine was enclosed within the walls, till a merciful capitulation allowed the escape of the naked and hungry inhabitants. Singidunum, at the distance of fifty miles, experienced a more cruel fate: the buildings were razed, and the vanquished people were condemned to servitude and exile. Yet the ruins of Sirmium are no longer visible; the advantageous situation of Singidunum soon attracted a new colony of Sclavonians, and the conflux of the Save and Danube is still guarded by the fortifications of Belgrade, or the *White City*, so often and so obstinately disputed by the Christian and Turkish arms.<sup>48</sup> From Belgrade to the walls of Constantinople a line may be measured of six hundred miles; that line was marked with flames and with blood: the horses of the Avars were alternately bathed in the Euxine and the Adriatic; and the Roman pontiff, alarmed by the approach of a more savage enemy,<sup>49</sup> was reduced to cherish the Lombards as the protectors of Italy. The despair of a captive, whom his country refused to ransom, disclosed to his Avars the invention and practice of military engines,<sup>50</sup> but in the first attempts, they were rudely framed, and awkwardly managed; and the resistance of Diocletianopolis and Beraea, of Philippopolis and Adrianople, soon exhausted the skill and patience of the besiegers. The warfare of Baian was that of a Tatar, yet his mind was susceptible of a humane and generous sentiment; he spared Anchiolus, whose salutary waters had restored the health of the best beloved of his wives; and the Romans confess, that their starving army was fed and dismissed by the liberality of a foe. His empire extended over Hungary, Poland, and Prussia, from the mouth of the Danube to that of the Oder;<sup>51</sup> and his new subjects were divided and transplanted by the jealous policy of the conqueror.<sup>52</sup> The eastern regions of Germany, which had been left vacant by the emigration of the Vandals, were replenished with Sclavonian colonies; the same tribes are discovered in the neighbourhood of the Adriatic and of the Baltic, and with the name of Baian himself, the Illyrian cities of Neys-

and Lissa are again found in the heart of Silesia. In the disposition both of his troops and provinces, the chagan exposed the vassals, whose lives he disregarded, to the first assault; and the swords of the enemy were blunted before they encountered the native valour of the Avars.

The Persian alliance restored the troops of the East to the defence of Europe; and Maurice, who had supported ten years the insolence of the chagan, declared his resolution to march in person against the barbarians. In the space of two centuries, none of the successors of Theodosius had appeared in the field, their lives were supinely spent in the palace of Constantinople; and the Greeks could no longer understand, that the name of *emperor*, in its primitive sense, denoted the chief of the armies of the republic. The martial ardour of Maurice was opposed by the grave flattery of the senate, the timid superstition of the patriarch, and the tears of the empress Constantina; and they all conjured him to devolve on some meaner general the fatigues and perils of a Scythian campaign. Deaf to their advice and entreaty, the emperor boldly advanced<sup>53</sup> seven miles from the capital; the sacred ensign of the cross was displayed in the front, and Maurice reviewed, with conscious pride, the arms and numbers of the veterans who had fought and conquered beyond the Tigris. Anchiolus saw the last term of his progress by sea and land; he solicited, without success, a miraculous answer to his nocturnal prayers; his mind was confounded by the death of a favourite horse, the encounter of a wild boar, a storm of wind and rain, and the birth of a monstrous child; and he forgot that the best of omens is to unsheath our sword in the defence of our country.<sup>54</sup> Under the pretence of receiving the ambassadors of Persia, the emperor returned to Constantinople, exchanged the thoughts of war for those of devotion, and disappointed the public hope, by his absence and the choice of his lieutenants. The blind partiality of fraternal love might excuse the promotion of his brother Peter, who fled with equal disgrace from the barbarians, from his own soldiers, and from the inhabitants of a Roman city. That city, if we may credit the resemblance of name and character, was the famous Azimuntium,<sup>55</sup> which had alone repelled the tempest of Attila. The example of her warlike youth was propagated to succeeding generations; and they obtained, from the first or the second Justin, an honourable privilege, that their valour should be always reserved for

<sup>48</sup> See De Anchy, by the Marquis de Lamoignon, tom. xxvii. p. 112-117. The ruins of Sirmium are mentioned in the 14th century by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in the description of *Illyria* written by the Duke of Croatia, in the 15th by the 11th.

<sup>49</sup> Baron. *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 601, No. 1. Paul Warnefrid, p. 75, relates their invasion into France, and the retreat of the emperor, about A.D. 612. The Sclavians ravaged the Roman empire, and made a descent in the territory of Sympetum, &c.

<sup>50</sup> Even the heliopolis, or movable turret. Theophylact, l. i. c. 15, 17.

<sup>51</sup> The arms and divisions of the chagan reached to the mouth of a western sea, fifteen months journey from Constantinople. The emperor Maurice conversed with some of them at Beraea, from that remote country, and only seems to have been a trade for a nation. Theophylact, l. i. c. 2.

<sup>52</sup> This is one of the most probable and plausible accounts of the named count de Bar. Hist. des Rois de France, tom. x. p. 116-117. The Lechi and Berri are said to be together near Weut-

Canensis, in Bythinia, and on the Lower Elbe. Even the wilder traditions of the Bala-mans, as called some count in his bygone days.

<sup>53</sup> See Frickelgum, in the *Prohemium* of *Itinerarium*, tom. ii. p. 425. Even did not consent to his proud insubstantiality. *Itinerarium* not a mere fiction, according to a fiction in the most credible manner, as a mere fiction, and the emperor's expedition, which was a real one, and not a mere fiction.

<sup>54</sup> See the march and return of Maurice, in Theophylact, l. i. c. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. It is a writer of taste and genius, we might suspect him of an elegant irony; but Theophylact is surely a historian.

<sup>55</sup> *Itinerarium*, tom. ii. p. 425. The emperor, with a spirit of heroism, with the assistance of a small army, repelled the Avars in every high superior in the case and in the case.

<sup>56</sup> Theophylact, l. i. c. 5. On the evidence of the fact, which had not been mentioned in the *Itinerarium*, and in the case of a small army, the emperor, with a spirit of heroism, with the assistance of a small army, repelled the Avars in every high superior in the case and in the case.





condemn the inhumanity or avarice<sup>42</sup> of a prince, who, by the trifling ransom of six thousand pieces of gold, might have prevented the massacre of twelve thousand prisoners in the hands of the chagan. In the just fervour of indignation, an order was signified to the army of the Danube, that they should spare the magazines of the province, and establish their winter quarters in the hostile country of the Avars. The measure of their grievances was full: they pronounced Maurice unworthy to reign, expelled or slaughtered his faithful adherents, and, under the command of Phocas, a simple centurion, returned, by hasty marches, to the neighbourhood of Constantinople.

Election of  
Phocas,  
A. D. 602,  
October

After a long series of legal succession, the military disorders of the third century were again revived; yet such was the novelty of the enterprise, that the insurgents were awed by their own rashness. They hesitated to invest their favourite with the vacant purple, and while they rejected all treaty with Maurice himself, they held a friendly correspondence with his son Theodosius, and with Germanus the father-in-law of the royal youth. So obscure had been the former condition of Phocas, that the emperor was ignorant of the name and character of his rival; but as soon as he learned, that the centurion, though bold in sedition, was timid in the face of danger, "Alas!" cried the desponding prince, "if he is a coward, he will surely be a murderer."

Revolt of Con-  
stantinople

Yet if Constantinople had been firm and faithful, the murderer might have spent his fury against the walls; and the rebel army would have been gradually consumed or reconciled by the prudence of the emperor. In the games of the Circus, which he repeated with unusual pomp, Maurice disguised, with smiles of confidence, the anxiety of his heart, condescended to solicit the applause of the factions, and flattered their pride by accepting from their respective tribunes a list of nine hundred blues and fifteen hundred greens, whom he affected to esteem as the solid pillars of his throne. Their treacherous or languid support betrayed his weakness and hastened his fall. The green faction were the secret accomplices of the rebels, and the blues recommended lenity and moderation in a contest with their Roman brethren. The rigid and parsimonious virtues of Maurice had long since alienated the hearts of his subjects: as he walked barefoot in a religious procession, he was rudely assaulted with stones, and his guards were compelled to prevent their iron maces in the defence of his person. A fanatic monk ran through the streets with a drawn sword, denouncing against him the wrath and the sentence of God; and a vile plebeian, who represented his countenance and

apparel, was seated on an ass, and pursued by the imprecations of the multitude.<sup>43</sup> The emperor suspected the popularity of Germanus with the soldiers and citizens; he feared, he threatened, but he delayed to strike; the patriarch fled to the sanctuary of the church; the people rose in his defence, the walls were deserted by the guards, and the lawless city was abandoned to the flames and rapine of a nocturnal tumult. In a small bark, the unfortunate Maurice, with his wife and nine children, escaped to the Asiatic shore, but the violence of the wind compelled him to land at the church of St. Autonomus<sup>44</sup> near Chalcedon, from whence he despatched Theodosius, his eldest son, to implore the gratitude and friendship of the Persian monarch. For himself, he refused to fly: his body was tortured with sciatic pains,<sup>45</sup> his mind was enfeebled by superstition; he patiently awaited the event of the revolution, and addressed a fervent and public prayer to the Almighty, that the punishment of his sins might be inflicted in this world rather than in a future life. After the abdication of Maurice, the two factions disputed the choice of an emperor; but the favourite of the blues was rejected by the jealousy of their antagonists, and Germanus himself was hurried along by the crowds, who rushed to the palace of Hebdomon, seven miles from the city, to adore the majesty of Phocas the centurion. A modest wish of resigning the purple to the rank and merit of Germanus was opposed by his resolution, more obstinate and equally sincere: the senate and clergy obeyed his summons, and as soon as the patriarch was assured of his orthodox belief, he consecrated the successful usurper in the church of St. John the Baptist. On the third day, amidst the acclamations of a thoughtless people, Phocas made his public entry in a chariot drawn by four white horses, the revolt of the troops was rewarded by a lavish donative, and the new sovereign, after visiting the palace, beheld from his throne the games of the hippodrome. In a dispute of precedence between the two factions, his partial judgment inclined in favour of the greens. "Remember that Maurice is still alive," resounded from the opposite side; and the indiscreet clamour of the blues admonished and stimulated the cruelty of the tyrant. The ministers of death were despatched to Chalcedon: they dragged the emperor from his sanctuary: and the five sons of Maurice were successively murdered before the eyes of their agonising parent. At each stroke, which he felt in his heart, he found strength to rehearse a pious ejaculation: "Thou art just, O Lord! and thy judgments are righteous." And such, in the last moments, was his rigid attach-

Death of  
Maurice and  
his children.  
A. D. 602,  
Nov. 27.

<sup>42</sup> Theophalet and Theophares seem ignorant of the conspiracy and avarice of Maurice. These charges, so unfavourable to the memory of that emperor, are first mentioned by the author of the *Pach. Chronicle*, p. 579, 580, from whom *de Zozarion* took it, l. i. c. p. 77. 78, has transcribed them. Cedrenus, p. 329, has followed another computation of the profits.

<sup>43</sup> In their clamours against Maurice, the people of Constantinople branded him with the name of Maronite or Marcionite, a heretic (see Theophalet, l. viii. c. 9), and gave him the name of *Maronite* (see *de Zozarion*, l. i. c. p. 77, 78, and Cedrenus, p. 329). It is not clear that a true heretic was the emperor really listened to some obscure teacher of those ancient Gnostics?

<sup>44</sup> The church of St. Autonomus (whom I have not the honour to know) was 150 stadia from Constantinople (Theophalet, l. viii. c. 9). The port of Eutropius, where Maurice and his children were murdered, is described by Theophalet, *de Bosphoro Thracico*, l. i. c. xi.) as being 150 stadia from Constantinople.

<sup>45</sup> Yet such a description would not have been more correct, than his being cured of his sciatic pains, l. i. c. 10, 11, into the annual translation of the *Scripta*, and all the elements of the Greek philosophers on that subject.



rival of the Caligulas and Domitians of the first age of the empire.<sup>31</sup>

His fall  
and death.  
A.D. 529,  
October 4.

A daughter of Phocas, his only child, was given in marriage to the patrician Crispus,<sup>12</sup> and the royal images of the bride and bridegroom were indiscreetly placed in the Circus, by the side of the emperor. The father must desire that his posterity should inherit the fruit of his crimes, but the monarch was offended by this premature and popular association: the tribunes of the green faction, who accused the officious error of their sculptors, were condemned to instant death: their lives were granted to the prayers of the people; but Crispus might reasonably doubt, whether a jealous usurper could forget and pardon his involuntary competition. The green faction was alienated by the ingratitude of Phocas and the loss of their privileges; every province of the empire was ripe for rebellion; and Heraclius, exarch of Africa, persisted above two years in refusing all tribute and obedience to the centurion who disgnaced the throne of Constantinople. By the secret emissaries of Crispus and the senate, the independent exarch was solicited to save and to govern his country: but his ambition was chilled by age, and he resigned the dangerous enterprise to his son Heraclius, and to Nicetas, the son of Gregory his friend and lieutenant. The powers of Africa were armed by the two adventurous youths; they agreed that the one should navigate the fleet from Carthage to Constantinople, that the other should lead an army through Egypt and Asia, and that the Imperial purple should be the reward of diligence and success. A faint rumour of their undertaking was conveyed to the ears of Phocas, and the wife and mother of the younger Heraclius were secured as the hostages of his faith: but the treacherous art of Crispus extenuated the distant peril, the means of defence were neglected or delayed, and the tyrant supinely slept till the African navy cast anchor in the Hellespont. Their standard was joined at Abydus by the fugitives and exiles who thirsted for revenge; the ships of Heraclius, whose lofty masts were adorned with the holy symbols of religion,<sup>13</sup> steered their triumphant course through the Propontis; and Phocas beheld from the windows of the palace his approaching and inevitable fate. The green faction was tempted, by gifts and promises, to oppose a feeble and fruitless resistance to the landing of the Africans; but the people, and even the guards, were determined by the well-timed defection of Crispus; and the tyrant was seized by a private enemy, who boldly invaded the solitude of the palace. Stripped of the diadem and purple, clothed in a vile habit, and loaded with chains, he was transported in a small boat to the Imperial galley of Heraclius.

who reproached him with the crimes of his abominable reign. "Wilt thou govern better?" were the last words of the despair of Phocas. After suffering each variety of insult and torture, his head was severed from his body, the mangled trunk was cast into the flames, and the same treatment was inflicted on the statues of the vain usurper, and the seditious banner of the green faction. The voice of the clergy, the senate, and the people, invited Heraclius to ascend the throne which he had purloined from guilt and ignominy; after some graceful hesitation, he yielded to their entreaties. His coronation was accompanied by that of his wife Eudocia; and their posterity, till the fourth generation, continued to reign over the empire of the East. The voyage of Heraclius had been easy and prosperous, the tedious march of Nicetas was not accomplished before the decision of the contest; but he submitted without a murmur to the fortune of his friend, and his laudable intentions were rewarded with an equestrian statue, and a daughter of the emperor. It was more difficult to trust the fidelity of Crispus, whose recent services were recompensed by the command of the Cappadocian army. His arrogance soon provoked, and seemed to excuse, the ingratitude of his new sovereign. In the presence of the senate, the son-in-law of Phocas was condemned to embrace the monastic life; and the sentence was justified by the weighty observation of Heraclius, that the man who had betrayed his father, could never be faithful to his friend.<sup>24</sup>

Even after his death the republic was afflicted by the crimes of Phocas, which armed with a pious cause the most formidable of her enemies. According to the friendly and equal forms of the Byzantine and Persian courts, he announced his exaltation to the throne; and his ambassador Lilius, who had presented him with the heads of Maurice and his sons, was the best qualified to describe the circumstances of the tragic scene.<sup>55</sup> However it might be varnished by fiction or sophistry, Chosroes turned with horror from the assassin, imprisoned the pretended envoy, disclaimed the usurper, and declared himself the avenger of his father and benefactor. The sentiments of grief and resentment which humanity would feel, and honour would dictate, promoted, on this occasion, the interest of the Persian king; and his interest was powerfully magnified by the national and religious prejudices of the Magi and satraps. In a strain of artful adulation, which assumed the language of freedom, they presumed to censure the excess of his gratitude and friendship for the Greeks, a nation with whom it was dangerous to conclude either peace or alliance, whose superstition was devoid of truth and jus-

51 Some of the cruelties of Phocas are marked by Theophanes, l. viii c. 13, 14, 15. George of Pontha, the poet of Heraclius, stigmatises him (Bell. Armenicum, p. 16). ROME, 1777. τοῦ φημι αὐτοῦ ὁ βλάστησεν; καὶ βλάστησεν δακρυαί. The latter epithet is just – but the corrupter of life was easily venged.

52 In the writer, and in the names of these writers, there is no hesitation between the names of *Procopius* and *Cesar* (19th c. age). For Byzant still, that I have been returned to, admires the same.

57. According to Theophrastus, *κατασκευαζόμενον* and *εργασίαν* are *ἀντιμαχόμενα*.<sup>57</sup> Pindarus adds an *ἀντιμαχόμενον* *ἐκ* *ἀντιμαχόμενον*, which Horrocks cites as a banner in the first Persian expedition. See George and Ford, *Acts*, 1:141. The manufacture seems to have flourished, but Poggini, the

Domian et al. p. 261 is at a loss to determine whether this picture was a lost original or a copy.

<sup>53</sup> See the tyranny of Phocas and the elevation of Heraclius, in Chron. Paschal, p. 781-787; Troglabius, p. 142-149; Nicephorus, p. 5-7; Cedrenus, p. 104-107; Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 49-50.

15. Through the lake on 15. The field of Mammie was composed about the same (18.5 ft. x 17 ft.) but the plants were not as far apart as in the first plot. The grass was not as thick and the water was not so deep. In places the water was about 1 ft. deep. In a few places the water was under a pebble, and the water character was

tice, and who must be incapable of any virtue, since they could perpetrate the most atrocious of crimes, the impious murder of their sovereign.<sup>56</sup> For the crime of an ambitious centurion, the nation which he oppressed was chastised with the calamities of war; and the same calamities, at the end of twenty years, were retaliated and redoubled on the heads of the Persians.<sup>57</sup> The general who had restored Chosroes to the throne still commanded in the East; and the name of Narses was the formidable sound with which the Assyrian mothers were accustomed to terrify their infants. It is not improbable that a native subject of Persia should encourage his master and his friend to deliver and possess the provinces of Asia. It is still more probable that Chosroes should animate his troops by the assurance that the sword which they dreaded the most would remain in its scabbard, or be drawn in their favour. The hero could not depend on the faith of a tyrant; and the tyrant was conscious how little he deserved the obedience of an hero: Narses was removed from his military command; he reared an independent standard at Hierapolis, in Syria: he was betrayed by fal-lacious promises, and burnt alive in the market-place of Constantinople. Deprived of the only chief whom they could fear or esteem, the bands which he had led to victory were twice broken by the cavalry, trampled by the elephants, and pierced by the arrows of the barbarians, and a great number of the captives were beheaded on the field of battle by the sentence of the victor, who might justly condemn these seditious mercenaries as the authors or accomplices of the death of Maurice. Under the reign of Phocas, the fortifications of Merdin, Dara, Amida, and Edessa, were successively besieged, reduced, and destroyed, by the Persian monarch: he passed the Euphrates, occupied the Syrian cities, Hierapolis, Chalcis, and Berthæa or Aleppo, and soon encompassed the walls of Antioch with his irresistible arms. The rapid tide of success discloses the decay of the empire, the incapacity of Phocas, and the disaffection of his subjects; and Chosroes provided a decent apology for their submission or revolt, by an impostor who attended his camp as the son of Maurice<sup>58</sup> and the lawful heir of the monarchy.

The first intelligence from the East which Heraclius received,<sup>59</sup> was that of the loss of Antioch; but the aged metropolis, so often overturned by earthquakes, and pillaged by the enemy, could supply but a small and languid stream of treasure and blood. The Persians

were equally successful, and more fortunate in the sack of Cæsarea, the capital of Cappadocia; and as they advanced beyond the ramparts of the frontier, the boundary of ancient war, they found a less obstinate resistance and a more plentiful harvest. The pleasant vale of Damascus has been adorned in every age with a royal city: her obscure felicity has hitherto escaped the historian of the Roman empire; but Chosroes reposed his troops in the paradise of Damascus before he ascended the hills of Libanus, or invaded the cities of the Phœnician coast. The conquest of Jerusalem,<sup>60</sup> which of Palestine, A. D. 614; was achieved by the zeal and avarice of his grandson; the ruin of the proudest monument of Christianity was vehemently urged by the intolerant spirit of the Magi; and he could enlist, for this holy warfare, an army of six and twenty thousand Jews, whose furious bigotry might compensate, in some degree, for the want of valour and discipline. After the reduction of Galilee, and the region beyond the Jordan, whose resistance appears to have delayed the fate of the capital, Jerusalem itself was taken by assault. The sepulchre of Christ, and the stately churches of Helena and Constantine, were consumed, or at least damaged, by the flames; the devout offerings of three hundred years were rifled in one sacrilegious day; the patriarch Zachariah, and the true cross, were transported into Persia; and the massacre of ninety thousand Christians is imputed to the Jews and Arabs, who swelled the disorder of the Persian march. The fugitives of Palestine were entertained at Alexandria by the charity of John the Archbishop, who is distinguished among a crowd of saints by the epithet of *almshiver*:<sup>61</sup> and the revenues of the church, with a treasure of three hundred thousand pounds, were restored to the true proprietors, the poor of every country and every denomination. But Egypt itself, the of Egypt, A. D. 615; only province which had been exempt, since the time of Diocletian, from foreign and domestic war, was again subdued by the successors of Cyrus. Pelusium, the key of that impervious country, was surprised by the cavalry of the Persians: they passed, with impunity, the innumerable channels of the Delta, and explored the long valley of the Nile, from the pyramids of Memphis to the confines of Æthiopia. Alexandria might have been relieved by a naval force, but the archbishop and the prefect embarked for Cyprus; and Chosroes entered the second city of the empire, which still preserved a wealthy remnant of industry and commerce. His western

<sup>56</sup> Christianis nec pactum e-est, nec fidem, nec fides. . . . quod illi illis hinc in se, regni suum non occiderent. Eutych. Annal. tom. ii. p. 241. var. Euseb. c. 10.

<sup>57</sup> We must now, for some ages, take our leave of contemporary historians, and descend, if it be a descent from the attainment of rhetoric to the rude simplicity of chronicles and traditions. Those of Theophanes (from graph. p. 244-277) and Nicephorus (p. 3-16) supply a regular, but any effect, series of the Persian war, and for any additional facts I quote my special authorities. Theophanes, a courtier, who became a monk, was born A. D. 718. Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, who died A. D. 828, was son of a monk younger than both, suffered in the cause of images. Hankins, de scriptor. Byz. tom. i. p. 601-246.

<sup>58</sup> . . . . . ve been themselves deceived; but . . . . . of the fraud and falsehood; . . . . . p. 241; that the son of Maurice, who was saved from the Sassanians, lived and died a monk on Mount Sinai.

<sup>59</sup> Eutychius dates all the losses of the empire under the reign of Phocas, an error which has the honour of Heraclius, whom he brings not from Cartage, but Salomon, with a fleet laden with vegetables from the . . . . . p. 225, 224. The other . . . . . senan, Bibliotheca . . . . . p. 15-16.)

<sup>60</sup> The conquest of Jerusalem, . . . . . the more sincere and accurate . . . . . of the Persian war . . . . . the conquest of . . . . . the monk Antiochus (apud Baronium, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 614, No. 16-26), whose one hundred and twenty-nine . . . . . are still extant, if what no one reads may be said to be extant.

<sup>61</sup> The life of this worthy saint is composed by Leontius, a contemporary bishop, and I find in Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 616, No. 10, 11) and Fleury (tom. viii. p. 253-242) sufficient extracts of this edifying work.

trophy was erected, not on the walls of Carthage,<sup>62</sup> but in the neighbourhood of Tripoli: the Greek colonies of Cyrene were finally extirpated; and the conqueror, treading in the footsteps of Alexander, returned in triumph through the sands of the Libyan desert. In the same campaign, another army advanced from the Euphrates to the Thracian Bosphorus; Chalcedon surrendered after a long siege, and a Persian camp was maintained above ten years in the presence of Constantinople. The sea-coast of Pontus, the city of Ancyra, and the isle of Rhodes, are enumerated among the last conquests of the Great King; and if Chosroes had possessed any maritime power, his boundless ambition would have spread slavery and desolation over the provinces of Europe.

From the long-disputed banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, the reign of the grandson of Nushirvan was suddenly extended to the Hellespont, and the Nile, the ancient limits of the Persian monarchy. But the provinces, which had been fashioned by the habits of six hundred years to the virtues and vices of the Roman government, supported with reluctance the yoke of the barbarians. The idea of a republic was kept alive by the institutions, or at least by the writings, of the Greeks and Romans, and the subjects of Heraclius had been educated to pronounce the words of liberty and law. But it has always been the pride and policy of Oriental princes, to display the titles and attributes of their omnipotence; to upbraid a nation of slaves with their true name and abject condition, and to enforce, by cruel and insolent threats, the rigour of their absolute commands. The Christians of the East were scandalised by the worship of fire, and the impious doctrine of the two principles, the Magi were not less intolerant than the bishops, and the martyrdom of some native Persians, who had deserted the religion of Zoroaster,<sup>1</sup> was conceived to be the prelude of a fierce and general persecution. By the oppressive laws of Justinian, the adversaries of the church were made the enemies of the state; the alliance of the Jews, Nestorians, and Jacobites, had contributed to the success of Chosroes, and his partial favour to the sectaries provoked the hatred and fears of the Catholic clergy. Con-cious of their fear and hatred, the Persian conqueror governed his new subjects with an iron sceptre; and as if he suspected the stability of his dominion, he exhausted their wealth by exorbitant tributes and licentious rapine, despoiled or demolished the temples of the East, and transported to his hereditary realms the gold, the silver, the precious marbles, the arts, and the artists of the Asiatic cities. In the

obscure picture of the calamities of the empire,<sup>64</sup> it is not easy to discern the figure of Chosroes himself, to separate his actions from those of his lieutenants, or to ascertain his personal merit in the general blaze of glory and magnificence. He enjoyed with ostentation the fruits of victory, and frequently retired from the hardships of war to the luxury of the palace. But, in the space of twenty-four years, he was detained by superstition or resentment from approaching the gates of Ctesiphon; and his favourite residence of Artemita, or Dastagerd, was situate beyond the Tigris, about sixty miles to the north of the capital.<sup>65</sup> The adjacent pastures were covered with flocks and herds: the paradise or park was replenished with pheasants, peacocks, ostriches, roebucks, and wild boars, and the noble game of lions and tigers was sometimes turned loose for the bolder pleasures of the chase. Nine hundred and sixty elephants were maintained for the use or splendour of the Great King: his tents and baggage were carried into the field by twelve thousand great camels, and eight thousand of a smaller size;<sup>66</sup> and the royal stables were filled with six thousand mules and horses, among whom the names of Shebdiz and Barid are renowned for their speed or beauty. Six thousand guards successively mounted before the palace gate; the service of the interior apartments was performed by twelve thousand slaves; and in the number of three thousand virgins, the fairest of Asia, some happy concubine might console her master for the age or the indifference of Sira. The various treasures of gold, silver, gems, silk, and aromatics, were deposited in an hundred subterraneous vaults; and the chamber *Badagerd* denoted the accidental gift of the winds which had wafted the spoils of Heraclius into one of the Syrian harbours of his rival. The voice of flattery, and perhaps of fiction, is not ashamed to compute the thirty thousand rich hangings that adorned the walls; the forty thousand columns of silver, or more probably of marble, and plated wood, that supported the roof; and the thousand globes of gold suspended in the dome, to imitate the motions of the planets and the constellations of the zodiac.<sup>67</sup> While the Persian monarch contemplated the wonders of his art and power, he received an epistle from an obscure citizen of Mecca, inviting him to acknowledge Mahomet as the apostle of God. He rejected the invitation, and tore the epistle. "It is thus," exclaimed the Arabian prophet, "that God will tear the kingdom, and reject the supplications of Chosroes."<sup>68</sup> Placed on the verge of the two great empires of the East, Mahomet observed with secret joy the progress of their mutual destruction; and, in the midst of

62 The error of Barons, and many others who have earned the arms of Churches to authorize instead of establish, is founded on the near resemblance of the Greek words  $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\kappa\alpha$  in the text of Theophanes. As who have been sometimes confounded by translators, and some by the

63 The *op. cit.* acts of St Anastasios, re-published in those of the  
translators, and sometimes by even  
64 The *op. cit.* acts of St Anastasios, re-published in those of the  
translators, and sometimes by even  
65 The *op. cit.* acts of St Anastasios, re-published in those of the  
translators, and sometimes by even

1. "Arar" the country he comes from, Turkestan or Bactriana; the dried rhye is called by Arrian and Aelian. Buthon, Hist. Naturels, tom. x. p. 211, &c. Arrian Hist. Animal. tom. i. lib. i. tom. ii. p. 18.

[illegible]

the Persian triumphs, he ventured to foretell, that before many years should elapse, victory would again return to the banners of the Romans.<sup>69</sup>

At the time when this prediction is said to have been delivered, no prophecy could be more distant from its accomplishment, since the first twelve years of Heraclius announced the approaching dissolution of the empire. If the motives of Chosroes had been pure and honourable, he must have ended the quarrel with the death of Phocas, and he would have embraced, as his best ally, the fortunate African who had so generously avenged the injuries of his benefactor Maurice. The prosecution of the war revealed the true character of the barbarian; and the suppliant embassies of Heraclius to beseech his clemency, that he would spare the innocent, accept a tribute, and give peace to the world, were rejected with contemptuous silence or insolent menace. Syria, Egypt, and the provinces of Asia, were subdued by the Persian arms; while Europe, from the confines of Istria to the long wall of Thrace, was oppressed by the Avars, unsatiated with the blood and rapine of the Italian war. They had coolly massacred their male captives in the sacred field of Pannonia; the women and children were reduced to servitude, and the noblest virgins were abandoned to the promiscuous lust of the barbarians. The amorous nation who opened the gates of Friuli, passed a short night in the arms of her royal lover; the next evening, Romilda was condemned to the embraces of twelve Avars, and the third day the Lombard princess was impaled in the sight of the camp, while the chagan observed with a cruel smile, that such a husband was the fit recompence of her lewdness and perfidy.<sup>70</sup> By these implacable enemies, Heraclius, on either side, was insulted and besieged; and the Roman empire was reduced to the walls of Constantinople, with the remnant of Greece, Italy, and Africa, and some maritime cities, from Tyre to Trebizond, of the Asiatic coast. After the loss of Egypt, the capital was afflicted by famine and pestilence; and the emperor, incapable of resistance, and hopeless of relief, had resolved to transfer his person and government to the more secure residence of Carthage. His ships were already laden with the treasures of the palace; but his flight was arrested by the patriarch, who armed the powers of religion in the defence of his country, led Heraclius to the altar of St. Sophia, and extorted a solemn oath, that he would live and die with the people whom God had intrusted to his care. The chagan was encamped in the plains of Thrace; but he dissembled his perfidious designs, and solicited an interview with the emperor near the town of Heraclea. Their reconciliation was celebrated with equestrian games; the senate and people, in their gayest apparel, resorted to the festival of

peace; and the Avars beheld, with envy and desire, the spectacle of Roman luxury. On a sudden, the hippodrome was encompassed by the Scythian cavalry, who had pressed their secret and nocturnal march: the tremendous sound of the chagan's whip gave the signal of the assault; and Heraclius, wrapping his diadem round his arm, was saved, with extreme hazard, by the fleetness of his horse. So rapid was the pursuit, that the Avars almost entered the golden gate of Constantinople with the flying crowds;<sup>71</sup> but the plunder of the suburbs rewarded their treason, and they transported beyond the Danube two hundred and seventy thousand captives. On the shore of Chalcedon, the emperor held a safer conference with a more honourable foe, who, before Heraclius descended from his galley, saluted with reverence and pity the majesty of the purple. The friendly offer of Sain, <sup>He solicits peace.</sup> the Persian general, to conduct an embassy to the presence of the Great King, was accepted with the warmest gratitude; and the prayer for pardon and peace was humbly presented by the praetorian praefect, the praefect of the city, and one of the first ecclesiastics of the patriarchal church.<sup>72</sup> But the lieutenant of Chosroes had fatally mistaken the intentions of his master. "It was not an embassy," said the tyrant of Asia; "it was the person of Heraclius, bound in chains, that he should have brought to the foot of my throne. I will never give peace to the emperor of Rome till he has adjoined his crucified God, and embraced the worship of the sun." Sain was flayed alive, according to the inhuman practice of his country; and the separate and rigorous confinement of the ambassadors violated the law of nations, and the faith of an express stipulation. Yet the experience of six years at length persuaded the Persian monarch to renounce the conquest of Constantinople, and to specify the annual tribute or ransom of the Roman empire: a thousand talents of gold, a thousand talents of silver, a thousand silk robes, a thousand horses, and a thousand virgins. Heraclius subscribed these ignominious terms; but the time and space which he obtained to collect such treasures from the poverty of the East was industriously employed in the preparations of a bold and desperate attack.

Of the characters conspicuous in history, that of Heraclius is one of the most extraordinary and inconsistent. In the first and the last years of a long reign, the emperor appears to be the slave of sloth, of pleasure, or of superstition; the careless and impotent spectator of the public calamities. But the languid mists of the morning and evening are separated by the brightness of the meridian sun: the Arcadius of the palace arose the Caesar of the camp; and the honour of Rome and Heraclius was gloriously retrieved by the

<sup>69</sup> See the xxxth chapter of the Koran, intitled the *Future*. Our honest and learned translator, Sale (p. 759, 511), fairly states this conjecture, *excessu, uacuo, de Mahomet, &c.* (p. 751-754), with *excessu intentionis*, labours to establish the *excessu* prophecy of a future event, which must, in his opinion, embrace the Christian polemic.

<sup>70</sup> Paul Warnefrid, de Gestis Langobardorum, l. iv. c. 39. 42. Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 305, &c.

<sup>71</sup> The Paschal Chronicle, which sometimes introduces fragments of history into a barren list of names and dates, gives the best account of the treason of the Avars, p. 599, 590. The number of captives is added by Nicephorus.

<sup>72</sup> Some original pieces, such as the speech or letter of the Roman ambassadors (p. 596-598), likewise constitute the merit of the Paschal Chronicle, which was composed, perhaps at Alexandria, under the reign of Heraclius.

exploits and trophies of six adventurous campaigns. It was the duty of the Byzantine historians to have revealed the causes of his slumber and vigilance. At this distance, we can only conjecture that he was endowed with more personal courage than political resolution; that he was detained by the charms, and perhaps the arts, of his niece Martina, with whom, after the death of Eudocia, he contracted an incestuous marriage; <sup>73</sup> and that he yielded to the base advice of the counsellors, who urged as a fundamental law, that the life of the emperor should never be exposed in the field.<sup>74</sup> Perhaps he was awakened by the last insolent demand of the Persian conqueror; but at the moment when Heraclius assumed the spirit of an hero, the only hopes of the Romans were drawn from the vicissitudes of fortune, which might threaten the proud prosperity of Chosroes, and must be favourable to those who had attained the lowest period of depression.<sup>75</sup> To provide for the expenses of war, was the first care of the emperor; and for the purpose of collecting the tribute, he was allowed to solicit the benevolence of the Eastern provinces. But the revenue no longer flowed in the usual channels; the credit of an arbitrary prince is annihilated by his power; and the courage of Heraclius was first displayed in daring to borrow the consecrated wealth of churches, under the solemn vow of restoring, with usury, whatever he had been compelled to employ in the service of religion and of the empire. The clergy themselves appear to have sympathised with the public distress; and the discreet patriarch of Alexandria, without admitting the precedent of sacrilege, assisted his sovereign by the miraculous or reasonable revelation of a secret treasure.<sup>76</sup> Of the soldiers who had conspired with Phocas, only two were found to have survived the stroke of time and of the barbarians; <sup>77</sup> the loss, even of these seditious veterans, was imperfectly supplied by the new levies of Heraclius; and the gold of the sanctuary united, in the same camp, the names, and arms, and languages, of the East and West. He would have been content with the neutrality of the Avars; and his friendly entreaty, that the chagan would act, not as the enemy, but as the guardian, of the empire, was accompanied with a more persuasive donative of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. Two days after the festival of Easter, the emperor, exchanging his purple for the simple garb of a penitent and warrior,<sup>78</sup>

gave the signal of his departure. To the faith of the people Heraclius recommended his children ; the civil and military powers were vested in the most deserving hands, and the discretion of the patriarch and senate was authorised to save or surrender the city, if they should be oppressed in his absence by the superior forces of the enemy.

The neighbouring heights of Chalcedon were covered with tents and arms: but if the new levies of Heraclius had been rashly led to the attack, the victory of the Persians in the sight of Constantinople might have been the last day of the Roman empire. As imprudent would it have been to advance into the provinces of Asia, leaving their innumerable cavalry to intercept his convoys, and continually to hang on the lassitude and disorder of his rear. But the Greeks were still masters of the sea; a fleet of galleys, transports, and storeships, was assembled in the harbour; the barbarians consented to embark; a steady wind carried them through the Hellespont; the western and southern coast of Asia Minor lay on their left hand; the spirit of their chief was first displayed in a storm; and even the eunuchs of his train were excited to suffer and to work by the example of their master. He landed his troops on the confines of Syria and Cilicia, in the Gulf of Scanderoon, where the coast suddenly turns to the south;<sup>79</sup> and his discernment was expressed in the choice of this important post.<sup>80</sup> From all sides, the scattered garrisons of the maritime cities and the mountains might repair with speed and safety to his Imperial standard. The natural fortifications of Cilicia protected, and even concealed, the camp of Heraclius, which was pitched near Issus, on the same ground where Alexander had vanquished the host of Darius. The angle which the emperor occupied, was deeply indented into a vast semicircle of the Asiatic, Armenian, and Syrian provinces; and to whatsoever point of the circumference he should direct his attack, it was easy for him to dissemble his own motions, and to prevent those of the enemy. In the camp of Issus, the Roman general reformed the sloth and disorder of the veterans, and educated the new recruits in the knowledge and practice of military virtue. Unfolding the miraculous image of Christ, he urged them to *revenge* the holy altars which had been profaned by the worshippers of fire: addressing them by the endearing appellations of

First expedition of Heraclius against the Persian A. D. 622.

75 Nueborn, pp. 10, 11, who brands this marriage with the names of *ceres* and *saturn*, is happy to observe, that of two sons, its production from the elder was ordered by Providence with a still neck, the younger with the loss of her neck.

74 George of Paphlagonia (Victors, 111-125 p. 53), who states the opinion, to wit, the posthumous reputation of an "unhappy" man. Would he have enjoyed the proud and constant acknowledgment of Crispus?  $\text{Ἐπιθρονοῦ, ἵστατο ἐκ ἐξουσίας, φέρεται ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ βασιλέως, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τῷ ἐκείνου δαδῶσι.}$

73 F. r i e t m e k e l p o n e t a : d' x;

[illegible]

The Orientals are not less fond of remarking this strange vice-tale, and I remember some story of Khosrou Parviz, not very unlike the ring of Polycrates of Samos.

7b. Baronius gravely relates this discovery, or rather transmission, of barrels, not of honey, but of gold (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 1264 No. 5, &c.). Yet the loan was arbitrary, since it was collected from no dioceses, who were ordered to leave the patriarch of Alexandria no more than one hundred pounds of gold. "Nephorus," p. 111, two hundred years afterwards, speaks with ill-humour of this contribution, which the church of Constantinople might still feel.

77 Theophylact Simocatta, l. viii. c. 12. This circumstance need not excite our surprise. The muster-roll of a regiment, even in time of war, is not always correct. The names of the soldiers are often written down as they are called out, and the roll is not corrected until after the battle. The names of the officers are often written down as they are called out, and the roll is not corrected until after the battle. The names of the soldiers are often written down as they are called out, and the roll is not corrected until after the battle. The names of the officers are often written down as they are called out, and the roll is not corrected until after the battle.

them red in  
s. 121, 122.

1. *Chlorophyll a* (Chl *a*)

is important  
the described

b Xenophon, who marched through them a thousand years before.

A narrow pass of three stadia between steep high rocks (*petrai phla-*

ΣΑΥΛΑ) and the Mediterranean in, was closed at each end by strong gates, impenetrable to the land (ΠΕΡΙΛΑΒΕΙΝ ΟΙΣ ΠΥΛΑΙΣ), accessible by sea

...ration,

Tarsus

• *Compare* *wh- ad*

M. Ot.

ter, tom 1 p 78, 79.).

“Casta habuim, ea ipse contra latum habuerat armis [sic]”

"Alexander, imperator haud paulo minor quam ant tu aut ego." Ad

Atticum, v. 20<sup>th</sup> Issue, a rich and flourishing city in the time of

Xenophon was ruined by the prosperity of Alexandria or Scanderoon, on the other side of the bay.



sons and brethren, he deplored the public and private wrongs of the republic. The subjects of a monarch were persuaded that they fought in the cause of freedom; and a similar enthusiasm was communicated to the foreign mercenaries, who must have viewed with equal indifference the interest of Rome and of Persia. Heraclius himself, with the skill and patience of a centurion, inculcated the lessons of the school of tactics, and the soldiers were assiduously trained in the use of their weapons, and the exercises and evolutions of the field. The cavalry and infantry in light or heavy armour were divided into two parties; the trumpets were fixed in the centre, and their signals directed the march, the charge, the retreat, or pursuit; the direct or oblique order, the deep or extended phalanx; to represent in fictitious combat the operations of genuine war. Whatever hardship the emperor imposed on the troops, he inflicted with equal severity on himself; their labour, their diet, their sleep, were measured by the inflexible rules of discipline; and, without despising the enemy, they were taught to repose an implicit confidence in their own valour and the wisdom of their leader. Cilicia was soon encompassed with the Persian arms; but their cavalry hesitated to enter the defiles of Mount Taurus, till they were circumvented by the evolutions of Heraclius, who insensibly gained their rear, whilst he appeared to present his front in order of battle. By a false motion, which seemed to threaten Armenia, he drew them, against their wishes, to a general action. They were tempted by the artful disorder of his camp; but when they advanced to combat, the ground, the sun, and the expectation of both armies, were unpropitious to the barbarians; the Romans successfully repeated their tactics in a field of battle,<sup>81</sup> and the event of the day declared to the world, that the Persians were not invincible, and that an hero was invested with the purple. Strong in victory and fame, Heraclius boldly ascended the heights of Mount Taurus, directed his march through the plains of Cappadocia, and established his troops for the winter season, in safe and plentiful quarters on the banks of the river Halys.<sup>82</sup> His soul was superior to the vanity of entertaining Constantinople with an imperfect triumph: but the presence of the emperor was indispensably required to soothe the restless and rapacious spirit of the Avars.

Since the days of Scipio and Hannibal, no

<sup>81</sup> Foggini (Annotat. p. 51) suspects that the Persians were deceived by the false *παλαιοὶ πελοποννησιοὶ* of Livian (L. i. c. 18) in intricate spiral motion of the army. He observes (p. 12) that the military descriptions of George of Pisidia are transcribed in the *Tactics* of the emperor Leo.

<sup>82</sup> George of Pisidia, an eye-witness (Armen. ii. l. 25, &c.), described, in three *ἀπομνημονεύματα*, the last expedition of Heraclius. The poem has been lately (1773) published in Rome, but such variety of readings, and such a variety of conjectures, as to the sense, rendering it almost impossible to respond with the sanguine

with swifts (*αἰεταὶ*), into he confound, the two expeditions. Lucchini (Annal. tom. ii. the more probable station of Trebizond.

<sup>83</sup> From Constantinople to Trebizond, with a fair wind, four or five days; from thence to Erzerum, five, to Erivan, twelve, to Tauris, ten; in all three weeks. Such is the number of Tavernier (Voyages, tom. i. p. 12). "who is perfectly conversant with the roads of Asia." T. Grenford, who travelled with a party, went ten or twelve days between Trebizond and Erzerum (Voyage de Levant, tom. iii. lettre xxviii.); and Thomas Clavelius, tom. p. 244-254, gives the more correct distance of sixty-three mædagæ, each of 5000 paces (what paces?) between Erzerum and Tauris.

<sup>84</sup> The expedition of Heraclius into Asia is finely illustrated by M. d'Anville (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii.

bolder enterprise had been attempted than that which Heraclius achieved for the deliverance of the empire.<sup>83</sup> His second expedition, A. D. 623, 624, 625.

He permitted the Persians to oppress for a while the provinces, and to insult with impunity the capital of the East; while the Roman emperor explored his perilous way through the Black Sea,<sup>84</sup> and the mountains of Armenia, penetrated into the heart of Persia,<sup>85</sup> and recalled the armies of the Great King to the defence of their bleeding country. With a select band of five thousand soldiers, Heraclius sailed from Constantinople to Trebizond; assembled his forces which had wintered in the Pontic regions; and from the mouth of the Phasis to the Caspian Sea, encouraged his subjects and allies to march with the successor of Constantine under the faithful and victorious banner of the cross. When the legions of Lucullus and Pompey first passed the Euphrates, they blushed at their easy victory over the natives of Armenia. But the long experience of war had hardened the minds and bodies of that effeminate people; their zeal and bravery were approved in the service of a declining empire; they abhorred and feared the usurpation of the house of Sassan, and the memory of persecution envenomed their pious hatred of the enemies of Christ. The limits of Armenia, as it had been ceded to the emperor Maurice, extended as far as the Araxes: the river submitted to the indignity of a bridge,<sup>86</sup> and Heraclius, in the footsteps of Marc Antony, advanced towards the city of Tauris or Gandzaca,<sup>87</sup> the ancient and modern capital of one of the provinces of Media. At the head of forty thousand men, Chosroes himself had returned from some distant expedition to oppose the progress of the Roman arms; but he retreated on the approach of Heraclius, declining the generous alternative of peace or of battle. Instead of half a million of inhabitants, which have been ascribed to Tauris under the reign of the Saphis, the city contained no more than three thousand houses; but the value of the royal treasures was enhanced by a tradition, that they were the spoils of Cræsus, which had been transported by Cyrus from the citadel of Sardes. The rapid conquests of Heraclius were suspended only by the winter season; a motive of prudence, or superstition,<sup>88</sup> determined his retreat into the province of Albania, along the shores of the Caspian; and his tents were most probably pitched in the plains of Mogan,<sup>89</sup> the favourite

p. 550-557. He discovers the situation of Gandzaca, Thebarnia, Dastard, &c. with admirable skill and learning; but the obscure campaign of 624 he passes over in silence.

<sup>86</sup> The river Araxes is most, rarely, vehement, and, with the melting of the snows, irresistible: the strongest and most iron bridges are swept away by the current, and its sublimity is attested by the ruins of iron arches near the old town of Zaila. Voyages de Chardin, tom. ii. p. 256.

<sup>87</sup> Chardin, tom. i. p. 245-250. With the Oriental (D) Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p. 554, he ascribes the foundation of Tauris, or Tauris, to Zolusab, the wife of the famous Khad Haxam Arrabid, but it appears to have been more ancient, and the names of Gamlicaca, Gancaca, Ganc, are expressive of the royal treasure. The number of 40,000 inhabitants is reduced by Chardin from 1,100,000, the popular number.

<sup>88</sup> He opened the Gospel, and applied or interpreted the first casual allusion to the name and situation of Albania. Theophanes, p. 248.

<sup>89</sup> The birth of Nigam, between that river and the Araxes, is very ancient, its length and breadth, about eight or nine miles, and twenty miles in circumference, and it is situated in a plain, and is a very fertile country. Mr. Jones, from a Persian map, has conjectured that the place is now called Mogan, and is situated at a distance of 15 miles from the city of Tauris. Jones, p. 623, 624.

encampment of Oriental princes. In the course of this successful inroad, he signalised the zeal and revenge of a Christian emperor: at his command, the soldiers extinguished the fire, and destroyed the temples, of the Magi; the statues of Choroës, who aspired to divine honours, were abandoned to the flames; and the ruins of Thebarna or Ormia,<sup>90</sup> which had given birth to Zoroaster himself, made some atonement for the injuries of the holy sepulchre. A purer spirit of religion was shown in the relief and deliverance of fifty thousand captives. Heraclius was rewarded by their tears and grateful acclamations; but this wise measure, which spread the fame of his benevolence, diffused the murmurs of the Persians against the pride and obstinacy of their own sovereign.

Amidst the glories of the succeeding campaign, Heraclius is almost lost to our eyes, and to those of the Byzantine historians.<sup>91</sup> From the spacious and fruitful plains of Albania, the emperor appears to follow the chain of Ilyrcanian mountains, to descend into the province of Media or Irak, and to carry his victorious arms as far as the royal cities of Casbin and Isbahan, which had never been approached by a Roman conqueror. Alarmed by the danger of his kingdom, the powers of Choroës were already recalled from the Nile and the Bosphorus, and three formidable armies surrounded, in a distant and hostile land, the camp of the emperor. The Colchian allies prepared to desert his standard; and the fears of the bravest veterans were expressed, rather than concealed, by their desponding silence. "Be not terrified," said the intrepid Heraclius, "by the multitude of your foes. With the aid of Heaven, one Roman may triumph over a thousand barbarians. But if we devote our lives for the salvation of our brethren, we shall obtain the crown of martyrdom, and our immortal reward will be liberally paid by God and posterity." These magnanimous sentiments were supported by the vigour of his actions. He repelled the threefold attack of the Persians, improved the divisions of their chiefs, and, by a well-concerted train of marches, retreats, and successful actions, finally chased them from the field into the fortified cities of Media and Assyria. In the severity of the winter season, Sabaraza deemed himself secure in the walls of Salban; he was surprised by the activity of Heraclius, who divided his troops, and performed a laborious march in the silence of the night. The flat roofs of the houses were defended with useless valour against the darts and torches of the Romans: the satraps and nobles of Persia, with their wives and children, and the flower of their martial youth, were either slain or made prisoners. The general escaped by a precipitate

flight, but his golden armour was the prize of the conqueror; and the soldiers of Heraclius enjoyed the wealth and repose which they had so nobly deserved. On the return of spring, the emperor traversed in seven days the mountains of Curdistan, and passed without resistance the rapid stream of the Tigris. Oppressed by the weight of their spoils and captives, the Roman army halted under the walls of Amida; and Heraclius informed the senate of Constantinople of his safety and success, which they had already felt by the retreat of the besiegers. The bridges of the Euphrates were destroyed by the Persians; but as soon as the emperor had discovered a ford, they hastily retired to defend the banks of the Sarus,<sup>92</sup> in Cilicia. That river, an impetuous torrent, was about three hundred feet broad, the bridge was fortified with strong turrets, and the banks were lined with barbarian archers. After a bloody conflict, which continued till the evening, the Romans prevailed in the assault, and a Persian of gigantic size was slain and thrown into the Sarus by the hand of the emperor himself. The enemies were dispersed and dismayed; Heraclius pursued his march to Sebaste in Capadocia; and at the expiration of three years, the same coast of the Euxine applauded his return from a long and victorious expedition.<sup>93</sup>

Instead of skirmishing on the frontier, the two monarchs who disputed the empire of the East aimed their desperate strokes at the heart of their rival. The military force of Persia was wasted by the marches and combats of twenty years, and many of the veterans, who had survived the perils of the sword and the climate, were still detained in the fortresses of Egypt and Syria. But the revenge and ambition of Choroës exhausted his kingdom; and the new levies of subjects, strangers, and slaves, were divided into three formidable bodies.<sup>94</sup> The first army of fifty thousand men, illustrious by the ornament and title of the *golden spears*, was destined to march against Heraclius; the second was stationed to prevent his junction with the troops of his brother Theodorus; and the third was commanded to besiege Constantinople, and to second the operations of the chagan, with whom the Persian king had ratified a treaty of alliance and partition. Sarbar, the general of the third army, penetrated through the provinces of Asia to the well-known camp of Chalcedon, and amused himself with the destruction of the sacred and profane buildings of the Asiatic suburbs, while he impatiently waited the arrival of his Scythian friends on the opposite side of the Bosphorus. On the twenty-ninth of June, thirty thousand barbarians, the vanguard of the Avars, forced the long wall, and drove into the capital a pro-

Deliverance of Constantinople from the Persians and Avars. A. D. 626.

<sup>90</sup> Thebarna and Ormia, near the lake Sparta, are proved to be the same city by D'Anville. Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxviii. p. 107. The name of Ormia is also found in the same work, p. 107. The name of Ormia is also found in the same work, p. 107.

<sup>91</sup> I cannot find, and what is much more, M. d'Anville does not attempt to seek, the Sabian, Tarantus, territory of the Huns, &c. mentioned by Theophrastus (p. 240-242). Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. tom. ii. p. 251, 252), an influential author, names Asphan, and Casbin is most probably the city of Sapor. Isbahan is twenty four days journey

from Turis, and Casbin half way between them (Voyages de Tavernier, tom. i. p. 15, 82).

<sup>92</sup> At ten passages from Tarsus, the army of the younger Cyrus passed the river, three picas in breadth; the Persian, a stadium in breadth, i.e. five paces, further to the east (Xenophon. Anab. lib. i. p. 55, 74).

<sup>93</sup> George of Pacha (Hist. Armen. p. 216-217, p. 16.) celebrates with truth the great courage of the three campaigns (1622, 1623, 1624) against the Persians.

<sup>94</sup> Pictorius (Annals tom. ii. p. 62, 63, 64) distinguishes the names and actions of five Persian generals who were successively sent against Heraclius.

miscuous crowd of peasants, citizens, and soldiers. Fourscore thousand<sup>95</sup> of his native subjects, and of the vassal tribes of Gepidæ, Russians, Bulgarians, and Slavonians, advanced under the standard of the chagan; a month was spent in marches and negotiations, but the whole city was invested on the thirty-first of July, from the suburbs of Pera and Galata to the Blachernæ and seven towers; and the inhabitants desecrated with terror the flaming signals of the European and Asiatic shores. In the mean while the magistrates of Constantinople repeatedly strove to purchase the retreat of the chagan: but their deputies were rejected and insulted; and he suffered the patricians to stand before his throne, while the Persian envoys, in silk robes, were seated by his side. "You see," said the haughty barbarian, "the proofs of my perfect union with the Great King; and his lieutenant is ready to send into my camp a select band of three thousand warriours. Presume no longer to tempt your master with a partial and inadequate ransom: your wealth and your city are the only presents worthy of my acceptance. For yourselves, I shall permit you to depart, each with an under-garment, and a shirt; and, at my entreaty, my friend Sarbar will not refuse a passage through his lines. Your absent prince, even now a captive or a fugitive, has left Constantinople to its fate; nor can you escape the arms of the Avars and Persians, unless you could soar into air like birds, unless like fishes you could dive into the waves."<sup>96</sup> During ten successive days, the capital was assaulted by the Avars, who had made some progress in the science of attack; they advanced to sap or batter the wall, under the cover of the impenetrable tortoise; their engines discharged a perpetual volley of stones and darts; and twelve lofty towers of wood exalted the combatants to the height of the neighbouring ramparts. But the senate and people were animated by the spirit of Heraclius, who had detached to their relief a body of twelve thousand cuirassiers; the powers of fire and mechanics were used with superior art and success in the defence of Constantinople; and the galleys, with two and three ranks of oars, commanded the Bosphorus, and rendered the Persians the idle spectators of the defeat of their allies. The Avars were repulsed; a fleet of Slavonian canoes was destroyed in the harbour; the vassals of the chagan threatened to desert, his provisions were exhausted, and after burning his engines, he gave the signal of a slow and formidable retreat. The devotion of the Romans ascribed this signal deliverance to the Virgin Mary; but the mother of Christ would

surely have condemned their inhuman murder of the Persian envoys, who were entitled to the rights of humanity, if they were not protected by the laws of nations.<sup>97</sup>

After the division of his army, Heraclius prudently retired to the banks of the Phasis, from whence he maintained a defensive war against the fifty thousand gold spears of Persia. His anxiety was relieved by the deliverance of Constantinople; his hopes were confirmed by a victory of his brother Theodorus; and to the hostile league of Chosroes with the Avars, the Roman emperor opposed the useful and honourable alliance of the Turks. At his liberal invitation, the horde of Chozars<sup>98</sup> transported their tents from the plains of the Volga to the mountains of Georgia; Heraclius received them in the neighbourhood of Teflis, and the khan with his nobles dismounted from their horses, if we may credit the Greeks, and fell prostrate on the ground, to adore the purple of the Cesar. Such voluntary homage and important aid were entitled to the warmest acknowledgments; and the emperor, taking off his own diadem, placed it on the head of the Turkish prince, whom he saluted with a tender embrace and the appellation of son. After a sumptuous banquet, he presented Ziebel with the plate and ornaments, the gold, the gems, and the silk, which had been used at the Imperial table, and, with his own hand, distributed rich jewels and earrings to his new allies. In a secret interview, he produced the portrait of his daughter Eudocia,<sup>99</sup> condescended to flatter the barbarian with the promise of a fair and august bride, obtained an immediate succour of forty thousand horse, and negotiated a strong diversion of the Turkish arms on the side of the Oxus.<sup>100</sup> The Persians, in their turn, retreated with precipitation; in the camp of Edessa, Heraclius reviewed an army of seventy thousand Romans and strangers; and some months were successfully employed in the recovery of the cities of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, whose fortifications had been imperfectly restored. Sarbar still maintained the important station of Chalcedon: but the jealousy of Chosroes, or the artifice of Heraclius, soon alienated the mind of that powerful satrap from the service of his king and country. A messenger was intercepted with a real or fictitious mandate to the cadurigan, or second in command, directing him to send, without delay, to the throne, the head of a guilty or unfortunate general. The despatches were transmitted to Sarbar himself; and as soon as he read the sentence of his own death, he dexterously inserted the names of four

Alliances and conquests of Heraclius.

<sup>95</sup> This number of eight intervals is specified by George of Pisidia (Bell. Arab. 213.). The poet (99-84) clearly indicates that the old chagan lived till the reign of Heraclius, and that his son and successor was born of a foreign mother. Yet Fozzum (Annotat. p. 97) has given another interpretation to this passage.

<sup>96</sup> A bird, a frog, a mouse, and five arrows, had been the present of the byzantine king to Darius (Herodot. l. iv. c. 131, 132.) Substituez une lettre à ces signes (says Rousseau, with much good taste) plus elle sera menaçante moins elle effrayera. ce ne sera qu'un fanfaronnement dont Darius n'aura fait que rire (Emile, tom. ii. p. 116.). Yet I much question whether the senate and people of Constantinople laughed at the boasts of the chagan.

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Frudia, who has  
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<sup>98</sup> The name of the Chozars is derived from the Chinese word, and both

<sup>99</sup> Euphrosina, or Eudocia, the only daughter of Heraclius and his first wife Eudocia, was born at Constantinople on the 7th of July, A.D. 611, baptised the 12th of August, and crowned in the oratory of St Stephen in the palace the 4th of October of the same year. At this time she was about fifteen. Eudocia was afterwards sent to her Turkish husband, but the news of his death stopped her journey, and prevented the consummation (Ducange, Familii Byzantinæ, p. 118.).

<sup>100</sup> Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 15-16.) gives some curious and probable facts; but his numbers are rather too high—300,000 Persians assembled at Edessa—200,000 Persians killed at Nisibis. The abatement of a cypher is scarcely enough to restore his sanity.

hundred officers, assembled a military council, and asked the *cadargan*, whether he was prepared to execute the commands of their tyrant? The Persians unanimously declared, that Chosroes had forfeited the sceptre; a separate treaty was concluded with the government of Constantinople; and if some considerations of honour or policy restrained Sarbar from joining the standard of Heraclius, the emperor was assured, that he might prosecute, without interruption, his designs of victory and peace.

Deprived of his firmest support, and doubtful of the fidelity of his subjects, the greatness of Chosroes was still conspicuous in its ruins. The number of five hundred thousand may be interpreted as an Oriental metaphor, to describe the men and arms, the horses and elephants, that covered Media and Assyria against the invasion of Heraclius. Yet the Romans boldly advanced from the Araxes to the Tigris, and the timid prudence of Rhazates was content to follow them by forced marches through a desolate country, till he received a peremptory mandate to risk the fate of Persia in a decisive battle. Eastward of the Tigris, at the end of the bridge of Mosal, the great Nineveh had formerly been erected;<sup>101</sup> the city, and even the ruins of the city, had long since disappeared:<sup>102</sup> the vacant space afforded a spacious field for the operations of the two armies. But these operations are neglected by the Byzantine historians, and, like the authors of epic poetry and romance, they ascribe the victory, not to the military conduct, but to the personal valour, of their favourite hero. On this memorable day, Heraclius, on his horse Phalias,

surpassed the bravest of his warriors, his hip was pierced with a spear, and the steed was wounded in the thigh, but he carried his master safe and victorious through the triple phalanx of the barbarians. In the heat of the action, three valiant chiefs were successively slain by the sword and lance of the emperor: among these was Rhazates himself; he fell like a soldier, but the sight of his head scattered grief and despair through the fainting ranks of the Persians. His armour of pure and massy gold, the shield of one hundred and twenty plates, the sword and belt, the saddle and cuirass, adorned the triumph of Heraclius; and if he had not been faithful to Christ and his mother, the chaupain of Rome might have offered the fourth *opime* spoils to the Jupiter of the Capitol.<sup>103</sup> In the battle of Nineveh, which was fiercely fought from daybreak to the eleventh hour, twenty-eight standards, beside those which might be broken or torn, were taken from the Persians; the greatest part of their army was cut in pieces; and the victors, concealing their own loss, passed the night on

the field. They acknowledged, that on this occasion it was less difficult to kill than to discomfit the soldiers of Chosroes; and amidst the bodies of their friends, no more than two bow-shots from the enemy, the remnant of the Persian cavalry stood firm till the seventh hour of the night; about the eighth hour they retired to their unriiled camp, collected their baggage, and dispersed on all sides, from the want of orders rather than of resolution. The diligence of Heraclius was not less admirable in the use of victory; by a march of forty-eight miles in four and twenty hours, his vanguard occupied the bridges of the great and the lesser Zab; and the cities and palaces of Assyria were open for the first time to the Romans. By a just gradation of magnificent scenes, they penetrated to the royal seat of Dastagerd; and, though much of the treasure had been removed, and much had been expended, the remaining wealth appears to have exceeded their hopes, and even to have satiated their avarice. Whatever could not be easily transported they consumed with fire, that Chosroes might feel the anguish of those wounds, which he had so often inflicted on the provinces of the empire: and justice might allow the excuse, if the desolation had been confined to the works of regal luxury, if national hatred, military licence, and religious zeal, had not wasted with equal rage the habitations and the temples of the guiltless subject. The recovery of three hundred Roman standards, and the deliverance of the numerous captives of Edessa and Alexandria, reflect a purer glory on the arms of Heraclius. From the palace of Dastagerd, he pursued his march within a few miles of Modain or Ctesiphon, till he was stopp'd, on the banks of the Arha, by the difficulty of the passage, the rigour of the season, and perhaps the fame of an impregnable capital. The return of the emperor is marked by the modern name of the city of Sherhזור; he fortunately passed Mount Zara, before the snow, which fell incessantly thirty-four days; and the citizens of Gaudzaca, or Tauris, were compelled to entertain his soldiers and their horses with an hospitable reception.<sup>104</sup>

When the ambition of Chosroes was reduced to the defence of his hereditary kingdom, the love of glory, or even the sense of shame, should have urged him to meet his rival in the field. In the battle of Nineveh, his courage might have taught the Persians to vanquish, or he might have fallen with honour by the lance of a Roman emperor. The successor of Cyrus chose rather, at a secure distance, to expect the event, to assemble the relics of the defeat, and to retire by measured steps before the march of Heraclius, till he beheld with a sigh the once loved mansions of Dastagerd. Both his friends and enemies were persuaded,

<sup>101</sup> Ctesias (apud Diodor. Sic. lib. ii. c. 11. p. 115. edit. Wessingh.) says, that the circumference of the city was 12000 paces, the breadth of the city 1200 paces, and the height of the city 1200 paces. This is a very great size for a city of that age, and it is not probable that it was so large. The city of Nineveh was destroyed by the Assyrians, and the ruins of it were buried under the ruins of the city of Nineveh.

<sup>102</sup> The ruins of Nineveh were discovered by the English in 1762, and the city was found to be a very great size, and it was found that the city was built on a hill, and the ruins of it were buried under the ruins of the city of Nineveh.

<sup>103</sup> See the account of the first expedition of Heraclius, in the first conversation of the emperor with the emperor, in the first conversation of the emperor with the emperor, in the first conversation of the emperor with the emperor.

<sup>104</sup> In describing this last expedition of Heraclius, the facts, the places, and the dates of Theophanes (p. 271-272) are so accurate and authentic, that he must have followed the original letters of the emperor, of which the Paschal Chronicle has preserved a copy, and a very curious specimen.



of the holy cross was restored to the importunate demands of the successor of Cunstantine. The victor was not ambitious of enlarging the weakness of the empire. the son of Chosruis abandoned without regret the conquests of his father; the Persians who evacuated the cities of Syria and Egypt were honourably conducted to the frontier, and a war which had wounded the vitals of the two monarchies, produced no change in their external and relative situation. The return of Heraclius from Tauris to Constantinople, was a perpetual triumph; and after the exploits of six glorious campaigns, he peaceably enjoyed the sabbath of his toils. After a long impatience, the senate, the clergy, and the people, went forth to meet their hero, with tears and acclamations, with olive branches and innumerable lamps: he entered the capital in a chariot drawn by four elephants: and as soon as the emperor could disengage himself from the tumult of public joy, he tasted more genuine satisfaction in the embraces of his mother and his son.<sup>119</sup>

The succeeding year was illustrated by a triumph of a very different kind, the restitution of the true cross to the holy sepulchre. Heraclius performed in person the pilgrimage of Jerusalem, the identity of the relic was verified by the discreet patriarch,<sup>111</sup> and this august ceremony has been commemorated by the annual festival of the exaltation of the cross. Before the emperor presumed to tread the consecrated ground, he was instructed to strip himself of the diadem and purple, the pomp and vanity of the world ; but in the judgment of his clergy, the persecution of the Jews was more easily reconciled with the precepts of the Gospel. He again ascended his throne to receive the congratulations of the ambassadors of France and India . and the fame of Moses, Alexander, and Hercules,<sup>112</sup> was eclipsed, in the popular estimation, by the superior merit and glory of the great Heraclius. Yet the deliverer of the East was indigent and feeble. Of the Persian spoil, the most valuable portion had been expended in the war, distributed to the soldiers, or buried, by an unlucky tempest, in the waves of the Euxine. The conscience of the emperor was oppressed by the obligation of restoring the wealth of the clergy, which he had borrowed for their own defence ; a perpetual fund was required to satisfy these inexorable creditors ; the provinces, already wasted by the arms and avarice of the Persians, were compelled to a second payment of the same taxes ; and the arrears of a simple citizen, the treasurer of Damascus, were commuted to a fine of one hundred thousand pieces

of gold. The loss of two hundred thousand soldiers,<sup>113</sup> who had fallen by the sword, was of less fatal importance than the decay of arts, agriculture, and population, in this long and destructive war : and although a victorious army had been formed under the standard of Heraclius, the unnatural effort appears to have exhausted rather than exercised their strength. While the emperor triumphed at Constantinople or Jerusalem, an obscure town on the confines of Syria was pillaged by the Saracens, and they cut in pieces some troops who advanced to its relief : an ordinary and trifling occurrence, had it not been the prelude of a mighty revolution. These robbers were the apostles of Mahomet ; their fanatic valour had emerged from the desert ; and in the last eight years of his reign, Heraclius lost to the Arabs the same provinces which he had rescued from the Persians.

CHAP. XLVII.

*Theological History of the Doctrine of the Incarnation. — The Human and Divine Nature of Christ. — Enmity of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople. — St. Cyril and Nestorius. — Third General Council of Ephesus. — Heresy of Eutyches. — Fourth General Council of Chalcedon. — Civil and Ecclesiastical Discord. — Intolerance of Justinian. — The Three Chapters — The Monothelite Controversy. — State of the Oriental Sects: — I. The Nestorians. — II. The Jacobites. — III. The Maronites. — IV. The Armenians. — V. The Copts and Abyssinians.*

AFTER the extinction of paganism, the Christians in peace and piety might have enjoyed their solitary triumph. But the principle of discord was alive in their bosom, and they were more solicitous to explore the nature, than to practise the laws, of their founder. I have already observed, that the disputes of the TRINITY were succeeded by those of the INCARNATION; alike scandalous to the church, alike pernicious to the state, still more minute in their origin, still more durable in their effects. It is my design to comprise in the present chapter a religious war of two hundred and fifty years, to represent the ecclesiastical and political schism of the Oriental sects, and to introduce their clamorous or sanguinary contests, by a modest enquiry into the doctrines of the primitive church.<sup>1</sup>

110 The burden of Corneille's song,

110 The *Chronicon* of Theophanes (p. 274, 275) and Nicephorus (p. 14, 16). The life of the mother and to the death of the son are attested by George of Laika (Bell. Abar. 255, Cf. p. 19). The metaphor of the Sabbath is used, somewhat indirectly, by these Byzantine Chroniclers.

111 See Baronius (*Annal. Eccles.*, A.D. 683, No. 1–4), Entschius (*Annal. tom. ii*, p. 219–218), Neuphros (*Brev.* p. 10). The seals of the case had never been broken, and this preservation of the cross is ascribed (under God) to the devotion of queen Sira.

112 George of Pisidia, *Armenia*, de Ex., dit. contra Persas, 115, &c. and Heraclius *Armenia*, l. c. 138. I neglect the many parallels of Daniel, Timothy, &c. Chosroes and the Chigun were of course compared to Bel-hazzar, Ithraoh, the old serpent, &c.

I By what means shall I audit entire the previous century, which I have studied to circumvent and oppress? If I persist in supporting each fear or reflection in its proper and special order, every line would demand a string of testimonies, and every ode

[illegible]



ment of his celestial office. In the language of antiquity, the title of God has not been severely confined to the first parent; and his incomparable minister, his only begotten Son, might claim, without presumption, the religious, though secondary, worship of a subject world.

II. The seeds of the faith, which <sup>II. A pure God to the Docetes.</sup> had slowly arisen in the rocky and ungrateful soil of Judea, were transplanted, in full maturity, to the happier climes of the Gentiles; and the strangers of Rome or Asia, who never beheld the manhood, were the more readily disposed to embrace the divinity, of Christ. The polytheist and the philosopher, the Greek and the barbarian, were alike accustomed to conceive a long succession, an infinite chain of angels or demons, or deities, or æons, or emanations, issuing from the throne of light. Nor could it seem strange or incredible that the first of these æons, the *Logos*, or word of God, of the same substance with the Father, should descend upon earth, to deliver the human race from vice and error, and to conduct them in the paths of life and immortality. But the prevailing doctrine of the eternity and inherent privity of matter infected the primitive churches of the East. Many among the Gentile proselytes refused to believe that a celestial spirit, an undivided portion of the first essence, had been personally united with a mass of impure and contaminated flesh; and, in their zeal for the divinity, they piously abjured the humanity, of Christ. While his blood was still recent on Mount Calvary,<sup>10</sup> the *Docetes*, a numerous and learned set of Asiatics, invented the *phantastic* system, which was afterwards propagated by the Marcionites, the Manichæans, and the various names of the Gnostic heresy.<sup>11</sup> They denied the truth and authenticity of the Gospels, as far as they relate the conception of Mary, the birth of Christ, and the thirty years that preceded the exercise of his ministry. He first appeared on the banks of the Jordan in the form of perfect manhood; but it was a form only, and not a substance; an human figure, created by the hand of Omnipotence to imitate the faculties and actions of a man, and to impose a perpetual illusion on the senses of his friends and enemies. Articulate sounds vibrated on the ears of the disciples; but the image which was impressed on their optic nerve eluded the more stubborn evidence of the touch; and they enjoyed the spiritual, not the corporeal, presence of the Son of God. The rage of the Jews was idly wasted against an impassive phantom; and the mystic scenes of the passion and death, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, were represented on the theatre of Jerusalem, for the benefit of mankind. If it were urged that such ideal mimicry, such incessant deception, was unworthy of the God of truth, the Docetes agreed with too many of their orthodox brethren in the justification of pious falsehood. In the system of the Gnostics,

the Jehovah of Israel, the Creator of this lower world, was a rebellious, or at least an ignorant, spirit. The Son of God descended upon earth to abolish his temple and his law; and, for the accomplishment of this salutary end, he dexterously transferred to his own person the hope and prediction of a temporal Messiah.

One of the most subtle disputants of the Manichæan school has pre-<sup>His incorruptible body.</sup>sented the danger and indecency of supposing that the God of the Christians, in the state of an human fœtus, emerged at the end of nine months from a female womb. The pious horror of his antagonists provoked them to disclaim all sensual circumstances of conception and delivery; to maintain, that the divinity passed through Mary like a sunbeam through a plate of glass; and to assert, that the seal of her virginity remained unbroken, even at the moment when she became the mother of Christ. But the rashness of these concessions has encouraged a milder sentiment of those Docetes, who taught, not that Christ was a phantom, but that he was clothed with an impassible and incorruptible body. Such, indeed, in the more orthodox system, he has acquired since his resurrection, and such he must have always possessed, if it were capable of pervading, without resistance or injury, the density of intermediate matter. Devoid of its most essential properties, it might be exempt from the attributes and infirmities of the flesh. A fœtus that could increase from an invisible point to its full maturity, a child that could attain the stature of perfect manhood without deriving any nourishment from the ordinary sources, might continue to exist without repairing a daily waste by a daily supply of external matter. Jesus might share the repasts of his disciples without being subject to the calls of thirst or hunger; and his virgin purity was never sullied by the involuntary stains of sensual concupiscence. Of a body thus singularly constituted, a question would arise, by what means, and of what materials, it was originally framed; and our sounder theology is startled by an answer which was not peculiar to the Gnostics, that both the form and the substance proceeded from the divine essence. The idea of pure and absolute spirit is a refinement of modern philosophy: the incorporeal essence, ascribed by the ancients to human souls, celestial beings, and even the Deity himself, does not exclude the notion of extended space; and their imagination was satisfied with a subtle nature of air, or fire, or æther, incomparably more perfect than the grossness of the material world. If we define the place, we must describe the figure, of the Deity. Our experience, perhaps our vanity, represents the powers of reason and virtue under an human form. The Anthropomorphites, who swarmed among the monks of Egypt and the Catholics of Africa, could produce the express declaration of Scripture, that

<sup>10</sup> Apostolus adhuc in seculo superstitionis, apud Judæos Christi sanguine recente, PHANTASIA corporis assueti erat. Hieronym. advers. Lucifer. c. 8. The opiate of Ignatius to the Smyrniens, and even the Gospel according to St. John, are levelled against the gross error of the Docetes, who had obtained too much credit in the world (1 John, iv. 1-3.).

<sup>11</sup> About the year 266 of the Christian æra, Irenæus and Hippolytus refuted the third sect, or *Docetismo*, which had multiplied to numbers in the time of Epiphanius (Phot. Biblioth. Cod. ex. ext. cap. 1). The true books of Irenæus exist only in barbarous Latin but the original might perhaps be found in some monastery of Greece.



man was made after the image of his Creator.<sup>12</sup> The venerable Serapion, one of the saints of the Nitrian desert, relinquished, with many a tear, his darling prejudice; and bewailed, like an infant, his unlucky conversion, which had stolen away his God, and left his mind without any visible object of faith or devotion.<sup>13</sup>

III. Double nature of Cerinthus.

III. Such were the fleeting shadows of the Docetes. A more substantial, though less simple hypothesis, was contrived by Cerinthus of Asia,<sup>14</sup> who dared to oppose the last of the apostles. Placed on the confines of the Jewish and Gentile world, he laboured to reconcile the Gnostic with the Ebionite, by confessing in the same Messiah the supernatural union of a man and a God; and this mystic doctrine was adopted with many fanciful improvements by Carpocrates, Basilides, and Valentine,<sup>15</sup> the heretics of the Egyptian school. In their eyes, Jesus of Nazareth was a mere mortal, the legitimate son of Joseph and Mary; but he was the best and wisest of the human race, selected as the worthy instrument to restore upon earth the worship of the true and supreme Deity. When he was baptized in the Jordan, the Christ, the first of the æons, the Son of God himself, descended on Jesus in the form of a dove, to inhabit his mind, and direct his actions during the allotted period of his ministry. When the Messiah was delivered into the hands of the Jews, the Christ, an immortal and impassible being, forsook his earthly tabernacle, flew back to the *pleroma* or world of spirits, and left the solitary Jesus to suffer, to complain, and to expire. But the justice and generosity of such a desertion are strongly questionable; and the fate of an innocent martyr, at first impelled, and at length abandoned, by his divine companion, might provoke the pity and indignation of the profane. Their murmurs were variously silenced by the sectaries who espoused and modified the double system of Cerinthus. It was alleged, that when Jesus was nailed to the cross, he was endowed with a miraculous apathy of mind and body, which rendered him insensible of his apparent sufferings. It was affirmed that these momentary, though real pangs, would be abundantly repaid by the temporal reign of a thousand years reserved for the Messiah in his kingdom of

New Jerusalem. It was insinuated, that if he suffered, he deserved to suffer; that human nature is never absolutely perfect; and that the cross and passion might serve to expiate the venial transgressions of the son of Joseph, before his mysterious union with the Son of God.<sup>16</sup>

IV. All those who believe the immateriality of the soul, a specious and noble tenet, must confess, from their present experience, the incomprehensible union of mind and matter. A similar union is not inconsistent with a much higher, or even with the highest, degree of mental faculties; and the incarnation of an æon or archangel, the most perfect of created spirits, does not involve any positive contradiction or absurdity. In the age of religious freedom, which was determined by the council of Nice, the dignity of Christ was measured by private judgment, according to the indefinite rule of Scripture, or reason, or tradition. But when his pure and proper divinity had been established on the ruins of Arianism, the faith of the Catholics trembled on the edge of a precipice where it was impossible to recede, dangerous to stand, dreadful to fall; and the manifold inconveniences of their creed were aggravated by the sublime character of their theology. They hesitated to pronounce; *that* God himself, the second person of an equal and consubstantial Trinity, was manifested in the flesh;<sup>17</sup> *that* a being who pervades the universe had been confined in the womb of Mary; *that* his eternal duration had been marked by the days, and months, and years, of human existence; *that* the Almighty had been scourged and crucified; *that* his impassible essence had felt pain and anguish; *that* his omniscience was not exempt from ignorance; *and that* the source of life and immortality expired on Mount Calvary. These alarming consequences were affirmed with unblushing simplicity by Apollinaris,<sup>18</sup> bishop of Laodicea, and one of the luminaries of the church. The son of a learned grammarian, he was skilled in all the sciences of Greece; eloquence, erudition, and philosophy, conspicuous in the volumes of Apollinaris, were humbly devoted to the service of religion. The worthy friend of Athanasius, the worthy antagonist of Julian, he bravely wrestled with the Arians and Polytheists; and though he

12 The pilgrim Cosmas, who visited Egypt in the late middle of the fifth century, considered a *phylax* to be a sort of African monk, living among the monks, who were not *cleroi*, i.e. that they did not belong to the system of Episcopii (Hier., de Nat. II, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100). Cosmas' terminology is very problematic, but it is clear that he was referring to a group of Egyptian monks, who were not *cleroi*, i.e. that they did not belong to the system of Episcopii (Hier., de Nat. II, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100). Cosmas' terminology is very problematic, but it is clear that he was referring to a group of Egyptian monks, who were not *cleroi*, i.e. that they did not belong to the system of Episcopii (Hier., de Nat. II, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100).

13 Ita est in oratione semper cunctis aditus, eo quod ille in ἁγία-  
πολιτεινὴν imaginem Deitatis, quam proponit sibi in oratione con-  
sueverat, ab illi de sui corde sentire, ut in animis non deficiat,  
crebroque singulis prope prorumpens, in terram prostratus, cum  
eubulo validissimè precemaret: "Hic me orationi toleranti a me  
Deum meum, et quem nunc tenerem non habeo sed quem adorem,  
aut interitus huius quoque mecum." (Cassian. Coll. III, c. 2.)

and interpret them in this sense" (Cassidy, *Call it x*, 2).

St. John and Cerinthus (A.D. 130). Here, Hist. Eccles. p. 195 is cited, where the author, Eusebius, has the apostle fled from the heretic, lest the binding should be made of him. This foolish story, reported by Dr. Middleton (Miscellaneous Works, vol. ii.) is related however by Irenaeus (p. 73, on the evidence of Polycarp, and was prohibited unto the time and residence of Cerinthus. The ob-olite, &c. is probably the true reading of 1 John, vi. 2. *et non in hoc mundo*—alludes to the double nature of that primitive heretic.

15 The Valentines embraced a complex, and almost incoherent, system. 1. Both Christ and Jesus were scraps, though of different degrees, the one acting as the rational soul, the other as the divine spirit of the Saviour. 2. At the time of the passion, they both retired,

and left only a sensitive soul as in a human body. 3 From that body was gathered, and perhaps apparent — such are the laborious conclusions of Modern. But I much doubt whether the Latin translator understood Irenæus, and whether Irenæus and the Valentinians understood themselves.

16. The heretics all used the passionate exclamation of "My God, my God, who hast thou forsaken me?" Ruseau, who has drawn an eloquent, but indecent parallel between Christ and Socrates, forgets that not a word of impatience or of despair escaped from the mouth of the divine philosopher. In the Messiah, such sentiments could not have been uttered. "The following words are properly explained otherwise."

beginning of the fifth century, the true reading, which is visible in the Latin and Syriac versions, still exists in the reasoning of the Greek, as well as of the Latin fathers, and this, indeed, with that of the Greek *Proterius of Sidon*, is almost identical with the reading of the Latin. See his two letters translated by M. de Missy, in the *Journal Britannique*, tom. cv. p. 118-120. 551-591. I have weighed the argument, and may add to the authorities of the first of philosophers, who were deeply skilled in eristic and dialectic studies.

Erigena, and his school, were the first to give to the world a new philosophy.

18 For Apollinaris and his sect, see Socrates, l. i, c. 36, l. iii.  
19 16 Sozomenus, l. v, c. 18; l. v, c. 27 Theodoret, l. v, c. 10, l. iii.  
20 *Émile Mont, Mémoires Ecclesiastiques*, tom. vi, p. 602-655. Note  
21 780-791 in *l'Asi Yenne*, 1772. The contemporary saints always  
22 mention the bishop of Laodicea as a friend and brother. The style  
23 of the more recent historians is harsh and hostile: yet Philostorgus  
24 compares him (l. vi, c. 11-15) to Basil and Gregory.

affected the rigour of geometrical demonstration, his commentaries revealed the literal and allegorical sense of the Scriptures. A mystery, which had long floated in the looseness of popular belief, was defined by his perverse diligence in a technical form; and he first proclaimed the memorable words, "One incarnate nature of Christ," which are still re-echoed with hostile clamours in the churches of Asia, Egypt, and Æthiopia. He taught that the Godhead was united or mingled with the body of a man; and that the *Logos*, the eternal wisdom, supplied in the flesh the place and office of an human soul. Yet as the profound doctor had been terrified at his own rashness, Apollinaris was heard to mutter some faint accents of excuse and explanation. He acquiesced in the old distinction of the Greek philosophers, between the rational and sensitive soul of man; that he might reserve the *Logos* for intellectual functions, and employ the subordinate human principle in the meaner actions of animal life. With the moderate Doctees, he revered Mary as the spiritual, rather than as the carnal, mother of Christ, whose body either came from heaven, impassible and incorruptible, or was absorbed, and as it were transformed, into the essence of the Deity. The system of Apollinaris was strenuously encountered by the Asiatic and Syrian divines, whose schools are honoured by the names of Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostom, and tainted by those of Diodorus, Theodore, and Nestorius. But the person of the aged bishop of Laodicea, his character and dignity, remained inviolate; and his rivals, since we may not suspect them of the weakness of toleration, were astonished, perhaps, by the novelty of the argument, and diffident of the final sentence of the Catholic church. Her judgment at length inclined in their favour; the heresy of Apollinaris was condemned, and the separate congregations of his disciples were proscribed by the Imperial laws. But his principles were secretly entertained in the monasteries of Egypt, and his enemies felt the hatred of Theophilus and Cyril, the successive patriarchs of Alexandria.

### V. Orthodox consent and verbal disputes

V. The groveling Ebionite, and the phantastic Docetes, were rejected and forgotten: the recent zeal against the errors of Apollinaris reduced the Catholics to a seeming agreement with the double nature of Cerinthus. But instead of a temporary and occasional alliance, *they* established, and *we* still embrace, the substantial, indissoluble, and everlasting union of a perfect God with a perfect man, of the second person of the Trinity with a reasonable soul and human flesh. In the beginning of the fifth century, the *unity* of the *two natures* was the prevailing doctrine of the church. On all sides, it was contested, that the mode of their co-existence could neither be represented by our ideas, nor expressed by our language. Yet a secret and incurable discord was cherished, between those who were most

apprehensive of confounding, and those who were most fearful of separating, the divinity, and the humanity, of Christ. Impelled by religious frenzy, they fled with adverse haste from the error which they mutually deemed most destructive of truth and salvation. On either hand they were anxious to guard, they were jealous to defend, the union and the distinction of the two natures, and to invent such forms of speech, such symbols of doctrine, as were least susceptible of doubt or ambiguity. The poverty of ideas and language tempted them to ransack art and nature for every possible comparison, and each comparison misled their fancy in the explanation of an incomparable mystery. In the polemic microscope, an atom is enlarged to a monster, and each party was skilful to exaggerate the absurd or impious conclusions that might be extorted from the principles of their adversaries. To escape from each other, they wandered through many a dark and devious thicket, till they were astonished by the horrid phantoms of Cérinthus and Apollinaris, who guarded the opposite issues of the theological labyrinth. As soon as they beheld the twilight of sense and heresy, they started, measured back their steps, and were again involved in the gloom of impenetrable orthodoxy. To purge themselves from the guilt or reproach of damnable error, they disavowed their consequences, explained their principles, excused their indiscretions, and unanimously pronounced the sounds of concord and faith. Yet a latent and almost invisible spark still lurked among the embers of controversy: by the breath of prejudice and passion, it was quickly kindled to a mighty flame, and the verbal disputes<sup>17</sup> of the Oriental sects have shaken the pillars of the church and state.

The name of CYRIL of Alexandria is famous in controversial story, and the title of *saint* is a mark that his opinions and his party have finally prevailed. In the house of his uncle, the archbishop Theophilus, he imbibed the orthodox lessons of zeal and deminion, and five years of his youth were profitably spent in the adjacent monasteries of Nitria. Under the tuition of the abbot Serapion, he applied himself to ecclesiastical studies with such indefatigable ardour, that in the course of *one* sleepless night he has perused the four Gospels, the Catholic epistles, and the epistle to the Romans. Origen he detested; but the writings of Clemens and Dionysius, of Athanasius and Basil, were continually in his hands: by the theory and practice of dispute, his faith was confirmed and his wit was sharpened; he extended round his cell the cobwebs of scholastic theology, and meditated the works of allegory and metaphysics, whose remains, in seven verbose folios, now peaceably slumber by the side of their rivals.<sup>21</sup> Cyril prayed and fasted in the desert, but his thoughts (it is the reproach

Cyril, patriarch  
of Alexandria.  
A. D. 412,  
Oct 18. —  
A. D. 444,  
June 27.

19 I appeal to the confession of two Oriental prelates, Gregory Abouphaudus the facile prince of the East, and Paul the Syrian metro, citizen of Damascus, whose Assommo-Bahadur Orientalism is published in p. 241, tom. ii, p. 11, No. 1, that the Maronites, Job, Nestorians, Nestorians, agree in the fact, and differ only in the manner of their belief and religious doctrine. That is, the Maronites, Job, Nestorians, Job, Nestorians, are united in the fact, but differ in the manner of their belief and religious doctrine.

charitable judgment: but the zeal of Petrus is loud and angry, and the moderation of Paul is calmed on a while.

the modern one. Platon is convinced that a well-per-



affected the rigour of geometrical demonstration, his commentaries revealed the literal and allegorical sense of the Scriptures. A mystery, which had long floated in the looseness of popular belief, was defined by his perverse diligence in a technical form; and he first proclaimed the memorable words, "One incarnate nature of Christ," which are still re-echoed with hostile clamours in the churches of Asia, Egypt, and Ethiopia. He taught that the Godhead was united or mingled with the body of a man; and that the *Logos*, the eternal wisdom, supplied in the flesh the place and office of an human soul. Yet as the profound doctor had been terrified at his own rashness, Apollinaris was heard to mutter some faint accents of excuse and explanation. He acquiesced in the old distinction of the Greek philosophers, between the rational and sensitive soul of man; that he might re-serve the *Logos* for intellectual functions, and employ the subordinate human principle in the meaner actions of animal life. With the moderate Docetes, he revered Mary as the spiritual, rather than as the carnal, mother of Christ, whose body either came from heaven, impassible and incorruptible, or was absorbed, and as it were transformed, into the essence of the Deity. The system of Apollinaris was strenuously encountered by the Asiatic and Syrian divines, whose schools are honoured by the names of Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostom, and tainted by those of Diodorus, Theodore, and Nestorius. But the person of the aged bishop of Laodicea, his character and dignity, remained inviolate; and his rivals, since we may not suspect them of the weakness of toleration, were astonished, perhaps, by the novelty of the argument, and diffident of the final sentence of the Catholic church. Her judgment at length inclined in their favour; the heresy of Apollinaris was condemned, and the separate congregations of his disciples were proscribed by the Imperial laws. But his principles were secretly entertained in the monasteries of Egypt, and his enemies felt the hatred of Theophilus and Cyril, the successive patriarchs of Alexandria.

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of a friend<sup>21</sup>) were still fixed on the world; and the call of Theophilus, who summoned him to the tumult of cities and synods, was too readily obeyed by the aspiring hermit. With the approbation of his uncle, he assumed the office, and acquired the fame, of a popular preacher. His comely person adorned the pulpit, the harmony of his voice resounded in the cathedral, his friends were stationed to lead or second the applause of the congregation,<sup>22</sup> and the hasty notes of the scribes preserved his discourses, which, in their effect, though not in their composition, might be compared with those of the Athenian orators. The death of Theophilus expanded and realised the hopes of his nephew. The clergy of Alexandria was divided; the soldiers and their general supported the claims of the archdeacon; but a resistless multitude, with voices and with hands, asserted the cause of their favourite; and, after a period of thirty-nine years, Cyril was seated on the throne of Athanasius.<sup>23</sup>

The prize was not unworthy of his ambition. At a distance from the court, and at the head of an immense capital, the patriarch, as he was now styled, of Alexandria had gradually usurped the state and authority of a civil magistrate. The public and private charities of the city were managed by his discretion; his voice inflamed or appeased the passions of the multitude; his commands were blindly obeyed by his numerous and fanatic *parabolani*,<sup>24</sup> familiarised in their daily office with scenes of death; and the prefects of Egypt were awed or provoked by the temporal power of these Christian pontiffs. Ardent in the prosecution of heresy, Cyril auspiciously opened his reign by oppressing the Novatians, the most innocent and harmless of the sectaries. The interdiction of their religious worship appeared in his eyes a just and meritorious act; and he confiscated their holy vessel, without apprehending the guilt of sacrilege. The toleration, and even the privileges of the Jews, who had multiplied to the number of forty thousand, were secured by the laws of the Cæsars and Ptolemies, and a long prescription of seven hundred years since the foundation of Alexandria. Without any legal sentence, without any royal mandate, the patriarch, at the dawn of day, led a seditious multitude to the attack of the synagogues. Unarmed and unprepared, the Jews were incapable of resistance; their houses of prayer were levelled with the ground, and the episcopal warrior, after rewarding his troops with the plunder of their goods, expelled from the city the remnant of the unbelieving nation. Perhaps he might plead the insolence of their pros-

perity, and their deadly hatred of the Christians, whose blood they had recently shed in a malicious or accidental tumult. Such crimes would have deserved the animadversion of the magistrate; but in this promiscuous outrage, the innocent were confounded with the guilty, and Alexandria was impoverished by the loss of a wealthy and industrious colony. The zeal of Cyril exposed him to the penalties of the Julian law; but in a feeble government, and a superstitious age, he was secure of impunity, and even of praise. Orestes complained; but his just complaints were too quickly forgotten by the ministers of Theodosius, and too deeply remembered by a priest who affected to pardon, and continued to hate, the præfect of Egypt. As he passed through the streets, his chariot was assailed by a band of five hundred of the Nitrian monks; his guards fled from the wild beasts of the desert; his protestations that he was a Christian and a Catholic, were answered by a volley of stones, and the face of Orestes was covered with blood. The loyal citizens of Alexandria hastened to his rescue; he instantly satisfied his justice and revenge against the monk by whose hand he had been wounded, and Ammonius expired under the rod of the lictor. At the command of Cyril his body was raised from the ground, and transported, in solemn procession, to the cathedral; the name of Ammonius was changed to that of Thaumastius the *wonderful*; his tomb was decorated with the trophies of martyrdom, and the patriarch ascended the pulpit to celebrate the magnanimity of an assassin and a rebel. Such honours might incite the faithful to combat and die under the banners of the saint; and he soon prompted, or accepted, the sacrifice of a virgin, who professed the religion of the Greeks, and cultivated the friendship of Orestes. Hypatia the daughter of Theon the mathematician,<sup>25</sup> was initiated in her father's studies: her learned comments have elucidated the geometry of Apollonius and Diophantus, and she publicly taught, both at Athens and Alexandria, the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. In the bloom of beauty, and in the maturity of wisdom, the modest maid refused her lovers and instructed her disciples; the persons most illustrious for their rank or merit were impatient to visit the female philosopher; and Cyril beheld, with a jealous eye, the gorgeous train of horses and slaves who crowded the door of her academy. A rumour was spread among the Christians that the daughter of Theon was the only obstacle to the reconciliation of the præfect and the archbishop; and that obstacle was speedily removed. On a fatal day, in the holy season of Lent, Hypatia was torn from her chariot, stripped naked, dragged to the

21 Of Iadref Pelusium (l. i. Epist. 23 p. 8). As the letter is not of the most creditable sort, Tilemont, less sincere than the Hollandists, affects a doubt whether *this* Cyril is the nephew of Theophilus (Mem. Eccles. tom. xiv. p. 218).

22. A *grammatikarion* is named by Socrates (l. vii. 13), ὁ κτερος δὲ ἀκροατὴ; τοῦ ἐπαικτοῦ Κυρ. λέγειται, καὶ περὶ τῆς κριτικῆς ἐν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις αὐτοῦ κτερεῖται ἢ σ' ὡς βιοτάτος.

23 See the youth and promotion of Cyril, in Socrates (l. vii. c. 7) and Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 165, 166.) The Abbé Renaudot drew his materials from the Arabic history of Severus, bishop of Hermopolis Magna, or Ashmunein, in the 11th century, who can never be trusted, unless our assent is extorted by the internal evidence of facts.

24 The *Paraboli* of Alexandria were a charitable corporation, instituted during the plague of Gallienus, to visit the sick and to bury

the dead. They gradually enlarged, abused, and sold the privileges of their order. Their outrageous conduct during the reign of Cyril provoked the emperor to deprive the patriarch of their nomination, and to re-train their number to five or six hundred. But these restraints were transient and ineffectual. See the Theodosian Code, l. xvi. tit. ii. and Thuermont, *Mém. Eclaircis.* tom. x. p. 178.

and Eusebius, *ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης τῆς πόλεως* (1.1.1), and Theodoret, *ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης τῆς πόλεως* (tom. cit. p. 21), and the *ἱστορία* and original *ἱστορία* (1.1.1), and the *ἱστορία* serves, that she was persecuted *ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης τῆς πόλεως*, and an epigram in the Greek Anthology (1.1.1, p. 139, edit. Brodies) celebrates her knowledge and abstinence. She is honourably mentioned (Epist. 10, 15, 16, 37–80, 124, 135, 153) by her friend and disciple the philosophic bishop Synesius.



instrument, the tabernacle of his Godhead. At these blasphemous sounds, the pillars of the sanctuary were shaken. The unsuccessful competitors of Nestorius indulged their pious or personal resentment, the Byzantine clergy was secretly displeased with the intrusion of a stranger: whatever is superstitious or absurd, might claim the protection of the monks; and the people was interested in the glory of their virgin patroness.<sup>38</sup> The sermons of the archbishop, and the service of the altar, were disturbed by seditious clamour; his authority and doctrine were renounced by separate congregations; every wind scattered round the empire the leaves of controversy; and the voice of the combatants on a sonorous theatre re-echoed in the cells of Palestine and Egypt. It was the duty of Cyril to enlighten the zeal and ignorance of his innumerable monks: in the school of Alexandria, he had imbibed and professed the incarnation of one nature; and the successor of Athanasius consulted his pride and ambition, when he rose in arms against another Arius, more formidable and more guilty, on the second throne of the hierarchy. After a short correspondence, in which the rival prelates disguised their hatred in the hollow language of respect and charity, the patriarch of Alexandria denounced to the prince and people, to the East and to the West, the damnable errors of the Byzantine pontiff. From the East, more especially from Antioch, he obtained the ambiguous counsels of toleration and silence, which were addressed to both parties while they favoured the cause of Nestorius. But the Vatican received with open arms the mes-engers of Egypt. The vanity of Celestine was flattered by the appeal; and the partial version of a monk decided the faith of the pope, who, with his Latin clergy, was ignorant of the language, the arts, and the theology of the Greeks. At the head of an Italian synod, Celestine weighed the merits of the cause, approved the creed of Cyril, condemned the sentiments and person of Nestorius, degraded the heretic from his episcopal dignity, allowed a respite of ten days for recantation and penance, and delegated to his enemy the execution of this rash and illegal sentence. But the patriarch of Alexandria, whilst he dated the thunders of a god, exposed the errors and passions of a mortal; and his twelve<sup>39</sup> anathemas still torture the orthodox slaves, who adore the memory of a saint, without forfeiting their allegiance to the synod of Chalcedon. These bold assertions are indelibly tinged with the colours of the Apollinarian heresy; but the serious, and

perhaps the sincere, professions of Nestorius have satisfied the wiser and less partial theologians of the present times.<sup>40</sup>

Yet neither the emperor nor the primate of the East were disposed to obey the mandate of an Italian priest; and a synod of the Catholic or rather of the Greek church, was unanimously demanded as the sole remedy that could appease or decide this ecclesiastical quarrel.<sup>41</sup> Ephesus, on all sides accessible by sea and land, was chosen for the place, the festival of Pentecost for the day, of the meeting; a writ of summons was despatched to each metropolitan, and a guard was stationed to protect and confine the fathers till they should settle the mysteries of heaven, and the faith of the earth. Nestorius appeared not as a criminal, but as a judge; he depended on the weight rather than the number of his prelates, and his sturdy slaves from the baths of Zeuxippus were armed for every service of injury or defence. But his adversary Cyril was more powerful in the weapons both of the flesh and of the spirit. Disobedient to the letter, or at least to the meaning, of the royal summons, he was attended by fifty Egyptian bishops, who expected from their patriarch's nod the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He had contracted an intimate alliance with Memnon, bishop of Ephesus. The despotic primate of Asia disposed of the ready succours of thirty or forty episcopal votes; a crowd of peasants, the slaves of the church, was poured into the city to support with blows and clamours a metaphysical argument; and the people zealously asserted the honour of the Virgin, whose body reposed within the walls of Ephesus.<sup>42</sup> The fleet which had transported Cyril from Alexandria was laden with the riches of Egypt; and he disembarked a numerous body of mariners, slaves, and fanatics, enlisted with blind obedience under the banner of St. Mark and the mother of God. The fathers, and even the guards, of the council were awed by this martial array; the adversaries of Cyril and Mary were insulted in the streets, or threatened in their houses; his eloquence and liberality made a daily increase in the number of his adherents; and the Egyptian soon computed that he might command the attendance and the voices of two hundred bishops.<sup>43</sup> But the author of the twelve anathemas foresaw and dreaded the opposition of John of Antioch, who, with a small, though respectable, train of metropolitans and divines, was advancing by slow journeys from the distant capital of the East. Inpatient of a delay which he stigmatised as voluntary and

First council  
of Ephesus.  
A. D. 431.  
June—  
October.

<sup>38</sup> See DuRoi, C. P. Christiani, l. i. p. 30, &c.

<sup>39</sup> Council tom. iii. p. 115. They have never been directly approved by the church (Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. iv. p. 768-772). I should not put the words of rage and indignity which Petau seems to be agitated in the wish to lack of his *Deum et Theologum*.

<sup>40</sup> Such as the rational flattery and love, Variar. Letam. Causa in Prefat. c. ii. p. 11-25; and I should have the universal scholar of the 18th century, De Tillemont, c. 26.

His free sentence is contained in the *Actes* tom. i. p. 115-117. I should not put the words of rage and indignity which Petau seems to be agitated in the wish to lack of his *Deum et Theologum*. and three more respectable notices will not easily be found. Asseman, a learned and modest man can hardly discern (Bibliothec. Orient. tom. iv. p. 139-221) the guilt and error of the Nestorians.

<sup>41</sup> The origin and progress of the Nestorian controversy, till the

synod of Ephesus, may be found in Socrates (l. vii. c. 73.), Evagrius (l. i. c. 1, 2), Liberatus (l. ix. c. 1-4), the original Acts (Council tom. iii. p. 11-90), edit. Vossius, 1728, the Annals of Baronius and Petau, and the faithful collections of Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. iv. p. 767-772).

<sup>42</sup> The Christians of the four first centuries, were ignorant of the death and burial of Mary. The tradition of Ephesus is affirmed by the synod (act. 2) *καὶ ἡ κοίμησις καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τῆς θεοτόκου*. *Acta* c. 1. Council tom. iii. p. 1102. Yet it has been superseded by the church of Jerusalem, and her empty sepulchre, as it was shown to the pilgrims, produced the tale of her resurrection and assumption, in which the Greek and Latin churches have piously acquiesced. See Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. iv. p. 1108.) exhibit

of the bishops of Egypt to their patriarch,

culpable,<sup>44</sup> Cyril announced the opening of the synod sixteen days after the festival of Pentecost. Nestorius, who depended on the near approach of his Eastern friends, persisted, like his predecessor Chrysostom, to disclaim the jurisdiction, and to disobey the summons, of his enemies; they hastened his trial, and his accuser presided in the seat of judgment. Sixty-eight bishops, twenty-two of metropolitan rank, defended his cause by a modest and temperate protest: they were excluded from the councils of their brethren. Candidian, in the emperor's name, requested a delay of four days: the profane magistrate was driven with outrage and insult from the assembly of the saints. The whole of this momentous transaction was crowded into the compass of a summer's day: the bishops delivered their separate opinions; but the uniformity of style reveals the influence or the hand of a master, who has been accused of corrupting the public evidence of their acts and subscriptions.<sup>45</sup> Without a dissenting voice, they recognised in the epistles of Cyril, the Nicene creed and the doctrine of the fathers; but the partial extracts from the letters and homilies of Nestorius were interrupted by curses and anathemas; and the heretic was degraded from his episcopal and ecclesiastical dignity. The sentence, maliciously inscribed to the new Judas, was affixed and proclaimed in the streets of Ephesus: the weary prelates, as they issued from the church of the mother of God, were saluted as her champions; and her victory was celebrated by the illuminations, the songs, and the tumult of the night.

Condemnation  
of Nestorius.  
June 22.

On the fifth day, the triumph was clouded by the arrival and indignation of the Eastern bishops.

In a chamber of the inn, before he had wiped the dust from his shoes, John of Antioch gave audience to Candidian the Imperial minister; who related his ineffectual efforts to prevent or annul the hasty violence of the Egyptian. With equal haste and violence, the Oriental synod of fifty bishops degraded Cyril and Memnon from their episcopal honours, condemned, in the twelve anathemas, the purest venom of the Apollinarian heresy, and described the Alexandrian primate as a monster, born and educated for the destruction of the church.<sup>46</sup> His throne was distant and inaccessible; but they instantly resolved to bestow on the flock of Ephesus the blessing of a faithful shepherd. By the vigilance of Memnon, the churches were shut against them, and a strong garrison was thrown into the cathedral. The troops, under the command of Candidian, advanced to the assault; the out-guards were routed

and put to the sword, but the place was impregnable; the besiegers retired; their retreat was pursued by a vigorous sally; they lost their horses, and many of the soldiers were dangerously wounded with clubs and stones. Ephesus, the city of the Virgin, was drenched with rage and clamour, with sedition and blood; the rival synods dated anathemas and excommunication from their spiritual engines; and the court of Theodosius was perplexed by the adverse and contradictory narratives of the Syrian and Egyptian factions. During a busy period of three months, the emperor tried every method, except the most effectual means of indifference and contempt, to reconcile this theological quarrel. He attempted to remove or intimidate the leaders by a common sentence of acquittal or condemnation; he invested his representatives at Ephesus with ample power and military force: he summoned from either party eight chosen deputies to a free and candid conference in the neighbourhood of the capital, far from the contagion of popular frenzy. But the Orientals refused to yield, and the Catholics, proud of their numbers and of their Latin allies, rejected all terms of union or toleration. The patience of the meek Theodosius was provoked, and he dissolved in anger this episcopal tumult, which at the distance of thirteen centuries assumes the venerable aspect of the third œcumenical council.<sup>47</sup> "God is my witness," said the pious prince, "that I am not the author "of this confusion. His providence will discern "and punish the guilty. Return to your provinces, and may your private virtues repair the "mischiefs and scandal of your meeting." They returned to their provinces; but the same passions which had distracted the synod of Ephesus were diffused over the Eastern world. After three obstinate and equal campaigns, John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria condescended to explain and embrace; but their seeming reunion must be imputed rather to prudence than to reason, to the mutual lassitude rather than to the Christian charity of the patriarchs.

The Byzantine pontiff had instilled into the royal ear a baleful prejudice against the character and conduct of his Egyptian rival. An epistle of menace and invective,<sup>45</sup> which accompanied the summons, accused him as a busy, insolent, and envious priest, who perplexed the simplicity of the faith, violated the peace of the church and state, and, by his artful and separate addresses to the wife and sister of Theodosius, presumed to suppose, or to scatter, the seeds of discord in the Imperial family. At the stern command of his sovereign, Cyril had repaired to Ephesus,

Victore of  
A. D. 431.  
C. 171. 435

44. Cird or ecclesiastical in procession with the Bishop, and so till the 18th of May. Folios was the duration of the journey, and two days from my last day of travel, and repose. The march of Nemo in the morning, and so on above 200 paces, or less, and then returned to the camp from ancient and modern monuments, of which there are many of speed in an array, and so on. The first of the march, and so on, is accompanied by the count of the march, and so on. p. 79.

[illegible]

sensory information, potential enemies entertain of each other's merit (Gibson 1977, p. 114).

[illegible][illegible]



where he was resisted, threatened, and confined, by the magistrates in the interest of Nestorius and the Orientals; who assembled the troops of Lydia and Ionia to suppress the fanatic and disorderly train of the patriarch. Without expecting the royal licence, he escaped from his guards, precipitately embarked, deserted the imperfect synod, and retired to his episcopal fortress of safety and independence. But his artful emissaries, both in the court and city, successfully laboured to appease the resentment, and to conciliate the favour, of the emperor. The feeble son of Arcadius was alternately swayed by his wife and sister, by the eunuchs and women of the palace: superstition and avarice were their ruling passions; and the orthodox chiefs were assiduous in their endeavours to alarm the former, and to gratify the latter. Constantinople and the suburbs were sanctified with frequent monasteries, and the holy abbots, Dalmatius and Eutyches,<sup>49</sup> had devoted their zeal and fidelity to the cause of Cyril, the worship of Mary, and the unity of Christ. From the first moment of their monastic life, they had never mingled with the world, or trod the profane ground of the city. But in this awful moment of the danger of the church, their vow was superseded by a more sublime and indispensable duty. At the head of a long order of monks and hermits, who carried burning tapers in their hands, and chanted litanies to the mother of God, they proceeded from their monasteries to the palace. The people was edified and inflamed by this extraordinary spectacle, and the trembling monarch listened to the prayers and adjurations of the saints, who boldly pronounced, that none could hope for salvation, unless they embraced the person and the creed of the orthodox successor of Athanasius. At the same time every avenue of the throne was assaulted with gold. Under the decent names of *eulogies* and *benedictions*, the courtiers of both sexes were bribed according to the measure of their power and rapaciousness. But their incessant demands despoiled the sanctuaries of Constantinople and Alexandria; and the authority of the patriarch was unable to silence the just murmur of his clergy, that a debt of sixty thousand pounds had already been contracted to support the expense of this scandalous corruption.<sup>51</sup> Pulcheria, who relieved her brother from the weight of an empire, was the firmest pillar of orthodoxy; and so intimate was the alliance between the thunders of the synod and the whispers of the court, that Cyril was assured of success if he could displace one eunuch, and substitute

another in the favour of Theodosius. Yet the Egyptian could not boast of a glorious or decisive victory. The emperor, with unaccustomed firmness, adhered to his promise of protecting the innocence of the Oriental bishops; and Cyrd softened his anathemas, and confessed, with ambiguity and reluctance, a twofold nature of Christ, before he was permitted to satiate his revenge against the unfortunate Nestorius.<sup>51</sup>

The rash and obstinate Nestorius, before the end of the synod, was oppressed by Cyril, betrayed by the court, and faintly supported by his Eastern friends. A sentiment of fear or indignation prompted him, while it was yet time, to affect the glory of a voluntary abdication: <sup>52</sup> his wish, or at least his request, was readily granted; he was conducted with honour from Ephesus to his old monastery of Antioch; and, after a short pause, his successors, Maximian and Proclus, were acknowledged as the lawful bi-shops of Constantinople. But in the silence of his cell, the degraded patriarch could no longer resume the innocence and security of a private monk. The past he regretted, he was discontented with the present, and the future he had reason to dread: the Oriental bishops successively disengaged their cause from his unpopular name, and each day decreased the number of the schismatics who revered Nestorius as the confessor of the faith. After a residence at Antioch of four years, the land of Theodosius subscribed an edict, <sup>53</sup> which ranked him with Simon the magician, proscribed his opinions and followers, condemned his writings to the flames, and banished his person first to Petra in Arabia, and at length to Oasis, one of the *islands* of the Libyan desert. <sup>54</sup> Secluded from the church and from the world, the exile was still pursued by the rage of bigotry and war. A wandering tribe of the Blemmyes or Nubians invaded his solitary prison: in their retreat they dismissed a crowd of useless captives; but no sooner had Nestorius reached the banks of the Nile, than he would gladly have escaped from a Roman and orthodox city to the milder servitude of the savages. His flight was punished as a new crime: the soul of the patriarch inspired the civil and ecclesiastical powers of Egypt; the magistrates, the soldiers, the monks, devoutly tortured the enemy of Christ and St. Cyril: and, as far as the confines of Æthiopia, the heretic was alternately dragged and recalled, till his aged body was broken by the hardships and accidents of these reiterated journeys. Yet his mind was still independent and erect: the president of Thebaï

49 Eutyches, the heresiarch Eutyches, is honourably named by Cyril as a friend, a saint, and the strenuous defender of the faith. His brother, the abbot Dalmatius, is likewise employed to laud the emperor and all his chamberlains *terribile conjuncture*. Synodicon, c. 203 in *Coenob. tom. iv.* p. 167.

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<sup>52</sup> ἄντων τε αὐθεντίας, ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸ δικαίον ἐπαγγελίᾳ ἀποστασίου. Εὐαγγ. l. c. 7. The original letters in the Synodicon, 15, 21, 25, 27, consist of the *apostasia* of a voluntary resignation, which is asserted by Ebed-Jesu, a Nestorian writer, apud Asseman. *Biblioth. Oriental* p. 133 p. 210, 502.

17 See the Imperial letters in the Acts of the Synod of Ephesus (150) and in p. 170-171. The others, none of *Symeon*, which was addressed to the emperor, *Flavius Theodosius* - *διδασκαλικός*, was intended for an emperor *Flavius* *Théodosius*, *αὐτοκράτορ* *Θεοδοσίος* *ταυταῖος* - *αὐτοκράτορ* *Θεοδοσίος*, *ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου βασιλεὺς*; *Théodosius*, *ἀντὶ τοῦ κόσμου*; *αὐτοκράτορ*. Yet those were Christians? who differed only in their belief.

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was awed by his pastoral letters ; he survived the Catholic tyrant of Alexandria, and, after sixteen years' banishment, the synod of Chalcedon would perhaps have restored him to the honour, or at least to the communion, of the church. The death of Nestorius prevented his obedience to their welcome summons ;<sup>55</sup> and his disease might afford some colour to the scandalous report, that his tongue, the organ of blasphemy, had been eaten by the worms. He was buried in a city of Upper Egypt, known by the names of Chemmis, or Panopolis, or Akmim ;<sup>56</sup> but the immortal malice of the Jacobites has persevered for ages to east stones against his sepulchre, and to propagate the foolish tradition, that it was never watered by the rain of heaven, which equally descends on the righteous and the ungodly.<sup>57</sup> Humanity may drop a tear on the fate of Nestorius ; yet justice must observe, that he suffered the persecution which he had approved and inflicted.<sup>58</sup>

The death of the Alexandrian primate, after a reign of thirty-two years, abandoned the Catholics to the intemperance of zeal and the abuse of victory.<sup>59</sup> The *monophysite* doctrine (one incarnate nature) was rigorously preached in the churches of Egypt and the monasteries of the East; the primitive creed of Apollinaris was protected by the sanctity of Cyril; and the name of EUTYCHES, his venerable friend, has been applied to the sect most adverse to the Syrian heresy of Nestorius. His rival Eutyches was the abbot, or archimandrite, or superior of three hundred monks; but the opinions of a simple and illiterate recluse might have expired in the cell, where he had slept above seventy years, if the resentment or indiscretion of Flavian, the Byzantine pontiff, had not exposed the scandal to the eyes of the Christian world. His domestic synod was instantly convened, their proceedings were sullied with clamour and artifice, and the aged heretic was surprised into a seeming confession, that Christ had not derived his body from the substance of the Virgin Mary. From their partial decree, Eutyches appealed to a general council; and his cause was vigorously asserted by his godson Chrysaphius, the reigning eunuch of the palace, and his accomplice Dioscorus, who had succeeded to the throne, the creed, the talents, and the vices of the nephew of Theophilus,

Second council of Ephesus.  
A. D. 449,  
Aug. 5-11.

55 The invitation of Nestorius to the Synod of Chalcedon, as related by *Sozomenus*, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.1.2.4, 4.1.2.5, 4.1.2.6, 4.1.2.7, 4.1.2.8, 4.1.2.9, 4.1.2.10, 4.1.2.11, 4.1.2.12, 4.1.2.13, 4.1.2.14, 4.1.2.15, 4.1.2.16, 4.1.2.17, 4.1.2.18, 4.1.2.19, 4.1.2.20, 4.1.2.21, 4.1.2.22, 4.1.2.23, 4.1.2.24, 4.1.2.25, 4.1.2.26, 4.1.2.27, 4.1.2.28, 4.1.2.29, 4.1.2.30, 4.1.2.31, 4.1.2.32, 4.1.2.33, 4.1.2.34, 4.1.2.35, 4.1.2.36, 4.1.2.37, 4.1.2.38, 4.1.2.39, 4.1.2.40, 4.1.2.41, 4.1.2.42, 4.1.2.43, 4.1.2.44, 4.1.2.45, 4.1.2.46, 4.1.2.47, 4.1.2.48, 4.1.2.49, 4.1.2.50, 4.1.2.51, 4.1.2.52, 4.1.2.53, 4.1.2.54, 4.1.2.55, 4.1.2.56, 4.1.2.57, 4.1.2.58, 4.1.2.59, 4.1.2.60, 4.1.2.61, 4.1.2.62, 4.1.2.63, 4.1.2.64, 4.1.2.65, 4.1.2.66, 4.1.2.67, 4.1.2.68, 4.1.2.69, 4.1.2.70, 4.1.2.71, 4.1.2.72, 4.1.2.73, 4.1.2.74, 4.1.2.75, 4.1.2.76, 4.1.2.77, 4.1.2.78, 4.1.2.79, 4.1.2.80, 4.1.2.81, 4.1.2.82, 4.1.2.83, 4.1.2.84, 4.1.2.85, 4.1.2.86, 4.1.2.87, 4.1.2.88, 4.1.2.89, 4.1.2.90, 4.1.2.91, 4.1.2.92, 4.1.2.93, 4.1.2.94, 4.1.2.95, 4.1.2.96, 4.1.2.97, 4.1.2.98, 4.1.2.99, 4.1.2.100, 4.1.2.101, 4.1.2.102, 4.1.2.103, 4.1.2.104, 4.1.2.105, 4.1.2.106, 4.1.2.107, 4.1.2.108, 4.1.2.109, 4.1.2.110, 4.1.2.111, 4.1.2.112, 4.1.2.113, 4.1.2.114, 4.1.2.115, 4.1.2.116, 4.1.2.117, 4.1.2.118, 4.1.2.119, 4.1.2.120, 4.1.2.121, 4.1.2.122, 4.1.2.123, 4.1.2.124, 4.1.2.125, 4.1.2.126, 4.1.2.127, 4.1.2.128, 4.1.2.129, 4.1.2.130, 4.1.2.131, 4.1.2.132, 4.1.2.133, 4.1.2.134, 4.1.2.135, 4.1.2.136, 4.1.2.137, 4.1.2.138, 4.1.2.139, 4.1.2.140, 4.1.2.141, 4.1.2.142, 4.1.2.143, 4.1.2.144, 4.1.2.145, 4.1.2.146, 4.1.2.147, 4.1.2.148, 4.1.2.149, 4.1.2.150, 4.1.2.151, 4.1.2.152, 4.1.2.153, 4.1.2.154, 4.1.2.155, 4.1.2.156, 4.1.2.157, 4.1.2.158, 4.1.2.159, 4.1.2.160, 4.1.2.161, 4.1.2.162, 4.1.2.163, 4.1.2.164, 4.1.2.165, 4.1.2.166, 4.1.2.167, 4.1.2.168, 4.1.2.169, 4.1.2.170, 4.1.2.171, 4.1.2.172, 4.1.2.173, 4.1.2.174, 4.1.2.175, 4.1.2.176, 4.1.2.177, 4.1.2.178, 4.1.2.179, 4.1.2.180, 4.1.2.181, 4.1.2.182, 4.1.2.183, 4.1.2.184, 4.1.2.185, 4.1.2.186, 4.1.2.187, 4.1.2.188, 4.1.2.189, 4.1.2.190, 4.1.2.191, 4.1.2.192, 4.1.2.193, 4.1.2.194, 4.1.2.195, 4.1.2.196, 4.1.2.197, 4.1.2.198, 4.1.2.199, 4.1.2.200, 4.1.2.201, 4.1.2.202, 4.1.2.203, 4.1.2.204, 4.1.2.205, 4.1.2.206, 4.1.2.207, 4.1.2.208, 4.1.2.209, 4.1.2.210, 4.1.2.211, 4.1.2.212, 4.1.2.213, 4.1.2.214, 4.1.2.215, 4.1.2.216, 4.1.2.217, 4.1.2.218, 4.1.2.219, 4.1.2.220, 4.1.2.221, 4.1.2.222, 4.1.2.223, 4.1.2.224, 4.1.2.225, 4.1.2.226, 4.1.2.227, 4.1.2.228, 4.1.2.229, 4.1.2.230, 4.1.2.231, 4.1.2.232, 4.1.2.233, 4.1.2.234, 4.1.2.235, 4.1.2.236, 4.1.2.237, 4.1.2.238, 4.1.2.239, 4.1.2.240, 4.1.2.241, 4.1.2.242, 4.1.2.243, 4.1.2.244, 4.1.2.245, 4.1.2.246, 4.1.2.247, 4.1.2.248, 4.1.2.249, 4.1.2.250, 4.1.2.251, 4.1.2.252, 4.1.2.253, 4.1.2.254, 4.1.2.255, 4.1.2.256, 4.1.2.257, 4.1.2.258, 4.1.2.259, 4.1.2.260, 4.1.2.261, 4.1.2.262, 4.1.2.263, 4.1.2.264, 4.1.2.265, 4.1.2.266, 4.1.2.267, 4.1.2.268, 4.1.2.269, 4.1.2.270, 4.1.2.271, 4.1.2.272, 4.1.2.273, 4.1.2.274, 4.1.2.275, 4.1.2.276, 4.1.2.277, 4.1.2.278, 4.1.2.279, 4.1.2.280, 4.1.2.281, 4.1.2.282, 4.1.2.283, 4.1.2.284, 4.1.2.285, 4.1.2.286, 4.1.2.287, 4.1.2.288, 4.1.2.289, 4.1.2.290, 4.1.2.291, 4.1.2.292, 4.1.2.293, 4.1.2.294, 4.1.2.295, 4.1.2.296, 4.1.2.297, 4.1.2.298, 4.1.2.299, 4.1.2.300, 4.1.2.301, 4.1.2.302, 4.1.2.303, 4.1.2.304, 4.1.2.305, 4.1.2.306, 4.1.2.307, 4.1.2.308, 4.1.2.309, 4.1.2.310, 4.1.2.311, 4.1.2.312, 4.1.2.313, 4.1.2.314, 4.1.2.315, 4.1.2.316, 4.1.2.317, 4.1.2.318, 4.1.2.319, 4.1.2.320, 4.1.2.321, 4.1.2.322, 4.1.2.323, 4.1.2.324, 4.1.2.325, 4.1.2.326, 4.1.2.327, 4.1.2.328, 4.1.2.329, 4.1.2.330, 4.1.2.331, 4.1.2.332, 4.1.2.333, 4.1.2.334, 4.1.2.335, 4.1.2.336, 4.1.2.337, 4.1.2.338, 4.1.2.339, 4.1.2.340, 4.1.2.341, 4.1.2.342, 4.1.2.343, 4.1.2.344, 4.1.2.345, 4.1.2.346, 4.1.2.347, 4.1.2.348, 4.1.2.349, 4.1.2.350, 4.1.2.351, 4.1.2.352, 4.1.2.353, 4.1.2.354, 4.1.2.355, 4.1.2.356, 4.1.2.357, 4.1.2.358, 4.1.2.359, 4.1.2.360, 4.1.2.361, 4.1.2.362, 4.1.2.363, 4.1.2.364, 4.1.2.365, 4.1.2.366, 4.1.2.367, 4.1.2.368, 4.1.2.369, 4.1.2.370, 4.1.2.371, 4.1.2.372, 4.1.2.373, 4.1.2.374, 4.1.2.375, 4.1.2.376, 4.1.2.377, 4.1.2.378, 4.1.2.379, 4.1.2.380, 4.1.2.38

56 Consult D. Anville (Mémoires sur l'Égypte, p. 141), Pocock (Description of the East, vol. 1, p. 76), Abulfeda, (Description, p. 14), and his commentator Minshies (ibid., p. 78), and the Nubian Geographer (l. 12), who mentions, in the same context, the ruins and the sugar-cane of Aknato.

57 Eusebius (Aenel. tom. 1, p. 12) and Gregory for Ebedes, or Abulpharagius (Amenan, tom. 1, p. 516), represent the credulity of the xth and xth centuries.

59) Dixi Cyribum d'm viveret, auctoritate sua effi 1-2, de Fary eliaminus et Morophyitarum error in Nervum caupetret 16,33

metropolitans and ten bishops from each of the six dioceses of the Eastern empire: some exceptions of favour or merit enlarged the number to one hundred and thirty-five; and the Syrian Barsumas, as the chief and representative of the monks, was invited to sit and vote with the successors of the apostles. But the despotism of the Alexandrian patriarch again oppressed the freedom of debate: the same spiritual and carnal weapons were again drawn from the arsenals of Egypt; the Asiatic veterans, a band of archers, served under the orders of Dioscorus; and the more formidable monks, whose minds were inaccessible to reason or mercy, besieged the doors of the cathedral. The general, and, as it should seem, the unconstrained voice of the fathers, accepted the faith, and even the anathemas, of Cyril; and the heresy of the two natures was formally condemned in the persons and writings of the most learned Orientals. "May those who divide Christ be divided with the sword," may they be hewn in pieces, may they be burnt alive! were the charitable wishes of a Christian synod.<sup>60</sup> The innocence and sanctity of Eutyches were acknowledged without hesitation; but the prelates, more especially those of Thrace and Asia, were unwilling to depose their patriarch for the use, or even the abuse, of his lawful jurisdiction. They embraced the knees of Dioscorus, as he stood with a threatening aspect on the footstool of his throne, and conjured him to forgive the offences, and to respect the dignity, of his brother. "Do you mean to raise a sedition?" exclaimed the relentless tyrant. "Where are the officers?" At these words a furious multitude of monks and soldiers, with staves, and swords, and chains, burst into the church: the trembling bishops hid themselves behind the altar, or under the benches; and as they were not inspired with the zeal of martyrdom, they successively subscribed a blank paper, which was afterwards filled with the condemnation of the Byzantine pontiff. Flavian was instantly delivered to the wild beasts of this spiritual amphitheatre: the monks were stimulated by the voice and example of Barsumas to avenge the injuries of Christ: it is said that the patriarch of Alexandria reviled, and buffeted, and kicked, and trampled his brother of Constantinople:<sup>61</sup> it is certain, that the victim, before he could reach the place of his exile, expired on the third day, of the wounds and bruises which he had received at Ephesus. This second synod has been justly branded as a gang of rob-

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addition, was chanted in the cathedral by two adverse choirs, and when their lungs were exhausted, they had recourse to the more solid arguments of sticks and stones: the aggressors were punished by the emperor, and defended by the patriarch; and the crown and mitre were staked on the event of this momentous quarrel. The streets were instantly crowded with innumerable swarms of men, women, and children; the legions of monks, in regular array, marched, and shouted, and fought at their head. "Christians! this is the day of martyrdom: let us not desert our spiritual father; anathema to the Manichaean tyrant! he is unworthy to reign." Such was the Catholic cry; and the galleys of Anastasius lay upon their oars before the palace, till the patriarch had pardoned his penitent, and hushed the waves of the troubled multitude. The triumph of Macedonius was checked by a speedy exile; but the zeal of his flock was again exasperated by the same question, "Whether one of the Trinity had been crucified?" On this momentous occasion, the blue and green factions of Constantinople suspended their discord, and the civil and military powers were annihilated in their presence. The keys of the city, and the standards of the guards, were deposited in the forum of Constantine, the principal station and camp of the faithful. Day and night they were incessantly busied either in singing hymns to the honour of their God, or in pillaging and murdering the servants of their prince. The head of his favourite monk, the friend, as they styled him, of the enemy of the Holy Trinity, was borne aloft on a spear, and the firebrands, which had been darted against heretical structures, diffused the undistinguishing flames over the most orthodox buildings. The statues of the emperor were broken, and his person was concealed in a suburb, till, at the end of three days, he dared to implore the mercy of his subjects. Without his diadem, and in the posture of a suppliant, Anastasius appeared on the throne of the Circus. The Catholics, before his face, rehearsed their genuine Trisagion; they exulted in the offer which he proclaimed by the voice of a herald, of abdicating the purple; they listened to the admonition, that, since *all* could not reign, they should previously agree in the choice of a sovereign; and they accepted the blood of two unpopular ministers, whom their master, without hesitation, condemned to the lions. These furious but transient seditions were encouraged by the success of Vitliian, who, with an army of Huns and Bulgarians, for the most part idolaters, declared himself the champion of the Catholic faith. In this pious rebellion he depopulated Thracia, besieged Constantinople, exterminated sixty-five thousand of his fellow-Christians, till he obtained the recall of

the bishops, the satisfaction of the pope, and the establishment of the council of Chalcedon, an orthodox treaty, reluctantly signed by the dying Anastasius, and more faithfully performed by the uncle of Justinian. And such was the event of the *first* of the religious wars, which have been waged in the name, and by the disciples, of the God of Peace.<sup>79</sup>

Justinian has been already seen in the various lights of a prince, a conqueror, and a lawgiver: the theologian<sup>80</sup> still remains, and it affords an unfavourable prejudice, that his theology should form a very prominent feature of his portrait. The sovereign sympathised with his subjects in their superstitious reverence for living and departed saints: his Code, and more especially his Novels, confirm and enlarge the privileges of the clergy; and in every dispute between a monk and a layman, the partial judge was inclined to pronounce, that truth, and innocence, and justice, were always on the side of the church. In his public and private devotions, the emperor was assiduous and exemplary; his prayers, vigils, and fasts, displayed the austere penance of a monk; his fancy was amused by the hope, or belief, of personal inspiration; he had secured the patronage of the Virgin and St. Michael the archangel; and his recovery from a dangerous disease was ascribed to the miraculous succour of the holy martyrs Cosmas and Damian. The capital and the provinces of the East were decorated with the monuments of his religion;<sup>81</sup> and though the far greater part of these costly structures may be attributed to his taste or ostentation, the zeal of the royal architect was probably quickened by a genuine sense of love and gratitude towards his invisible benefactors. Among the titles of Imperial greatness, the name of *Pious* was most pleasing to his ear; to promote the temporal and spiritual interest of the church, was the serious business of his life; and the duty of father of his country was often sacrificed to that of defender of the faith. The controversies of the times were congenial to his temper and understanding; and the theological professors must inwardly deride the diligence of a stranger, who cultivated their art and neglected his own. "What can ye fear," said a bold conspirator to his associates, "from your bigoted tyrant? Sleepless and unarmed he sits whole nights in his closet, debating with reverend greybeards, and turning over the pages of ecclesiastical volumes."<sup>82</sup> The fruits of these lucubrations were displayed in many a conference, where Justinian might shine as the loudest and most subtle of the disputants, in many a sermon, which under the name of edicts and epistles, proclaimed to the empire the theology of their master. While the barbarians invaded

79. The general history, from the founding of Christianity to the death of Anastasius, may be found in the *History of the Emperors* (I, 1-11), and the more detailed history of the reigns of the emperors, from Constantine to Theodosius the Great, the *Acts of the Synods and the Epistles of the Popes* (I, 12-14). These two are combined with some detail in the sixth and sixth volumes of the *Maxims* (I, 15-16) and the *Element*. And here I must take leave for ever of that personal rule guide – whose rigour is overruled by the authority of the emperor – and turn to the *Maxims* and *Epistles*. He who is overruled by death from compulsion, as he designed, the sixth century of the church and culture.

80 The strain of the Anecdotes of Iroquois (c. 11, 13, 15, 27, 25).

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Enthusiasm and American and Progress Arcane is 1818 the same character is given with a design to prove sustinable.



unhappy nation atoned for the crime of treason by the sin of hypocrisy. It has been computed that one hundred thousand Roman subjects were extirpated in the Samaritan war,<sup>10</sup> which converted the once fruitful province into a desolate and smoking wilderness. But in the creed of Justinian, the guilt of murder could not be applied to the slaughter of unbelievers; and he piously laboured to establish with fire and sword the unity of the Christian faith.<sup>11</sup>

His orthodoxy. With these sentiments, it was incumbent on him, at least, to be always in the right. In the first years of his administration, he signalled his zeal as the disciple and patron of orthodoxy: the reconciliation of the Greeks and Latins established the *time* of St. Leo as the creed of the emperor and the empire; the Nestorians and Eutychians were exposed, on either side, to the double edge of persecution; and the four synods, of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and *Chalcedon*, were ratified by the code of a Catholic lawgiver.<sup>2</sup> But while Justinian strove to maintain the uniformity of faith and worship, his wife Theodora, whose vices were not incompatible with devotion, had listened to the Monophysite teachers; and the open or clandestine enemies of the church revived and multiplied at the smile of their gracious patroness. The capital, the palace, the nuptial bed, were torn by spiritual discord; yet so doubtful was the sincerity of the royal consorts, that their seeming disagreement was imputed by many to a secret and mischievous confederacy against the religion and happiness

The three chapters.  
A. D. 552-555

of their people.' <sup>3</sup> The famous dispute of the THREE CHAPTERS, <sup>4</sup> which has filled more volumes than it deserves lines, is deeply marked with the subtle and disingenuous spirit. It was now three hundred years since the body of Origen <sup>5</sup> had been eaten by the worms; his 'soul, of which he held the pre-existence, was in the hands of its Creator, but his writings were eagerly perused by the monks of Palestine. In these writings, the piercing eye of Justinian desired more than ten metaphysical errors; and the primitive doctor, in the company of Pythagoras and Plato, was devoted by the clergy to the *eternity* of hell-fire, which he had presumed to deny. Under the cover of this precedent, a treacherous blow was aimed at the council of Chalcedon. The fathers had listened without impatience to the praise of Theodore of Mopsuestia; <sup>6</sup> and their justice or indulgence had restored both Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Ibas of Edessa, to the communion of the church. But the characters

of these Oriental bishops, were tainted with the reproach of heresy; the first had been the minister of the two others, were the friends, of Nestorius; their most suspicious passages were accused under the title of the *three chapters*; and the condemnation of their memory must involve the honour of a synod, whose name was pronounced with sincere or affected reverence by the Catholic world. If these bishops, whether innocent or guilty, were annihilated in the sleep of death, they would not probably be awakened by the clamour, which after an hundred years, was raised over their grave. If they were already in the fangs of the demon, their torments could neither be aggravated nor assuaged by human industry. If in the company of saints and angels they enjoyed the reward of piety, they must have smiled at the idle fury of the theological insects who still crawled on the surface of the earth. The foremost of these insects, the emperor of the Romans, darted his sting, and distilled his venom, perhaps without discerning the true motives of Theodora and her ecclesiastical faction. The victims were no longer subject to his power, and the vehement style of his edicts could only proclaim their damnation, and invite the clergy of the East to join in a full chorus of curses and anathemas. The East, with some hesitation, consented to the voice of her sovereign: the fifth general council, of three patriarchs and one hundred and sixty-five bishops, was held at Constantinople; and the authors, as well as the defenders of the three chapters, were separated from the communion of the saints, and solemnly delivered to the prince of darkness. But the Latin churches were more jealous of the honour of Councils than the synod of Chalcedon; and if they had fought as they usually did under the standard of Rome, they might have prevailed in the cause of reason and humanity. But their chief was a prisoner in the hands of the enemy; the throne of St. Peter, which had been disgraced by the simony, was betrayed by the cowardice, of Vigilius, who yielded, after a long and inconsistent struggle, to the despotism of Justinian and the sophistry of the Greeks. His apostasy provoked the indignation of the Latins, and no more than two bishops could be found who would impose their hands on his deacon and successor Pelagius. Yet the perseverance of the popes insensibly transferred to their adversaries the appellation of schismatics; the Illyrian, African, and Italian churches, were oppressed by the civil and ecclesiastical powers, not without some effort of

On Propos. Article 9, 11. The Hon. Clav. p. 122. John M. Chittenden, p. 122. To each of these authors, particularly to the latter, I am indebted for the valuable information that the grave of Clav. had been raised by the gate of the cemetery, & that the stone through which the Mahometan, penetrated into the crypt.

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<sup>92</sup> See the Chronicle of Victor, p. 728, and the original edition of the law of Justinian. During the first years of his reign, Basilus himself is in extreme good humour with the emperor, who ordered the poets, till not too much to be exact.

<sup>13</sup> Proconon, *Avagad* c. 17. E. E. Cummings, *1. a. c. 10*. If the author, statistical never read the second edition, then common sense can prove at least the general truth.

On the subject of the three chapters, the exact status of the  
general council of twenty, upon which the three chapters are  
based, is not known. The three chapters are the three  
less common and more difficult to find in the  
three, lacunas in the first two, the third is the third.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]





most part the subjects of Constans, presumed to reprobate his wicked *type* and the impious *ecthesis* of his grandfather, and to confound the authors and their adherents with the twenty-one notorious heretics, the apostates from the church, and the organs of the devil. Such an insult under the tamest reign could not pass with impunity.

Pope Martin ended his days on the inhospitable shore of the Tauric Chersonesus, and his oracle, the abbot Maximus, was inhumanly chastised by the amputation of his tongue and his right hand.<sup>104</sup> But the same invincible spirit survived in their successors, and the triumph of the Latins avenged their recent defeat, and obliterated the disgrace of the three chapters.

The synods of Rome were confirmed by the sixth general council of Constantinople, in the palace and the presence of a new Constantine, a descendant of Heraclius. The

royal convert converted the Byzantine pontiff and a majority of the bishops;<sup>105</sup> the dissenters, with their chief, Macarius of Antioch, were condemned to the spiritual and temporal pains of heresy; the East condescended to accept the lessons of the West; and the creed was finally settled, which teaches the Catholics of every age, that two wills or energies are harmonised in the person of Christ. The majesty of the pope and the Roman synod was represented by two priests, one deacon, and three bishops. But these obscure Latins had neither arms to compel, nor treasures to bribe, nor language to persuade; and I am ignorant by what arts they could determine the lofty emperor of the Greeks to abjure the catechism of his infancy, and to persecute the religion of his fathers. Perhaps the monks and people of Constantinople<sup>106</sup> were favourable to the Lateran creed, which is indeed the last reasonable of the two; and the suspicion is countenanced by the unnatural location of the Greek clergy, who appear in this quarrel to be conscious of their weakness. While the synod debated, a fanatic proposed a more summary decision, by raising a dead man to life: the prelates assisted at the trial, but the acknowledged failure may serve to indicate, that the passions and prejudices of the multitude were not enlisted on the side of the Monothelites. In the next generation, when the son of Constantine was deposed and slain by the disciple of Macarius, they tasted the feast of revenge

and dominion: the image or monument of the sixth council was defaced, and the original acts were committed to the flames. But in the second year, their patron was cast headlong from the throne, the bishops of the East were released from their occasional conformity, the Roman faith was more firmly replanted by the orthodox successors of Basilides, and the fine problems of the incarnation were forgotten in the more popular and visible quarrel of the worship of images.<sup>107</sup>

Before the end of the seventh century, the creed of the incarnation, which had been defined at Rome and Constantinople, was uniformly preached in the remote islands of Britain and Ireland;<sup>108</sup> the same ideas were entertained, or rather the same words were repeated, by all the Christians whose liturgy was performed in the Greek or the Latin tongue. Their numbers, and visible splendour, bestowed an imperfect claim to the appellation of Catholics, but in the East, they were marked with the less honourable name of *Melchites*, or Royalists;<sup>109</sup> of men, whose faith, instead of resting on the basis of Scripture, reason, or tradition, had been established, and was still maintained, by the arbitrary power of a temporal monarch. Their adversaries might allege the words of the fathers of Constantinople, who professed themselves the slaves of the king; and they might relate, with malicious joy, how the decrees of Chalcedon had been inspired and reformed by the emperor Marcian and his virgin bride. The prevailing fiction will naturally inculcate the duty of submission, nor is it less natural that dissenters should feel and assert the principles of freedom. Under the rod of persecution, the Nestorians and Monophysites degenerated into rebels and fugitives; and the most ancient and useful allies of Rome were taught to consider the emperor not as the chief, but as the enemy, of the Christians. Language, the leading principle which unites or separates the tribes of mankind, soon discriminated the sectaries of the East, by a peculiar and perpetual badge, which abolished the means of intercourse and the hope of reconciliation. The long dominion of the Greeks, their colonies, and, above all, their eloquence, had propagated a language doubtless the most perfect that has been contrived by the art of man. Yet the body of the people, both

Form of the Greek and Latin churches.

With general council of Constantinople, A. D. 529, Nov. 7. A. D. 531, Sept. 16.

<sup>104</sup> The names of Maximus and Macarius are described with epithets, which are not in the original, but which are in the Latin text. The names of the synods are also in the Latin text. The names of the synods are also in the Latin text.

<sup>105</sup> The names of the synods are also in the Latin text. The names of the synods are also in the Latin text.

<sup>106</sup> The names of the synods are also in the Latin text. The names of the synods are also in the Latin text.

<sup>107</sup> The names of the synods are also in the Latin text. The names of the synods are also in the Latin text.

<sup>108</sup> In the Lateran synod of 629, Wulfad, an Anglo-Saxon bishop, subscribed pro omni Anglorum parte Romanam et Hincmarum, qui ad Anglorum et Britonum, necnon Scotorum et Pictorum gentibus

celebatur (Eddius, in Vit. St. Wulfad, c. 71. apud Pagi, Critica, tom. i. p. 584). Theodore (inquit in insulae Britannia, p. 104.)

<sup>109</sup> The names of the synods are also in the Latin text. The names of the synods are also in the Latin text.

<sup>110</sup> The names of the synods are also in the Latin text. The names of the synods are also in the Latin text.

<sup>111</sup> The names of the synods are also in the Latin text. The names of the synods are also in the Latin text.

<sup>112</sup> The names of the synods are also in the Latin text. The names of the synods are also in the Latin text.



response with the Syrian clergy; the progress of the schism was grateful to the jealous pride of Perozes, and he listened to the eloquence of an artful prelate, who painted Nestorius as the friend of Persia, and urged him to secure the fidelity of his Christian subjects, by granting a just preference to the victims and enemies of the Roman tyrant. The Nestorians composed a large majority of the clergy and people: they were encouraged by the smile, and armed with the sword, of despotism; yet many of their weaker brethren were startled at the thought of breaking loose from the communion of the Christian world, and the blood of seven thousand seven hundred Monophysites or Catholics confirmed the uniformity of faith and discipline in the churches of Persia.<sup>110</sup> Their ecclesiastical institutions are distinguished by a liberal principle of reason, or at least of policy: the austerity of the cloister was relaxed and gradually forgotten; houses of charity were endowed for the education of orphans and foundlings, the law of celibacy, so forcibly recommended to the Greeks and Latins, was disregarded by the Persian clergy; and the number of the elect was multiplied by the public and reiterated nuptials of the priests, the bishops, and even the patriarch himself. To this standard of natural and religious freedom, myriads of fugitives resorted from all the provinces of the Eastern empire: the narrow bigotry of Justinian was punished by the emigration of his most industrious subjects; they transported into Persia the arts both of peace and war: and those who deserved the favor, were promoted in the service, of a discerning monarch. The arms of Nushirvan, and his heroic grandson, were assisted with advice, and money, and troops, by the desperate securities who still lurked in their native cities of the East; their zeal was rewarded with the gift of the Catholic churches, but when those cities and churches were recovered by Heraclius, their open profession of treason and heresy compelled them to seek a refuge in the realm of their foreign ally. But the seeming tranquility of the Nestorians was often endangered, and sometimes overthrown. They were involved in the common evils of Oriental despotism: their unity to Rome could not always atone for their attachment to the Gospel; and a colony of three hundred thousand Jacobites, the captives of Armenia and Antioch, was permitted to erect an hostile altar in the face of the *schisma*, and in the sunshine of the court. In the last treaty, Justinian introduced some conditions which tended to enlarge and fortify the toleration of Christianity in Persia. The emperor, ignorant of the rights of con-

science, was incapable of pity or esteem for the heretics who denied the authority of the holy scriptures. But he flattered himself that they would gradually perceive the temporal benefits of union with the empire and the Church of Rome; and if he failed in exciting their gratitude, he might hope to provoke the jealousy of the sovereign. In a later age, the Lutherans have been burnt at Paris and protected in Germany, by the superstition and policy of the most Christian king.

The desire of gaining souls for God, and subjects for the church, has excited in every age the diligence of the Christian priests. From the conquest of Persia they carried their spiritual arms to the north, the east, and the south, and the simplicity of the Gospel was fashioned and painted with the colours of the Syriac theology. In the sixth century, according to the report of a Nestorian traveller,<sup>116</sup> Christianity was successfully preached to the Bactrians, the Huns, the Persians, the Indians, the Persarmenians, the Medes, and the Elamites: the Arabian churches, from the Gulf of Persia to the Caspian Sea, were almost infinite; and their recent faith was conspicuous in the number and sanctity of their monks and martyrs. The pepper coast of Malabar, and the isles of the ocean, Sacotora and Ceylon, were peopled with an increasing multitude of Christians, and the bishops and clergy of those sequestered regions derived their ordination from the catholic of Babylon. In a subsequent age, the zeal of the Nestorians overleaped the limits which had confined the ambition and curiosity both of the Greeks and Persians. The missionaries of Bulch and Samarcand pursued without fear the footsteps of the roving Tatar, and insinuated themselves into the camps of the valleys of Imans and the banks of the Scinga. They exposed a metaphysical creed to those illiterate shepherds; to those sanguinary warriors, they recommended humanity and repose. Yet a khan, whose power they vainly magnified, is said to have received at their hands the rites of baptism, and even of ordination; and the fame of *Prester John*<sup>117</sup> has long amused the credulity of Europe. The royal convert was indulged in the use of a portable altar; but he despatched an embassy to the patriarch, to enquire how, in the season of Lent, he should abstain from animal food, and how he might celebrate the Eucharist in a desert that produced neither corn nor wine. In their progress by sea and land, the Nestorians entered China by the port of Canton and the northern residence of Sigan. Unlike the senators of Rome, who assumed with a smile the characters of priests,

115. A dissertation on the state of the Nation in 1789, written in the hands of Asselin, is found in the collection of papers of the author. Several researches are devoted to the next historical epoch. By means of the volume of the *Polish Constitution*, the extracts of the three preceding times (from 1791 to 1795) are given. The last part of the work, Dec. 1805, pp. 58-68, contains the history of the Polish Republic.

116 See the figures illustrating the method of the present invention in the accompanying drawings.

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of Angamala or Cranganor. Sixty years of servitude and hypocrisy were patiently endured; but as soon as the Portuguese empire was shaken by the courage and industry of the Dutch, the Nestorians asserted, with vigour and effect, the religion of their fathers. The Jesuits were incapable of defending the power which they had abused: the arms of forty thousand Christians were pointed against their falling tyrants; and the Indian archdeacon assumed the character of bishop, till a fresh supply of episcopal gifts and Syriac missionaries could be obtained from the patriarch of Babylon. Since the expulsion of the Portuguese, the Nestorian creed is freely professed on the coast of Malabar. The trading companies of Holland and England are the friends of toleration; but if oppression be less mortifying than contempt, the Christians of St. Thomas have reason to complain of the cold and silent indifference of their brethren of Europe.<sup>124</sup>

II. The history of the Monophysites is less copious and interesting than that of the Nestorians. Under the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius, their artful leaders surprised the ear of the prince, usurped the thrones of the East, and crushed on its native soil the school of the Syrians. The rule of the Monophysite faith was defined with exquisite discretion by Severus, patriarch of Antioch; he condemned, in the style of the Henoticon, the adverse heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, maintained against the latter the reality of the body of Christ, and constrained the Greeks to allow that he was a liar who spoke truth.<sup>125</sup> But the approximation of ideas could not abate the vehemence of passion; each party was the more astonished that their blind antagonist could dispute on so trifling a difference; the tyrant of Syria enforced the belief of his creed, and his reign was polluted with the blood of three hundred and fifty monks, who were slain, not perhaps without provocation or resistance, under the

walls of Apamea.<sup>126</sup> The successor of Anastasius replanted the orthodox standard in the East: Severus fled into Egypt; and his friend, the eloquent Xenaïas,<sup>127</sup> who had escaped from the Nestorians of Persia, was suffocated in his exile by the Melchites of Paphlagonia. Fifty-four bishops were swept from their thrones, eight hundred ecclesiastics were cast into prison,<sup>128</sup> and notwithstanding the ambiguous favour of Theodora, the Oriental flocks, deprived of their shepherds, must insensibly have been either furnished or poisoned.

In this spiritual distress, the expiring faction was revived, and united, and perpetuated, by the labours of a monk; and the name of James Baradaeus<sup>129</sup> has been preserved in the appellation of *Jacobites*, a familiar sound which may startle the ear of an English reader. From the holy confessor in their prison of Constantinople, he received the powers of bishop of Edessa and apostle of the East, and the ordination of fourscore thousand bishops, priests, and deacons, is derived from the same inexhaustible source. The speed of the zealous missionary was promoted by the fleetest dromedaries of a devout chief of the Arabs; the doctrine and discipline of the Jacobites were secretly established in the dominions of Justinian; and each Jacobite was compelled to violate the laws and to hate the Roman legislator. The successors of Severus, while they lurked in convents or villages, while they sheltered their proscribed heads in the caverns of hermits, or the tents of the Saracens, still asserted, as they now assert, their indefeasible right to the title, the rank, and the prerogatives of patriarch of Antioch: under the milder yoke of the infidels they reside about a league from Merdin, in the pleasant monastery of Zapharan, which they have embellished with cells, aqueducts, and plantations. The secondary, though honourable, place is filled by the *maphrian*, who, in his station at Mosul itself, defies the Nestorian *catholic*, with whom he contests the primacy of the East. Under the patriarch and the maphrian, one hundred and fifty archbishops and bishops have been counted in the different ages of the Jacobite church; but the order of the hierarchy is relaxed or dissolved, and the greater part of their dioceses is confined to the neighbourhood of the Euphrates and the Tigris. The cities of Aleppo and Amida, which are often visited by the patriarch, contain some wealthy merchants and industrious mechanics, but the multitude derive their scanty sustenance from their daily labour: and poverty, as well as superstition, may impose their excessive fasts: five annual Lents, during which, both the clergy and laity abstain not only from flesh or eggs, but even from the taste of wine, of oil, and of fish. Their present numbers are esteemed from fifty to fourscore thousand souls, the remnant of a populous church, which has gradually decreased under the oppression of twelve centuries. Yet in that long period, some strangers of merit have been converted to the Monophysite faith, and a Jew was the father

<sup>124</sup> Concerning the Christians of St. Thomas, see Asseman, *Biblioth. Orient.* tom. i. p. 294. — *Le Catechisme de St. Thomas*, par le P. de la Croze, *Histoire de l'Église de Malabar*, trad. de l'abbé de la Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, par M. Lamy, *La Hire*, 1758, a curious and ignorant work. They have drawn from the same source, the Portuguese and Italian narratives, and the principles of the dissent are uniformly corrected by those of the Protestants.

<sup>125</sup> *Quædam hæretica*, is the expression of Theodoret, in his *Treatise of the Incomprehensibility*, p. 147. He is quoted by La Croze, *Histoire de l'Église de Malabar*, et c. p. 53. See also the claims, perhaps, too hastily, of the apostolic succession. Renaudot has touched this Patriarch Alex. p. 127. 128. The Oriental accounts of Severus, and his authentic creed may be found in the epistle of John the Fourth patriarch of Antioch, in the sixth century, to his brother Menas of Alexandria (*Asseman. Biblioth. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 152. 153).

<sup>126</sup> Epist. Archimandritæ ad Monachum Syriæ Severum ad Papat. Hormisdas, *Asseman. Biblioth. Orient.* tom. i. p. 288. The course of St. Sabas, an heresiarch, will not be the subject in that the arms of these monks were not always spiritual or defensive (*Baronius, A. D. 515, No. 7, &c.*)

<sup>127</sup> Assemanus (*Biblioth. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 10. 16.) and La Croze (*Histoire de l'Église de Malabar*, p. 56. 135.) will apply the history of Xenodorus, bishop of Malabar, or Baradaeus, an Syrian, to a perfect master of the Syriac language, and the author or editor of a version of the New Testament.

<sup>128</sup> The names and titles of fifty-four bishops who were exiled by Justinian, are preserved in the last work of Baronius, *Annal.* tom. vi. p. 17. Severus was personally summoned to Antioch, and for his trial, says Baronius (*Annal.* 191.) that his tongue might be cut out, says Baronius (*Annal.* 191.) The prudent patriarch did not submit to the difference. The same resolution is cited by Renaudot to the month of September of the year 528. *Annal.* tom. i. p. 50.

<sup>129</sup> The church history of James, or James Baradaeus, or Zaphran, may be seen in Renaudot's *Annal.* tom. ii. p. 113. 117. Renaudot calls Patriarch Alex. p. 117. and Assemanus (*Biblioth. Orient.* tom. i. p. 284. tom. ii. p. 288. 351. 352.) calls him a monk, p. 355. 358. He seems to be unknown to the Greeks. The Patriarch James the apostle.

of Abu-pharagius<sup>130</sup> primate of the East, so truly eminent both in his life and death. In his life, he was an elegant writer of the Syriac and Arabic tongues, a poet, physician, and historian, a subtle philosopher, and a moderate divine. In his death, his funeral was attended by his rival the Nestorian patriarch, with a train of Greeks and Armenians, who forgot their disputes, and mingled their tears over the grave of an enemy. The sect which was honoured by the virtues of Abulpharagius appears, however, to sink below the level of their Nestorian brethren. The superstition of the Jacobites is more abject, their fasts more rigid,<sup>131</sup> their intestine divisions are more numerous, and their doctors (as far as I can measure the degrees of nonsense) are more remote from the precincts of reason. Something may possibly be allowed for the rigour of the Monophysite theology; much more for the superior influence of the monastic order. In Syria, in Egypt, in Ethiopia, the Jacobite monks have ever been distinguished by the austerity of their penance and the absurdity of their legends. Alive or dead they are worshipped as the favourites of the Deity; the crosier of bishop and patriarch is reserved for their venerable hands; and they assume the government of men, while they are yet reeking with the habits and prejudices of the cloister.<sup>132</sup>

III. THE MARONITES. In the style of the Oriental Christians, the Monothelites of every age are described under the appellation of *Maronites*,<sup>133</sup> a name which has been insensibly transferred from an hermit to a monastery, from a monastery to a nation. Maron, a saint or savage of the fifth century, displayed his religious madness in Syria; the rival cities of Apamea and Emesa disputed his relics, a stately church was erected on his tomb, and six hundred of his disciples united their solitary cells on the banks of the Orontes. In the controversies of the incarnation, they nicely threaded the orthodox line between the sects of Nestorius and Eutyches; but the unfortunate question of *one will* or operation in the two natures of Christ, was generated by their curious leisure. Their proselyte, the emperor Heraclius, was rejected as a Maronite from the walls of Emesa; he found a refuge in the monastery of his brethren; and their theological lessons were repaid with the gift of a spacious and wealthy domain. The name and doctrine of this venerable school were propagated

among the Greeks and Syrians, and their zeal is expressed by Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, who declared before the synod of Constantinople, that sooner than subscribe the *two wills* of Christ, he would submit to be hewn piecemeal and cast into the sea.<sup>134</sup> A similar or a less cruel mode of persecution soon converted the unresisting subjects of the plain, while the glorious title of *Mardutes*,<sup>135</sup> or rebels, was bravely maintained by the hardy natives of Mount Libanus. John Maron, one of the most learned and popular of the monk, assumed the character of patriarch of Antioch; his nephew Abraham, at the head of the Maronites, defended their civil and religious freedom against the tyrants of the East. The son of the orthodox Constantine pursued, with pious hatred, a people of soldiers, who might have stood the bulwark of his empire against the common foes of Christ and of Rome. An army of Greeks invaded Syria; the monastery of St. Maron was destroyed with fire; the bravest chieftains were betrayed and murdered, and twelve thousand of their followers were transplanted to the distant frontiers of Armenia and Thrace. Yet the humble nation of the Maronites has survived the empire of Constantinople, and they still enjoy, under their Turkish masters, a free religion and a mitigated servitude. Their domestic governors are chosen among the ancient nobility; the patriarch, in his monastery of Canobin, still fancies himself on the throne of Antioch; nine bishops compose his synod, and one hundred and fifty priests, who retain the liberty of marriage, are intrusted with the care of one hundred thousand souls. Their country extends from the ridge of Mount Libanus to the shores of Tripoli; and the gradual descent affords, in a narrow space, each variety of soil and climate, from the Holy Cedars, erect under the weight of snow,<sup>136</sup> to the vine, the mulberry, and the olive trees of the fruitful valley. In the twelfth century, the Maronites, abjuring the Monothelite error, were reconciled to the Latin churches of Antioch and Rome,<sup>137</sup> and the same alliance has been frequently renewed by the ambition of the popes and the distress of the Syrians. But it may reasonably be questioned, whether their union has ever been perfect or sincere; and the learned Maronites of the college of Rome have vainly laboured to absolve their ancestors from the guilt of heresy and schism.<sup>138</sup>

IV. Since the age of Constantine, the Ar-

130 The account of his person and writings is perhaps the most curious article in the *Bibliotheca d'Asiaticum* (tom. i. p. 244-254) under the name of *Abu-pharagius* (i. e. *Abu-pharagius* Christianus d'Ethiopie, p. 57-63) relates the prodigies of the Syrians against the Jewish blood which severely sets to their church and state.

131 This excessive abstinence is censured by Lacin (p. 72) and also by the Syrian Assemanian (tom. i. p. 245) and by the Assemanian (which is not by Hieronymus, p. 140-17, p. 140-17, p. 140-17).

132 The state of the Monophysites is excellently illustrated in a *Assemanian* (which is not by Hieronymus, p. 140-17, p. 140-17, p. 140-17).

133 The synonymous use of the two words may be proved from Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 141, 247, 248) and from many other passages which may be found in the methodical table of P. 2. He was not actuated by any prejudice against the Maronites of the fifth century; and we may believe a Maronite, whose doctrine is confirmed by the *de deo* and *de deo*.

134 Concil. tom. vi. p. 70. The Monothelite cause was supported with firmness and subtlety by Constantine, a Syrian priest of Apamea (p. 1040, see p. 1040).

135 Theophrastus (Chron. p. 291, 292, 293) 201. The name Maron (p. 437, 440) relate the exploits of the Maronites, the name Maron, in Syriac *Maronites* is explained by La Roque (Voyage de la Syrie, tom. i. p. 55); the dates are fixed by Pagi (A. D. 676, No.

136 A. D. 685, No. 2, 1), and even the obscure story of the patriarch John Maron (Asseman. Bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 429, 530) illustrates, from the year 520 to 530, the troubles of Mount Libanus.

137 In the last century twenty large cedars still remained (Voyage de la Roque, tom. i. p. 65-66), at present they are reduced to four or five (Vaissey, tom. i. p. 261). These trees, famous in Scripture, were guarded by excellent cation: the wood was sparingly burned for small uses, the wood was spared under their shade, and they were considered as the signs of the power of erecting their branch to reach the sky, to which Mount Libanus is less faithful than it is pointed by the Syrians: under authors opinion, Libanus natus, a divine metaphor (Hist. c. 6).

138 The evidence of Maron of Libanus is given in the *de deo* (p. 140-17, p. 140-17, p. 140-17) is copied or a Christian by Jacques de Vira (Hist. Hierosol. tom. i. p. 107, 108, 109). But this natural language, expanded with the power of the Priests, and Abulpharagius (who died in 1250) considered the Maronites as a sect of Monophysites (Hist. d'Or. tom. i. p. 107).

139 The last addition to the history of the Maronites in the Voyage de la Roque (p. 107, 108, 109) is the name of the Maronites, in the last century twenty large cedars still remained (Voyage de la Roque, tom. i. p. 65-66), at present they are reduced to four or five (Vaissey, tom. i. p. 261). These trees, famous in Scripture, were guarded by excellent cation: the wood was sparingly burned for small uses, the wood was spared under their shade, and they were considered as the signs of the power of erecting their branch to reach the sky, to which Mount Libanus is less faithful than it is pointed by the Syrians: under authors opinion, Libanus natus, a divine metaphor (Hist. c. 6).

IV. THE ARMENIANS. MESIANS<sup>139</sup> had signalled their attachment to the religion and empire of the Christians. The disorders of their country, and their ignorance of the Greek tongue, prevented their clergy from assisting at the synod of Chalcedon, and they floated eighty-four years<sup>140</sup> in a state of indifference or suspense, till their vacant faith was finally occupied by the missionaries of Julian of Halicarnassus,<sup>141</sup> who, in Egypt, their common exile, had been vanquished by the arguments or the influence of his rival Severus, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch. The Armenians alone are the pure disciples of Eutyches, an unfortunate parent, who has been renounced by the greater part of his spiritual progeny. They alone persevere in the opinion, that the manhood of Christ was created, or existed without creation, of a divine and incorruptible substance. Their adversaries reproach them with the adoration of a phantom; and they retort the accusation, by deifying or execrating the blasphemy of the Jacobites, who impute to the Godhead the vile infirmities of the flesh, even the natural effects of nutrition and digestion. The religion of Armenia could not derive much glory from the learning or the power of its inhabitants. The royalty expired with the origin of their schism; and their Christian kings, who arose and fell in the thirteenth century on the confines of Cilicia, were the clients of the Latins and the vassals of the Turkish sultan of Iconium. The helpless nation has seldom been permitted to enjoy the tranquillity of servitude. From the earliest period to the present hour, Armenia has been the theatre of perpetual war; the lands between Tauris and Erivan were depopled by the cruel policy of the Sophis; and myriads of Christian families were transplanted, to perish or to propagate in the distant provinces of Persia. Under the rod of oppression, the zeal of the Armenians is fervent and intrepid: they have often preferred the crown of martyrdom to the white turban of Mahomet; they devoutly hate the error and idolatry of the Greeks; and their transient union with the Latins is not less devoid of truth, than the thousand bishops whom their patriarch offered at the feet of the Roman pontiff.<sup>142</sup> The catholic, or patriarch, of the Armenians, resides in the monastery of Ekmiasin, three leagues from Erivan. Forty-seven archbishops, each of whom may claim the obedience of four or five suffragans, are consecrated by his hand; but the far greater part are only titular prelates, who dignify with their presence and service the simplicity of his court. As soon as they have performed the liturgy, they cultivate the garden; and our bishops will hear

with surprise, that the austerity of their life increases in just proportion to the elevation of their rank. In the four-score thousand towns or villages of his spiritual empire, the patriarch receives a small and voluntary tax from each person above the age of fifteen; but the annual amount of six hundred thousand crowns is insufficient to supply the incessant demands of charity and tribute. Since the beginning of the last century, the Armenians have obtained a large and lucrative share of the commerce of the East: in their return from Europe, the caravan usually halts in the neighbourhood of Erivan, the altars are enriched with the fruits of their patient industry; and the faith of Eutyches is preached in their recent congregations of Barbary and Poland.<sup>143</sup>

V. In the rest of the Roman empire, the despotism of the prince might eradicate or silence the sectaries of an obnoxious creed. But the stubborn temper of the Egyptians maintained their opposition to the synod of Chalcedon, and the policy of Justinian condescended to expect and to seize the opportunity of discord. The Monophysite church of Alexandria<sup>144</sup> was torn by the disputes of the *corruptibles* and *incorruptibles*, and on the death of the patriarch, the two factions upheld their respective candidates.<sup>145</sup> Gaian was the disciple of Julian, Theodosius had been the pupil of Severus: the claims of the former were supported by the consent of the monks and senators, the city and the province; the latter depended on the priority of his ordination, the favour of the empress Theodora, and the arms of the eunuch Narses, which might have been used in more honourable warfare. The exile of the popular candidate to Carthage and Sardinia, inflamed the ferment of Alexandria; and after a schism of one hundred and seventy years, the *Gaianites* still revered the memory and doctrine of their founder. The strength of numbers and of discipline was tried in a desperate and bloody conflict; the streets were filled with the dead bodies of citizens and soldiers; the pious women, ascending the roofs of their houses, showered down every sharp or ponderous utensil on the heads of the enemy; and the final victory of Narses was owing to the flames, with which he wasted the third capital of the Roman world. But the lieutenant of Justinian had not conquered in the cause of an heretic; Theodosius himself was speedily, though gently, removed; and Paul of Tanis, an orthodox monk, was raised to the throne of Athanasius. The powers of government were strained in his support; he might appoint or displace the dukes and tribunes

The patriarch Theodosius. A. D. 557-568.

Paul. A. D. 538.

<sup>139</sup> The religion of the Armenians is briefly described by La Croze (Hist. du Christ. de l'Ethiopie et de l'Arménie, p. 261-302). He refers to the great Armen. Hist. of Gaianus (3 vols. in fol. Rome, 1650-1661), and commends the style of Armenia in the volume of the Nouveau Voyage de M. de Leland. The work of a Jesuit must have sterling merit when it is praised by a Latins.

<sup>140</sup> The schism of the Armenians is placed 84 years after the council of Chalcedon (Pam. Critica, at A. D. 553). It was consummated at the end of seventeen years, and it is from the year of Christ 572 that we date the era of the Armenians (Art de vérifier les Dates, p. xxxv).

<sup>141</sup> The sentiments and success of Julian of Halicarnassus may be seen in Fabricius (Brev. c. 19), Remondin (Lex. Patriarch. Armén. p. 152-162), and Asemannus (Bibl. Orient. tom. II. Dossierat de Monophysitisme, p. vii. p. 296).

<sup>142</sup> See a remarkable fact of the xth century in the History of

Nicetas Chonates (p. 234). Yet three hundred years before, Photius (Ephes. in p. 19 edit. Montauri) had gloried in the conversion of the Armenians—*Αρμενίας επαχιστον καθολικου*.

<sup>143</sup> The travelling Armenians are in the way of every traveller, and their mother church lies on the high road between Constantinople and Ephesus for their present state, see Fabricius (Lux. Ev. Angl. &c. c. xxviii. p. 10-11), Olearius (It. v. c. 40), Charlin (vol. ii. p. 232), Tournefort (It. v. c. 1), and, above all, Tavernier (tom. i. p. 28-32, 301-313) that austere jesuit, who had read nothing, but had seen so much and so well.

<sup>144</sup> The history of the Alexandrian patriarchs, from Dioscorus to Benjamin, is taken from a Roman edict (p. 111-116), and the second tome of the Annals of the Patriarch.

<sup>145</sup> Irenae. Brev. c. 25. Victor. Chron. p. 32-33. Procop. Anecd. c. 27.



of Egypt; the allowance of bread, which Diocletian had granted, was suppressed, the churches were shut, and a nation of schismatics was deprived at once of their spiritual and carnal food. In his turn, the tyrant was excommunicated by the zeal and revenge of the people; and none except his servile Melchites would salute him as a man, a Christian, or a bishop. Yet such is the blindness of ambition, that, when Paul was expelled on a charge of murder, he solicited, with a bribe of seven hundred pounds of gold, his restoration to the same station of hatred and

Apollinaris.

A. D. 531.

His successor Apollinaris entered the hostile city in military array, alike qualified for prayer or for battle. His troops, under arms, were distributed through the streets; the gates of the cathedral were guarded, and a chosen band was stationed in the choir, to defend the person of their chief. He stood erect on his throne, and throwing aside the upper garment of a warrior, suddenly appeared before the eyes of the multitude in the robes of the patriarch of Alexandria. Astonishment held them mute; but no sooner had Apollinaris begun to read the tome of St. Leo, than a volley of curses, and invectives, and stones, assaulted the odious minister of the emperor and the synod. A charge was instantly sounded by the successor of the apostles; the soldiers waded to their knees in blood; and two hundred thousand Christians are said to have fallen by the sword: an incredible account, even if it be extended from the slaughter of a day to the eighteen years of the reign of Apollinaris. Two

Eulogius.

A. D. 580.

succeeding patriarchs, Eulogius<sup>146</sup> and John,<sup>147</sup> laboured in the conversion of heretics, with arms and arguments more worthy of their evangelical profession. The theological knowledge of Eulogius was displayed in many a volume, which magnified the errors of Eutyches and Severus, and attempted to reconcile the ambiguous language of St. Cyril with the orthodox creed of pope Leo

John.

A. D. 609.

and the fathers of Chalcedon. The bounteous alms of John the eleemosynary were dictated by superstition, or benevolence, or policy. Seven thousand five hundred poor were maintained at his expense; on his accession he found eight thousand pounds of gold in the treasury of the church; he collected ten thousand from the liberality of the faithful; yet the primate could boast in his testament, that he left behind him no more than the third part of the smallest of the silver coins. The churches of Alexandria were delivered to the Catholics, the religion of the Monophysites was proscribed in Egypt, and a law was revived which excluded the natives from the honours and emoluments of the state.

A more important conquest still remained, of the patriarch, the oracle and leader of the Egyptian church. Theodosius had resisted the threats and promises of

Justinian with the spirit of an apostle or an enthusiast. "Such," replied the patriarch, "were the offers of the tempter when he shewed the kingdoms of the earth. But my soul is far dearer to me than life or dominion. The churches are in the hands of a prince who can kill the body; but my conscience is my own; and in exile, poverty, or chains, I will steadfastly adhere to the faith of my holy predecessors, Athanasius, Cyril, and Dioscorus. Anathema to the tome of Leo and the synod of Chalcedon! Anathema to all who embrace their creed! Anathema to them now and for evermore! Naked came I out of my mother's womb, naked shall I descend into the grave. Let those who love God, follow me and seek their salvation." After comforting his brethren, he embarked for Constantinople, and sustained, in six successive interviews, the almost irresistible weight of the royal presence. His opinions were favourably entertained in the palace and the city; the influence of Theodora assured him a safe conduct and honourable dismissal; and he ended his days, though not on the throne, yet in the bosom, of his native country. On the news of his death, Apollinaris indecently feasted the nobles and the clergy; but his joy was checked by the intelligence of a new election; and while he enjoyed the wealth of Alexandria, his rivals reigned in the monasteries of Thebais, and were maintained by the voluntary oblations of the people. A perpetual succession of patriarchs arose from the ashes of Theodosius; and the Monophysite churches of Syria and Egypt were united by the name of Jacobites and the communion of the faith. But the same faith, which has been confined to a narrow sect of the Syrians, was diffused over the mass of the Egyptian or Coptic nation; who, almost unanimously, rejected the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon. A thousand years were now elapsed since Egypt had ceased to be a kingdom, since the conquerors of Asia and Europe had trampled on the ready necks of a people, whose ancient wisdom and power ascend beyond the records of history. The conflict of zeal and persecution rekindled some sparks of their national spirit. They abjured, with a foreign heresy, the manners and language of the Greeks: every Melchite, in their eyes, was a stranger, every Jacobite a citizen; the alliance of marriage, the offices of humanity, were condemned as a deadly sin; the natives renounced all allegiance to the emperor; and his orders, at a distance from Alexandria, were obeyed only under the pressure of military force. A generous effort might have redeemed the religion and liberty of Egypt, and her six hundred monasteries might have poured forth their myriads of holy warriors, for whom death should have no terrors, since life had no comfort or delight. But experience has proved the distinction of active and passive courage; the fanatic who endures without a groan the torture of the rack or the

<sup>146</sup> Eulogius, who had been a monk of Antioch, was more conspicuous for his piety than for his talents. He was a native of Antioch, and was educated in the school of the great John Chrysostom. He was a zealous defender of the orthodox faith, and was distinguished by his piety and his talents. He was a native of Antioch, and was educated in the school of the great John Chrysostom. He was a zealous defender of the orthodox faith, and was distinguished by his piety and his talents.

<sup>147</sup> See the Life of John the eleemosynary by his contemporary Leontius, bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, whose Greek text, either lost or hidden, is reflected in the Latin version of Baronius (A. D. 610, No. 9. A. D. 620, No. 8). Pagi (Critica, tom. ii. p. 765) and Fabricius (l. v. c. 11. tom. vii. p. 154) have made some critical observations.

stake, would tremble and fly before the face of an armed enemy. The pusillanimous temper of the Egyptians could only hope for a change of masters; the arms of Chosroes depopulated the land, yet under his reign the Jacobites enjoyed a short and precarious respite. The victory of Heraclius renewed and aggravated the persecution, and the patriarch again escaped from Alexandria to the desert. In his flight,

Benjamin, the  
of the old patri-  
arch.  
A. D. 625-661.  
Benjamin was encouraged by a voice, which bade him expect, at the end of ten years, the aid of a foreign nation, marked like the Egyptians themselves with the ancient rite of circumcision. The character of these deliverers, and the nature of the deliverance, will be hereafter explained; and I shall step over the interval of eleven centuries to observe the present misery of the Jacobites of Egypt. The populous city of Cairo affords a residence or rather a shelter for their indigent patriarch, and a remnant of ten bishops: forty monasteries have survived the inroads of the Arabs; and the progress of servitude and apostasy has reduced the Coptic nation to the despicable number of twenty-five or thirty thousand families;<sup>148</sup> a race of illiterate beggars, whose only consolation is derived from the superior wretchedness of the Greek patriarch and his diminutive congregation.<sup>149</sup>

#### VI. THE ABYSSINIANS AND NUBIANS.

VI. The Coptic patriarch, a rebel to the Cæsars, or a slave to the khalifs, still gloried in the filial obedience of the kings of Nubia and Æthiopia. He repaid their homage by magnifying their greatness; and it was boldly asserted that they could bring into the field an hundred thousand horse, with an equal number of camels;<sup>150</sup> that their hand could pour out or restrain the waters of the Nile;<sup>151</sup> and the peace and plenty of Egypt was obtained, even in this world, by the intercession of the patriarch. In exile at Constantinople, Theodosius recommended to his patroness the conversion of the black nations of Nubia, from the tropic of Cancer to the confines of Abyssinia.<sup>152</sup> Her design was suspected and emulated by the more orthodox emperor. The rival missionaries, a Melchite and a Jacobite, embarked at the same time; but the empress, from a motive of love or fear, was more effectually obeyed; and the Catholic priest was detained by the president of Thebais, while the

king of Nubia and his court were hastily baptized in the faith of Dioscorus. The tardy envoy of Justinian was received and dismissed with honour; but when he accused the heresy and treason of the Egyptians, the negro convert was instructed to reply that he would never abandon his brethren the true believers, to the persecuting ministers of the synod of Chalcedon.<sup>153</sup> During several ages, the bishops of Nubia were named and consecrated by the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria; as late as the twelfth century, Christianity prevailed; and some rites, some ruins, are still visible in the savage towns of Sennar and Dongola.<sup>154</sup> But the Nubians at length executed their threats of returning to the worship of idols; the climate required the indulgence of polygamy, and they have finally preferred the triumph of the Koran to the abasement of the Cross. A metaphysical religion may appear too refined for the capacity of the negro race: yet a black or a parrot might be taught to repeat the words of the Chalcedonian or Monophysite creed.

Christianity was more deeply rooted in the Abyssinian empire; Church of Abyssinia. A. D. 539, &c. and, although the correspondence has been sometimes interrupted above seventy or an hundred years, the mother-church of Alexandria retains her colony in a state of perpetual pupillage. Seven bishops once composed the Æthiopic synod: had their number amounted to ten, they might have elected an independent primate; and one of their kings was ambitious of promoting his brother to the ecclesiastical throne. But the event was foreseen, the increase was denied; the episcopal office has been gradually confined to the *abuna*,<sup>155</sup> the head and author of the Abyssinian priesthood; the patriarch supplies each vacancy with an Egyptian monk; and the character of a stranger appears more venerable in the eyes of the people, less dangerous in those of the monarch. In the sixth century, when the schism of Egypt was confirmed, the rival chiefs, with their patrons, Justinian and Theodora, strove to outstrip each other in the conquest of a remote and independent province. The industry of the empress was again victorious, and the pious Theodora has established in that sequestered church the faith and discipline of the Jacobites.<sup>156</sup> Encompassed on all sides by the enemies of their religion,

<sup>148</sup> This number is taken from the curious *Recherches sur les Égyptiens et les Chinois* (tom. i. p. 192, 195), and appears more probable than the 600,000 of Gent, or the 1,500 of modern Copts of Gemelli Careri. Cf. also the Protestant patriarch of Constantinople, lamenting that those he was to convert were more numerous than his orthodox Greeks, and applying the words of *Gen. xli. 50*, *because of famine of thine (that is, the Jews), the most perfect expression of contempt* (F. Am. l. x. l. v. c. 10, p. 740).

<sup>149</sup> The history of the Copts, their religion, manners, &c. may be found in the *Abis Renaudot* (fourthly work, under a printed name or original; the *Chronicon Orientale* of Peter, 1. vi. c. 10, p. 115; a curious copy of Abraham, Hist. Æthiop. p. 101, 102, and Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* c. 17, p. 179). These numbers descend no farther than the sixth century. The more recent accounts must be searched for in the travellers into Egypt, and the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions du Levant*. In the last century, Joseph Abudinis, a native of Cairo, published at Oxford, in thirty pages, a slight *Historia Aegyptiarum*, 147, post 150.

<sup>150</sup> About the year 775. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 262, 222. Elmi, *Hist. Sacram.* p. 29.

<sup>151</sup> *Ludolph Hist. Æthiop.* et *Comment.* t. i. c. 8. Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 180, &c. This opinion, introduced into Egypt and Europe by the arrival of the Copts, the pride of the Ab-

<sup>152</sup> The Abyssinians, who still preserve the features and alive complexion of the Arabs, afford a proof that two thousand years are not sufficient to change the colour of the human race. The Nubians, an African race, are pure negroes, as black as those of Senegal or Congo, with flat noses, thick lips, and woolly hair (Buffon, *Hist. N. v. v. c. 10*, tom. v. p. 117, 118, 114, 160, 220; edit. in Paris, 1795). The negro, indeed, without much attention, the extraordinary phenomenon which has exercised the philosophers and theo-

... ans. A. D. 1175 is attested by the ...  
geographer (p. 181), who represents them as a nation of Jews.  
The race of historic light that twinkles in the history of Renaudot (p. 175, 236-237, 281-282, 105, 131, 132, 133) are all previous to this era. See the moderns in the *Lettres Édiées* (Recaud, iv.) and *Buching* to mix, p. 1. 2-15, par Berenger.

<sup>155</sup> The *abuna* is the name of the head of the church, and the title of the bishop of Remat.

<sup>156</sup> I know not why Aconarius (*Bibl. Orient.* tom. i. p. 754.) should call in question the probability of the mission of Theodora to Nubia and Æthiopia. The settlements of Abyssinians in the two countries are mentioned in *Proc. Alex.* 751, 751, 752, 110, 117, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

the Æthiopians slept near a thousand years, forgetful of the world, by whom they were forgotten. They were awakened by the Portuguese, who, turning the southern promontory of Africa, appeared in India and the Red Sea, as if they had descended through the air from a distant planet. In the first moments of their interview, the subjects of Rome and Alexandria observed the resemblance, rather than the difference, of their faith; and each nation expected the most important benefits from an alliance with their Christian brethren. In their lonely situation, the Æthiopians had almost relapsed into the savage life. Their vessels, which had traded to Ceylon, scarcely presumed to navigate the rivers of Africa; the ruins of Axum were deserted, the nation was scattered in villages, and the emperor, a pompous name, was content, both in peace and war, with the immoveable residence of a camp. Conscious of their own indigence, the Abyssinians had formed the rational project of importing the arts and ingenuity of Europe;<sup>157</sup> and their ambassadors at Rome and Lisbon were instructed to solicit a colony of smiths, carpenters, tilers, masons, printers, surgeons, and physicians, for the use of their country. But the public danger soon called for the instant and effectual aid of arms and soldiers, to defend an unwarlike people from the barbarians who ravaged the inland country, and the Turks and Arabs who advanced from the sea-coast in more formidable array. Æthiopia was saved by four hundred and fifty Portuguese, who displayed in the field the native valour of Europeans, and the artificial powers of the musket and cannon. In a moment of terror, the emperor had promised to reconcile himself and his subjects to the Catholic faith: a Latin patriarch represented the supremacy of the pope;<sup>158</sup> the empire, enlarged in a tenfold proportion, was supposed to contain more gold than the mines of America; and the wildest hopes of avarice and zeal were built on the willing submission of the Christians of Africa.

But the vows which pain had extorted, were forsworn on the return of health. The Abyssinians still adhered with unshaken constancy to the Monophysite faith; their languid belief was inflamed by the exercise of dispute; they branled the Latins with the names of Arians and Nestorians, and imputed the adoration of *four* gods, to those who separated the two natures of Christ. Fremona, a place of worship, or rather of exile, was assigned to the Jesuit missionaries. Their skill in the liberal and mechanic arts, their theological learning, and the decency of their manners, inspired a barren esteem; but

they were not endowed with the gift of miracles,<sup>159</sup> and they vainly solicited a reinforcement of European troops. The patience and dexterity of forty years at length obtained a more favourable audience, and two emperors of Abyssinia were persuaded that Rome could ensure the temporal and everlasting happiness of her votaries. The first of these royal converts lost his crown and his life; and the rebel army was sanctified by the *abuna*, who hurled an anathema at the apostate, and absolved his subjects from their oath of fidelity. The fate of Zadelghel was revenged by the courage and fortune of Susneus, who ascended the throne under the name of Segued, and more vigorously prosecuted the pious enterprise of his kinsman. After the amusement of some unequal combats between the Jesuits and his illiterate priests, the emperor declared himself a proselyte to the synod of Chalcedon, presuming that his clergy and people would embrace without delay the religion of their prince. The liberty of choice was succeeded by a law, which imposed, under pain of death, the belief of the two natures of Christ: the Abyssinians were enjoined to work and to play on the Sabbath; and Segued, in the face of Europe and Africa, renounced his connection with the Alexandrian church. A Jesuit, <sup>Conversion of the emperor. A.D. 1626.</sup> Alphonso Mendez, the Catholic patriarch of Æthiopia, accepted in the name of Urban VIII. the homage and abjuration of his penitent. "I confess," said, the emperor on his knees, "I confess that the pope is the vicar of Christ, the successor of St. Peter, and the sovereign of the world. To him I swear true obedience, and at his feet I offer my person and kingdom." A similar oath was repeated by his son, his brother, the clergy, the nobles, and even the ladies of the court: the Latin patriarch was invested with honours and wealth; and his missionaries erected their churches or citadels in the most convenient stations of the empire. The Jesuits themselves deplore the fatal indiscretion of their chief, who forgot the mildness of the Gospel and the policy of his order, to introduce with hasty violence the liturgy of Rome, and the inquisition of Portugal. He condemned the ancient practice of circumcision, which health rather than superstition had first invented in the climate of Æthiopia.<sup>160</sup> A new baptism, a new ordination, was inflicted on the natives; and they trembled with horror when the most holy of the dead were torn from their graves, when the most illustrious of the living were excommunicated by a foreign priest. In the defence of their religion and liberty, the Abyssinians rose in arms, with desperate but unsuccessful zeal.

<sup>157</sup> Ludolph. Hist. Æthiop. l. iv. c. 5. The most necessary arts are now exercised by the Jews, and the foreign trade is in the hands of the Armenians. What Gregory principally admired and envied was the industry of Europe — arts et opibus.

<sup>158</sup> John Bermudez, whose relation, printed at Lisbon, 1609, was translated into English by Purchas (Pilgrims, l. vi. c. 7 p. 1119, &c.), and from thence into French by La Croze (Christianité des Æthiopiens, p. 92, 285). The piece is curious, but the author may be suspected of deceiving Abyssinia, Rome, and Portugal. His title to the rank of patriarch is dark and doubtful (Ludolph. Comment. No. 101, p. 475.).

<sup>159</sup> Religio Romana . . . nec precebus patrum nec miraculis ab ipso editis suffragantibus, is the one miracle and assurance of the devout emperor Susneus to his patriarch Mendez (Ludolph. Comment.

No. 126. p. 529.); and such assurances should be preciously kept, as an antidote against any marvellous legends.

<sup>160</sup> I am aware how tender is the question of circumcision. Yet I will affirm, 1. That the Æthiopians have a physical reason for the circumcision of males, and even of females (Recherches Philosophiques sur les Æthiopiens, tom. ii. l. 2. That it was practised in Ethiopia long before the introduction of Judaism or Christianity (L'Asiote, l. ii. c. 104. Marsham's Chron. p. 72, 73). "In festis circumcisi sunt omnes viri et omnes mulieres," says Gregory the Alexandrian priest (apud Fabric. l. ix. c. 1. p. 126). Yet, in the heat of dispute, the Portuguese were sometimes treated with the name of *non circumcisi* (La Croze, p. 50. Ludolph. Hist. and Comment. l. iii. c. 1.).

Five rebellions were extinguished in the blood of the insurgents : two abunas were slain in battle, whole legions were slaughtered in the field, or suffocated in their caverns ; and neither meritorious death the enemies of Rome. But the victorious monarch was finally subdued by the constancy of the nation, of his mother, of his son, and of his most faithful friends. Segued listened to the voice of pity, of reason, perhaps of fear ; and his edict of liberty of conscience instantly revealed the tyranny and weakness of the Jesuits. On the death of his father, Basilides expelled the Latin patriarch, and restored to the wishes of the nation the faith and the discipline of Egypt. The Monophysite churches resounded with a song of triumph, " that " sheep of Ethiopia were now de-  
Final expulsion of the Jesuits.  
A.D. 1644, &c.
livered from the hyenas of the  
 " West ;" and the gates of that so-  
 litary realm were for ever shut against the arts, the science, and the fanaticism of Europe, 161

Final expulsion  
of the Jesuits.  
A.D. 1654, &c.

CHAP. XLVIII.

*Plan of the remaining Chapters. — Succession and Characters of the Greek Emperors of Constantinople, from the Time of Heraclius to the Latin Conquest.*

I HAVE now deduced from Trajan to Constantine, from Constantine to Heraclius, the regular series of the Roman emperors; and faithfully exposed the prosperous and adverse fortunes of their reigns. Five centuries of the decline and fall of the empire have already elapsed; but a period of more than eight hundred years still separates me from the term of my labours, the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. Should I persevere in the same course, should I observe the same measure, a prolix and slender thread would be spun through many a volume, nor would the patient reader find an adequate reward of instruction or amusement. At every step, as we sink deeper in the decline and fall of the Eastern empire, the annals of each succeeding reign would impose a more ungrateful and melancholy task. These annals must continue to repeat a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery; the natural connection of causes and events would be broken by frequent and hasty transitions, and a minute accumulation of circumstances must destroy the light and effect of those general pictures which compose the use and ornament of a remote history. From the time of Heraclius, the Byzantine theatre is contracted and darkened: the line of empire, which had been defined by the laws of Justinian and the arms of Belisarius, recedes on all sides from our view: the Roman name, the proper subject of our enquiries, is reduced to a narrow corner of

Europe, to the lonely suburbs of Constantinople; and the fate of the Greek empire has been compared to that of the Rhine, which loses itself in the sands, before its waters can mingle with the ocean. The scale of dominion is diminished to our view by the distance of time and place: nor is the loss of external splendour compensated by the nobler gifts of virtue and genius. In the last moments of her decay, Constantinople was doubtless more opulent and populous than Athens at her most flourishing æra, when a scanty sum of six thousand talents, or twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, was possessed by twenty-one thousand male citizens of an adult age. But each of these citizens was a freeman, who dared to assert the liberty of his thoughts, words, and actions; whose person and property were guarded by equal law; and who exercised his independent vote in the government of the republic. Their numbers seem to be multiplied by the strong and various discriminations of character: under the shield of freedom, on the wings of emulation and vanity, each Athenian aspired to the level of the national dignity: from this commanding eminence, some chosen spirits soared beyond the reach of a vulgar eye; and the chances of superior merit in a great and populous kingdom, as they are proved by experience, would excuse the computation of imaginary millions. The territories of Athens, Sparta, and their allies, do not exceed a moderate province of France or England: but after the trophies of Salamis and Platea, they expand in our fancy to the gigantic size of Asia, which had been trampled under the feet of the victorious Greeks. But the subjects of the Byzantine empire, who assume and dishonour the names both of Greeks and Romans, present a dead uniformity of abject vices, which are neither softened by the weakness of humanity, nor animated by the vigour of memorable crimes. The freemen of antiquity might repeat with generous enthusiasm the sentence of Homer, "that on the first day of his servitude, the captive is deprived of one half of his manly virtue." But the poet had only seen the effects of civil or domestic slavery, nor could he foretell that the second moiety of manhood must be annihilated by the spiritual despotism, which shackles, not only the actions, but even the thoughts of the prostrate votary. By this double yoke, the Greeks were oppressed under the successors of Heraclius; the tyrant, a law of eternal justice, was degraded by the vices of his subjects; and on the throne, in the camp, in the schools, we search, perhaps with fruitless diligence, the names and characters that may deserve to be rescued from oblivion. Nor are the defects of the subject compensated by the skill and variety of the painters. Of a space of eight hundred years, the four first centuries are overspread with a cloud interrupted by some faint and broken rays of historic light:

161 The three Protestant churches in Lausanne (Huguenot, Fribourgeoise, Francfort) published a joint statement in 1960. The statement was published in French, German and English. It was signed by the three churches and the Lausanne Conference of 1960. It was a statement of the churches' position on the issue of nuclear weapons. It was a statement of the churches' position on the issue of nuclear weapons. It was a statement of the churches' position on the issue of nuclear weapons.

frankness; but their most flagitious vice, the spirit of persecution, was in their eyes the most meritorious virtue. I had hoped to possess some, though a slight, advantage from the Erlang language, and the personal conversation of the great, free-spirited Tibetan priest, whom he had sent from Rome to the court of Peking to see the Emperor. The *Journal* of Father Ryer, *Le Pater*, Lux Evangelique, p. 736-738.

in the lives of the emperors, from Maurice to Alexius, Basil the Macedonian has alone been the theme of a separate work; and the absence, or loss, or imperfection of contemporary evidence, must be poorly supplied by the doubtful authority of more recent compilers. The four last centuries are exempt from the reproach of penury: and with the Comnenian family, the historic muse of Constantinople again revives, but her apparel is gaudy, her motions are without elegance or grace. A succession of priests, or courtiers, treads in each other's footsteps in the same path of servitude and superstition: their views are narrow, their judgment is feeble or corrupt; and we close the volume of copious barrenness, still ignorant of the causes of events, the characters of the actors, and the manners of the times, which they celebrate or deplore. The observation which has been applied to a man, may be extended to a whole people, that the energy of the sword is communicated to the pen; and it will be found by experience, that the tone of history will rise or fall with the spirit of the age.

From these considerations, I should have abandoned without regret the Greek slaves and their servile historians, had I not reflected that the fate of the Byzantine monarchy is *passively* connected with the most splendid and important revolutions which have changed the state of the world. The space of the lost provinces was immediately replenished with new colonies and rising kingdoms: the active virtues of peace and war deserted from the vanquished to the victorious nations; and it is in their origin and conquests, in their religion and government, that we must explore the causes and effects of the decline and fall of the Eastern empire. Nor will this scope of narrative, the riches and variety of these materials, be incompatible with the unity of design and composition. As, in his daily prayers, the Mussulman of Fez or Delhi still turns his face towards the temple of Mecca, the historian's eye shall be always fixed on the city of Constantinople. The excursive line may embrace the wilds of Arabia and Tartary, but the circle will be ultimately reduced to the decreasing limit of the Roman monarchy.

On this principle I shall now establish the plan of the remaining chapters of the present work. The first chapter will contain, in a regular series, the emperors who reigned at Constantinople during a period of six hundred years, from the days of Heraclius to the Latin conquest: a rapid abstract, which may be supported by a *general* appeal to the order and text of the original historians. In this introduction, I shall confine myself to the revolutions of the throne, the succession of families, the personal characters of the Greek princes, the mode of their life and death, the maxims and influence of their domestic government, and the tendency of their reign to accelerate or suspend the downfall of the Eastern empire. Such a chronological review will serve to illustrate the various argument of the subsequent chapters, and each circumstance of the

eventful story of the barbarians will adapt itself in a proper place to the Byzantine annals. The internal state of the empire, and the dangerous heresy of the Paulicians, which shook the East and enlightened the West, will be the subject of two separate chapters; but these enquiries must be postponed till our farther progress shall have opened the view of the world in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era. After this foundation of Byzantine history, the following nations will pass before our eyes, and each will occupy the space to which it may be entitled by greatness or merit, or the degree of connection with the Roman world and the present age.

I. THE FRANKS; a general appellation which includes all the barbarians of France, Italy, and Germany, who were united by the sword and sceptre of Charlemagne. The persecution of images and their votaries separated Rome and Italy from the Byzantine throne, and prepared the restoration of the Roman empire in the West.

II. THE ARABS OR SARACENS. Three ample chapters will be devoted to this curious and interesting object. In the first, after a picture of the country and its inhabitants, I shall investigate the character of Mahomet; the character, religion, and success of the prophet. In the second I shall lead the Arabs to the conquest of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the provinces of the Roman empire; nor can I check their victorious career till they have overthrown the monarchies of Persia and Spain. In the third I shall enquire how Constantinople and Europe were saved by the luxury and arts, the division and decay, of the empire of the caliphs. A single chapter will include, III. THE BULGARIANS, IV. HUNGARIANS, and, V. RUSSIANS, who assaulted by sea or by land the provinces and the capital; but the last of these, so important in their present greatness, will excite some curiosity in their origin and infancy. VI. THE NORMANS; or rather the private adventurers of that warlike people, who founded a powerful kingdom in Apulia and Sicily, shook the throne of Constantinople, displayed the trophies of chivalry, and almost realised the wonders of romance.

VII. THE LATINs; the subjects of the pope, the nations of the West, who enlisted under the banner of the cross for the recovery or relief of the holy sepulchre. The Greek emperors were terrified and preserved by the myriads of pilgrims who marched to Jerusalem with Godfrey of Bouillon and the peers of Christendom. The second and third crusades trod in the footsteps of the first: Asia and Europe were mingled in a sacred war of two hundred years; and the Christian powers were bravely resisted, and finally expelled, by Saladin and the Mamelukes of Egypt. In these memorable crusades, a fleet and army of French and Venetians were diverted from Syria to the Thracian Bosphorus: they assaulted the capital, they subverted the Greek monarchy: and a dynasty of Latin princes was seated near threescore years on the throne of Constantine. VIII. THE GREEKS themselves, during this period of captivity and exile, must be considered as a foreign nation; the enemies, and again the sovereigns, of Constantinople.

Its connection with the revolutions of the world.

Plan of the remaining chapters.

Misfortune had rekindled a spark of national virtue; and the Imperial series may be continued with some dignity from their restoration to the Turkish conquest. IX. The MOGULS and TARTARS. By the arms of Zingis and his descendants, the globe was shaken from China to Poland and Greece: the sultans were overthrown: the caliphs fell, and the Cæsars trembled on their throne. The victories of Timour suspended above fifty years the final ruin of the Byzantine empire. X. I have already noticed the first appearance of the TURKS; and the names of the fathers, of *Seljuk* and *Othman*, discriminate the two successive dynasties of the nation, which emerged in the eleventh century from the Scythian wilderness. The former established a potent and splendid kingdom from the banks of the Oxus to Antioch and Nice; and the first crusade was provoked by the violation of Jerusalem and the danger of Constantinople. From an humble origin, the *Ottomans* arose, the scourge and terror of Christendom. Constantinople was besieged and taken by Mahomet II., and his triumph annihilates the remnant, the image, the title, of the Roman empire in the East. The schism of the Greeks will be connected with their last calamities, and the restoration of learning in the Western world. I shall return from the captivity of the new, to the ruins of ancient Rome: and the venerable name, the interesting theme, will shed a ray of glory on the conclusion of my labours.

Second marriage and death of Heraclius.

The emperor Heraclius had punished a tyrant and ascended his throne; and the memory of his reign is perpetuated by the transient conquest, and irreparable loss, of the Eastern provinces. After the death of Eudocia, his first wife, he disobeyed the patriarch, and violated the laws, by his second marriage with his niece Martina; and the superstition of the Greeks beheld the judgment of heaven in the diseases of the father and the deformity of his offspring. But the opinion of an illegitimate birth is sufficient to distract the choice, and loosen the obedience of the people: the ambition of Martina was quickened by maternal love, and perhaps by the envy of a step-mother; and the aged husband was too feeble to withstand the arts of conjugal allurements. Constantine, his eldest son, enjoyed in a mature age the title of Augustus; but the weakness of his constitution required a colleague and a guardian, and he yielded with secret reluctance to the partition of the empire. The senate was summoned to the palace to ratify or attest the association of Heraclionas, the son of Martina: the imposition of the diadem was consecrated by the prayer and blessing of the patriarch; the senators and patricians adored the majesty of the great emperor and the partners of his reign; and as soon as the doors were thrown open, they were hailed by the tumultuary but important voice of the soldiers. After an interval of five months, the pompous ceremonies which formed the es-

A. D. 635, July 1.

A. D. 637, January.

sence of the Byzantine state were celebrated in the cathedral and the hippodrome: the concord of the royal brothers was affectingly displayed by the younger leaning on the arm of the elder; and the name of Martina was mingled in the reluctant or vocal acclamations of the people. Heraclius survived this association about two years; his last testament declared his two sons the equal heirs of the Eastern empire, and commanded them to honour his widow Martina as their mother and their sovereign.

A. D. 611, Feb. 11.

When Martina first appeared on the throne with the name and attributes of royalty, she was checked by a firm, though respectful, opposition; and the dying embers of freedom were kindled by the breath of superstitious prejudice. "We reverence," exclaimed the voice of a citizen, "we reverence the mother of our princes; but to those princes alone our obedience is due: and Constantine, the elder emperor, is of an age to sustain, in his own hands, the weight of the sceptre. Your sex is excluded by nature from the toils of government. How could you combat, how could you answer, the barbarians who, with hostile intentions, may approach the royal city? May heaven avert from the Roman republic this national disgrace, which would provoke the patience of the slaves of Persia!" Martina descended from the throne with indignation, and sought a refuge in the female apartment of the palace. The reign of Constantine the Third lasted only one hundred and three days: he expired in the thirtieth year of his age, and, although his life had been a long malady, a belief was entertained that poison had been the means, and his cruel stepmother the author, of his untimely fate. Martina reaped indeed the harvest of his death, and assumed the government in the name of the surviving emperor; but the incestuous widow of Heraclius was universally abhorred; the jealousy of the people was awakened, and the two orphans whom Constantine had left, became the objects of the public care. It was in vain that the son of Martina, who was no more than fifteen years of age, was taught to declare himself the guardian of his nephews, one of whom he had presented at the baptismal font: it was in vain that he swore on the wood of the true cross, to defend them against all their enemies. On his deathbed, the late emperor had despatched a trusty servant to arm the troops and provinces of the East in the defence of his helpless children: the eloquence and liberality of Valentin had been successful, and from his camp of Chalcedon he boldly demanded the punishment of the assassins, and the restoration of the lawful heir. The licence of the soldiers, who devoured the grapes and drank the wine of their Asiatic vineyards, provoked the citizens of Constantinople against the domestic authors of their calamities, and the dome of St. Sophia re-echoed, not with prayers and hymns, but with the clamours and imprecations of an enraged multitude. At their imperious command, Heraclionas appeared in the

Constantine III. A. D. 641, February.

Heraclionas. A. D. 641, May 25.

pulpit with the eldest of the royal orphans; Constans alone was saluted as emperor of the Romans, and a crown of gold, which had been taken from the tomb of Heraclius, was placed on his head, with the solemn benediction of the patriarch. But in the tumult of joy and indignation, the church was pillaged, the sanctuary was polluted by a promiscuous crowd of Jews and barbarians; and the Monothelite Pyrrhus, a creature of the empress, after dropping a protestation on the altar, escaped by a prudent flight from the zeal of the Catholics. A more serious and bloody task was reserved for the senate, who derived a temporary strength from the consent of the soldiers and people. The spirit of Roman freedom revived the ancient and awful examples of the judgment of tyrants, and the Imperial culprits were deposed and condemned as the authors of the death of Constantine. But the severity of the conscript fathers was stained by the indiscriminate punishment of the innocent and the guilty: Martina and

Punishment of  
Martina and  
Heraclonas.  
A. D. 641,  
September.

Heraclonas were sentenced to the amputation, the former of her tongue, the latter of his nose; and after this cruel execution, they consumed the remainder of their days in exile and oblivion. The Greeks who were capable of reflection might find some consolation for their servitude, by observing the abuse of power when it was lodged for a moment in the hands of an aristocracy.

We shall imagine ourselves transported five hundred years backwards to the age of the Antonines, if we listen to the oration which Constans II. pronounced in the twelfth year of his age before the Byzantine senate. After returning his thanks for the just punishment of the assassins, who had intercepted the fairest hopes of his father's reign, "By the divine providence," said the young emperor, "and by your righteous decree, Martina and her incestuous progeny have been cast headlong from the throne. Your majesty and wisdom have prevented the Roman state from degenerating into lawless tyranny. I therefore exhort and beseech you to stand forth as the counsellors and judges of the common safety." The senators were gratified by the respectful address and liberal donative of their sovereign; but these servile Greeks were unworthy and regardless of freedom; and in his mind, the lesson of an hour was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age and the habits of despotism. He retained only a jealous fear lest the senate or people should one day invade the right of primogeniture, and seat his brother Theodosius on an equal throne. By the imposition of holy orders, the grandson of Heraclius was disqualified for the purple; but this ceremony, which seemed to profane the sacraments of the church, was insufficient to appease the suspicions of the tyrant, and the death of the deacon Theodosius could alone expiate the crime of his royal birth. His murder was avenged by the imprecations of the people, and the assassin, in the fulness of power, was driven from his capital into voluntary and perpetual exile. Con-

stans embarked for Greece; and, as if he meant to retort the abhorrence which he deserved, he is said, from the Imperial galley, to have spit against the walls of his native city. After passing the winter at Athens, he sailed to Tarentum in Italy, visited Rome, and concluded a long pilgrimage of disgrace and sacrilegious rapine, by fixing his residence at Syracuse. But if Constans could fly from his people, he could not fly from himself. The remorse of his conscience created a phantom who pursued him by land and sea, by day and by night; and the visionary Theodosius, presenting to his lips a cup of blood, said, or seemed to say, "Drink, brother, drink;" a sure emblem of the aggravation of his guilt, since he had received from the hands of the deacon the mystic cup of the blood of Christ. Odious to himself and to mankind, Constans perished by domestic, perhaps by episcopal, treason, in the capital of Sicily. A servant who waited in the bath, after pouring warm water on his head, struck him violently with the vase. He fell, stunned by the blow, and suffocated by the water; and his attendants, who wondered at the tedious delay, beheld with indifference the corpse of their lifeless emperor. The troops of Sicily invested with the purple an obscure youth, whose inimitable beauty eluded, and it might easily elude, the declining art of the painters and sculptors of the age.

Constans had left in the Byzantine palace three sons, the eldest of whom had been clothed in his infancy with the purple. When the father summoned them to attend his person in Sicily, these precious hostages were detained by the Greeks, and a firm refusal informed him that they were the children of the state. The news of his murder was conveyed with almost supernatural speed from Syracuse to Constantinople; and Constantine, the eldest of his sons, inherited his throne without being the heir of the public hatred. His subjects contributed, with zeal and alacrity, to chastise the guilt and presumption of a province which had usurped the rights of the senate and people; the young emperor sailed from the Hellespont with a powerful fleet; and the legions of Rome and Carthage were assembled under his standard in the harbour of Syracuse. The defeat of the Sicilian tyrant was easy, his punishment just, and his beautiful head was exposed in the hippodrome: but I cannot applaud the clemency of a prince, who, among a crowd of victims, condemned the son of a patrician, for deploring with some bitterness the execution of a virtuous father. The youth was castrated: he survived the operation, and the memory of this indecent cruelty is preserved by the elevation of Germanus to the rank of a patriarch and saint. After pouring this bloody libation on his father's tomb, Constantine returned to his capital, and the growth of his young beard during the Sicilian voyage, was announced by the familiar surname of Pogonatus, to the Grecian world. But his reign, like that of his predecessor, was stained with fraternal discord. On his two brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius, he had bestowed the title of

Constantine IV.  
Pogonatus.  
A. D. 668,  
September.

Augustus: an empty title, for they continued to languish, without trust or power, in the solitude of the palace. At their secret instigation, the troops of the Anatolian *theme* or province approached the city on the Asiatic side, demanded for the royal brothers the partition or exercise of sovereignty, and supported their seditious claim by a theological argument. They were Christians (they cried), and orthodox Catholics; the sincere votaries of the holy and undivided Trinity. Since there are three equal persons in heaven, it is reasonable there should be three equal persons upon earth. The emperor invited these learned divines to a friendly conference, in which they might propose their arguments to the senate: they obeyed the summons, but the prospect of their bodies hanging on the gibbet in the suburb of Galata, reconciled their companions to the unity of the reign of Constantine. He pardoned his brothers, and their names were still pronounced in the public acclamations: but on the repetition or suspicion of a similar offence, the obnoxious princes were deprived of their titles and noses, in the presence of the Catholic bishops who were assembled at Constantinople in the sixth general synod. In the close of his life, Pogonatus was anxious only to establish the right of primogeniture: the hair of his two sons, Justinian and Heraclius, was offered on the shrine of St. Peter, as a symbol of their spiritual adoption by the pope; but the elder was alone exalted to the rank of Augustus, and the assurance of the empire.

Justinian II.  
A. D. 685.  
September.

After the decease of his father, the inheritance of the Roman world devolved to Justinian II.; and the name of a triumphant lawgiver was dishonoured by the vices of a boy, who imitated his namesake only in the expensive luxury of building. His passions were strong; his understanding was feeble; and he was intoxicated with a foolish pride, that his birth had given him the command of millions, of whom the smallest community would not have chosen him for their local magistrate. His favourite ministers were two beings the least susceptible of human sympathy, an eunuch and a monk: to the one he abandoned the palace, to the other the finances; the former corrected the emperor's mother with a scourge, the latter suspended the insolvent tributaries, with their heads downwards, over a slow and smoky fire. Since the days of Commodus and Caracalla, the cruelty of the Roman princes had most commonly been the effect of their fear; but Justinian, who possessed some vigour of character, enjoyed the sufferings, and braved the revenge, of his subjects, about ten years, till the measure was full of his crimes and of their patience. In a dark dungeon, Leontius, a general of reputation, had groaned above three years, with some of the noblest and most deserving of the patricians: he was suddenly drawn forth to assume the government of Greece; and this promotion of an injured man was a mark of the contempt rather than of the confidence of his prince. As he was followed to the port by the kind offices of his friends, Leontius observed with a sigh

that he was a victim adorned for sacrifice, and that inevitable death would pursue his footsteps. They ventured to reply, that glory and empire might be the recompense of a generous resolution; that every order of men abhorred the reign of a monster; and that the hands of two hundred thousand patriots expected only the voice of a leader. The night was chosen for their deliverance; and in the first effort of the conspirators, the prefect was slain, and the prisons were forced open: the emissaries of Leontius proclaimed in every street, "Christians, to St. Sophia!" and the seasonable text of the patriarch, "This is the day of the Lord!" was the prelude of an inflammatory sermon. From the church the people adjourned to the hippodrome: Justinian, in whose cause not a sword had been drawn, was dragged before these tumultuary judges, and their clamours demanded the instant death of the tyrant. But Leontius, who was already clothed with the purple, cast an eye of pity on the prostrate son of his own benefactor and of so many emperors. The life of Justinian was spared; the amputation of his nose, perhaps of his tongue, was imperfectly performed: the happy flexibility of the Greek language could impose the name of Rhinotmetus; and the mutilated tyrant was banished to Chersonœ in Crim-Tartary, a lonely settlement, where corn, wine, and oil, were imported as foreign luxuries.

On the edge of the Scythian wilderness, Justinian still cherished <sup>His exile.</sup>  
A. D. 695-705.

the pride of his birth, and the hope of his restoration. After three years' exile, he received the pleasing intelligence that his injury was avenged by a second revolution, and that Leontius in his turn had been dethroned and mutilated by the rebel Apsimar, who assumed the more respectable name of Tiberius. But the claim of lineal succession was still formidable to a plebeian usurper; and his jealousy was stimulated by the complaints and charges of the Chersonites, who beheld the vices of the tyrant in the spirit of the exile. With a band of followers, attached to his person by common hope or common despair, Justinian fled from the inhospitable shore to the horde of the Chozars, who pitched their tents between the Tanais and Borysthenes. The khan entertained with pity and respect the royal suppliant: Phanagoria, once an opulent city, on the Asiatic side of the lake Meotis, was assigned for his residence; and every Roman prejudice was stilled in his marriage with the sister of the barbarian, who seems, however, from the name of Theodora, to have received the sacrament of baptism. But the faithless Chozar was soon tempted by the gold of Constantinople; and had not the design been revealed by the conjugal love of Theodora, her husband must have been assassinated, or betrayed into the power of his enemies. After strangling, with his own hands, the two emissaries of the khan, Justinian sent back his wife to her brother, and embarked on the Euxine in search of new and more faithful allies. His vessel was assailed by a violent tempest; and one of his pious companions advised him to de-



serve the mercy of God by a vow of general forgiveness, if he should be restored to the throne. "Of forgiveness?" replied the intrepid tyrant: "may I perish this instant—may the Almighty overwhelm me in the waves—if I consent to spare a single head of my enemies!" He survived this impious menace, sailed into the mouth of the Danube, trusted his person in the royal village of the Bulgarians, and purchased the aid of Terbelis, a pagan conqueror, by the promise of his daughter and a fair partition of the treasures of the empire. The Bulgarian kingdom extended to the confines of Thrace; and the two princes besieged Constantinople at the head of fifteen thousand horse. Apsimar was dismayed by the sudden and hostile apparition of his rival, whose head had been promised by the Chozar, and of whose evasion he was yet ignorant. After an absence of ten years, the crimes of Justinian were faintly remembered, and the birth and misfortunes of their hereditary sovereign excited the pity of the multitude, ever discontented with the ruling powers; and by the active diligence of his adherents he was introduced into the city and palace of Constantine.

His restoration  
and death.  
A. D. 705-711.

In rewarding his allies, and recalling his wife, Justinian displayed some sense of honour and gratitude; and Terbelis retired, after sweeping away an heap of gold coin, which he measured with his Scythian whip. But never was vow more religiously performed than the sacred oath of revenge which he had sworn amidst the storms of the Euxine. The two usurpers, for I must reserve the name of tyrant for the conqueror, were dragged into the hippodrome, the one from his prison, the other from his palace. Before their execution, Leontius and Apsimar were cast prostrate in chains beneath the throne of the emperor; and Justinian, planting a foot on each of their necks, contemplated above an hour the chariot-race, while the inconstant people shouted, in the words of the Psalmist, "Thou shalt trample on the asp and basilisk, and on the lion and dragon shalt thou set thy foot!" The universal defection which he had once experienced might provoke him to repeat the wish of Caligula, that the Roman people had but one head. Yet I shall presume to observe, that such a wish is unworthy of an ingenious tyrant, since his revenge and cruelty would have been extinguished by a single blow, instead of the slow variety of tortures which Justinian inflicted on the victims of his anger. His pleasures were inexhaustible: neither private virtue nor public service could expiate the guilt of active, or even passive, obedience to an established government; and during the six years of his new reign, he considered the axe, the cord, and the rack, as the only instruments of royalty. But his most implacable hatred was pointed against the Chersonites, who had insulted his exile and violated the laws of hospitality. Their remote situation afforded some means of defence, or at least of escape; and a grievous tax was imposed on Constantinople, to supply the preparations of a fleet and army. "All are guilty, and all

"must perish," was the mandate of Justinian; and the bloody execution was intrusted to his favourite Stephen, who was recommended by the epithet of the savage. Yet even the savage Stephen imperfectly accomplished the intentions of his sovereign. The slowness of his attack allowed the greater part of the inhabitants to withdraw into the country; and the minister of vengeance contented himself with reducing the youth of both sexes to a state of servitude, with roasting alive seven of the principal citizens, with drowning twenty in the sea, and with reserving forty-two in chains to receive their doom from the mouth of the emperor. In their return, the fleet was driven on the rocky shores of Anatolia; and Justinian applauded the obedience of the Euxine, which had involved so many thousands of his subjects and enemies in a common shipwreck: but the tyrant was still insatiate of blood; and a second expedition was commanded to extirpate the remains of the proscribed colony. In the short interval, the Chersonites had returned to their city, and were prepared to die in arms; the khan of the Chozars had renounced the cause of his odious brother; the exiles of every province were assembled in Tauris; and Bardanes, under the name of Philippicus, was invested with the purple. The Imperial troops, unwilling and unable to perpetrate the revenge of Justinian, escaped his displeasure by abjuring his allegiance: the fleet, under their new sovereign, steered back a more auspicious course to the harbours of Sinope and Constantinople; and every tongue was prompt to pronounce, every hand to execute, the death of the tyrant. Destitute of friends, he was deserted by his barbarian guards; and the stroke of the assassin was praised as an act of patriotism and Roman virtue. His son Tiberius had taken refuge in a church; his aged grandmother guarded the door; and the innocent youth, suspending round his neck the most formidable relics, embraced with one hand the altar, with the other the wood of the true cross. But the popular fury that dares to trample on superstition, is deaf to the cries of humanity; and the race of Heraclius was extinguished after a reign of one hundred years.

Between the fall of the Heraclian and the rise of the Isaurian dynasty, a short interval of six years is divided into three reigns. Bardanes, or Philippicus, was hailed at Constantinople, as an hero who had delivered his country from a tyrant; and he might taste some moments of happiness in the first transports of sincere and universal joy. Justinian had left behind him an ample treasure, the fruit of cruelty and rapine: but this useful fund was soon and idly dissipated by his successor. On the festival of his birthday, Philippicus entertained the multitude with the games of the hippodrome; from thence he paraded through the streets with a thousand banners and a thousand trumpets; refreshed himself in the baths of Zeuxippus; and returning to the palace, entertained his nobles with a sumptuous banquet. At the meridian hour he withdrew to his chamber, intoxicated with flat-

Philippicus.  
A. D. 711.  
December.

tery and wine, and forgetful that his example had made every subject ambitious, and that every ambitious subject was his secret enemy. Some bold conspirators introduced themselves in the disorder of the feast; and the slumbering monarch was surprised, bound, blinded, and deposed, before he was sensible of his danger. Yet the traitors were deprived of their reward; and the free voice of the senate and people promoted Ar-

Anastasius II.  
A. D. 715,  
June 4. temnius from the office of secretary to that of emperor: he assumed the title of Anastasius the Second, and

displayed in a short and troubled reign the virtues both of peace and war. But, after the extinction of the Imperial line, the rule of obedience was violated, and every change diffused the seeds of new revolutions. In a mutiny of the fleet, an obscure and reluctant officer of the revenue was forcibly invested with the purple: after some months of a naval war,

Theodosius III.  
A. D. 717,  
January. Anastasius resigned the sceptre; and the conqueror, Theodosius the

Third, submitted in his turn to the superior ascendant of Leo, the general and emperor of the Oriental troops. His two predecessors were permitted to embrace the ecclesiastical profession: the restless impatience of Anastasius tempted him to risk and to lose his life in a treasonable enterprise; but the last days of Theodosius were honourable and secure. The single sublime word, "HEALTH," which he inscribed on his tomb, expresses the confidence of philosophy or religion; and the fame of his miracles was long preserved among the people of Ephesus. This convenient shelter of the church might sometimes impose a lesson of clemency; but it may be questioned whether it is for the public interest to diminish the perils of unsuccessful ambition.

Leo III. the  
Isaurian.  
A. D. 717,  
March 25. I have dwelt on the fall of a tyrant; I shall briefly represent the founder of a new dynasty, who is known to posterity by the invectives of his enemies, and whose public and private life is involved in the ecclesiastical story of the Iconoclasts. Yet, in spite of the clamours of superstition, a favourable prejudice for the character of Leo the Isaurian may be reasonably drawn from the obscurity of his birth, and the duration of his reign. — I. In an age of manly spirit, the prospect of an Imperial reward would have kindled every energy of the mind, and produced a crowd of competitors as deservng as they were desirous to reign. Even in the corruption and debility of the modern Greeks, the elevation of a plebeian from the last to the first rank of society, supposes some qualifications above the level of the multitude. He would probably be ignorant and disdainful of speculative science; and, in the pursuit of fortune, he might absolve himself from the obligations of benevolence and justice: but to his character we may ascribe the useful virtues of prudence and fortitude, the knowledge of mankind, and the important art of gaining their confidence and directing their passions. It is agreed that Leo was a native of Isauria, and that Conon was his primitive name. The writers, whose awkward satire is praise,

describe him as an itinerant pedlar, who drove an ass with some paltry merchandise to the country fairs; and foolishly relate that he met on the road some Jewish fortune-tellers, who promised him the Roman empire, on condition that he should abolish the worship of idols. A more probable account relates the migration of his father from Asia Minor to Thrace, where he exercised the lucrative trade of a grazier; and he must have acquired considerable wealth, since the first introduction of his son was procured by a supply of five hundred sheep to the Imperial camp. His first service was in the garrds of Justinian, where he soon attracted the notice, and by degrees the jealousy, of the tyrant. His valour and dexterity were conspicuous in the Colchian war: from Anastasius he received the command of the Anatolian legions, and by the suffrage of the soldiers he was raised to the empire with the general applause of the Roman world. — II. In this dangerous elevation, Leo the Third supported himself against the envy of his equals, the discontent of a powerful faction, and the assaults of his foreign and domestic enemies. The Catholics, who accuse his religious innovations, are obliged to confess that they were undertaken with temper and conducted with fineness. Their silence respects the wisdom of his administration and the purity of his manners. After a reign of twenty-four years, he peaceably expired in the palace of Constantinople; and the purple which he had acquired, was transmitted by the right of inheritance to the third generation.

Constantine V  
Copronymus.  
A. D. 741,  
June 15. In a long reign of thirty-four years, the son and successor of Leo, Constantine the Fifth, surnamed Copronymus, attacked with less temperate zeal the images or idols of the church. Their votaries have exhausted the bitterness of religious gall in their portrait of this spotted panther, this antichrist, this flying dragon of the serpent's seed, who surpassed the vices of Elagabalus and Nero. His reign was a long butchery of whatever was most noble, or holy, or innocent, in his empire. In person, the emperor assisted at the execution of his victims, surveyed their agonies, listened to their groans, and indulged, without satiating, his appetite for blood: a plate of noses was accepted as a grateful offering, and his domestics were often scourged or mutilated by the royal hand. His surname was derived from his pollution of his baptismal font. The infant might be excused; but the manly pleasures of Copronymus degraded him below the level of a brute; his lust confounded the eternal distinctions of sex and species; and he seemed to extract some unnatural delight from the objects most offensive to human sense. In his religion, the Iconoclast was an Heretic, a Jew, a Mahometan, a Pagan, and an Atheist; and his belief of an invisible power could be discovered only in his magic rites, human victims, and nocturnal sacrifices to Venus and the demons of antiquity. His life was stained with the most opposite vices, and the ulcers which covered his body, anticipated before his death the sentiment of hell-torments. Of these accusations, which I have so patiently

copied, a part is refuted by its own absurdity; and in the private anecdotes of the life of princes, the lie is more easy as the detection is more difficult. Without adopting the pernicious maxim, that where much is alleged, something must be true, I can however discern, that Constantine the Fifth was dissolute and cruel. Calumny is more prone to exaggerate than to invent; and her licentious tongue is checked in some measure by the experience of the age and country to which she appeals. Of the bishops and monks, the generals and magistrates, who are said to have suffered under his reign, the numbers are recorded, the names were conspicuous, the execution was public, the mutilation visible and permanent. The Catholics hated the person and government of Copronymus; but even their hatred is a proof of their oppression. They dissemble the provocations which might excuse or justify his rigour, but even these provocations must gradually inflame his resentment, and harden his temper in the use or the abuse of despotism. Yet the character of the fifth Constantine was not devoid of merit, nor did his government always deserve the curses or the contempt of the Greeks. From the confession of his enemies, I am informed of the restoration of an ancient aqueduct, of the redemption of two thousand five hundred captives; of the uncommon plenty of the times, and of the new colonies with which he re-peopled Constantinople and the Thracian cities. They reluctantly praise his activity and courage; he was on horseback in the field at the head of his legions; and, although the fortune of his arms was various, he triumphed by sea and land, on the Euphrates and the Danube, in civil and barbarian war. Heretical praise must be cast into the scale, to counterbalance the weight of orthodox invective. The Iconoclasts revered the virtues of the prince: forty years after his death, they still prayed before the tomb of the saint. A miraculous vision was propagated by fanaticism or fraud; and the Christian hero appeared on a milk-white steed, brandishing his lance against the Pagans of Bulgaria: "an absurd fable," says the Catholic historian, "since Copronymus is claimed 'with the demons in the abyss of hell.'"

Leo the Fourth, the son of the  
Leo IV.  
 A. D. 775,  
 Sept. 14. fifth and the father of the sixth Constantine, was of a feeble constitution both of mind and body, and the principal care of his reign was the settlement of the succession. The association of the young Constantine was urged by the officious zeal of his subjects; and the emperor, conscious of his decay, complied, after a prudent hesitation, with their unanimous wishes. The royal infant, at the age of five years, was crowned with his mother Irene; and the national consent was ratified by every circumstance of pomp and solemnity, that could dazzle the eyes, or bind the conscience, of the Greeks. An oath of fidelity was administered in the palace, the church, and the hippodrome, to the several orders of the state, who adjured the holy names of the son, and mother, of God. "Be witness, O Christ! that we will watch over the safety of Constantine the son of Leo, ex-

"pose our lives in his service, and bear true allegiance to his person and posterity." They pledged their faith on the wood of the true cross, and the act of their engagement was deposited on the altar of St. Sophia. The first to swear, and the first to violate their oath, were the five sons of Copronymus by a second marriage; and the story of these princes is singular and tragic. The right of primogeniture excluded them from the throne; the injustice of their elder brother defrauded them of a legacy of about two millions sterling; some vain titles were not deemed a sufficient compensation for wealth and power; and they repeatedly conspired against their nephew, before and after the death of his father. Their first attempt was pardoned; for the second offence they were condemned to the ecclesiastical state; and for the third treason, Nicephorus, the eldest and most guilty, was deprived of his eyes, and his four brothers, Christopher, Nicetas, Anthemius, and Eudoxas, were punished, as a milder sentence, by the amputation of their tongues. After five years' confinement, they escaped to the church of St. Sophia, and displayed a pathetic spectacle to the people. "Countrymen and Christians," cried Nicephorus for himself and his mute brethren, "behold the sons of your emperor, if you can still recognise our features in this miserable state. A life, an imperfect life, is all that the malice of our enemies has spared. It is now threatened, and we now throw ourselves on your compassion." The rising murmur might have produced a revolution, had it not been checked by the presence of a minister, who soothed the unhappy princes with flattery and hope, and gently drew them from the sanctuary to the palace. They were speedily embarked for Greece, and Athens was allotted for the place of their exile. In this calm retreat, and in their helpless condition, Nicephorus and his brothers were tormented by the thirst of power, and tempted by a Slavonian chief, who offered to break their prison, and to lead them in arms, and in the purple, to the gates of Constantinople. But the Athenian people, ever zealous in the cause of Irene, prevented her justice or cruelty; and the five sons of Copronymus were plunged in eternal darkness and oblivion.

For himself, that emperor had  
Constantine VI.  
 and Irene.  
 A. D. 783,  
 Sept. 5. chosen a barbarian wife, the daughter of the kien of the Chozars; but in the marriage of his heir, he preferred an Athenian virgin, an orphan, seventeen years old, whose sole fortune must have consisted in her personal accomplishments. The nuptials of Leo and Irene were celebrated with royal pomp; she soon acquired the love and confidence of a feeble husband, and in his testament he declared the empress, guardian of the Roman world, and of their son Constantine the Sixth, who was no more than ten years of age. During his childhood, Irene most ably and assiduously discharged, in her public administration, the duties of a faithful mother; and her zeal in the restoration of images has deserved the name and honours of a saint, which she still occupies in the Greek calendar. But the emperor attained

the maturity of youth; the maternal yoke became more grievous; and he listened to the favourites of his own age, who shared his pleasures, and were ambitious of sharing his power. Their reasons convinced him of his right, their praises of his ability, to reign; and he consented to reward the services of Irene by a perpetual banishment to the isle of Sicily. But her vigilance and penetration easily disconcerted their rash projects: a similar, or more severe, punishment was retaliated on themselves and their advisers: and Irene inflicted on the ungrateful prince the chastisement of a boy. After this contest, the mother and the son were at the head of two domestic factions; and, instead of mild influence and voluntary obedience, she held in chains a captive and an enemy. The empress was overthrown by the abuse of victory; the oath of fidelity, which she exacted to herself alone, was pronounced with reluctant murmurs; and the bold refusal of the Armenian guards encouraged a free and general declaration, that Constantine the Sixth was the lawful emperor of the Romans. In this character he ascended his hereditary throne, and dismissed Irene to a life of solitude and repose. But her haughty spirit condescended to the arts of dissimulation: she flattered the bishops and eunuchs, revived the filial tenderness of the prince, regained his confidence, and betrayed his credulity. The character of Constantine was not destitute of sense or spirit; but his education had been studiously neglected; and his ambitious mother exposed to the public censure the vices which she had nourished, and the actions which she had secretly advised: his divorce and second marriage offended the prejudices of the clergy, and by his imprudent rigour he forfeited the attachment of the Armenian guards. A powerful conspiracy was formed for the restoration of Irene; and the secret, though widely diffused, was faithfully kept above eight months, till the emperor, suspicious of his danger, escaped from Constantinople, with the design of appealing to the provinces and armies. By this hasty flight, the empress was left on the brink of the precipice; yet before she implored the mercy of her son, Irene addressed a private epistle to the friends whom she had placed about his person, with a menace, that unless they accomplished, *she* would reveal, their treason. Their fear rendered them intrepid; they seized the emperor on the Asiatic shore; and he was transported to the porphyry apartment of the palace, where he had first seen the light. In the mind of Irene, ambition had stifled every sentiment of humanity and nature; and it was decreed in her bloody council, that Constantine should be rendered incapable of the throne: her emissaries assailed the sleeping prince, and stabbed their daggers with such violence and precipitation into his eyes, as if they meant to execute a mortal sentence. An ambiguous passage of Theophanes persuaded the annalist of the church that death was the immediate consequence of this barbarous execution. The Catholics have been deceived or subdued by the authority of Baronius; and Protestant zeal has re-echoed the words of a cardinal, desirous, as it should seem, to favour the

patroness of images. Yet the blind son of Irene survived many years, oppressed by the court and forgotten by the world: the Isaurian dynasty was silently extinguished, and the memory of Constantine was recalled only by the nuptials of his daughter Euphrosyne with the emperor Michael the Second.

The most bigoted orthodoxy has justly execrated the unnatural mother, <sup>Irene. A.D. 793, August 12.</sup> who may not easily be paralleled in the history of crimes. To her bloody deed, superstition has attributed a subsequent darkness of seventeen days, during which many vessels in mid-day were driven from their course, as if the sun, a globe of fire so vast and so remote, could sympathise with the atoms of a revolving planet. On earth, the crime of Irene was left five years unpunished; her reign was crowned with external splendour; and if she could silence the voice of conscience, she neither heard nor regarded the reproaches of mankind. The Roman world bowed to the government of a female; and as she moved through the streets of Constantinople, the reins of four milk-white steeds were held by as many patricians, who marched on foot before the golden chariot of their queen. But these patricians were for the most part eunuchs; and their black ingratitude justified, on this occasion, the popular hatred and contempt. Raised, enriched, intrusted with the first dignities of the empire, they basely conspired against their benefactress: the great treasurer Nicephorus was secretly invested with the purple; her successor was introduced into the palace, and crowned at St. Sophia by the venal patriarch. In their first interview, she recapitulated with dignity the revolutions of her life, gently accused the perfidy of Nicephorus, insinuated that he owed his life to her unsuspecting clemency, and for the throne and treasures which she resigned, solicited a decent and honourable retreat. His avarice refused this modest compensation; and, in her exile of the isle of Lesbos, the empress earned a scanty subsistence by the labours of her distaff.

Many tyrants have reigned, undoubtedly more criminal than Nicephorus, but none perhaps have more deeply incurred the universal abhorrence of their people. His character was stained with the three odious vices of hypocrisy, ingratitude, and avarice: his want of virtue was not redeemed by any superior talents, nor his want of talents, by any pleasing qualifications. Unskilful and unfortunate in war, Nicephorus was vanquished by the Saracens, and slain by the Bulgarians; and the advantage of his death overbalanced, in the public opinion, the destruction of a Roman army. His son and heir Stauracius escaped from the field with a mortal wound: yet six months of an expiring life was sufficient to refute his indecent, though popular declaration, that he would in all things avoid the example of his father. On the near prospect of his decease, Michael, the great master of the palace, and the husband of his sister Procopia, was named by every person of the palace and city, except by his envious bro-

Nicephorus I.  
A.D. 802,  
October 31.

Stauracius,  
A.D. 811,  
July 23.

ther. Tenacious of a sceptre now falling from his hand, he conspired against the life of his successor, and cherished the idea of changing to a democracy the Roman empire. But these rash projects served only to inflame the zeal of the people, and to remove the scruples of the candidate: Michael the First accepted the purple, and before he sunk into the grave, the son of Nicephorus implored the clemency of his new sove-

Michael I.  
Rhaugabe.  
A. D. 811.  
October 2.

reign. Had Michael in an age of peace ascended an hereditary throne, he might have reigned and died the father of his people: but his mild virtues were adapted to the shade of private life, nor was he capable of controlling the ambition of his equals, or of resisting the arms of the victorious Bulgarians. While his want of ability and success exposed him to the contempt of the soldiers, the masculine spirit of his wife Procopia awakened their indignation. Even the Greeks of the ninth century were provoked by the insolence of a female, who, in the front of the standards, presumed to direct their discipline and animate their valour; and their licentious clamours advised the new Semiramis to reverence the majesty of a Roman camp. After an unsuccessful campaign, the emperor left, in their winter-quarters of Thrace, a disaffected army under the command of his enemies; and their artful eloquence persuaded the soldiers to break the dominion of the eunuchs, to degrade the husband of Procopia, and to assert the right of a military election. They marched towards the capital: yet the clergy, the senate, and the people of Constantinople, adhered to the cause of Michael; and the troops and treasures of Asia might have protracted the mischiefs of civil war. But his humanity (hy the ambitious, it will be termed his weakness) protested that not a drop of Christian blood should be shed in his quarrel, and his messengers presented the conquerors with the keys of the city and the palace. They were disarmed by his innocence and submission; his life and his eyes were spared; and the Imperial monk enjoyed the comforts of solitude and religion above thirty-two years after he had been stripped of the purple and separated from his wife.

Leo V. the  
Armenian  
A. D. 813.  
Jan. 11.

A rebel, in the time of Nicephorus, the famous and unfortunate Bardanes, had once the curiosity to consult an Asiatic prophet, who, after prognosticating his fall, announced the fortunes of his three principal officers, Leo the Armenian, Michael the Phrygian, and Thomas the Cappadocian, the successive reigns of the two former, the fruitless and fatal enterprise of the third. This prediction was verified, or rather was produced by the event. Ten years afterwards, when the Thracian camp rejected the husband of Procopia, the crown was presented to the same Leo, the first in military rank and the secret author of the mutiny. As he affected to hesitate, "With this sword," said his companion Michael, "I will open the gates of Constantinople to your Imperial sway; or instantly plunge it into your bosom, if you obstinately resist the just desires of your fellow-soldiers." The compliance of the Armenian was rewarded

with the empire, and he reigned seven years and an half under the name of Leo the Fifth. Educated in a camp, and ignorant both of laws and letters, he introduced into his civil government the rigour and even cruelty of military discipline; but if his severity was sometimes dangerous to the innocent, it was always formidable to the guilty. His religious inconstancy was taxed by the epithet of Chameleon; but the Catholics have acknowledged, by the voice of a saint and confessors, that the life of the Iconoclast was useful to the republic. The zeal of his companion Michael was repaid with riches, honours, and military command; and his subordinate talents were beneficially employed in the public service. Yet the Phrygian was dissatisfied at receiving as a favour a scanty portion of the Imperial prize which he had bestowed on his equal; and his discontent, which sometimes evaporated in hasty discourse, at length assumed a more threatening and hostile aspect against a prince whom he represented as a cruel tyrant. That tyrant, however, repeatedly detected, warned, and dismissed the old companion of his arms, till fear and resentment prevailed over gratitude; and Michael, after a scrutiny into his actions and designs, was convicted of treason, and sentenced to be burnt alive in the furnace of the private baths. The devout humanity of the empress Theophano was fatal to her husband and family. A solemn day, the twenty-fifth of December, had been fixed for the execution; she urged that the anniversary of the Saviour's birth would be profaned by this inhuman spectacle, and Leo consented with reluctance to a decent respite. But on the vigil of the feast, his sleepless anxiety prompted him to visit at the dead of night the chamber in which his enemy was confined: he beheld him released from his chain, and stretched on his gaoler's bed in a profound slumber: Leo was alarmed at these signs of security and intelligence; but though he retired with silent steps, his entrance and departure were noticed by a slave who lay concealed in a corner of the prison. Under the pretence of requesting the spiritual aid of a confessor, Michael informed the conspirators that their lives depended on his discretion, and that a few hours were left to assure their own safety, by the deliverance of their friend and country. On the great festivals, a chosen band of priests and chanters was admitted into the palace by a private gate to sing matins in the chapel; and Leo, who regulated with the same strictness the discipline of the choir and of the camp, was seldom absent from those early devotions. In the ecclesiastical habit, but with swords under their robes, the conspirators mingled with the procession, lurked in the angles of the chapel, and expected, as the signal of murder, the intonation of the first psalm by the emperor himself. The imperfect light, and the uniformity of dress, might have favoured his escape, while their assault was pointed against an harmless priest; but they soon discovered their mistake, and encompassed on all sides the royal victim. Without a weapon and without a friend, he grasped a weighty cross, and stood at bay against the hunters of his life; but

as he asked for mercy, "This is the hour, not of mercy, but of vengeance," was the inexorable reply. The stroke of a well-aimed sword separated from his body the right arm and the cross, and Leo the Armenian was slain at the foot of the altar.

Michael II. the Stammerer. A memorable reverse of fortune was displayed in Michael the Second, who, from a defect in his speech, was surnamed the Stammerer. He was snatched from the fiery furnace to the sovereignty of an empire; and as in the tumult a smith could not readily be found, the fetters remained on his legs several hours after he was seated on the throne of the Caesars. The royal blood which had been the price of his elevation, was unprofitably spent; in the purple he retained the ignoble vices of his origin; and Michael lost his provinces with as supine indifference as if they had been the inheritance of his fathers. His title was disputed by Thomas, the last of the military triumvirate, who transported into Europe four-score thousand barbarians from the banks of the Tigris and the shores of the Caspian. He formed the siege of Constantinople; but the capital was defended with spiritual and carnal weapons; a Bulgarian king assaulted the camp of the Orientals, and Thomas had the misfortune, or the weakness, to fall alive into the power of the conqueror. The hands and feet of the rebel were amputated; he was placed on an ass, and, amidst the insults of the people, was led through the streets, which he sprinkled with his blood. The depravation of manners, as savage as they were corrupt, is marked by the presence of the emperor himself. Deaf to the lamentations of a fellow-soldier, he incessantly pressed the discovery of more accomplices, till his curiosity was checked by the question of an honest or guilty minister, "Would you give credit to an enemy, against the most faithful of your friends?" After the death of his first wife, the emperor, at the request of the senate, drew from her monastery Euphrosyne, the daughter of Constantine the Sixth. Her august birth might justify a stipulation in the marriage-contract, that her children should equally share the empire with their elder brother. But the nuptials of Michael and Euphrosyne were barren; and she was content with the title of mother of Theophilus, his son and successor.

The character of Theophilus is a rare example in which religious zeal has allowed, and perhaps magnified, the virtues of an heretic and a persecutor. His valour was often felt by the enemies, and his justice by the subjects, of the monarchy; but the valour of Theophilus was rash and fruitless, and his justice arbitrary and cruel. He displayed the banner of the cross against the Saracens; but his five expeditions were concluded by a signal overthrow; Amorium, the native city of his ancestors, was levelled with the ground; and from his military toils, he derived only the surname of the Unfortunate. The wisdom of a sovereign is comprised in the institution of laws and the choice of magistrates, and while he seems without action, his civil government revolves

round his centre with the silence and order of the planetary system. But the justice of Theophilus was fashioned on the model of the Oriental despots, who, in personal and irregular acts of authority, consult the reason or passion of the moment, without measuring the sentence by the law, or the penalty by the offence. A poor woman threw herself at the emperor's feet to complain of a powerful neighbour, the brother of the empress, who had raised his palace-wall to such an inconvenient height, that her humble dwelling was excluded from light and air! On the proof of the fact, instead of granting, like an ordinary judge, sufficient or ample damages to the plaintiff, the sovereign adjudged to her use and benefit the palace and the ground. Nor was Theophilus content with this extravagant satisfaction: his zeal converted a civil trespass into a criminal act; and the unfortunate patrician was stripped and scourged in the public place of Constantinople. For some venial offences, some defect of equity or vigilance, the principal ministers, a præfect, a quaestor, a captain of the guards, were banished or mutilated, or scalded with boiling pitch, or burnt alive in the hippodrome; and as these dreadful examples might be the effects of error or caprice, they must have alienated from his service the best and wisest of the citizens. But the pride of the monarch was flattered in the exercise of power, or as he thought, of virtue; and the people, safe in their obscurity, applauded the danger and debasement of their superiors. This extraordinary rigour was justified, in some measure, by its salutary consequences; since, after a scrutiny of seventeen days, not a complaint or abuse could be found in the court or city: and it might be alleged that the Greeks could be ruled only with a rod of iron, and that the public interest is the motive and law of the supreme judge. Yet in the crime, or the suspicion, of treason, that judge is of all others the most credulous and partial. Theophilus might inflict a tardy vengeance on the assassin of Leo and the saviours of his father; but he enjoyed the fruits of their crime; and his jealous tyranny sacrificed a brother and a prince to the future safety of his life. A Persian of the race of the Sassanides died in poverty and exile at Constantinople, leaving an only son, the issue of a plebeian marriage. At the age of twelve years, the royal birth of Theophobus was revealed, and his merit was not unworthy of his birth. He was educated in the Byzantine palace, a Christian and a soldier; advanced with rapid steps in the career of fortune and glory; received the hand of the emperor's sister, and was promoted to the command of thirty thousand Persians, who, like his father, had fled from the Mahometan conquerors. These troops, doubly infected with mercenary and fanatic vices, were desirous of revolting against their benefactor, and erecting the standard of their native king: but the loyal Theophobus rejected their offers, disconcerted their schemes, and escaped from their hands to the camp or palace of his royal brother. A generous confidence might have secured a faithful and able guardian for his wife and his infant son, to whom Theophilus, in the flower

of his age, was compelled to leave the inheritance of the empire. But his jealousy was exasperated by envy and disease: he feared the dangerous virtues which might either support or oppress their infancy and weakness; and the dying emperor demanded the head of the Persian prince. With savage delight, he recognised the familiar features of his brother: "Thou art no longer Theophilus," he said: and sinking on his couch, he added, with a faltering voice, "Soon, too soon, I shall be no more Theophilus!"

The Russians, who have borrowed from the Greeks the greatest part of their civil and ecclesiastical policy, preserved, till the last century, a singular institution in the marriage of the czar. They collected, not the virgins of every rank and of every province, a vain and romantic idea, but the daughters of the principal nobles, who awaited in the palace the choice of their sovereign. It is affirmed, that a similar method was adopted in the nuptials of Theophilus. With a golden apple in his hand, he slowly walked between two lines of contending beauties: his eye was detained by the charms of Icasia, and, in the awkwardness of a first declaration, the prince could only observe, that, in this world, women had been the cause of much evil: "And surely, sir," she pertly replied, "they have likewise been the occasion of much good." This affectation of unseasonable wit displeased the imperial lover: he turned aside in disgust; Icasia concealed her mortification in a convent; and the modest silence of Theodora was rewarded with the golden apple. She deserved the love, but did not escape the severity, of her lord. From the palace garden he beheld a vessel deeply laden, and steering into the port: on the discovery that the precious cargo of Syrian luxury was the property of his wife, he condemned the ship to the flames, with a sharp reproach, that her avarice had degraded the character of an empress into that of a merchant.

Yet his last choice intrusted her with the guardianship of the empire and her son Michael, who was left an orphan in the fifth year of his age. The restoration of images, and the final extirpation of the Iconoclasts, has endeared her name to the devotion of the Greeks, but in the fervour of religious zeal, Theodora entertained a grateful regard for the memory and salvation of her husband. After thirteen years of a prudent and frugal administration, she perceived the decline of her influence; but the second Irene imitated only the virtues of her predecessor. Instead of conspiring against the life or government of her son, she retired, without a struggle, though not without a murmur, to the solitude of private life, deploring the ingratitude, the vices, and the inevitable ruin, of the worthless youth.

Among the successors of Nero and Elagabalus, we have not hitherto found the imitation of their vices, the character of a Roman prince who considered pleasure as the object of life, and virtue as the enemy of pleasure. Whatever might have been the maternal care of Theodora in the education of Michael the Third, her unfortunate son was a king before he was a man. If the

ambitious mother laboured to check the progress of reason, she could not cool the ebullition of passion; and her selfish policy was justly repaid by the contempt and ingratitude of the headstrong youth. At the age of eighteen, he rejected her authority, without feeling his own incapacity to govern the empire and himself. With Theodora, all gravity and wisdom retired from the court; their place was supplied by the alternate dominion of vice and folly; and it was impossible, without forfeiting the public esteem, to acquire or preserve the favour of the emperor. The millions of gold and silver which had been accumulated for the service of the state, were lavished on the vilest of men, who flattered his passions and shared his pleasures; and in a reign of thirteen years, the richest of sovereigns was compelled to strip the palace and the churches of their precious furniture. Like Nero, he delighted in the amusements of the theatre, and sighed to be surpassed in the accomplishments in which he should have blushed to excel. Yet the studies of Nero in music and poetry betrayed some symptoms of a liberal taste; the more ignoble arts of the son of Theophilus were confined to the chariot-race of the hippodrome. The four factions which had agitated the peace, still amused the idleness, of the capital: for himself, the emperor assumed the blue livery; the three rival colours were distributed to his favourites, and in the vile though eager contention he forgot the dignity of his person and the safety of his dominions. He silenced the messenger of an invasion, who presumed to divert his attention in the most critical moment of the race; and by his command, the importunate beacons were extinguished, that too frequently spread the alarm from Tarsus to Constantinople. The most skillful charioteers obtained the first place in his confidence and esteem; their merit was profusely rewarded; the emperor feasted in their houses, and presented their children at the baptismal font; and while he applauded his own popularity, he affected to blame the cold and stately reserve of his predecessors. The unnatural lusts which had degraded even the manhood of Nero, were banished from the world; yet the strength of Michael was consumed by the indulgence of love and intemperance. In his midnight revels, when his passions were inflamed by wine, he was provoked to issue the most sanguinary commands; and if any feelings of humanity were left, he was reduced, with the return of sense, to approve the salutary disobedience of his servants. But the most extraordinary feature in the character of Michael, is the profane mockery of the religion of his country. The superstition of the Greeks might indeed excite the smile of a philosopher: but his smile would have been rational and temperate, and he must have condemned the ignorant folly of a youth who insulted the objects of public veneration. A buffoon of the court was invested in the robes of the patriarch; his twelve metropolitans, among whom the emperor was ranked, assumed their ecclesiastical garments: they used or abused the sacred vessels of the altar; and in their hecchanallian feasts, the holy communion was administered in a nauseous

Michael III.  
A. D. 842,  
January 20.

compound of vinegar and mustard. Nor were these impious spectacles concealed from the eyes of the city. On the day of a solemn festival, the emperor, with his bishops or bishops, rode on asses through the streets, encountered the true patriarch at the head of his clergy, and by their licentious shouts and obscene gestures disordered the gravity of the Christian procession. The devotion of Michael appeared only in some offence to reason or piety: he received his theatrical crowns from the statue of the Virgin; and an imperial tomb was violated for the sake of burning the bones of Constantine the Iconoclast. By this extravagant conduct, the son of Theophilus became as contemptible as he was odious: every citizen was impatient for the deliverance of his country; and even the favourites of the moment were apprehensive that a caprice might snatch away what a caprice had bestowed. In the thirtieth year of his age, and in the hour of intoxication and sleep, Michael the Third was murdered in his chamber by the founder of a new dynasty, whom the emperor had raised to an equality of rank and power.

Basil I. the Macedonian. A. D. 867, September 24.

The genealogy of Basil the Macedonian (if it be not the spurious offspring of pride and flattery) exhibits a genuine picture of the revolution of the most illustrious families. The Arsacides, the rivals of Rome, possessed the sceptre of the East near four hundred years: a younger branch of these Parthian kings continued to reign in Armenia; and their royal descendants survived the partition and servitude of that ancient monarchy. Two of these, Artabanus and Chilenes, escaped or retired to the court of Leo the First; his bounty seated them in a safe and hospitable exile, in the province of Macedonia: Adrianople was their final settlement. During several generations they maintained the dignity of their birth; and their Roman patriotism rejected the tempting offers of the Persian and Arabian powers, who recalled them to their native country. But their splendour was insensibly clouded by time and poverty; and the father of Basil was reduced to a small farm, which he cultivated with his own hands: yet he scorned to disgrace the blood of the Arsacides by a plebeian alliance: his wife, a widow of Adrianople, was pleased to count among her ancestors the great Constantine; and their royal infant was connected by some dark affinity of lineage or country with the Macedonian Alexander. No sooner was he born, than the cradle of Basil, his family, and his city, were swept away by an inundation of the Bulgarians: he was educated a slave in a foreign land; and in this severe discipline, he acquired the hardness of body and flexibility of mind which promoted his future elevation. In the age of youth or manhood he shared the deliverance of the Roman captives, who generously broke their fetters, marched through Bulgaria to the shores of the Euxine, defeated two armies of barbarians, embarked in the ships which had been stationed for their reception, and returned to Constantinople, from whence they were distributed to

their respective homes. But the freedom of Basil was naked and destitute: his farm was ruined by the calamities of war; after his father's death, his manual labour, or service, could no longer support a family of orphans; and he resolved to seek a more conspicuous theatre, in which every virtue and every vice may lead to the paths of greatness. The first night of his arrival at Constantinople, without friends or money, the weary pilgrim slept on the steps of the church of St. Dionysius: he was fed by the casual hospitality of a monk; and was introduced to the service of a cousin and name-ake of the emperor Theophilus; who, though himself of a diminutive person, was always followed by a train of tall and handsome domestics. Basil attended his patron to the government of Peloponnesus; eclipsed, by his personal merit, the birth and dignity of Theophilus, and formed an useful connection with a wealthy and charitable matron of Patras. Her spiritual or carnal love embraced the young adventurer, whom she adopted as her son. Danielis presented him with thirty slaves; and the produce of her bounty was expended in the support of his brothers, and the purchase of some large estates in Macedonia. His gratitude or ambition still attached him to the service of Theophilus; and a lucky accident recommended him to the notice of the court. A famous wrestler, in the train of the Bulgarian ambassadors, had defied, at the royal banquet, the boldest and most robust of the Greeks. The strength of Basil was praised; he accepted the challenge; and the barbarian champion was overthrown at the first onset. A beautiful but vicious horse was condemned to be hamstringed: it was subdued by the dexterity and courage of the servant of Theophilus; and his conqueror was promoted to an honourable rank in the Imperial stables. But it was impossible to obtain the confidence of Michael without complying with his vices; and his new favourite, the great chamberlain of the palace, was raised and supported by a disgraceful marriage with a royal concubine, and the dishonour of his sister, who succeeded to her place. The public administration had been abandoned to the Cæsar Bardas, the brother and enemy of Theodora; but the arts of female influence persuaded Michael to hate and to fear his uncle: he was drawn from Constantinople, under the pretence of a Cretan expedition, and stabbed in the tent of audience, by the sword of the chamberlain, and in the presence of the emperor. About a month after this execution, Basil was invested with the title of Augustus and the government of the empire. He supported this unequal association till his influence was fortified by popular esteem. His life was endangered by the caprice of the emperor; and his dignity was profaned by a second colleague, who had rowed in the galleys. Yet the murder of his benefactor must be condemned as an act of ingratitude and treason; and the churches which he dedicated to the name of St. Michael, were a poor and puerile expiation of his guilt.



The different ages of Basil the First may be compared with those of Augustus. The situation of the Greek did not allow him in his earliest youth to lead an army against his country, or to proscribe the noblest of her sons; but his aspiring genius stooped to the arts of a slave; he dissembled his ambition and even his virtues, and grasped, with the bloody hand of an assassin, the empire which he ruled with the wisdom and tenderness of a parent. A private citizen may feel his interest repugnant to his duty; but it must be from a deficiency of sense or courage, that an absolute monarch can separate his happiness from his glory, or his glory from the public welfare. The life or panegyric of Basil has indeed been composed and published under the long reign of his descendants; but even their stability on the throne may be justly ascribed to the superior merit of their ancestor. In his character, his grandson Constantine has attempted to delineate a perfect image of royalty: but that feeble prince, unless he had copied a real model, could not easily have soared so high above the level of his own conduct or conceptions. But the most solid praise of Basil is drawn from the comparison of a ruined and flourishing monarchy, that which he wrested from the dissolute Michael, and that which he bequeathed to the Macedonian dynasty. The evils which had been sanctified by time and example, were corrected by his master-hand; and he revived, if not the national spirit, at least the order and majesty of the Roman empire. His application was indefatigable, his temper cool, his understanding vigorous and decisive; and in his practice he observed that rare and salutary moderation, which pursues each virtue, at an equal distance between the opposite vices. His military service had been confined to the palace; nor was the emperor endowed with the spirit or the talents of a warrior. Yet under his reign the Roman arms were again formidable to the barbarians. As soon as he had formed a new army by discipline and exercise, he appeared in person on the banks of the Euphrates, curbed the pride of the Saracens, and suppressed the dangerous though just revolt of the Manicheans. His indignation against a rebel who had long eluded his pursuit, provoked him to wish and to pray, that by the grace of God, he might drive three arrows into the head of Chrysosour. That odious head, which had been obtained by treason rather than by valour, was suspended from a tree, and thrice exposed to the dexterity of the Imperial archer—a base revenge against the dead, more worthy of the times, than of the character of Basil. But his principal merit was in the civil administration of the finances and of the laws. To replenish an exhausted treasury, it was proposed to resume the lavish and ill-placed gifts of his predecessor: his prudence abated one moiety of the restitution; and a sum of twelve hundred thousand pounds was instantly procured to answer the most pressing demands, and to allow some space for the mature operations of economy. Among the various schemes for the improvement of the revenue, a new mode was

suggested of capitation, or tribute, which would have too much depended on the arbitrary discretion of the assessors. A sufficient list of honest and able agents was instantly produced by the minister; but on the more careful scrutiny of Basil himself, only two could be found, who might be safely intrusted with such dangerous powers; and they justified his esteem by declining his confidence. But the serious and successful diligence of the emperor established by degrees an equitable balance of property and payment, of receipt and expenditure: a peculiar fund was appropriated to each service; and a public method secured the interest of the prince and the property of the people. After reforming the luxury, he assigned two patrimonial estates to supply the decent plenty, of the Imperial table—the contributions of the subject were reserved for his defence; and the residue was employed in the embellishment of the capital and provinces. A taste for building, however costly, may deserve some praise and much excuse: from thence industry is fed, art is encouraged, and some object is attained of public emolument or pleasure. the use of a road, an aqueduct, or an hospital, is obvious and solid; and the hundred churches that arose by the command of Basil, were consecrated to the devotion of the age. In the character of a judge, he was assiduous and impartial; desirous to save, but not afraid to strike: the oppressors of the people were severely chastised; but his personal foes, whom it might be unsafe to pardon, were condemned, after the loss of their eyes to a life of solitude and repentance. The change of language and manners demanded a revision of the obsolete jurisprudence of Justinian: the voluminous body of his Institutes, Pandects, Code, and Novels, was digested under forty titles, in the Greek idiom; and the *Basiles*, which were improved and completed by his son and grandson, must be referred to the original genius of the founder of their race. This glorious reign was terminated by an accident in the chase. A furious stag entangled his horns in the belt of Basil, and raised him from his horse: he was rescued by an attendant, who cut the belt and slew the animal; but the fall, or the fever, exhausted the strength of the aged monarch, and he expired in the palace, amidst the tears of his family and people. If he struck off the head of the faithful servant, for presuming to draw his sword against his sovereign; the pride of despotism, which had been dominant in his life, revived in the last moments of despair, when he no longer wanted or valued the opinion of mankind.

Of the four sons of the emperor, Leo VI. the Philosopher, A.D. 886, March 1. Constantine died before his father, whose grief and credulity were amused by a flattering impostor and a vain apparition. Stephen, the youngest, was content with the honours of a patriarch and a saint; both Leo and Alexander were alike invested with the purple, but the powers of government were solely exercised by the elder brother. The name of Leo the Sixth has been dignified with the title of *philosopher*, and the union of the

prince and the sage, would indeed constitute the perfection of human nature. But the claims of Leo are far short of this ideal excellence. Did he reduce his passions and appetites under the dominion of reason? His life was spent in the pomp of the palace, in the society of his wives and concubines; and even the clemency which he showed, and the peace which he strove to preserve, must be imputed to the softness and indolence of his character. Did he subdue his prejudices, and those of his subjects? His mind was tinged with the most puerile superstition; the influence of the clergy, and the errors of people, were consecrated by his laws; and the oracles of Leo, which reveal, in prophetic style, the fates of the empire, are founded on the arts of astrology and divination. If we still enquire the reason of his sage appellation, it can only be replied, that the son of Basil was less ignorant than the greater part of his contemporaries in church and state; that his education had been directed by the learned Photius; and that several books of profane and ecclesiastical science were composed by the pen, or in the name, of the Imperial philosopher. But the reputation of his philosophy and religion was overthrown by a domestic vice, the repetition of his nuptials. The primitive ideas of the merit and holiness of celibacy were preached by the monks and entertained by the Greeks. Marriage was allowed as a necessary means for the propagation of mankind; after the death of either party, the survivor might satisfy, by a second union, the weakness or the strength of the flesh: but a third marriage was censured as a state of legal fornication; and a fourth was a sin or scandal as yet unknown to the Christians of the East. In the beginning of his reign, Leo himself had abolished the state of concubines, and condemned, without annulling, third marriages: but his patriotism and love soon compelled him to violate his own laws, and to incur the penance, which in a similar case he had imposed on his subjects. In his three first alliances, his nuptial bed was unfruitful: the emperor required a female companion, and the empire a legitimate heir. The beautiful Zoe was introduced into the palace as a concubine: and after a trial of her fecundity, and the birth of Constantine, her lover declared his intention of legitimating the mother and the child, by the celebration of his fourth nuptials. But the patriarch Nicholas refused his blessing: the Imperial baptism of the young prince was obtained by a promise of separation; and the continuacious husband of Zoe was excluded from the communion of the faithful. Neither the fear of exile, nor the desertion of his children, nor the authority of the Latin church, nor the danger of failure or doubt in the succession to the empire, could bend the spirit of the inflexible monk. After the death of Leo, he was recalled from exile to the civil and ecclesiastical administration; and the edict of union which was promulgated in the name of Constantine, condemned the future scandal of fourth marriages, and left a tacit imputation on his own birth.

In the Greek language *purple* Alexander, *porphyry* are the same word: *Augustinus* VII *Porphyry*, and as the colours of nature are *regentis* May 11, inviolable, we may learn, that a dark deep red was the Tyrian dye which stained the purple of the ancients. An apartment of the Byzantine palace was lined with porphyry: it was reserved for the use of the pregnant empresses; and the royal birth of their children was expressed by the appellation of *porphyrogenite*, or born in the purple. Several of the Roman princes had been blessed with an heir; but this peculiar surname was first applied to Constantine the Seventh. His life and titular reign were of equal duration; but of fifty-four years, six had elapsed before his father's death; and the son of Leo was ever the voluntary or reluctant subject of those who oppressed his weakness or abused his confidence. His uncle Alexander, who had long been invested with the title of Augustus, was the first colleague and governor of the young prince—but in a rapid career of vice and folly, the brother of Leo already emulated the reputation of Michael; and when he was extinguished by a timely death, he entertained a project of castrating his nephew, and leaving the empire to a worthless favourite. The succeeding years of the minority of Constantine were occupied by his mother Zoe, and a succession or council of seven regents, who pursued their interest, gratified their passions, abandoned the republic, supplanted each other, and finally vanished in the presence of a soldier. From an obscure origin, Romanus Leacenus had raised himself to the command of the naval armies; and in the anarchy of the times, had deserved, or at least had obtained, the national esteem. With a victorious and affectionate fleet, he sailed from the mouth of the Danube into the harbour of Constantinople, and was hailed as the deliverer of the people, and the guardian of the prince. His supreme office was at first defined by the new appellation of father of the emperor; but Romanus soon disdained the subordinate powers of a minister, and assumed, with the titles of Caesar and Augustus, the full independence of royalty, which he held near five and twenty years. His three sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine, were successively adorned with the same honours, and the lawful emperor was degraded from the first to the fifth rank in this college of princes. Yet, in the preservation of his life and crown, he might still applaud his own fortune and the clemency of the usurper. The examples of ancient and modern history would have excused the ambition of Romanus—the powers and the laws of the empire were in his hand; the spurious birth of Constantine would have justified his exclusion; and the grave or the monastery was open to receive the son of the concubine. But Leacenus does not appear to have possessed either the virtues or the vices of a tyrant. The spirit and activity of his private life dissolved away in the sunshine of the throne; and in his licentious pleasures, he forgot the safety both of the realm he and of his family.

Of a mild and religious character, he respected the sanctity of oaths, the innocence of the youth, the memory of his parents, and the attachment of the people. The studious temper and retirement of Constantine disarmed the jealousy of power. his books and music, his pen and his pencil, were a constant source of amusement; and if he could improve a scanty allowance by the sale of his pictures, if their price was not enhanced by the name of the artist, he was endowed with a personal talent, which few princes could employ in the hour of adversity.

Constantine VII.  
A. D. 913,  
January 27.

The fall of Romanus was occasioned by his own vices and those of his children. After the decease of Christopher, his eldest son, the two surviving brothers quarrelled with each other, and conspired against their father. At the hour of noon, when all strangers were regularly excluded from the palace, they entered his apartment with an armed force, and conveyed him, in the habit of a monk, to a small island in the Propontis, which was peopled by a religious community. The rumour of this domestic revolution excited a tumult in the city; but Porphyrogenitus alone, the true and lawful emperor, was the object of the public care; and the sons of Lecapenus were taught, by tardy experience, that they had achieved a guilty and perilous enterprise for the benefit of their rival. Their sister Helena, the wife of Constantine, revealed, or supposed, their treacherous design of assassinating her husband at the royal banquet. His loyal adherents were alarmed; and the two usurpers were prevented, seized, degraded from the purple, and embarked for the same island and monastery where their father had been so lately confined. Old Romanus met them on the beach with a sarcastic smile, and, after a just reproach of their folly and ingratitude, presented his imperial colleagues with an equal share of his water and vegetable diet. In the fortieth year of his reign, Constantine the Seventh obtained the possession of the Eastern world, which he ruled, or seemed to rule, near fifteen years. But he was devoid of that energy of character which could emerge into a life of action and glory; and the studies which had amused and dignified his leisure, were incompatible with the serious duties of a sovereign. The emperor neglected the practice, to instruct his son Romanus in the theory, of government: while he indulged the habits of intemperance and sloth, he dropt the reins of the administration into the hands of Helena his wife; and, in the shifting scene of her favour and caprice, each minister was regretted in the promotion of a more worthless successor. Yet the birth and misfortunes of Constantine had endeared him to the Greeks; they excused his failings; they respected his learning, his innocence, and charity, his love of justice; and the ceremony of his funeral was mourned with the unfeigned tears of his subjects. The body, according to ancient custom, lay in state in the vestibule of the palace; and the civil and military officers, the patricians, the senate, and the clergy, approached in due order to adore and kiss the inanimate corpse of their sovereign. Before the procession moved towards the impe-

rial sepulchre, an herald proclaimed this awful admonition: "Arise, O king of the world, and obey the summons of the King of kings!"

The death of Constantine was imputed to poison; and his son Romanus, who derived that name from his maternal grandfather, ascended the throne of Constantinople. A prince, who, at the age of twenty, could be suspected of anticipating his inheritance, must have been already lost in the public esteem; yet Romanus was rather weak than wicked; and the largest share of the guilt was transferred to his wife, Theophano, a woman of base origin, masculine spirit, and flagitious manners. The sense of personal glory and public happiness, the true pleasures of royalty, were unknown to the son of Constantine; and, while the two brothers, Nicephorus and Leo, triumphed over the Saracens, the hours which the emperor owed to his people were consumed in strenuous idleness. In the morning he visited the circus; at noon he feasted the senators; the greater part of the afternoon he spent in the *sphaisterium*, or tennis-court, the only theatre of his victories; from thence he passed over to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, hunted and killed four wild boars of the largest size, and returned to the palace, proudly content with the labours of the day. In strength and beauty he was conspicuous above his equals: tall and straight as a young cypress, his complexion was fair and florid, his eyes sparkling, his shoulders broad, his nose long and aquiline. Yet even these perfections were insufficient to fix the love of Theophano; and after a reign of four years, she mingled for her husband the same deadly draught which she had composed for his father.

By his marriage with this impious woman, Romanus the younger left two sons, Basil the Second and Constantine the Ninth, and two daughters, Theophano and Anne. The eldest sister was given to Otho the Second, emperor of the West; the younger became the wife of Wolodimir, great duke and apostle of Russia, and, by the marriage of her grand-daughter with Henry the First, king of France, the blood of the Macedonians, and perhaps of the Arsacides, still flows in the veins of the Bourbon line. After the death of her husband, the empress aspired to reign in the name of her sons, the elder of whom was five, and the younger only two, years of age; but she soon felt the instability of a throne which was supported by a female who could not be esteemed, and two infants who could not be feared. Theophano looked around for a protector, and threw herself into the arms of the bravest soldier; her heart was capricious; but the deformity of the new favourite rendered it more than probable that interest was the motive and excuse of her love. Nicephorus Phocas united, in the popular opinion, the double merit of an hero and a saint. In the former character, his qualifications were genuine and splendid: the descendant of a race, illustrious by their military exploits, he had displayed, in every station, and in every province, the courage of a soldier and the conduct of a chief; and Nice-

Romanus II.  
January 19,  
A. D. 913,  
November 13.

Nicephorus II.  
February 1,  
A. D. 913,  
August 6.

phorus was crowned with recent laurels, from the important conquest of the isle of Crete. His religion was of a more ambiguous cast; and his haircloth, his fasts, his pious idiom, and his wish to retire from the business of the world, were a convenient mask for his dark and dangerous ambition. Yet he imposed on an holy patriarch, by whose influence, and by a decree of the senate, he was intrusted, during the minority of the young princes, with the absolute and independent command of the Oriental armies. As soon as he had secured the leaders and the troops, he boldly marched to Constantinople, trampled on his enemies, avowed his correspondence with the empress, and, without degrading her sons, assumed, with the title of Augustus, the pre-eminence of rank and the plenitude of power. But his marriage with Theophano was refused by the same patriarch who had placed the crown on his head; by his second nuptials he incurred a year of canonical penance; a bar of spiritual affinity was opposed to their celebration; and some evasion and perjury were required to silence the scruples of the clergy and people. The popularity of the emperor was lost in the purple: in a reign of six years he provoked the hatred of strangers and subjects; and the hypocrisy and avarice of the first Nicephorus were revived in his successor. Hypocrisy I shall never justify or palliate; but I will dare to observe, that the odious vice of avarice is of all others most hastily arraigned, and most unmercifully condemned. In a private citizen, our judgment seldom expects an accurate scrutiny into his fortune and expense; and in a steward of the public treasure, frugality is always a virtue, and the increase of taxes too often an indispensable duty. In the use of his patrimony, the generous temper of Nicephorus had been proved; and the revenue was strictly applied to the service of the state: each spring the emperor marched in person against the Saracens; and every Roman might compute the employment of his taxes in triumphs, conquests, and the security of the Eastern barrier.

Among the warriors who promoted his elevation, and served under his standard, a noble and valiant Armenian had deserved and obtained the most eminent rewards. The stature of John Zimisce was below the ordinary standard; but this diminutive body was endowed with strength, beauty, and the soul of an hero. By the jealousy of the emperor's brother, he was degraded from the office of general of the East, to that of director of the posts, and his murmurs were chastised with disgrace and exile. But Zimisce was ranked among the numerous lovers of the empress. on her intercession, he was permitted to reside at Chalcedon, in the neighbourhood of the capital. her bounty was repaid in his clandestine and amorous visits to the palace; and Theophano consented, with alacrity, to the death of an ugly and penurious husband. Some bold and trusty conspirators were concealed in her most private chambers: in the darkness of a winter night, Zimisce, with his principal companions, embarked in a small

boat, traversed the Bosphorus, landed at the palace stairs, and silently ascended a ladder of ropes, which was cast down by the female attendants. Neither his own suspicions, nor the warnings of his friends, nor the tardy aid of his brother Leo, nor the fortress which he had effected in the palace, could protect Nicephorus from a domestic foe, at whose voice every door was opened to the assassins. As he slept on a bear-skin, on the ground, he was roused by their noisy intrusion, and flinty daggers glittered before his eyes. It is doubtful whether Zimisce imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign; but he enjoyed the inhuman spectacle of revenge. The murder was protracted by insult and cruelty; and as soon as the head of Nicephorus was shown from the window, the tumult was hushed, and the Armenian was emperor of the East. On the day of his coronation, he was stopped on the threshold of St. Sophia, by the intrepid patriarch; who charged his conscience with the deed of treason and blood; and required, as a sign of repentance, that he should separate himself from his more criminal associate. This sally of apostolic zeal was not offensive to the prince, since he could neither love nor trust a woman who had repeatedly violated the most sacred obligations; and Theophano, instead of sharing his Imperial fortune, was dismissed with ignominy from his bed and palace. In their last interview, she displayed a frantic and impotent rage; accused the ingratitude of her lover; assaulted, with words and blows, her son Basil, as he stood silent and submissive in the presence of a superior colleague; and avowed her own prostitution, in proclaiming the illegitimacy of his birth. The public indignation was appeased by her exile, and the punishment of the meaner accomplices; the death of an unpopular prince was forgiven; and the guilt of Zimisce was forgotten in the splendour of his virtues. Perhaps his profusion was less useful to the state than the avarice of Nicephorus; but his gentle and generous behaviour delighted all who approached his person; and it was only in the paths of victory that he trod in the footsteps of his predecessor. The greatest part of his reign was employed in the camp and the field: his personal valour and activity were signalled on the Danube and the Tigris, the ancient boundaries of the Roman world; and by his double triumph over the Russians and the Saracens, he deserved the titles of saviour of the empire, and conqueror of the East. In his last return from Syria, he observed that the most fruitful lands of his new provinces were possessed by the eunuchs. "And is it for them," he exclaimed, with honest indignation, "that we have fought and conquered? Is it for them that we shed our blood, and exhaust the treasures of our people?" The complaint was re-echoed to the palace, and the death of Zimisce is strongly marked with the suspicion of poison.

Under this usurpation, or regency, Basil II. and of twelve years, the two lawful emperors, Basil and Constantine IX, A. D. 1057, January, 10, silently grown to the age of manhood. Their

tender years had been incapable of dominion : the respectful modesty of their attendance and salutation was due to the age and merit of their guardians, the childless ambition of those guardians had no temptation to violate their right of succession : their patrimony was ably and faithfully administered ; and the premature death of Zimisces was a loss, rather than a benefit, to the sons of Romanus. Their want of experience detained them twelve years longer the obscure and voluntary pupils of a minister, who extended his reign by persuading them to indulge the pleasures of youth, and to disdain the labours of government. In this sliken web, the weakness of Constantine was for ever entangled ; but his elder brother felt the impulse of genius and the desire of action ; he frowned, and the minister was no more. Basil was the acknowledged sovereign of Constantinople and the provinces of Europe ; but Asia was oppressed by two veteran generals, Phocas and Sclerus, who, alternately friends and enemies, subjects and rebels, maintained their independence, and laboured to emulate the example of successful usurpation. Against these domestic enemies, the son of Romanus first drew his sword, and they trembled in the presence of a lawful and high-spirited prince. The first, in the front of battle, was thrown from his horse, by the stroke of poison, or an arrow : the second, who had been twice loaded with chains, and twice invested with the purple, was desirous of ending in peace the small remainder of his days. As the aged suppliant approached the throne, with dim eyes and faltering steps, leaning on his two attendants, the emperor exclaimed, in the insolence of youth and power, “ And is this the “ man who has so long been the object of our “ terror ? ” After he had confirmed his own authority, and the peace of the empire, the trophies of Nicephorus and Zimisces would not suffer their royal pupil to sleep in the palace. His long and frequent expeditions against the Saracens were rather glorious, than useful to the empire ; but the final destruction of the kingdom of Bulgaria appears, since the time of Belisarius, the most important triumph of the Roman arms. Yet instead of applauding their victorious prince, his subjects detested the rapacious and rigid avarice of Basil ; and in the imperfect narrative of his exploits, we can only discern the courage, patience, and ferociousness, of a soldier. A private education, which could not subdue his spirit, had clouded his mind ; he was ignorant of every science ; and the remembrance of his learned and feeble grand-ire might encourage his real or affected contempt of laws and lawyers, of artists and arts. Of such a character, in such an age, superstition took a firm and lasting possession ; after the first licence of his youth, Basil the Second devoted his life, in the palace and the camp, to the penance of an hermit, wore the monastic habit under his robes and armur, observed a vow of continence, and imposed on his appetites a perpetual abstinence from wine and flesh. In the sixty-eighth year of his age, his martial spirit urged him to embark in person for a holy war against the Saracens of Sicily ; he

was prevented by death, and Basil, surnamed the Slayer of the Bulgarians, was dismissed from the world, with the blessings of the clergy and the curses of the people. After his decease, his brother Constantine enjoyed, about three years, the power, or rather the pleasures, of royalty ; and his only care was the settlement of the succession. He had enjoyed sixty-six years the title of Augustus ; and the reign of the two brothers is the longest, and most obscure, of the Byzantine history.

A lineal succession of five emperors, in a period of one hundred and sixty years, had attached the loyalty of the Greeks to the Macedonian dynasty, which had been thrice respected by the usurpers of their power. After the death of Constantine the Ninth, the last male of the royal race, a new and broken scene presents itself, and the accumulated years of twelve emperors do not equal the space of his single reign. His elder brother had preferred his private chastity to the public interest, and Constantine himself had only three daughters ; Eudocia, who took the veil, and Zoe and Theodora, who were preserved till a mature age in a state of ignorance and virginity. When their marriage was discussed in the council of their dying father, the cold or pious Theodora refused to give an heir to the empire, but her sister Zoe presented herself a willing victim at the altar. Romanus Argyrus, a patrician of a graceful person and fair reputation, was chosen for her husband, and, on his declining that honour, was informed, that blindness or death was the second alternative. The motive of his reluctance was conjugal affection, but his faithful wife sacrificed her own happiness to his safety and greatness ; and her entrance into a monastery removed the only bar to the Imperial nuptials. After the decease of Constantine, the sceptre devolved to Romanus the Third ; but his labours at home and abroad were equally feeble and fruitless ; and the mature age, the forty-eight years of Zoe, were less favourable to the hopes of pregnancy than to the indulgence of pleasure. Her favourite chamberlain was an handsome Paphlagonian of the name of Michael, whose first trade had been that of a money-changer ; and Romanus, either from gratitude or equity, convicted at their criminal intercourse, or accepted a slight assurance of their innocence. But Zoe soon justified the Roman maxim, that every adulteress is capable of poisoning her husband ; and the death of Romanus was instantly followed by the scandalous marriage and elevation of Michael the Fourth. The expectations of Zoe were, however, disappointed. Instead of a vigorous and grateful lover, she had placed in her bed a miserable wretch, whose health and reason were impaired by epileptic fits, and whose conscience was tormented by despair and remorse. The most skilful physicians of the mind and body were summoned to his aid ; and his hopes were amused by frequent pilgrimages to the baths, and to the tombs of the most popular saints ; the monks applauded his penance, and, except restitution (but to whom should he have restored ?)

Constantine IX.  
A. D. 1045,  
December.

Romanus III.  
Argyrus.  
A. D. 1028,  
Nov. 12.

Michael IV. the  
Paphlagonian.  
A. D. 1034,  
April 11.

Michael sought every method of expiating his guilt. While he groaned and prayed in sackcloth and ashes, his brother, the eunuch John, smiled at his remorse, and enjoyed the harvest of a crime of which himself was the secret and most guilty author. His administration was only the art of satiating his avarice, and Zoe became a captive in the palace of her fathers and in the hands of her slaves. When he perceived the irretrievable decline of his brother's health, he introduced his nephew, another Michael, who derived his surname of Calaphates from his father's occupation in the careening of vessels: at the command of the eunuch, Zoe adopted for her son, the son of a mechanic; and this fictitious heir was invested with the title and purple of the Cæsars, in the presence of the senate and clergy. So feeble was the character of Zoe, that she was oppressed by the liberty and power which she recovered by the death of

Michael V. the Paphlagonian; and at the end  
Calaphat. of four days, she placed the crown  
A. D. 1011, on the head of Michael the Fifth.  
Dec. 14.

who had protested, with tears and oaths, that he should ever reign the first and most obedient of her subjects. The only act of his short reign was his base ingratitude to his benefactors, the eunuch and the empress. The disgrace of the former was pleasing to the public; but the murmurs, and at length the clamours, of Constantinople deplored the exile of Zoe, the daughter of so many emperors; her vices were forgotten, and Michael was taught, that there is a period in which the patience of the tamest slaves rises into fury and revenge. The citizens of every degree assembled in a formidable tumult which lasted three days; they besieged the palace,

Zoe and Theodora, recalled their mo-  
A. D. 1012, thers, Zoe from her prison, Theodora  
April 24. from her monastery, and condemned

the son of Calaphates to the loss of his eyes or of his life. For the first time, the Greeks beheld with surprise the two royal sisters seated on the same throne, presiding in the senate, and giving audience to the ambassadors of the nations. But this singular union subsisted no more than two months; the two sovereigns, their tempers, interests, and adherents, were secretly hostile to each other; and as Theodora was still averse to marriage, the indefatigable Zoe, at the age of sixty, consented, for the public good, to sustain the embraces of a third husband, and the censures of the Greek church. His name

Constantine X. and number were Constantine the  
Monomachus, 1012, Tenth, and the epithet of *Monomachus*,  
A. D. 1012, the single combatant, must  
June 11.

have been expressive of his valour and victory in some public or private quarrel. But his health was broken by the tortures of the gout, and his dissolute reign was spent in the alternative of sickness and pleasure. A fair and noble widow had accompanied Constantine in his exile to the isle of Lesbos, and Sclereta gloried in the appellation of his mistress. After his marriage and elevation, she was invested with the title and pomp of *Augusta*, and occupied a contiguous apartment in the palace. The lawful consort (such was the delicacy or cor-

ruption of Zoe) consented to this strange and scandalous partition; and the emperor appeared in public between his wife and his concubine. He survived them both; but the last measures of Constantine to change the order of succession were prevented by the more vigilant

Theodora.  
A. D. 1013,  
Nov. 30.

friends of Theodora; and after his decease, she resumed, with the general consent, the possession of her inheritance. In her name, and by the influence of four eunuchs, the Eastern world was peaceably governed about nineteen months; and as they wished to prolong their dominion, they persuaded the aged princess to nominate for her successor Michael the Sixth. The surname of *Stratiotens* declares his military profession: but the crazy and decrepit veteran could only see with the eyes, and execute with the hands, of his ministers. Whilst he ascended the throne, Theodora sunk into the grave; the last of the Macedonian or Basilian dynasty. I have hastily reviewed, and gladly dismiss, this shameful and destructive period of twenty-eight years, in which the Greeks, degraded below the common level of servitude, were transferred like a herd of cattle by the choice or caprice of two impotent females.

Isaac I.  
Comnenus  
A. D. 1057,  
Aug. 31.

From this night of slavery, a ray of freedom, or at least of spirit, begins to emerge: the Greeks either preserved or revived the use of surnames, which perpetuate the fame of hereditary virtue; and we now discern the rise, succession, and alliances of the last dynasties of Constantinople and Trebizond. The *Comneni*, who upheld for a while the fate of the sinking empire, assumed the honour of a Roman origin: but the family had been long since transported from Italy to Asia. Their patrimonial estate was situate in the district of Castamona, in the neighbourhood of the Euxine; and one of their chiefs, who had already entered the paths of ambition, revisited with affection, perhaps with regret, the modest though honourable dwelling of his fathers. The first of their line was the illustrious Manuel, who, in the reign of the second Basil, contributed by war and treaty to appease the troubles of the East: he left in a tender age, two sons, Isaac and John, whom, with the consciousness of desert, he bequeathed to the gratitude and favour of his sovereign. The noble youths were carefully trained in the learning of the monastery, the arts of the palace, and the exercises of the camp; and from the domestic service of the guards, they were rapidly promoted to the command of provinces and armies. Their fraternal union doubled the force and reputation of the Comneni, and then ancient nobility was illustrated by the marriage of the two brothers, with a captive princess of Bulgaria, and the daughter of a patrician, who had obtained the name of *Clara* from the number of enemies whom he had sent to the infernal shades. The soldiers had served with reluctant loyalty a series of flaminate masters; the elevation of Michael the Sixth was a personal insult to the more deserving generals; and their discontent was in-

flamed by the parsimony of the emperor and the insolence of the eunuchs. They secretly assembled in the sanctuary of St. Sophia, and the votes of the military synod would have been unanimous in favour of the old and valiant Catacalon, if the patriotism or modesty of the veteran had not suggested the importance of birth as well as merit in the choice of a sovereign. Isaac Comnenus was approved by general consent, and the associates separated without delay to meet in the plains of Phrygia at the head of their respective squadrons and detachments. The cause of Michael was defended in a single battle by the mercenaries of the Imperial guard, who were aliens to the public interest, and animated only by a principle of honour and gratitude. After their defeat, the fears of the emperor solicited a treaty, which was almost accepted by the moderation of the Comnenian. But the former was betrayed by his ambassadors, and the latter was prevented by his friends. The solitary Michael submitted to the voice of the people; the patriarch annulled their oath of allegiance; and as he shaved the head of the royal monk, congratulated his beneficial exchange of temporal royalty for the kingdom of heaven; an exchange, however, which the priest, on his own account, would probably have declined. By the hands of the same patriarch, Isaac Comnenus was solemnly crowned: the sword which he inscribed on his coins, might be an offensive symbol, if it implied his title by conquest; but this sword would have been drawn against the foreign and domestic enemies of the state. The decline of his health and vigour suspended the operation of active virtue; and the prospect of approaching death determined him to interpose some moments between life and eternity. But instead of leaving the empire as the marriage portion of his daughter, his reason and inclination concurred in the preference of his brother John, a soldier, a patriot, and the father of five sons, the future pillars of an hereditary succession. His first modest reluctance might be the natural dictates of discretion and tenderness, but his obstinate and successful perseverance, however it may dazzle with the show of virtue, must be censured as a criminal desertion of his duty, and a rare offence against his family and country. The purple which he had refused was accepted by Constantine Duca, a friend of the Comnenian house, and whose noble birth was adorned with the experience and reputation of civil policy. In the monastic habit, Isaac recovered his health, and survived two years his voluntary abdication. At the command of his abbot, he observed the rule of St. Basil, and executed the most servile offices of the convent: but his latent vanity was gratified by the frequent and respectful visits of the reigning monarch, who revered in his person the character of a benefactor and a saint.

Constantine XI. If Constantine the Eleventh were Duca.  
A. D. 1073,  
Dec. 25, indeed the subject most worthy of the empire, we must pity the debasement of the age and nation in which he was chosen. In the labour of puerile declamations he sought, without obtaining, the crown of eloquence, more precious, in his opinion, than that

of Rome; and, in the subordinate functions of a judge, he forgot the duties of a sovereign and a warrior. Far from imitating the patriotic indifference of the authors of his greatness, Duca was anxious only to secure, at the expense of the republic, the power and prosperity of his children. His three sons, Michael the Seventh, Andronicus the First, and Constantine the Twelfth, were invested, in a tender age, with the equal title of Augustus; and the succession was speedily opened by their father's death. His widow, Eudocia, was intrusted with the administration; but experience had taught the jealousy of the dying monarch to protect his sons from the danger of her second nuptials; and her solemn engagement, attested by the principal senators, was deposited in the hands of the patriarch. Before the end of seven months, the wants of Eudocia, or those of the state, called aloud for the male virtues of a soldier; and her heart had already chosen Romanus Diogenes, whom she raised from the scaffold to the throne. The discovery of a treasonable attempt had exposed him to the severity of the laws: his beauty and valour absolved him in the eyes of the empress; and Romanus, from a mild exile, was recalled on the second day to the command of the Oriental armies. Her royal choice was yet unknown to the public; and the promise which would have betrayed her falsehood and levity, was stolen by a dexterous emissary from the ambition of the patriarch. Niphilin at first alleged the sanctity of oaths and the sacred nature of a trust; but a whisper, that his brother was the future emperor, relaxed his scruples, and forced him to confess that the public safety was the supreme law. He resigned the important paper: Romanus III. and when his hopes were confounded Diogenes, A. D. 1077,  
August, by the nomination of Romanus, he could no longer regain his security, retract his declarations, nor oppose the second nuptials of the empress. Yet a murmur was heard in the palace; and the barbarian guards had raised their battle-axes in the cause of the house of Duca, till the young princes were soothed by the tears of their mother, and the solemn assurances of the fidelity of their guardian, who filled the Imperial station with dignity and honour. Hereafter I shall relate his valiant, but unsuccessful, efforts to resist the progress of the Turks. His defeat and captivity inflicted a deadly wound on the Byzantine monarchy of the East; and after he was released from the chains of the sultan, he vainly sought his wife and his subjects.

His wife had been thrust into a monastery, and the subjects of Romanus had embraced the rigid maxim of the civil law, that a prisoner in the hands of the enemy is deprived, as by the stroke of death, of all the public and private rights of a citizen. In the general consternation, the Caesar John asserted the indefeasible right of his three nephews: Constantinople listened to his voice; and the Turkish captive was proclaimed in the capital, and received on the frontier, as an enemy of the republic. Romanus was not more fortunate in domestic than in

Eudocia.  
A. D. 1067,  
May.

Romanus III.  
Diogenes,  
A. D. 1077,  
August.

Michael VII.  
Parapinices,  
Andronicus I.  
Constantine  
XII.  
A. D. 1071,  
August.

foreign war: the loss of two battles compelled him to yield, on the assurance of fair and honourable treatment; but his enemies were devoid of faith or humanity; and, after the cruel extinction of his sight, his wounds were left to bleed and corrupt, till in a few days he was relieved from a state of misery. Under the triple reign of the house of Ducas, the two younger brothers were reduced to the vain honours of the purple; but the eldest, the pusillanimous Michael, was incapable of sustaining the Roman sceptre; and his surname of *Parapinaces* denotes the reproach which he shared with an avaricious favourite, who enhanced the price, and diminished the measure, of wheat. In the school of Psellus, and after the example of his mother, the son of Eudocia made some proficiency in philosophy and rhetoric; but his character was degraded, rather than ennobled, by the virtues of a monk and the learning of a sophist. Strong in the contempt of their sovereign and their own esteem, two generals, at the head of the European and Asiatic legions, assumed the purple at Adrianople and Nice. Their revolt was in the same month; they bore the same name of Nicephorus; but the two candidates were distinguished by the surnames of Bryennius and Botaniates; the former in the maturity of wisdom and courage, the latter conspicuous only by the memory of his past exploits. While Botaniates advanced with cautious and dilatory steps, his active competitor stood in arms before the gates of Constantinople. The name of Bryennius was illustrious; his cause was popular; but his licentious troops could not be restrained from burning and pillaging a suburb; and the people, who would have hailed the rebel, rejected and repulsed the incendiary of his country. This change of the public opinion was favourable to Botaniates, who at length, with an army of Turks, approached the shores of Chæleodon. A formal invitation, in the name of the patriarch, the synod, and the senate, was circulated through the streets of Constantinople; and the general assembly, in the dome of St. Sophia, debated, with order and calmness, on the choice of their sovereign. The guards of Michael would have dispersed this unarmed multitude; but the feeble emperor, applauding his own moderation and clemency, resigned the ensigns of royalty, and was rewarded with the monastic habit, and the title of archi-bishop of Ephesus. He left a son, a Constantine, born and educated in the purple; and a daughter of the house of Ducas illustrated the blood, and confirmed the succession, of the Comnenian dynasty.

Nicephorus III. Emperor 1028. A.D. 1028. March 25. John Comnenus, the brother of the emperor Isaac, survived in peace and dignity his generous refusal of the sceptre. By his wife Anne, a woman of masculine spirit and policy, he left eight children: the three daughters multiplied the Comnenian alliances with the noblest of the Greeks. of the five sons, Manuel was stopped by a premature death; Isaac and Alexius restored the Imperial greatness of their house, which was enjoyed without toil or danger by the two younger brethren, Adrian and Nicephorus. Alexius, the

third and most illustrious of the Brothers, was endowed by nature with the choicest gifts both of mind and body: they were cultivated by a liberal education, and exercised in the school of obedience and adversity. The youth was dismissed from the perils of the Turkish war, by the paternal care of the emperor Romanus; but the mother of the Comneni, with her aspiring race, was accused of treason, and banished, by the sons of Ducas, to an island in the Propontis. The two brothers soon emerged into favour and action, fought by each other's side against the rebels and barbarians, and adhered to the emperor Michael, till he was deserted by the world and by himself. In his first interview with Botaniates, "Prince," said Alexius, with a noble frankness, "my duty rendered me your enemy; the decrees of God and of the people have made me your subject. Judge of my future loyalty by my past opposition." The successor of Michael entertained him with esteem and confidence: his valour was employed against three rebels, who disturbed the peace of the empire, or at least of the emperors. Ursel, Bryennius, and Basilacus, were formidable by their numerous forces and military fame; they were successively vanquished in the field, and led in chains to the foot of the throne; and whatever treatment they might receive from a timid and cruel court, they applauded the clemency, as well as the courage, of their conqueror. But the loyalty of the Comneni was soon tainted by fear and suspicion; nor is it easy to settle between a subject and a despot, the debt of gratitude, which the former is tempted to claim by a revolt, and the latter to discharge by an executioner. The refusal of Alexius to march against a fourth rebel, the husband of his sister, destroyed the merit or memory of his past services: the favourites of Botaniates provoked the ambition which they apprehended and accused; and the retreat of the two brothers might be justified by the defence of their life or liberty. The women of the family were deposited in a sanctuary, respected by tyrants: the men, mounted on horseback, sallied from the city, and erected the standard of civil war. The soldiers, who had been gradually assembled in the capital and the neighbourhood, were devoted to the cause of a victorious and injured leader: the ties of common interest and domestic alliance secured the attachment of the house of Ducas; and the generous dispute of the Comneni was terminated by the decisive resolution of Isaac, who was the first to invest his younger brother with the name and ensigns of royalty. They returned to Constantinople, to threaten rather than besiege that impregnable fortress; but the fidelity of the guards was corrupted; a gate was surprised, and the fleet was occupied by the active courage of George Palæologus, who fought against his father, without foreseeing that he laboured for his posterity. Alexius ascended the throne; and his aged competitor disappeared in a monastery. An army of various nations was gratified with the pillage of the city; but the public disorders were expiated by the tears and fasts of the Comneni, who submitted to every penance compatible with the possession of the empire.



ALEXIUS I.  
(cont. miss.)  
A. D. 1081,  
April 1.

The life of the emperor Alexius has been delineated by a favourite daughter, who was inspired by a tender regard for his person and a laudable zeal to perpetuate his virtues. Conscious of the just suspicion of her readers, the princess, Anna Comnena repeatedly protests, that, besides her personal knowledge, she had searched the discourse and writings of the most respectable veterans; that after an interval of thirty years, forgotten by, and forgetful of, the world, her mournful solitude was inaccessible to hope and fear; and that truth, the naked perfect truth, was more dear and sacred than the memory of her parent. Yet, instead of the simplicity of style and narrative which wins our belief, an elaborate affectation of rhetoric and science betrays in every page the vanity of a female author. The genuine character of Alexius is lost in a vague constellation of virtues; and the perpetual strain of panegyric and apology awakens our jealousy, to question the veracity of the historian and the merit of the hero. We cannot, however, refuse her judicious and important remark, that the disorders of the times were the misfortune and the glory of Alexius; and that every calamity which can afflict a declining empire was accumulated on his reign by the justice of Heaven and the vices of his predecessors. In the East, the victorious Turks had spread, from Persia to the Hellespont, the reign of the Koran and the Crescent: the West was invaded by the adventurous valour of the Normans; and, in the moments of peace, the Danube poured forth new swarms, who had gained in the science of war, what they had lost in the ferociousness of manners. The sea was not less hostile than the land; and while the frontiers were assailed by an open enemy, the palace was distracted with secret treason and conspiracy. On a sudden, the banner of the Cross was displayed by the Latins; Europe was precipitated on Asia; and Constantinople had almost been swept away by this insupportable deluge. In the tempest Alexius steered the Imperial vessel with dexterity and courage. At the head of his armies, he was bold in action, skilful in stratagem, patient of fatigue, ready to improve his advantage, and rising from his defeats with inexhaustible vigour. The discipline of the camp was revived, and a new generation of men and soldiers was created by the example and the precept of their leader. In his intercourse with the Latins, Alexius was patient and artful: his discerning eye perceived the new system of an unknown world; and I shall hereafter describe the superior policy with which he balanced the interests and passions of the champions of the first crusade. In a long reign of thirty-seven years, he subdued and pardoned the envy of his equals: the laws of public and private order were restored: the arts of wealth and science were cultivated: the limits of the empire were enlarged in Europe and Asia; and the Comnenian sceptre was transmitted to his children of the third and fourth generation. Yet the difficulties of the times betrayed some defects in his character; and

have exposed his memory to some just or ungenerous reproach. The reader may possibly smile at the lavish praise which his daughter so often bestows on a flying hero: the weakness or prudence of his situation might be mistaken for a want of personal courage; and his political arts are branded by the Latins with the names of deceit and dissimulation. The increase of the male and female branches of his family adorned the throne, and secured the succession; but their princely luxury and pride offended the patricians, exhausted the revenue, and insulted the misery of the people. Anna is a faithful witness that his happiness was destroyed, and his health was broken, by the cares of a public life; the patience of Constantinople was fatigued by the length and severity of his reign; and before Alexius expired, he had lost the love and reverence of his subjects. The clergy could not forgive his application of the sacred riches to the defence of the state; but they applauded his theological learning and ardent zeal for the orthodox faith, which he defended with his tongue, his pen, and his sword. His character was degraded by the superstition of the Greeks; and the same inconsistent principle of human nature enjoined the emperor to found an hospital for the poor and infirm, and to direct the execution of an heretic, who was burnt alive in the square of St. Sophia. Even the sincerity of his moral and religious virtues was suspected by the persons who had passed their lives in his familiar confidence. In his last hours, when he was pressed by his wife Irene to alter the succession, he raised his head, and breathed a pious ejaculation on the vanity of this world. The indignant reply of the empress may be inscribed as an epitaph on his tomb, — “You die, as you have lived — AN HYPOCRITE!”

It was the wish of Irene to sup-  
plant the eldest of her surviving  
sons, in favour of her daughter the  
princess Anne, whose philosophy would not  
have refused the weight of a diadem. But the  
order of male succession was asserted by the  
friends of their country; the lawful heir drew  
the royal signet from the finger of his insensible  
or conscious father, and the empire obeyed the  
master of the palace. Anna Comnena was stimu-  
lated by ambition and revenge to conspire  
against the life of her brother, and when the  
design was prevented by the fears or scruples of  
her husband, she passionately exclaimed, that  
nature had mistaken the two sexes, and had  
endowed Bryennius with the soul of a woman.  
The two sons of Alexius, John and Isaac, main-  
tained the fraternal concord, the hereditary virtue  
of their race; and the younger brother was con-  
tent with the title of *Sebastocrator*, which ap-  
proached the dignity, without sharing the power,  
of the emperor. In the same person, the claims  
of primogeniture and merit were fortunately  
united; his swarthy complexion, harsh features,  
and diminutive stature, had suggested the ironi-  
cal surname of Calo-Johannes, or John the  
Handsome, which his grateful subjects more  
seriously applied to the beauties of his mind.  
After the discovery of her treason, the life and

John, or Calo-  
J. A. D. 1118,  
Aug. 15.

fortune of Anne were justly forfeited to the laws. Her life was spared by the clemency of the emperor, but he visited the pomp and treasures of her palace, and bestowed the rich confiscation on the most deserving of his friends. That respectable friend, Axuch, a slave of Turkish extraction, presumed to decline the gift, and to intercede for the criminal: his generous master applauded and imitated the virtue of his favourite, and the reproach or complaint of an injured brother was the only chastisement of the guilty princess. After this example of clemency, the remainder of his reign was never disturbed by conspiracy or rebellion: feared by his nobles, beloved by his people, John was never reduced to the painful necessity of punishing, or even of pardoning, his personal enemies. During his government of twenty-five years, the penalty of death was abolished in the Roman empire, a law of mercy most delightful to the humane theorist, but of which the practice, in a large and vicious community, is seldom consistent with the public safety. Severe to himself, indulgent to others, chaste, frugal, abstemious, the philosophic Marcus would not have disdained the artless virtues of his successor, derived from his heart, and not borrowed from the schools. He despised and moderated the stately magnificence of the Byzantine court, so oppressive to the people, so contemptible to the eye of reason. Under such a prince, innocence had nothing to fear, and merit had every thing to hope; and, without assuming the tyrannic office of a censor, he introduced a gradual though visible reformation in the public and private manners of Constantinople. The only defect of this accomplished character was, the frailty of noble minds, the love of arms and military glory. Yet the frequent expeditions of John the Handsome may be justified, at least in their principle, by the necessity of repelling the Turks from the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. The sultan of Iconium was confined to his capital, the barbarians were driven to the mountains, and the maritime provinces of Asia enjoyed the transient blessings of their deliverance. From Constantinople to Antioch and Aleppo, he repeatedly marched at the head of a victorious army, and in the sieges and battles of this holy war, his Latin allies were astonished by the superior spirit and prowess of a Greek. As he began to indulge the ambitious hope of restoring the ancient limits of the empire, as he revolved in his mind, the Euphrates and Tigris, the dominion of Syria, and the conquest of Jerusalem, the thread of his life and of the public felicity was broken by a singular accident. He hunted the wild boar in the valley of Amazarbus, and had fixed his javelin in the body of the furious animal: but, in the struggle, a poisoned arrow dropped from his quiver, and a slight wound in his hand, which produced a mortification, was fatal to the best and greatest of the Comnenian princes.

A premature death had swept away the two eldest sons of John the Handsome; of the two survivors, Isaac and Manuel, his judgment or affection preferred the younger; and the choice of their

dying prince was ratified by the soldiers, who had applauded the valour of his favourite in the Turkish war. The faithful Axuch hastened to the capital, secured the person of Isaac in honourable confinement, and purchased with a gift of two hundred pounds of silver, the leading ecclesiastics of St. Sophia, who possessed a decisive voice in the consecration of an emperor. With his veteran and affectionate troops, Manuel soon visited Constantinople; his brother acquiesced in the title of Sebastocrator; his subjects admired the lofty stature and martial graces of their new sovereign, and listened with credulity to the flattering promise, that he blended the wisdom of age with the activity and vigour of youth. By the experience of his government, they were taught, that he emulated the spirit, and shared the talents, of his father, whose social virtues were buried in the grave. A reign of thirty-seven years is filled by a perpetual though various warfare against the Turks, the Christians, and the hordes of the wilderness beyond the Danube. The arms of Manuel were exercised on Mount Taurus, in the plains of Hungary, on the coast of Italy and Egypt, and on the seas of Sicily and Greece. The influence of his negotiations extended from Jerusalem to Rome and Russia; and the Byzantine monarchy, for a while, became an object of respect or terror to the powers of Asia and Europe. Educated in the silk and purple of the East, Manuel possessed the iron temper of a soldier, which cannot easily be paralleled, except in the lives of Richard the First of England, and of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden. Such was his strength and exercise in arms, that Raymond, surnamed the Hercules of Antioch, was incapable of wielding the lance and buckler of the Greek emperor. In a famous tournament, he entered the lists on a fiery courser, and overthrew in his first career two of the stoutest of the Italian knights. The first in the charge, the last in the retreat, his friends and his enemies alike trembled, the former for *his* safety, and the latter for their own. After posting an ambuscade in a wood, he rode forwards in search of some perilous adventure, accompanied only by his brother and the faithful Axuch, who refused to desert their sovereign. Eighteen horsemen, after a short combat, fled before them: but the numbers of the enemy increased; the march of the reinforcement was tardy and fearful, and Manuel, without receiving a wound, cut his way through a squadron of five hundred Turks. In a battle against the Hungarians, impatient of the slowness of his troops, he snatched a standard from the head of the column, and was the first, almost alone, who passed a bridge that separated him from the enemy. In the same country, after transporting his army beyond the Save, he sent back the boats, with an order, under pain of death, to their commander, that he should leave him to conquer or die on that hostile land. In the siege of Corfu, towing after him a captive galley, the emperor stood aloft on the poop, opposing against the volleys of darts and stones, a large buckler and a flowing sail; nor could he have escaped inevitable death, had not the Sicilian

Manuel.  
A. D. 1145.  
April 5.

lian admiral enjoined his archers to respect the person of an hero. In one day, he is said to have slain above forty of the barbarians with his own hand; he returned to the camp, dragging along four Turkish prisoners, whom he had tied to the rings of his saddle: he was ever the foremost to provoke or to accept a single combat; and the *gigantic* champions, who encountered his arm, were transpierced by the lance, or cut asunder by the sword, of the invincible Manuel. The story of his exploits, which appear as a model or a copy of the romances of chivalry, may induce a reasonable suspicion of the veracity of the Greeks: I will not, to vindicate their credit, endanger my own; yet I may observe, that in the long series of their annals, Manuel is the only prince who has been the subject of similar exaggeration. With the valour of a soldier, he did not unite the skill or prudence of a general: his victories were not productive of any permanent or useful conquest; and his Turkish laurels were blasted in his last unfortunate campaign, in which he lost his army in the mountains of Pisidia, and owed his deliverance to the generosity of the sultan. But the most singular feature in the character of Manuel, is the contrast and vicissitude of labour and sloth, of hardiness and effeminacy. In war he seemed ignorant of peace, in peace he appeared incapable of war. In the field he slept in the sun or in the snow, tired in the longest marches the strength of his men and horses, and shared with a smile the abstinence or diet of the camp. No sooner did he return to Constantinople, than he resigned himself to the arts and pleasures of a life of luxury: the expense of his dress, his table, and his palace, surpassed the measure of his predecessors, and whole summer days were idly wasted in the delicious idles of the Propontis, in the incestuous love of his niece Theodora. The double cost of a warlike and dissolute prince exhausted the revenue, and multiplied the taxes; and Manuel, in the distress of his last Turkish camp, endured a bitter reproach from the mouth of a desperate soldier. As he quenched his thirst, he complained that the water of a fountain was mingled with Christian blood. "It is not the first time," exclaimed a voice from the crowd, "that you have drunk. O 'emperor' the blood of your Christian subjects." Manuel Comnenus was twice married; to the virtuous Batha or Irene of Germany, and to the beautiful Maria, a French or Latin princess of Antioch. The only daughter of his first wife was destined for Bela, an Hungarian prince, who was educated at Constantinople under the name of Alexius; and the consummation of their nuptials might have transferred the Roman sceptre to a race of free and warlike barbarians. But as soon as Maria of Antioch had given a son and heir to the empire, the presumptive rights of Bela were abolished, and he was deprived of his promised bride; but the Hungarian prince resumed his name and the kingdom of his fathers, and displayed such virtues as might excite the regret and envy of the Greeks. The son of Maria was named Alexius; and at the age of ten years, he ascended the

Byzantine throne, after his father's decease had closed the glories of the Comnenian line.

The fraternal concord of the two sons of the great Alexius had been sometimes clouded by an opposition of interest and passion. By ambition, Isaac the Sebastocrator was excited to flight and rebellion, from whence he was reclaimed by the firmness and clemency of John the Handsome. The errors of Isaac, the father of the emperors of Trebizond, were short and venial; but John, the elder of his sons, renounced for ever his religion. Provoked by a real or imaginary insult of his uncle, he escaped from the Roman to the Turkish camp: his apostasy was rewarded with the sultan's daughter, the title of Chelebi, or Noble, and the inheritance of a princely estate; and in the fifteenth century, Mahomet the Second boasted of his imperial descent from the Comnenian family. Andronicus, younger brother of John, son of Isaac, and grandson of Alexius Comnenus, is one of the most conspicuous characters of the age; and his genuine adventures might form the subject of a very singular romance. To justify the choice of three ladies of royal birth, it is incumbent on me to observe, that their fortunate lover was cast in the best proportions of strength and beauty; and that the want of the softer graces was supplied by a manly countenance, a lofty stature, athletic muscles, and the air and deportment of a soldier. The preservation, in his old age, of health and vigour, was the reward of temperance and exercise. A piece of bread and a draught of water was often his sole and evening repast; and if he tasted of a wild boar or a stag, which he had roasted with his own hands, it was the well-earned fruit of a laborious chase. Dexterous in arms, he was ignorant of fear: his persuasive eloquence could bend to every situation and character of life: his style, though not his practice, was fashioned by the example of St. Paul; and in every deed of mischief, he had a heart to resolve, a head to contrive, and a hand to execute. In his youth, after the death of the emperor John, he followed the retreat of the Roman army; but, in the march through Asia Minor, design or accident tempted him to wander in the mountains; the hunter was encompassed by the Turkish huntsmen, and he remained some time a reluctant or willing captive in the power of the sultan. His virtues and vices recommended him to the favour of his cousin: he shared the perils and the pleasures of Manuel; and while the emperor lived in public incest with his niece Theodora, the affections of her sister Eudocia were seduced and enjoyed by Andronicus. Above the decencies of her sex and rank, she gloried in the name of his concubine; and both the palace and the camp could witness that she slept, or watched, in the arms of her lover. She accompanied him to his military command of Cilicia, the first scene of his valour and imprudence. He pressed, with active ardour, the siege of Mopsuestia: the day was employed in the boldest attacks; but the night was wasted in song and dance; and a band of Greek comedians formed the choicest part of his retinue.

ALEXIUS II.  
A. D. 1198,  
Sept. 21.  
Character and  
first adventures  
of Andronicus.

Andronicus was surprised by the sally of a vigilant foe : but, while his troops fled in disorder, his invincible lance transpierced the thickest ranks of the Armenians. On his return to the Imperial camp in Macedonia, he was received by Manuel with public smiles and a private reproof ; but the duchies of Naissus, Branselva, and Castoria, were the reward or consolation of the unsuccessful general. Eudocia still attended his motions : at midnight, their tent was suddenly attacked by her angry brothers, impatient to expiate her infamy in his blood : his daring spirit refused her advice, and the disguise of a female habit ; and boldly starting from his couch, he drew his sword, and cut his way through the numerous assassins. It was here that he first betrayed his ingratitude and treachery : he engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the king of Hungary and the German emperor : approached the royal tent at a suspicious hour, with a drawn sword, and, under the mask of a Latin soldier, avowed an intention of revenge against a mortal foe ; and imprudently praised the fleetness of his horse, as an instrument of flight and safety. The monarch dissembled his suspicions ; but, after the close of the campaign, Andronicus was arrested, and strictly confined in a tower of the palace of Constantinople.

In this prison he was left above twelve years ; a most painful restraint, from which the thirst of action and pleasure perpetually urged him to escape. Alone and pensive, he perceived some broken bricks in a corner of the chamber, and gradually widened the passage, till he had explored a dark and forgotten recess. Into this hole he conveyed himself, and the remains of his provisions, replacing the bricks in their former position, and crusing with care the footsteps of his retreat. At the hour of the customary visit, his guards were amazed by the silence and solitude of the prison, and reported, with shame and fear, his incomprehensible flight. The gates of the palace and city were instantly shut : the strictest orders were despatched into the provinces, for the recovery of the fugitive ; and his wife, on the suspicion of a pious act, was basely imprisoned in the same tower. At the dead of night, she beheld a spectre : she recognised her husband : they shared their provisions ; and a son was the fruit of these stolen interviews which alleviated the tediousness of their confinement. In the custody of a woman, the vigilance of the keepers was insensibly relaxed ; and the captive had accomplished his real escape, when he was discovered, brought back to Constantinople, and loaded with a double chain. At length he found the moment, and the means, of his deliverance. A boy, his domestic servant, intoxicated the guards, and obtained in way the impression of the keys. By the diligence of his friends, a similar key, with a bundle of ropes, was introduced into the prison, in the bottom of a hog'shead. Andronicus employed, with industry and courage, the instruments of his safety, unlocked the doors, descended from the tower, concealed himself all day among the bushes, and scaled in the night the garden-wall of the palace. A

boat was stationed for his reception : he visited his own house, embraced his children, cast away his chain, mounted a fleet horse, and directed his rapid course towards the banks of the Danube. At Anchialus in Thrace, an intrepid friend supplied him with horses and money : he passed the river, traversed with speed the desert of Moldavia and the Carpathian hills, and had almost reached the town of Halicz, in the Polish Russia, when he was intercepted by a party of Walachians, who resolved to convey their important captive to Constantinople. His presence of mind again extricated him from this danger. Under the pretence of sickness, he dismounted in the night, and was allowed to step aside from the troop : he planted in the ground his long staff ; clothed it with his cap and upper garment ; and, stealing into the wood, left a phantom to amuse, for some time, the eyes of the Walachians. From Halicz he was honourably conducted to Kiow, the residence of the great duke : the subtle Greek soon obtained the esteem and confidence of Ieroslaus : his character could assume the manners of every climate ; and the barbarians applauded his strength and courage in the chase of the elks and bears of the forest. In this northern region he deserved the forgiveness of Manuel, who solicited the Russian prince to join his arms in the invasion of Hungary. The influence of Andronicus achieved this important service : his private treaty was signed with a promise of fidelity on one side, and of oblivion on the other ; and he marched, at the head of the Russian cavalry, from the Borysthenes to the Danube. In his resentiment Manuel had ever sympathised with the martial and dissolute character of his cousin ; and his free pardon was sealed in the assault of Zerolin, in which he was second, and second only, to the valour of the emperor.

No sooner was the exile restored to freedom and his country, than his ambition revived, at first to his own, and at length to the public, misfortune. A daughter of Manuel was a feeble bar to the succession of the more deserving males of the Comnenian blood : her future marriage with the prince of Hungary was repugnant to the hopes or prejudices of the princes and nobles. But when an oath of allegiance was required to the presumptive heir, Andronicus alone asserted the honour of the Roman name, declined the unlawful engagement, and boldly protested against the adoption of a stranger. His patriotism was offensive to the emperor, but he spoke the sentiments of the people, and was removed from the royal presence by an honorable banishment, a second command of the Cilician frontier, with the absolute disposal of the revenues of Cyprus. In this station the Armenians again exercised his courage and exposed his negligence ; and the same rebel, who baffled all his operations, was unhorsed, and almost slain by the vigour of his lance. But Andronicus soon discovered a more easy and pleasing conquest, the beautiful Philippa, sister of the empress Maria, and daughter of Raymond of Poitou, the Latin prince of An-

tioch. For her sake, he deserted his station, and wasted the summer in balls and tournaments: to his love she sacrificed her innocence, her reputation, and the offer of an advantageous marriage. But the resentment of Manuel for this domestic affront interrupted his pleasures. Andronicus left the indiscreet princess to weep and to repent; and, with a band of desperate adventurers, undertook the pilgrimage of Jerusalem. His birth, his martial renown, and professions of zeal, announced him as the champion of the Cross; he soon captivated both the clergy and the king; and the Greek prince was invested with the lordship of Berytus, on the coast of Phœnicia. In his neighbourhood resided a young and handsome queen, of his own nation and family, great-grand-daughter of the emperor Alexis, and widow of Baldwin the Third, king of Jerusalem. She visited and loved her kinsman. Theodora was the third victim of his amorous seduction; and her shame was more public and scandalous than that of her predecessors. The emperor still thirsted for revenge; and his subjects and allies of the Syrian frontier were repeatedly pressed to seize the person, and put out the eyes, of the fugitive. In Palestine he was no longer safe; but the tender Theodora revealed his danger, and accompanied his flight. The queen of Jerusalem was exposed to the East, his obsequious concubine; and two illegitimate children were the living monuments of her weakness. Damascus was his first refuge; and, in the characters of the great Nouredin and his servant Saladin, the superstitious Greek might learn to revere the virtues of the Mussulmans. As the friend of Nouredin he visited, most probably, Bagdad, and the courts of Persia; and, after a long circuit round the Caspian Sea and the mountains of Georgia, he finally settled among the Turks of Asia Minor, the hereditary enemies of his country. The sultan of Colonia afforded an hospitable retreat to Andronicus, his mistress, and his band of outlaws; the debt of gratitude was paid by frequent inroads in the Roman province of Trebizond; and he seldom returned without an ample harvest of spoil and of Christian captives. In the story of his adventures, he was fond of comparing himself to David, who escaped, by a long exile, the snares of the wicked. But the royal prophet presumed to add) was content to lurk on the borders of Judæa, to slay an Amalekite, and to threaten, in his miserable state, the life of the avenging Nabal. The excursions of the Comnenian prince had a wider range, and he had spread over the Eastern world the glory of his name and religion. By a sentence of the Greek church, the licentious rover had been separated from the faithful; but even this excommunication may prove, that he never abjured the profession of Christianity.

His vigilance had eluded or repelled the open and secret persecution of the emperor; but he was at length ensnared by the captivity of his female companion. The governor of Trebizond succeeded in his attempt to surprise the person of Theodora: the queen of Jerusalem and her

two children were sent to Constantinople, and their loss embittered the tedious solitude of banishment. The fugitive implored and obtained a final pardon, with leave to throw himself at the feet of his sovereign, who was satisfied with the submission of this haughty spirit. Prostrate on the ground, he deplored with tears and groans the guilt of his past rebellion; nor would he presume to arise, unless some faithful subject would drag him to the foot of the throne, by an iron chain with which he had secretly encircled his neck. This extraordinary penance excited the wonder and pity of the assembly; his sins were forgiven by the church and state; but the just suspicion of Manuel fixed his residence at a distance from the court, at Œnoe, a town of Pontus, surrounded with rich vineyards, and situate on the coast of the Euxine. The death of Manuel, and the disorders of the minority, soon opened the fairest field to his ambition. The emperor was a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age, without vigour, or wisdom, or experience: his mother, the empress Mary, abandoned her person and government to a favourite of the Comnenian name; and his sister, another Mary, whose husband, an Italian, was decorated with the title of Cæsar, excited a conspiracy, and at length an insurrection, against her odious stepmother. The provinces were forgotten, the capital was in flames, and a century of peace and order was overthrown in the vice and weakness of a few months. A civil war was kindled in Constantinople; the two factions fought a bloody battle in the square of the palace, and the rebels sustained a regular siege in the cathedral of St. Sophia. The patriarch laboured with honest zeal to heal the wounds of the republic, the most respectable patriots called aloud for a guardian and avenger, and every tongue repeated the praise of the talents and even the virtues of Andronicus. In his retirement, he affected to revolve the solemn duties of his oath: "If the safety or honour of the Imperial family be threatened, I will reveal" and oppose the mischief to the utmost of my "power." His correspondence with the patriarch and patricians was seasoned with apt quotations from the Psalms of David and the Epistles of St. Paul; and he patiently waited till he was called to his deliverance by the voice of his country. In his march from Œnoe to Constantinople, his slender train insensibly swelled to a crowd and an army; his professions of religion and loyalty were mistaken for the language of his heart; and the singularity of a foreign dress, which showed to advantage his majestic stature, displayed a lively image of his poverty and exile. All opposition sunk before him; he reached the straits of the Thracian Bosphorus; the Byzantine navy sailed from the harbour to receive and transport the saviour of the empire: the torrent was loud and irresistible, and the insects who had basked in the sunshine of royal favour disappeared at the blast of the storm. It was the first care of Andronicus to occupy the palace, to salute the emperor, to confine his mother, to punish her minister, and to restore the public order and

tranquillity. He then visited the sepulchre of Manuel: the spectators were ordered to stand aloof, but as he bowed in the attitude of prayer, they heard, or thought they heard, a murmur of triumph and revenge: "I no longer fear thee, my old enemy, who hast driven me a vagabond to every climate of the earth. Thou art safely deposited under a sevenfold dome, from whence thou canst never arise till the signal of the last trumpet. It is now my turn, and speedily will I trample on thy ashes and thy posterity." From his subsequent tyranny we may impute such feelings to the man and the moment: but it is not extremely probable that he gave an articulate sound to his secret thoughts. In the first months of his administration, his designs were veiled by a fair semblance of hypocrisy, which could delude only the eyes of the multitude; the coronation of Alexius was performed with due solemnity, and his perfidious guardian, holding in his hands the body and blood of Christ, most fervently declared, that he lived, and was ready to die, for the service of his beloved pupil. But his numerous adherents were instructed to maintain, that the sinking empire must perish in the hands of a child; that the Romans could only be saved by a veteran prince, bold in arms, skilful in policy, and taught to reign by the long experience of fortune and mankind; and that it was the duty of every citizen to force the reluctant modesty of Andronicus to undertake the burthen of the public care. The young emperor was himself constrained to join his voice to the general acclamation, and to solicit the association of a colleague, who instantly degraded him from the supreme rank, secluded his person, and verified the rash declaration of the patriarch, that Alexius might be considered as dead, so soon as he was committed to the custody of his guardian. But his death was preceded by the imprisonment and execution of his mother. After blackening her reputation, and inflaming against her the passions of the multitude, the tyrant accused and tried the empress for a treasonable correspondence with the king of Hungary. His own son, a youth of honour and humanity, avowed his abhorrence of this flagitious act, and three of the judges had the merit of preferring their conscience to their safety, but the obsequious tribunal, without requiring any proof, or hearing any defence, condemned the widow of Manuel; and her unfortunate son subscribed the sentence of her death. Maria was strangled, her corpse was buried in the sea, and her memory was wounded by the insult most offensive to female vanity, a false and ugly representation of her beautiful form. The fate of her son was not long deferred: he was strangled with a bowstring, and the tyrant, insensible to pity or remorse, after surveying the body of the innocent youth, struck it rudely with his foot: "Thy father," he cried, "was a knave, thy mother a whore, and thyself a fool!"

The Roman sceptre, the reward of his crimes, was held by Andronicus about three years and a half as the guardian or sovereign of the empire.

His government exhibited a singular contrast of vice and virtue. When he listened to his passions, he was the scourge; when he consulted his reason, the father, of his people. In the exercise of private justice, he was equitable and rigorous: a shameful and pernicious venality was abolished, and the offices were filled with the most deserving candidates by a prince who had sense to choose, and severity to punish. He prohibited the inhuman practice of pillaging the goods and persons of shipwrecked mariners; the provinces, so long the objects of oppression or neglect, revived in prosperity and plenty; and millions applauded the distant blessings of his reign, while he was cursed by the witnesses of his daily cruelties. The ancient proverb, That bloodthirsty is the man who returns from banishment to power, had been applied with too much truth to Marius and Tiberius; and was now verified for the third time in the life of Andronicus. His memory was stored with a black list of the enemies and rivals, who had traduced his merit, opposed his greatness, or insulted his misfortunes: and the only comfort of his exile was the sacred hope and promise of revenge. The necessary extinction of the young emperor and his mother imposed the fatal obligation of extirpating the friends, who hated, and might punish, the assassin; and the repetition of murder rendered him less willing, and less able, to forgive. An horrid narrative of the victims whom he sacrificed by poison or the sword, by the sea or the flames, would be less expressive of his cruelty than the appellation of the halcyon days, which was applied to a rare and bloodless week of repose: the tyrant strove to transfer, on the laws and the judges, some portion of his guilt, but the mask was fallen, and his subjects could no longer mistake the true author of their calamities. The noblest of the Greeks, more especially those who, by descent or alliance, might dispute the Comnenian inheritance, escaped from the monster's den: Nice or Pisa, Sicily or Cyprus, were their places of refuge; and as their flight was already criminal, they aggravated their offence by an open revolt, and the Imperial title. Yet Andronicus resisted the daggers and swords of his most formidable enemies. Nice and Prusa were reduced and chastised: the Sicilians were content with the sack of Thessalonica; and the distance of Cyprus was not more propitious to the rebel than to the tyrant. His throne was subverted by a rival without merit, and a people without arms. Isaac Angelus, a descendant in the female line from the great Alexius, was marked as a victim, by the prudence or superstition of the emperor. In a moment of despair, Angelus defended his life and liberty, slew the executioner, and fled to the church of St. Sophia. The sanctuary was insensibly filled with a curious and mournful crowd, who, in his fate, prognosticated their own. But their lamentations were soon turned to curses, and their curses to threats: they dared to ask, "Why do we fear? why do we obey? We are many, and he is one; our patience is the only bond of our slavery." With the dawn of day the city

Andronicus I.  
Comnenus.  
A. D. 1185,  
October.

burst into a general sedition, the prisons were thrown open, the coldest and most servile were roused to the defence of their country, and Isaac, the second of the name, was raised from the sanctuary to the throne. Unconscious of his danger, the tyrant was absent; withdrawn from the toils of state, in the delicious islands of the Propontis. He had contracted an indecent marriage with Alice, or Agnes, daughter of Lewis the Seventh, of France, and relief of the unfortunate Alexius; and his society, more suitable to his temper than to his age, was composed of a young wife and a favourite concubine. On the first alarm he rushed to Constantinople, impatient for the blood of the guilty; but he was astonished by the silence of the palace, the tumult of the city, and the general desertion of mankind. Andronicus proclaimed a free pardon to his subjects; they neither desired, nor would grant, forgiveness: he offered to resign the crown to his son Manuel; but the virtues of the son could not expiate his father's crimes. The sea was still open for his retreat; but the news of the revolution had flown along the coast: when fear had ceased, obdience was no more: the Imperial galley was pursued and taken by an armed brigantine; and the tyrant was dragged to the presence of Isaac Angelus, loaded with fetters, and a long chain round his neck. His eloquence, and the tears of his female companions, pleaded in vain for his life; but, instead of the decencies of a legal execution, the new monarch abandoned the criminal to the numerous sufferers, whom he had deprived of a father, an husband, or a friend. His teeth and hair, an eye and a hand, were torn from him, as a poor compensation for their loss; and a short respite was allowed, that he might feel the bitterness of death. Astride on a camel, without any danger of a rescue, he was carried through the city, and the basest of the populace rejoiced to trample on the fallen majesty of their prince. After a thousand blows and outrages, Andronicus was hung by the feet, between two pillars that supported the statues of a wolf and a sow; and every band that could reach the public enemy, inflicted on his body some mark of ingenious or brutal cruelty, till two friendly or furious Italians, plunging their swords into his body, released him from all human punishment. In this long and painful agony, "Lord have mercy upon me!" and why "will you bruise a broken reed?" were the only words that escaped from his mouth. Our hatred for the tyrant is lost in pity for the man; nor can we blame his pusillanimous resignation, since a Greek Christian was no longer master of his life.

I have been tempted to expatiate on the extraordinary character and adventures of Andronicus; but I shall here terminate the series of the Greek emperors since the time of Heraclius. The branches that sprang from the Comnenian trunk had insensibly withered; and the male line was continued only in the posterity of Andronicus himself, who, in the public confusion, usurped

the sovereignty of Trebizond, so obscure in history, and so famous in romance. A private citizen of Philadelphia, Constantine Angelus, had emerged to wealth and honours, by his marriage with a daughter of the emperor Alexius. His son Andronicus is conspicuous only by his eowardice. His grandson Isaac punished and succeeded the tyrant: but he was dethroned by his own vices, and the ambition of his brother; and their discord introduced the  
A.D. 1201,  
April 12.  
Latins to the conquest of Constantinople, the first great period in the fall of the Eastern empire.

If we compute the number and duration of the reigns, it will be found, that a period of six hundred years is filled by sixty emperors, including in the Augustan list some female sovereigns; and deducting some usurpers who were never acknowledged in the capital, and some princes who did not live to possess their inheritance. The average proportion will allow ten years for each emperor, far below the chronological rule of Sir Isaac Newton, who, from the experience of more recent and regular monarchies, has defined about eighteen or twenty years as the term of an ordinary reign. The Byzantine empire was most tranquil and prosperous when it could acquiesce in hereditary succession; five dynasties, the Heraclian, Isaurian, Amorian, Basilian, and Comnenian families, enjoyed and transmitted the royal patrimony during their respective series of five, four, three, six, and four generations; several princes number the years of their reign with those of their infancy; and Constantine the Seventh and his two grandsons occupy the space of an entire century. But in the intervals of the Byzantine dynasties, the succession is rapid and broken, and the name of a successful candidate is speedily erased by a more fortunate competitor. Many were the paths that led to the summit of royalty: the fabric of rebellion was overthrown by the stroke of conspiracy, or undermined by the silent arts of intrigue: the favourites of the soldiers or people, of the senate or clergy, of the women and eunuchs, were alternately clothed with the purple. The means of their elevation were base, and their end was often contemptible or tragic. A being of the nature of man, endowed with the same faculties, but with a longer measure of existence, would cast down a smile of pity and contempt on the crimes and follies of human ambition, so eager, in a narrow span, to grasp at a precarious and short-lived enjoyment. It is thus that the experience of history exalts and enlarges the horizon of our intellectual view. In a composition of some days, in a perusal of some hours, six hundred years have rolled away, and the duration of a life or reign is contracted to a fleeting moment: the grave is ever beside the throne; the success of a criminal is almost instantly followed by the loss of his prize; and our immortal reason survives and disdains the sixty phantoms of kings who have passed before our eyes, and faintly dwell on our remembrance. The observation, that, in every age and climate, ambition has prevailed with the same commanding energy, may abate

Isaac II.  
Angelus,  
A.D. 1185,  
Sept. 12.

the surprise of a philosopher; but while he condemns the vanity, he may search the motive, of this universal desire to obtain and hold the sceptre of dominion. To the greater part of the Byzantine series, we cannot reasonably ascribe the love of fame and of mankind. The virtue alone of John Comnenus was beneficent and pure: the most illustrious of the princes, who precede or follow that respectable name, have trod with some dexterity and vigour the crooked and bloody paths of a selfish policy: in scrutinising the imperfect characters of Leo the Isaurian, Basil the First, and Alexius Comnenus, of Theophilus, the second Basil, and Manuel Comnenus, our esteem and censure are almost equally balanced; and the remainder of the Imperial crowd could only desire and expect to be forgotten by posterity. Was personal happiness the aim and object of their ambition? I shall not descant on the vulgar topics of the misery of kings; but I may surely observe, that their condition, of all others, is the most pregnant with fear, and the least susceptible of hope. For these opposite passions, a larger scope was allowed in the revolutions of antiquity, than in the smooth and solid temper of the modern world, which cannot easily repeat either the triumph of Alexander or the fall of Darius. But the peculiar infelicity of the Byzantine princes exposed them to domestic perils, without affording any lively promise of foreign conquest. From the pinnacle of greatness, Andronicus was precipitated by a death more cruel and shameful than that of the vilest malefactor; but the most glorious of his predecessors had much more to dread from their subjects than to hope from their enemies. The army was licentious without spirit, the nation turbulent without freedom, the barbarians of the East and West pressed on the monarchy, and the loss of the provinces was terminated by the final servitude of the capital.

The entire series of Roman emperors, from the first of the Cæsars to the last of the Constantines, extends above fifteen hundred years; and the term of dominion, unbroken by foreign conquest, surpasses the measure of the ancient monarchies; the Assyrians or Medes, the successors of Cyrus, or those of Alexander.

## CHAP. XLIX.

*Introduction, Worship, and Persecution of Images.*

— *Revolt of Italy and Rome. — Temporal Dominion of the Popes. — Conquest of Italy by the Franks. — Establishment of Images. — Character and Coronation of Charlemagne. — Restoration and Decay of the Roman Empire in the West. — Independence of Italy. — Constitution of the Germanic Body.*

Introduction of images into the Christian church.

IN the connection of the church and state, I have considered the former as subservient only, and relative, to

the latter; a salutary maxim, if in fact, as well as in narrative, it had ever been held sacred. The oriental philosophy of the Gnostics, the dark abyss of predestination and grace, and the strange transformation of the Eucharist from the sign to the substance of Christ's body,<sup>1</sup> I have purposely abandoned to the curiosity of speculative divines. But I have reviewed, with diligence and pleasure, the objects of ecclesiastical history, by which the decline and fall of the Roman empire were materially affected, the propagation of Christianity, the constitution of the Catholic church, the ruin of Paganism, and the sects that arose from the mysterious controversies concerning the Trinity and incarnation. At the head of this class, we may justly rank the worship of images, so fiercely disputed in the eighth and ninth centuries; since a question of popular superstition produced the revolt of Italy, the temporal power of the popes, and the restoration of the Roman empire in the West.

The primitive Christians were possessed with an unconquerable repugnance to the use and abuse of images; and this aversion may be ascribed to their descent from the Jews, and their enmity to the Greeks. The Mosaic law had severely proscribed all representations of the Deity; and that precept was firmly established in the principles and practice of the chosen people. The wit of the Christian apologists was pointed against the foolish idolaters, who bowed before the workmanship of their own hands; the images of brass and marble, which had they been endowed with sense and motion, should have started rather from the pedestal to adore the creative powers of the artist.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps some recent and imperfect converts of the Gnostic tribe might crown the statues of Christ and St. Paul with the profane honours which they paid to those of Aristotle and Pythagoras;<sup>3</sup> but the pulchre religion of the Catholics was uniformly simple and spiritual; and the first notice of the use of pictures is in the censure of the council of Illyria, three hundred years after the Christian era. Under the successors of Constantine, in the peace and luxury of the triumphant church, the more prudent bishops condescended to indulge a visible superstition, for the benefit of the multitude: and, after the ruin of Paganism, they were no longer restrained by the apprehension of an odious parallel. The first introduction of a symbolic worship was in the veneration of the cross, and of relics. The saints and martyrs, whose intercession was implored, were seated on the right hand of God; but the gracious and often supernatural favours, which, in the popular belief, were showered round their tomb, conveyed an unquestionable sanction of the devout pilgrims, who visited, and touched, and kissed, these lifeless remains, the memorials of their merits and sufferings.<sup>4</sup> But a memorial, more interesting than the skull or the sandals of a departed worthy, is the faithful copy of his person

<sup>1</sup> The learned Selden has given the history of transubstantiation in a comprehensive and judicious sentence. "This opinion is only rhetoric turned into logic." (His Works, vol. ii. p. 2973 in his Table-Talk.)

<sup>2</sup> See the many homines ineptissimi, quid sit sententia simulacra et idola, present, ad eorum horumque fuisse, et quo, sicut expulsi (Divin. Institut. l. i. c. 12). Lacinius is the best, as well as the

most elegant, of the Latin apologists. Their railers of idols attack not only the object, but the emblem and matter.

<sup>3</sup> See Irenæus, Epiphanius, and Augustin (Theophrast. Hist. des Églises, Recherches, tom. ii. p. 1213). This Council was convened by a singular authority, with the privilege of a council, by the name of Illyria (Laquetius, l. i. c. 12). Irenæus, Hist. des Églises, l. i. c. 12.





stead of quenching, added new fuel to the flames of the besieged. After this important service, the image of Edessa was preserved with respect and gratitude; and if the Armenians rejected the legend, the more credulous Greeks adored the similitude, which was not the work of any mortal pencil, but the immediate creation of the divine original. The style and sentiments of a Byzantine hymn will declare how far their worship was removed from the grossest idolatry. "How can we with mortal eyes contemplate "this image, whose celestial splendour the host "of heaven presumes not to behold? He who "dwells in heaven condescends this day to visit "us by his venerable image: He who is seated "on the cherubim, visits us this day by a picture, which the Father has delineated with his "immaculate hand, which he has formed in an "ineffable manner, and which we sanctify by "adoring it with fear and love." Before the end of the sixth century, these images, *made without hands* (in Greek it is a single word),<sup>11</sup> were propagated in the camps and cities of the

Eastern empire;<sup>12</sup> they were the objects of worship, and the instruments of miracles; and in the hour of danger or tumult, their venerable presence could revive the hope, rekindle the courage, or repress the fury, of the Roman legions. Of these pictures the far greater part, the transcripts of a human pencil, could only pretend to a secondary likeness and improper title: but there were some of higher descent, who derived their resemblance from an immediate contact with the original, endowed, for that purpose, with a miraculous and prolific virtue. The most ambitious aspired from a filial to a fraternal relation with the image of Edessa; and such is the *terrona* of Rome, or Spain, or Jerusalem, which Christ in his agony and bloody sweat applied to his face, and delivered to an holy matron. The fruitful precedent was speedily transferred to the Virgin Mary, and the saints and martyrs. In the church of Diospolis, in Palestine, the features of the Mother of God<sup>13</sup> were deeply inscribed in a marble column: the East and West have been decorated by the pencil of St. Luke; and the Evangelist, who was perhaps a physician, has been forced to exercise the occupation of a painter, so profane and odious in the eyes of the primitive Christians. The Olympian Jove, created by the muse of Homer and the chisel of Phidias, might inspire a philosophic mind with momentary devotion; but these Catholic images were faintly and flutly delineated by monkish artists in the last degeneracy of taste and genius.<sup>14</sup>

The worship of images had stolen into the church by insensible degrees, and each petty step was pleasing to the superstitious mind, as productive of comfort, and innocent of sin. But in the beginning of the eighth century, in the full magnitude of the abuse, the more timorous Greeks were awakened by an apprehension, that under the mask of Christianity, they had restored the religion of their fathers: they heard, with grief and impatience, the name of Idolaters; the incessant charge of the Jews and Mahometans,<sup>15</sup> who derived from the Law and the Koran an immortal hatred to graven images and all relative worship. The servitude of the Jews might curb their zeal, and depreciate their authority; but the triumphant Muslims, who reigned at Damascus, and threatened Constantinople, cast into the scale of reproach the accumulated weight of truth and victory. The cities of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, had been fortified with the images of Christ, his mother, and his saints; and each city presumed on the hope or promise of miraculous defence. In a rapid conquest of ten years, the Arabs subdued those cities and these images; and, in their opinion, the Lord of Hosts pronounced a decisive judgment between the adoration and contempt of these mute and inanimate idols. For a while Edessa had braved the Persian assaults; but the chosen city, the spouse of Christ, was involved in the common ruin; and his divine resemblance became the slave and trophy of the infidels. After a servitude of three hundred years, the Paladium was yielded to the devotion of Constantinople, for a ransom of twelve thousand pounds of silver, the redemption of two hundred Muslims, and a perpetual truce for the territory of Edessa.<sup>16</sup> In this season of distress and dismay, the eloquence of the monks was exercised in the defence of images; and they attempted to prove, that the sin and schism of the greatest part of the Orientals had forfeited the favour, and annihilated the virtue, of these precious symbols. But they were now opposed by the murmurs of many simple or rational Christians, who appealed to the evidence of texts, of facts, and of the primitive times, and secretly desired the reformation of the church. As the worship of images had never been established by any general or positive law, its progress in the Eastern Empire had been retarded, or accelerated, by the differences of men and manners, the local degrees of refinement, and the personal characters of the bishops. The splendid devotion was fondly cherished by the levity of the capital, and the inventive genius of the Byzantine clergy; while the rude and remote districts of Asia were strangers to this innovation of sacred luxury.

11 Ave  
Subject is tr  
(Synonym  
Officers,  
the Sculler m), with equal reason and wit by the Protestant Beau-  
sobre, in the  
volumes of tl

12 Thapayē, the *καταδίκιον κατασάμα*, which he styles *καταδίκιον*, let it be no more than a copy, since he adds *ἀφ' ἑσθ' τοῦ ἀσκήσαντος* (Edessā) *ῥακακασα* in ἁβήθη. See Page, *tom* in A. D. 544, 11.

Gretser, nor consequently by Beauzobre (*Opera Joh. Damascen. tom i.*  
p. 418. t. 31.)

F. 618. 631 1

14 "Your scandalous figures stand out from the canvas," they are bad as a group of stone." It was thus that the ignorance and bigotry of a Greek artist appreciated the pictures of Titian, which he had ordered and refused to accept.

Titian, which he had ordered and refused to accept.

16 See E. in *On Hist. Syntax*, p. 207. A diaphanous  $\alpha$  (Dion. p. 201) and  $\alpha\beta$  of *Anal. Modem* p. 204, sufficient for the purposes of Pisagiotis. A.D. 944. The student Fritsch is not to determine whether the usage of  $\epsilon$  is not in fact a historical fact, but is representative of a tradition, a difference in object of speech is no longer fallacious or false.





Greek, or the Syrian, who ascended the chair of St. Peter; and, after the loss of her legions and provinces, the genius and fortune of the popes again restored the supremacy of Rome. It is agreed, that in the eighth century, their dominion was founded on rebellion, and that the rebellion was produced, and justified, by the heresy of the Iconoclasts; but the conduct of the second and third Gregory, in this memorable contest, is variously interpreted by the wishes of their friends and enemies. The Byzantine writers unanimously declare, that, after a fruitless admonition, they pronounced the separation of the East and West, and deprived the sacrilegious tyrant of the revenue and sovereignty of Italy. Their excommunication is still more clearly expressed by the Greeks, who beheld the accomplishment of the papal triumphs; and as they are more strongly attached to their religion than to their country, they praise, instead of blaming, the zeal and orthodoxy of these apostolical men.<sup>86</sup> The modern champions of Rome are eager to accept the praise and the precedent; this great and glorious example of the deposition of royal heretics is celebrated by the cardinals Banonius and Bellarmine;<sup>87</sup> and if they are asked, why the same thunders were not hurled against the Neros and Julians of antiquity? they reply, that the weakness of the primitive church was the sole cause of her patient loyalty.<sup>88</sup> On this occasion, the effects of love and hatred are the same; and the zealous Protestants, who seek to kindle the indignation, and to alarm the fears, of princes and magistrates, expatiate on the insolence and treason of the two Gregories against their lawful sovereign.<sup>89</sup> They are defended only by the moderate Catholics, for the most part, of the Gallican church,<sup>90</sup> who respect the saint, without approving the sin. These common advocates of the crown and the mitre circumscribe the truth of facts by the rule of equity, scripture, and tradition; and appeal to the evidence of the Latins,<sup>91</sup> and the lives<sup>92</sup> and epistles of the popes themselves.

Two original epistles, from Gregory the Second to the emperor Leo, are still extant;<sup>93</sup> and if they cannot be praised as the most perfect models of eloquence and logic, they exhibit the portrait, or at least the mask, of the founder of the papal monarchy. "During ten pure and fortunate

"years," says Gregory to the emperor, "we have tasted the annual comfort of your royal letters, subscribed in purple ink, with your own hand, the sacred pledges of your attachment to the orthodox creed of our fathers. How deplorable is the change! how tremendous the scandal! You now accuse the Catholics of idolatry; and, by the accusation, you betray your own impiety and ignorance. To this ignorance we are compelled to adapt the grossness of our style and arguments: the first elements of holy letters are sufficient for your confusion; and were you to enter a grammar-school, and avow yourself the enemy of our worship, the simple and pious children would be provoked to cast their horn-books at your head." After this decent salutation, the pope attempts the usual distinction between the idols of antiquity and the Christian images. The former were the fanciful representations of phantoms or demons, at a time when the true God had not manifested his person in any visible likeness. The latter are the genuine forms of Christ, his mother, and his saints, who had approved, by a crowd of miracles, the innocence and merit of this relative worship. He must indeed have trusted to the ignorance of Leo, since he could assert the perpetual use of images, from the apostolic age, and their venerable presence in the six synods of the Catholic church. A more specious argument is drawn from present possession and recent practice: the harmony of the Christian world supersedes the demand of a general council; and Gregory frankly confesses, that such assemblies can only be useful under the reign of an orthodox prince. To the impudent and inhuman Leo, more guilty than an heretic, he recommends peace, silence, and implicit obedience to his spiritual guides of Constantinople and Rome. The limits of civil and ecclesiastical powers are defined by the pontiff. To the former he appropriates the body; to the latter, the soul: the sword of justice is in the hands of the magistrate; the more formidable weapon of excommunication is intrusted to the clergy; and in the exercise of their divine commission, a zealous son will not spare his offending father: the successor of St. Peter may lawfully chastise the kings of the earth. "You assault us, O tyrant! with a carnal and military hand, unarmed and naked,

divine power, who stand on the open middle ground exposed to the

of the school.

of the school.

of the school.

of the school.

“ we can only implore the Christ, the prince of  
“ the heavenly host, that he will send unto you  
“ a devil, for the destruction of your body and  
“ the salvation of your soul. You declare, with  
“ foolish arrogance, I will despatch my orders  
“ to Rome : I will break in pieces the image of  
“ St. Peter ; and Gregory, like his predecessor  
“ Martin, shall be transported in chains, and in  
“ exile, to the foot of the Imperial throne.  
“ Would to God, that I might be permitted to  
“ tread in the footsteps of the holy Martin ; but  
“ may the fate of Constans serve as a warning  
“ to the persecutors of the church ! After his  
“ just condemnation by the bishops of Sicily,  
“ the tyrant was cut off, in the fulness of his  
“ sins, by a domestic servant : the saint is still  
“ adored by the nations of Scythia, among  
“ whom he ended his banishment and his life.  
“ But it is our duty to live for the edification  
“ and support of the faithful people ; nor are we  
“ reduced to risk our safety on the event of a  
“ combat. Incapable as you are of defending  
“ your Roman subjects, the maritime situation  
“ of the city may perhaps expose it to your  
“ depredation ; but we can remove to the  
“ distance of four and twenty *stadia*,<sup>34</sup> to the  
“ first fortress of the Lombards, and then—  
“ you may pursue the winds. Are you ignorant  
“ that the popes are the bond of union, the me-  
“ diators of peace, between the East and West ?  
“ The eyes of the nations are fixed on our hu-  
“ mility ; and they revere, as a God upon earth,  
“ the apostle St. Peter, whose image you  
“ threaten to destroy.<sup>35</sup> The remote and in-  
“ terior kingdoms of the West present their  
“ homage to Christ and his viceregent ; and we  
“ now prepare to visit one of their most power-  
“ ful monarchs, who desires to receive from our  
“ hands the sacrament of baptism.<sup>36</sup> The bar-  
“ barians have submitted to the yoke of the  
“ Gospel, while you alone are deaf to the voice  
“ of the Shepherd. These pious barbarians are  
“ kindled into rage : they thirst to avenge the  
“ persecution of the East. Abandon your rash  
“ and fatal enterprise ; reflect, tremble, and  
“ repent. If you persist, we are innocent of  
“ the blood that will be spilt in the contest ;  
“ may it fall on your own head.”

The first assault of Leo against the images of Constantinople had been witnessed by a crowd of strangers from Italy and the West, who related with grief and indignation the sacrilege of the emperor. But on the reception of his proscriptive edict, they trembled for their domestic duties; the images of Christ and the Virgin, of the angels, martyrs,

and saints, were abolished in all the churches of Italy; and a strong alternative was proposed to the Roman pontiff, the royal favour as the price of his compliance, degradation and exile as the penalty of his disobedience. Neither zeal nor policy allowed him to hesitate; and the haughty strain in which Gregory addressed the emperor displays his confidence in the truth of his doctrine or the powers of resistance. Without depending on prayers or miracles, he boldly aimed against the public enemy, and his pastoral letter admonished the Italians of their danger and their duty.<sup>37</sup> At this signal, Ravenna, Venice, and the cities of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, adhered to the cause of religion; their military force by sea and land consisted, for the most part, of the natives; and the spirit of patriotism and zeal was transfused into the mercenary strangers. The Italians swore to live and die in the defence of the pope and the holy images; the Roman people was devoted to their father, and even the Lombards were ambitious to share the merit and advantage of this holy war. The most treasurable act, but the most obvious revenge, was the destruction of the statues of Leo himself: the most effectual and pleasing measure of rebellion was the withholding the tribute of Italy, and depriving him of a power which he had recently abused by the imposition of a new capitation.<sup>38</sup> A form of administration was preserved by the election of magistrates and governors; and so high was the public indignation, that the Italians were prepared to create an orthodox emperor, and to conduct him with a fleet and army to the palace of Constantinople. In that palace, the Roman bishops, the second and third Gregory, were condemned as the authors of the revolt, and every attempt was made, either by fraud or force, to seize their persons, and to strike at their lives. The city was repeatedly visited or assaulted by captains of the guards, and dukes and exarchs of high dignity or secret trust; they landed with foreign troops, they obtained some domestic aid, and the superintention of Naples may blush that her fathers were attached to the cause of heresy. But these clandestine or open attacks were repelled by the courage and vigilance of the Romans; the Greeks were overthrown and massacred, their leaders suffered an ignominious death, and the popes, however inclined to mercy, refused to intercede for these guilty victims. At Ravenna,<sup>39</sup> the several quarters of the city had long exercised a bloody and hereditary feud; in religious controversy they found a new aliment of faction; but the votaries of images

[illegible][illegible]

77 I shall transcribe the important and decisive passage of the Liber Pontificalis. Respicere ergo plus vir protinus principis, quod totum,

“The first consideration upon which I had to base my argument, regarding the question of the propriety of imposing a tax on the export of raw wool, was the fact that the wool of the United States is sold at a lower price than the wool of other countries. This is due to the fact that the United States is a large producer of wool, and the supply is abundant. The price of wool is determined by the market, and the United States is in a position to sell its wool at a lower price than other countries. This is a disadvantage to the United States, and it is necessary to take steps to protect the industry. The imposition of a tax on the export of raw wool would be a step in the right direction. It would increase the price of wool in the United States, and it would encourage the production of wool. This is a step that is necessary for the protection of the industry. The wool of the United States is sold at a lower price than the wool of other countries. This is due to the fact that the United States is a large producer of wool, and the supply is abundant. The price of wool is determined by the market, and the United States is in a position to sell its wool at a lower price than other countries. This is a disadvantage to the United States, and it is necessary to take steps to protect the industry. The imposition of a tax on the export of raw wool would be a step in the right direction. It would increase the price of wool in the United States, and it would encourage the production of wool. This is a step that is necessary for the protection of the industry.”

the value of the function  $f$  at  $x$  is  $f(x)$ . If  $f$  is a function of  $x$ , then the value of the function  $f$  at  $x$  is  $f(x)$ .



and their new independence was disgraced by the tumultuous conflict of licentiousness and oppression. The want of laws could only be supplied by the influence of religion, and their foreign and domestic counsels were moderated by the authority of the bishop. His alms, his sermons, his correspondence with the kings and prelates of the West, his recent services, their gratitude, and oath, accustomed the Romans to consider him as the first magistrate or prince of the city. The Christian humility of the popes was not offended by the name of *Dominus*, or Lord; and their face and inscription are still apparent on the most ancient coins.<sup>46</sup> Their temporal dominion is now confirmed by the reverence of a thousand years; and their noblest title is the free choice of a people, whom they had redeemed from slavery.

In the quarrels of ancient Greece, the holy people of Elis enjoyed a perpetual peace, under the protection of Jupiter, and in the exercise of the Olympic games.<sup>47</sup> Happy would it have been for the Romans, if a similar privilege had guarded the patrimony of St. Peter from the calamities of war; if the Christians, who visited the holy threshold, would have sheathed their swords in the presence of the apostle and his successor. But this mystic circle could have been traced only by the wand of a legislator and a sage: this pacific system was incompatible with the zeal and ambition of the popes. The Romans were not addicted, like the inhabitants of Elis, to the innocent and placid labours of agriculture; and the barbarians of Italy, though softened by the climate, were far below the Grecian states in the institutions of public and private life. A memorable example of repentance and piety was exhibited by Liutprand, king of the Lombards. In arms, at the gate of the Vatican, the conqueror listened to the voice of Gregory the Second,<sup>48</sup> withdrew his troops, resigned his conquests, respectfully visited the church of St. Peter, and, after performing his devotions, offered his sword and dagger, his cuirass and mantle, his silver cross, and his crown of gold, on the tomb of the apostle. But this religious fervour was the illusion, perhaps the artifice, of the moment; the sense of interest is strong and lasting; the love of arms and rapine was congenial to the Lombards; and both the prince and people were irresistibly tempted by the disorders of Italy, the nakedness of Rome, and the unwarlike profession of her new chief. On the first edicts of the emperor, they declared themselves the champions of the holy images: Liutprand invaded the province of Romagna, which had already assumed that distinctive appellation; the Catholics of the

Exarchate yielded without reluctance to his civil and military power; and a foreign enemy was introduced for the first time into the impregnable fortress of Ravenna. That city and fortress were speedily recovered by the active diligence and maritime forces of the Venetians; and those faithful subjects obeyed the exhortation of Gregory himself, in separating the personal guilt of Leo from the general cause of the Roman empire.<sup>49</sup> The Greeks were less mindful of the service, than the Lombards of the injury; the two nations, hostile in their faith, were reconciled in a dangerous and unnatural alliance: the king and the exarch marched to the conquest of Spoleto and Rome: the storm evaporated without effect, but the policy of Liutprand alarmed Italy with a vexatious alternative of hostility and truce. His successor Astolphus declared himself the equal enemy of the emperor and the pope: Ravenna was subdued by force or treachery,<sup>50</sup> and this final conquest extinguished the series of the exarchs, who had reigned with a subordinate power since the time of Justinian and the ruin of the Gothic kingdom. Rome was summoned to acknowledge the victorious Lombard as her lawful sovereign; the annual tribute of a piece of gold was fixed as the ransom of each citizen, and the sword of destruction was unsheathed to exact the penalty of her disobedience. The Romans hesitated; they entertained; they complained; and the threatening barbarians were checked by arms and negotiations, till the popes had engaged the friendship of an ally and avenger beyond the Alps.<sup>51</sup>

In his distress, the first Gregory had implored the aid of the hero of the age, of Charles Martel, who governed the French monarchy with the humble title of mayor or duke; and who, by his signal victory over the Saracens, had saved his country, and perhaps Europe, from the Mahometan yoke. The ambassadors of the pope were received by Charles with decent reverence; but the greatness of his occupations, and the shortness of his life, prevented his interference in the affairs of Italy, except by a friendly and ineffectual mediation. His son Pepin, the heir of his power and virtues, assumed the office of champion of the Roman church: and the zeal of the French prince appears to have been prompted by the love of glory and religion. But the danger was on the banks of the Tyber, the succour on those of the Seine; and our sympathy is cold to the relation of distant misery. Amidst the tears of the city, Stephen the Third embraced the generous resolution of visiting in person the courts of Lombardy and France, to deprecate the injustice of his enemy, or to excite the pity and indignation of his friend. After soothing the public despair by threats and

46 See Muratori, *Annali*, *Italia Medii Aevi*, tom. ii. p. 102. et seq. p. 315. On one of these coins we read *Domnus* (p. 102, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

47 See West's Dissertation on the Olympic Games (London, vol. ii. p. 56, edition in 1790), and the judicious reflections of Pechinus (tom. i. p. 10, edition in 1790).

48 The speech of Gregory to the Lombard is first composed by Sigonius (de rebus Italiae, lib. ii. Opera, tom. ii. p. 173), who imitates the language and the spirit of Sallust or Livy.

49 The Venet in *Lettere di John Sadegomus* (Chron. Venet. p. 151) and the voice of Andrew Badoer, in *Monumenti* (Rer. Ital. lib. vi. p. 173), has preserved this epistle of Gregory. The loss and recovery of sta-

tion are mentioned in Paul. Dacorum lib. Hist. Lang. bard. l. vi. c. 10. et in Script. Ital. tom. ii. p. 10, p. 11, p. 12, p. 13, p. 14, p. 15, p. 16, p. 17, p. 18, p. 19, p. 20, p. 21, p. 22, p. 23, p. 24, p. 25, p. 26, p. 27, p. 28, p. 29, p. 30, p. 31, p. 32, p. 33, p. 34, p. 35, p. 36, p. 37, p. 38, p. 39, p. 40, p. 41, p. 42, p. 43, p. 44, p. 45, p. 46, p. 47, p. 48, p. 49, p. 50, p. 51, p. 52, p. 53, p. 54, p. 55, p. 56, p. 57, p. 58, p. 59, p. 60, p. 61, p. 62, p. 63, p. 64, p. 65, p. 66, p. 67, p. 68, p. 69, p. 70, p. 71, p. 72, p. 73, p. 74, p. 75, p. 76, p. 77, p. 78, p. 79, p. 80, p. 81, p. 82, p. 83, p. 84, p. 85, p. 86, p. 87, p. 88, p. 89, p. 90, p. 91, p. 92, p. 93, p. 94, p. 95, p. 96, p. 97, p. 98, p. 99, p. 100).

50 The epistle is first seen in the var. us. rec. of the MSS. of *Antiquities*—disputed, or accepted (Script. Ital. tom. ii. p. 10, p. 11, p. 12, p. 13, p. 14, p. 15, p. 16, p. 17, p. 18, p. 19, p. 20, p. 21, p. 22, p. 23, p. 24, p. 25, p. 26, p. 27, p. 28, p. 29, p. 30, p. 31, p. 32, p. 33, p. 34, p. 35, p. 36, p. 37, p. 38, p. 39, p. 40, p. 41, p. 42, p. 43, p. 44, p. 45, p. 46, p. 47, p. 48, p. 49, p. 50, p. 51, p. 52, p. 53, p. 54, p. 55, p. 56, p. 57, p. 58, p. 59, p. 60, p. 61, p. 62, p. 63, p. 64, p. 65, p. 66, p. 67, p. 68, p. 69, p. 70, p. 71, p. 72, p. 73, p. 74, p. 75, p. 76, p. 77, p. 78, p. 79, p. 80, p. 81, p. 82, p. 83, p. 84, p. 85, p. 86, p. 87, p. 88, p. 89, p. 90, p. 91, p. 92, p. 93, p. 94, p. 95, p. 96, p. 97, p. 98, p. 99, p. 100).

51 See the *Collex* (tom. i. p. 10, p. 11, p. 12, p. 13, p. 14, p. 15, p. 16, p. 17, p. 18, p. 19, p. 20, p. 21, p. 22, p. 23, p. 24, p. 25, p. 26, p. 27, p. 28, p. 29, p. 30, p. 31, p. 32, p. 33, p. 34, p. 35, p. 36, p. 37, p. 38, p. 39, p. 40, p. 41, p. 42, p. 43, p. 44, p. 45, p. 46, p. 47, p. 48, p. 49, p. 50, p. 51, p. 52, p. 53, p. 54, p. 55, p. 56, p. 57, p. 58, p. 59, p. 60, p. 61, p. 62, p. 63, p. 64, p. 65, p. 66, p. 67, p. 68, p. 69, p. 70, p. 71, p. 72, p. 73, p. 74, p. 75, p. 76, p. 77, p. 78, p. 79, p. 80, p. 81, p. 82, p. 83, p. 84, p. 85, p. 86, p. 87, p. 88, p. 89, p. 90, p. 91, p. 92, p. 93, p. 94, p. 95, p. 96, p. 97, p. 98, p. 99, p. 100).





answer so agreeable to their wishes was accepted by the Franks, as the opinion of a casuist, the sentence of a judge, or the oracle of a prophet: the Merovingian race disappeared from the earth; and Pepin was exalted on a buckler by the suffrage of a free people, accustomed to obey his laws, and to march under his standard. His coronation was twice performed, with the sanction of the popes, by their most faithful servant St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, and by the grateful hands of Stephen the Third, who, in the monastery of St. Denys, placed the diadem on the head of his benefactor. The royal unction of the kings of Israel was dexterously applied,<sup>50</sup> the successor of St. Peter assumed the character of a divine ambassador, a German chieftain was transformed into the Lord's anointed; and this Jewish rite has been diffused and maintained by the superstition and vanity of modern Europe. The Franks were absolved from their ancient oath; but a dire anathema was thundered against them and their posterity, if they should dare to renew the same freedom of choice, or to elect a king, except in the holy and meritorious race of the Carolingian princes. Without apprehending the future danger, these princes gloried in their present security: the secretary of Charlemagne affirms, that the French sceptre was transferred by the authority of the popes;<sup>51</sup> and, in their boldest enterprises, they insist, with confidence, on this signal and successful act of temporal jurisdiction.

II. In the change of manners and language, the patricians of Rome<sup>38</sup> were far removed from the senate of Romulus, or the palace of Constantine, from the free nobles of the republic, or the fictitious parents of the emperor. After the recovery of Italy and Africa by the arms of Justinian, the importance and danger of those remote provinces required the presence of a supreme magistrate; he was indifferently styled the *censor* or the *patrician*; and these governors of Ravenna, who fill their place in the chronology of princes, extended their jurisdiction over the Roman city. Since the revolt of Italy and the loss of the exarchate, the distress of the Romans had exacted some sacrifice of their independence. Yet, even in this act, they exercised the right of disposing of themselves; and the decrees of the senate and people successively invested Charles Martel and his posterity with the honours of patrician of Rome. The leaders of a powerful nation would have disdained a servile title and subordinate office; but the reign of the Greek emperors was suspended; and, in the vacancy of the empire,

they derived a more glorious commission from the pope and the republic. The Roman ambassadors presented these patricians with the keys of the shrine of St. Peter, as a pledge and symbol of sovereignty; with a holy banner, which it was their right and duty to unfurl in the defence of the church and city.<sup>59</sup> In the time of Charles Martel and of Pepin, the interposition of the Lombard kingdom covered the freedom, while it threatened the safety, of Rome; and the *patruique* represented only the title, the service, the alliance, of these distant protectors. The power and policy of Charlemagne annihilated an enemy, and imposed a master. In his first visit to the capital, he was received with all the honours which had formerly been paid to the exarch, the representative of the emperor; and these honours obtained some new decorations from the joy and gratitude of pope Adrian the First.<sup>60</sup> No sooner was he informed of the sudden approach of the monarch, than he despatched the magistrates and nobles of Rome to meet him, with the banner, about thirty miles from the city. At the distance of one mile, the Flaminian way was lined with the *schools*, or national communities, of Greeks, Lombards, Saxons, &c.: the Roman youth was under arms; and the children of a more tender age, with palms and olive branches in their hands, chanted the praises of their great deliverer. At the aspect of the holy crosses, and ensigns of the saints, he dismounted from his horse, led the procession of his nobles to the Vatican, and, as he ascended the stairs, devoutly kissed each step of the threshold of the apostles. In the portico, Adrian expected him at the head of his clergy: they embraced, as friends and equals; but in their march to the altar, the king or patrician assumed the right hand of the pope. Nor was the Frank content with these vain and empty demonstrations of respect. In the twenty-six years that elapsed between the conquest of Lombardy and his Imperial coronation, Rome, which had been delivered by the sword, was subject, as his own, to the sceptre of Charlemagne. The people swore allegiance to his person and family: in his name money was coined, and justice was administered; and the election of the popes was examined and confirmed by his authority. Except an original and self-inherent claim of sovereignty, there was not any prerogative remaining, which the title of emperor could add to the patrician of Rome.<sup>61</sup>

The gratitude of the Carlovings was adequate to these obligations, and their names are consecrated

[illegible]

former and the latter, but the style of the program dominates, or, at least, seems to. In the case of *Epistola*, in particular, the style seems to be a good predictor of the program. In the MS of the *Veneranda*, *Epistola* is the only program of the group, preserved in a form as close to the original as possible. It is the only of the critical editions of *Epistola* published, and, like the other editions, it is a translation of the original Latin text.

The *Veneranda* is a narrative of the reception of the *Epistola* by the *Veneranda* in the year 1517. The text is a translation of the original Latin text, and is a good example of the style of the original. The text is a translation of the original Latin text, and is a good example of the style of the original. The text is a translation of the original Latin text, and is a good example of the style of the original.

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West.<sup>69</sup> This fiction was productive of the most beneficial effects. The Greek princes were convicted of the guilt of usurpation; and the revolt of Gregory was the claim of his lawful inheritance. The popes were delivered from their debt of gratitude; and the nominal gifts of the Carolingians were no more than the just and irrevocable restitution of a scanty portion of the ecclesiastical state. The sovereignty of Rome no longer depended on the choice of a fickle people; and the successors of St. Peter and Constantine were invested with the purple and prerogatives of the Cæsars. So deep was the ignorance and credulity of the times, that the most absurd of fables was received, with equal reverence, in Greece and in France, and is still enrolled among the decrees of the canon law.<sup>70</sup> The emperors, and the Romans, were incapable of discerning a forgery, that subverted their rights and freedom; and the only opposition proceeded from a Sabine monastery, which, in the beginning of the twelfth century, disputed the truth and validity of the donation of Constantine.<sup>71</sup> In the revival of letters and liberty this fictitious deed was transpired by the pen of Laurentius Valla, the pen of an eloquent critic and a Roman patriot.<sup>72</sup> His contemporaries of the fifteenth century were astonished at his sacrilegious boldness; yet such is the silent and irresistible progress of reason, that before the end of the next age, the fable was rejected by the contempt of historians<sup>73</sup> and poets,<sup>74</sup> and the tacit or modest censure of the advocates of the Roman church.<sup>75</sup> The popes themselves have indulged a smile at the credulity of the vulgar;<sup>76</sup> but a false and obsolete title still sanctifies their reign; and, by the same fortune which has attended the decretals and the Sibylline oracles, the edifice has subsisted after the foundations have been undermined.

Restoration of  
the empire by  
the emperor  
Theodosius  
the Great  
A.D. 392  
&c.

While the popes established in  
Italy their freedom and dominion,  
the images, the first cause of their  
revolt, were restored in the Eastern  
empire.<sup>77</sup> Under the reign of Constantine  
Fifth, the union of civil and ecclesiastical power  
had overthrown the tree, without extirpating the  
root, of superstition. The idols, for such they

were now held, were secretly cherished by the order and the sex most prone to devotion; and the fond alliance of the monks and females obtained a final victory over the reason and authority of man. Leo the Fourth maintained with less rigour the religion of his father and grandfather; but his wife, the fair and ambitious Irene, had imbibed the zeal of the Athenians, the heirs of the idolatry, rather than the philosophy, of their ancestors. During the life of her husband, these sentiments were inflamed by danger and dissimulation, and she could only labour to protect and promote some favourite monks whom she drew from their caverns, and seated on the metropolitan thrones of the East. But as soon as she reigned in her own name and that of her son, Irene more seriously undertook the ruin of the Iconoclasts: and the first step of her future persecution was a general edict for liberty of conscience. In the restoration of the monks, a thousand images were exposed to the public veneration; a thousand legends were invented of their sufferings and miracles. By the opportunities of death or removal, the episcopal seats were judiciously filled; the most eager competitors for earthly or celestial favour anticipated and flattered the judgment of their sovereign; and the promotion of her secretary Tarasius gave Irene the patriarch of Constantinople, and the command of the Oriental church. But the decrees of a general council could only be repealed by a similar assembly; 78 the Iconoclasts whom she convened, were bold in possession, and averse to debate; and the feeble voice of the bishops was re-echoed by the more formidable clamour of the soldiers and people of Constantinople. The delay and intrigues of a year, the separation of the disaffected troops, and the choice of Nice for a second orthodox synod, removed these obstacles; and the episcopal conscience was again, after the Greek fashion, in the hands of the prince. No more than eighteen days were allowed for the consummation of this important work: the Iconoclasts appeared, not as judges, but as criminals or penitents: the scene was decorated

VIIth general  
council of 753  
at Nice  
A.D. 753,  
Sept. 21-  
Oct. 25.

69 Fabricius (*Bibliot. Græc.* tom. vi. p. 4—7.) has enumerated the several editions of this Act, in Greek and Latin. The copy which Laurentius Valla recites and refutes, appears to be taken either from the spurious Acts of St. Silvester or from Gratian's Decree, to which,

...the pope  
north  
ous,  
Na-

<sup>71</sup> See a large part of the controversy (A. D. 1103), which arose from a private lawsuit, in the *Chronicon Frosense* (s.ript. Berni, Italianum, tom. i, pars. i, p. 67), *Acta Conciliorum Oecum.* t. i, in the archives of that Benedictine abbey. They were formerly accessible to the public in the *Planus et Modulus*, but were afterwards removed to the first volume of the *Historia Monasterii Italici* of Quarrini. But they are now imprisoned (*Minatori, Scriptores R. I. tom. i, pars. i, p. 204*) by the timid policy of the court of Rome, and the timidity

Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the *Agrobacterium* suspension on the transformation efficiency of *Agrobacterium* strains.

use of a dagger against their sacerdotal tyrant. Such a critic might expect the persecution of the clergy, yet he made his peace, and is buried in the Lateran Basilica. Incomparable Cimone, VALLA, Visconti.

77 See Guicciardini, a servant of the popes, in that long and valuable digression, which has resumed its place in the last edition, correctly published from the author's MS. and printed in four volumes, de Historiis Latinis, p. 580.

in quarto, under the name of Friburgo, 1775 (*Istoria d'Italia*, tom. i. p. 385-395.).

\* 74 The Paladin Astolfo found it in the moon, among the things that were lost upon earth (*Orlando Furioso*, xxxiv. 80).

Di vari fiore al un grand monte passa,  
Ch'ebbe già l'uommi odore, or più a forte  
Questo era il dono (se però dir lece)  
Che fuo antino al buon Silvestro fece.

a) ball of  $100 \text{ V}_1$   
 b)  $10 \text{ V}_1$ , No. 1  $\text{AC}_1$   
 c) by 1 unit  $\text{m} \omega_1$

Let's try to do it again.

causant l'irritation, "the value of an individual is not  
causant l'irritation (p. 57).

[illegible]

187), and Mosheim (*Hist. Eccl. sacril.* viii c. 11). The  
Protestants, except Mosheim, are scored with severity for their

Catholics, etc. at Duman, are induced by the fury and superstition of the monks; and even Le Ben H' r' du Bas Empire, a Gentile man and scholar, was led by the diabolical lure

14 See the Acts, in Greek and Latin, of the second Council of Nicaea, with a number of native poems, in the 'Anthology' of the Emperor Basil II. (1058-1081). A further version, with some critical notes, would, I suppose, in different readers, do much of the same.



by the translation of the empire to the less orthodox Charlemagne. They were compelled to choose between the rival nations: religion was not the sole motive of their choice; and while they dissembled the failings of their friends, they beheld, with reluctance and suspicion, the Catholic virtues of their foes. The difference of language and manners had perpetuated the enmity of the two capitals; and they were alienated from each other by the hostile opposition of seventy years. In that schism the Romans had tasted of freedom, and the popes of sovereignty: their submission would have exposed them to the revenge of a jealous tyrant; and the revolution of Italy had betrayed the impotence, as well as the tyranny, of the Byzantine court. The Greek emperors had restored the images, but they had not restored the Calabrian estates<sup>55</sup> and the Illyrian dioceses,<sup>56</sup> which the Iconoclasts had torn away from the successors of St. Peter; and pope Adrian threatens them with a sentence of excommunication unless they speedily abjure this practical heresy.<sup>57</sup> The Greeks were now orthodox, but their religion might be tainted by the breath of the reigning monarch: the Franks were now contumacious; but a discerning eye might discern their approaching conversion from the use, to the adoration, of images. The name of Charlemagne was stained by the polemic acrimony of his scribes; but the conqueror himself conformed, with the temper of a statesman, to the various practice of France and Italy. In his four pilgrimages or visits to the Vatican, he embraced the popes in the communion of friendship and piety; knelt before the tomb, and consequently before the image, of the apostle; and joined, without scruple, in all the prayers and processions of the Roman liturgy. Would prudence or gratitude allow the pontiff to renounce their benefactor? Had they a right to alienate his gift of the Exarchate? Had they power to abolish his government of Rome? The title of patrician was below the merit and greatness of Charlemagne; and it was only by reviving the Western empire that they could pay their obligations or secure their establishment. By this decisive measure they would finally eradicate the claims of the Greeks: from the debasement of a provincial town, the majesty of Rome would be restored: the Latin Christians would be united, under a supreme

head, in their ancient metropolis; and the conquerors of the West would receive their crown from the successors of St. Peter. The Roman church would acquire a zealous and respectable advocate; and, under the shadow of the Carolingian power, the bishop might exercise, with honour and safety, the government of the city.<sup>88</sup>

Before the ruin of Paganism in Rome, the competition for a wealthy bishopric had often been productive of tumult and bloodshed. The people was less numerous, but the times were more savage, the prize more important, and the chair of St. Peter was fiercely disputed by the leading ecclesiastics who aspired to the rank of sovereign. The reign of Adrian the First<sup>83</sup> surpasses the measure of past or succeeding ages;<sup>84</sup> the walls of Rome, the sacred patrimony, the ruin of the Lombards, and the friendship of Charlemagne, were the trophies of his fame: he secretly edified the throne of his successors, and displayed in a narrow space the virtues of a great prince. His memory was revered; but in the next election, a priest of the Latran, Leo the Third, was preferred to the nephew and the favourite of Adrian, whom he had promoted to the first dignities of the church. Their acquiescence or repentance disguised, above four years, the blackest intention of revenge, till the day of a procession, when a furious band of conspirators dispersed the unarmed multitude, and assaulted with blows and wounds the sacred person of the pope. But their enterprise on his life or liberty was disappointed, perhaps by their own confusion and remorse. Leo was left for dead on the ground; on his revival from the swoon, the effect of his loss of blood, he recovered his speech and sight; and this natural event was improved to the miraculous restoration of his eyes and tongue, of which he had been deprived, twice deprived, by the knife of the assassins.<sup>85</sup> From his prison he escaped to the Vatican; the duke of Spoleto hastened to his rescue; Charlemagne sympathised in his injury, and in his camp of Paderborn in Westphalia accepted, or solicited, a visit from the Roman pontiff. Leo repassed the Alps with a commission of counts and bishops, the guards of his safety and the judges of his innocence; and it was not without reluctance, that the conqueror of the Saxons delayed till

Coronation of  
Christ the King  
as a part of  
Ritual of  
the West.  
A. D. 1885,  
Dec. 25.

85 Theophrastus (p. 345) specifies those of Sicily and Calabria which yielded a removal rent of three talents and a half (12000 coins) per 70000 storgion. Intrapandemic points only corroborates the terminus of the Roman thaler in Greece, Italy, Persia, Mesopotamia, Babilonia, Egypt, and India, which were introduced by the master of the Greek emperor (legat) of Nicaeorum, in Script. Herum Ital. curam, tom. 4, post p. 181.

[illegible]

87. In hoc ostenditur, quia ex uno capitulo ab errore reversis, in aliis duobus, in *eodem* was it the same? permanent errore . . . de diocesi S. R. E. seu de parvitate, iturum i. crey, totos communitatem, ut si ex restitute volunt hereticum eum pro his uocodi errore perseverantia decernimus (Epist. Hadrian. Pape ad Carolum Magnum in Concil. tum xii. p. 178.) to which he adds a

of the church (advocatus et defensor S. R. E.). See Ducangy, *Gloss.*

Lat. top. 1, p. 297<sup>v</sup>. His antagonist Marcianus induces the popes to be more than the enemies of the emperor. In the more equitable view of Mehus (Mistral, Hist. Eccles. p. 254, 255), they had Rome under the empire as the most honourable species of friend or benefactor – *praesentibus non inimici*.<sup>1</sup>

Syllables and hopes are summed up in an epiphany of thirty-eight verses of which the following declares himself the author (Lament 1 or 2, 11-20).

The number of times a number is repeated.  
 The number of times a number is repeated.  
 The number of times a number is repeated.

The poetry cannot be supposed to be bad, but the tears, the most  
of rious tribulation, cannot be felt as a whole, but as a part.

"and I say now you're a thousand." "So," said Peter, nonchalant as ever, "you're a thousand?" "Oh yes," he said, "I'm a thousand."

of the arrival of August is from 100 to 150° F., but is supported by the credit of some French and other authorities, and other waters of the same age in the same locality.

Theophilus (contemporary list; p. 6) does not observe "the

Reddish-brown, most common at low tide,  $\text{pH} = 7.5$ .  
Est. taken muddy, high water and  $\text{pH} = 7.5$ .



his grandfather. After his Spanish expedition, his rear-guard was defeated in the Pyrenean mountains ; and the soldiers, whose situation was irretrievable, and whose valour was useless, might accuse, with their last breath, the want of skill or caution of their general.<sup>99</sup> I touch with reverence the laws of Charlemagne, so highly applauded by a respectable judge. They compose not a system, but a series, of occasional and minute edicts, for the correction of abuses, the reformation of manners, the economy of his farms, the care of his poultry, and even the sale of his eggs. He wished to improve the laws and the character of the Franks ; and his attempt, however feeble and imperfect, are deserving of praise: the inveterate evils of the times were suspended or mollified by his government ; <sup>100</sup> but in his institutions I can seldom discover the general views and the immortal spirit of a legislator, who survives himself for the benefit of posterity. The union and stability of his empire depended on the life of a single man ; he imitated the dangerous practice of dividing his kingdoms among his sons ; and, after his numerous diets, the whole constitution was left to fluctuate between the disorders of anarchy and despotism. His esteem for the piety and knowledge of the clergy tempted him to intrust that aspiring order with temporal dominion and civil jurisdiction ; and his son Lewis, when he was stripped and degraded by the bishops, might accuse, in some measure, the imprudence of his father. His laws enforced the imposition of tithes, because the demons had proclaimed in the air that the default of payment had been the cause of the last scarcity.<sup>101</sup> The literary merits of Charlemagne are attested by the foundation of schools, the introduction of arts, the works which were published in his name, and his familiar connection with the subjects and strangers whom he invited to his court to educate both the prince and people. His own studies were tardy, laborious, and imperfect ; if he spoke Latin, and understood Greek, he derived the rudiments of knowledge from conversation, rather than from books ; and, in his mature age, the emperor strove to acquire the practice of writing, which every peasant now learns in his infancy.<sup>102</sup> The grammar and logic, the music and astronomy, of the times, were only cultivated as the handmaids of superstition ; but the curiosity of the human mind must ultimately tend to its improvement, and the encouragement of learning reflects the purest and most pleasing lustre on

the character of Charlemagne.<sup>103</sup> The dignity of his person,<sup>104</sup> the length of his reign, the prosperity of his arms, the vigour of his government, and the reverence of distant nations, distinguish him from the royal crowd; and Europe dates a new era from his restoration of the Western empire.

That empire was not unworthy of its title;<sup>105</sup> and some of the fairest kingdoms of Europe were the patrimony or conquest of a prince, who reigned at the same time in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Hungary.<sup>106</sup> I. The Roman province of Gaul had been transformed into the name and monarchy of France; but, in the decay of the Merovingian line, its limits were contracted by the independence of the *Britons* and the revolt of *Aquitain*. Charlemagne pursued, and confined, the *Britons* on the shores of the ocean; and that ferocious tribe, whose origin and language are so different from the French, was chastised by the imposition of tribute, hostages, and peace. After a long and evasive contest, the rebellion of the dukes of Aquitain was punished by the forfeiture of their province, their liberty, and their lives. Harsh and rigorous would have been such treatment of ambitious governors, who had too faithfully copied the mayors of the palace. But a recent discovery<sup>107</sup> has proved that these unhappy princes were the last and lawful heirs of the blood and sceptre of Clovis, a younger branch, from the brother of Dagobert, of the Merovingian house. Their ancient kingdom was reduced to the duchy of Gascoigne, to the counties of Fesenzac and Armagnac, at the foot of the Pyrenees; their race was propagated till the beginning of the sixteenth century; and, after surviving their Carlovingian tyrants, they were preserved to feel the injustice, or the favours, of a third dynasty. By the re-union of Aquitain, France was enlarged to its present boundaries, with the additions of the Netherlands and Spain, as far as the Rhine. II. The *Saracens* had been expelled from France Spain, by the grandfather and father of Charlemagne; but they still possessed the greatest part of *Spain*, from the rock of Gibraltar to the Pyrenees. Amidst their civil divisions, an Arabian emir of Saragossa implored his protection in the diet of Paderborn. Charlemagne undertook the expedition, restored the emir, and, without distinction of faith, impartially crushed the resistance of the Christians, and rewarded the obedience

99 In this action the famous Butland, Rolando, Orlando, was slain — cum compluribus aliis. See the truth in Fagard's *ib.* p. 51—52., and the fable in an elegant Supplement of M. G. (1711) (four. in. p. 474.). The Spaniards are too proud of a victory, which history ascribes to the Indians, and names to the Sorcerer.

100 Yet Schmidt, from the best authorities, represents the interior disorders and oppression of his reign (*Hist. des Allemands*, tom. ii. p. 15-49).

101. *Omnes homines et sua proprietate legitimam deum et ecclesiam conferat. Experimentum enim dubitamus, ut, si quid aliud a deo fides irrepit, et illius vacuas ammones a demeritis debeat, et voces exprobrations audit.* Such is the decree and is opinion of the great Council of Frankfurt. Canon xxx. tom. x. p. 191. B. R. Selden (*Hist. of Tithes*, Works, vol. i. part. p. 116.) and Maitland (*Antiqu. of Tithes*, f. lxxi. c. 12.) represent the meaning of the *legit.* author of tithes. Such obligations have country gentlemen to his memory!

102 Eginhard (c. 25. p. 119) clearly affirms, *tentabat et scribere . . . sed parum prospere successit labor preposterus et senectutis*. The moderns have perverted and corrected this obvious *et senectutis*, and the title of M. Gaillard's Dissertation (tome iii. p. 217-240) betrays his partiality.

103 See Gaillard, tom. iii p. 178—176, and Schmidt, tom. v. p. 121 and 29.

magre (See a Dissertation of Marquart Freher ad calcem Eginhart, p. 289, &c.) at five feet nine inches of breadth, abt. six feet nine inch and a fourth English, measure. The former vertebrae had increased in to eight feet, and the giant was endowed with man-like strength and agility: at a single stroke of his good sword *he* cut a rounder ash horse than his horse: at a single repit he devoured a whole lamb, and a roasted ox, &c.

(B) See the entire, but corrected and enlarged, work of D'Arville (*États romains*, on 1 map), pages 116 ante and 116 ante *Empire Romain* on *Occident* page 1771. The map is a good one, but the entire of it has

by Velasquez (Northern  
geography) and Italy,  
the middle geography

100. After a brief relation of his wars and conquests, viz. 1761, c. 5. 113, Fagard recapitulates, in a few words, all the countries subject to his empire. \* rursus totius H. A. Germ. p. 115—116, has inserted in his Note, the text of the 114th page.

107 of a letter granted to the colonists at Albany, A.D. 1754 by Charles the Sixth, which declared the royal position. I doubt whether some slight notice of the subject should be made in the next issue.

yet the whole is approved and confirmed by Montesquieu (1708-1755) = 1727-28, who claims that the power of Montesquieu is the president de Montesquieu, and that the explanation is that

$$1.1.7 \text{ mFe dFe dFe} \quad 1.1.8 \text{ mFe dFe dFe} \quad 1.1.9 \text{ mFe dFe dFe} \quad 1.1.10 \text{ mFe dFe dFe}$$



and service of the Mahometans. In his absence he instituted the *Spanish march*,<sup>108</sup> which extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro: Barcelona was the residence of the French governor; he possessed the counties of *Roussillon* and *Catalonia*; and the infant kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Aragon* were subject to his jurisdiction.

Italy, bards, and patrician of Rome, he reigned over the greatest part of ITALY,<sup>109</sup> a tract of a thousand miles from the Alps to the borders of Calabria. The duchy of *Beneventum*, a Lombard fief, had spread, at the expense of the Greeks, over the modern kingdom of Naples. But Arrecheis, the reigning duke, refused to be included in the slavery of his country; assumed the independent title of prince; and opposed his sword to the Carlovingian monarchy. His defence was firm, his submission was not inglorious, and the emperor was content with an easy tribute, the demolition of his fortresses, and the acknowledgment, on his coins, of a supreme lord. The artful flattery of his son Grimoald added the appellation of father, but he asserted his dignity with prudence, and Beneventum insensibly escaped from the French yoke.<sup>110</sup> IV. Charlemagne was the first who

united GERMANY under the same sceptre. The name of *Oriental France* is preserved in the circle of *Franconia*; and the people of *Hesse* and *Thuringia* were recently incorporated with the victors, by the conformity of religion and government. The *Alemanni*, so formidable to the Romans, were the faithful vassals and confederates of the Franks; and their country was inscribed within the modern limits of *Alsace*, *Swabia*, and *Switzerland*. The *Bavarians*, with a similar indulgence of their laws and manners, were less patient of a master: the repeated treasons of Tasilo justified the abolition of their hereditary dukes; and their power was shared among the counts, who judged and guarded that important frontier. But the north of Germany, from the Rhine and beyond the Elbe, was still hostile and Pagan; nor was it till after a war of thirty-three years that the Saxons bowed under the yoke of Christ and of Charlemagne. The idols and their votaries were extirpated, the foundation of eight bishoprics, of Munster, Osnaburgh, Paderborn, and Minden, of Bremen, Verden, Hildesheim, and Halberstadt, define, on either side of the Weser, the bounds of ancient Saxony: these episcopal seats were the first schools and cities of that savage land; and the religion and humanity of the children atoned, in some degree, for the massacre of the parents. Beyond the Elbe, the *Slavi*, or *Slavonians*, of similar manners and various denominations, over-spread the modern dominions

of Prussia, Poland, and Bohemia, and some transient marks of obedience have tempted the French historian to extend the empire to the Baltic and the Vistula. The conquest or conversion of those countries is of a more recent age; but the first union of *Bohemia* with the Germanic body may be justly ascribed to the arms of Charlemagne. V. He retaliated on the Avars, or Huns of Pannonia, the same calamities which they had

inflicted on the nations. Their rings, the wooden fortifications which encircled their districts and villages, were broken down by the triple effort of a French army, that was poured into their country by land and water, through the Carpathian mountains and along the plain of the Danube. After a bloody conflict of eight years, the loss of some French generals was avenged by the slaughter of the most noble Huns: the relics of the nation submitted; the royal residence of the chagan was left desolate and unknown; and the treasures, the rapine of two hundred and fifty years, enriched the victorious troops, or decorated the churches of Italy and Gaul.<sup>111</sup> After the reduction of Pannonia, the empire of Charlemagne was bounded only by the conflux of the Danube with the Teysa and the Save: the provinces of Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia, were an easy, though unprofitable, accession; and it was an effect of his moderation, that he left the maritime cities under the real or nominal sovereignty of the Greeks. But these distant possessions added more to the reputation, than to the power, of the Latin emperor: nor did he risk any ecclesiastical foundations to reclaim the barbarians from their vagrant life and idolatrous worship. Some canals of communication between the rivers, the Saône and the Meuse, the Rhine and the Danube, were faintly attempted.<sup>112</sup> Their execution would have vivified the empire; and more cost and labour were often wasted in the structure of a cathedral.

If we retrace the outlines of this geographical picture, it will be seen <sup>His neighbours and colonies</sup> that the empire of the Franks extended, between east and west, from the Ebro to the Elbe or Vistula; between the north and south, from the duchy of Beneventum to the river Lyder, the perpetual boundary of Germany and Denmark. The personal and political importance of Charlemagne was magnified by the distress and division of the rest of Europe. The islands of Great Britain and Ireland were disputed by a crowd of princes of Saxon or Scottish origin; and, after the loss of Spain, the Christian and Gothic kingdom of Alphonso the Chaste was confined to the narrow range of the Asturian mountains. These petty sovereigns revered the power or virtue of the Carlovingian monarch,

<sup>108</sup> The governors or counts of the Spanish march resulted from Charles the Simple about the year 900, and a poor province, the Roussillon, has been recovered in 1612 by the kings of France (see *glossaire*, Description de la France, tom. i. p. 220-224). See the Roussillon contains 18,000 acres, and yields p. 1. 28, 9000 livres (Necker, Administration des Finances, tom. i. p. 28, 29); more people, perhaps, and doubtless more money, than the north of France.

fat ita de-erit, ut ne videretur quid in humane calculatōis appareret. Totā in hoc bello Hunnorum potētia parat, tota gloriā de-est, omnis pecunia et congesta ex longo tempore thesauri direpti sunt.

<sup>111</sup> The junction of the Rhine and Danube was undertaken only for the service of the Pannonian war (Gauard, Vie de Charlemagne, tom. i. p. 312-313). The canal, which would have been only a branch, and of which some traces are to be seen in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Danube, was never completed. See also the account of the canal in the *Annales de Metz*, tom. i. p. 100. The canal was never completed, and the account of the canal in the *Annales de Metz*, tom. i. p. 100.

implored the honour and support of his alliance, and styled him their common parent, the sole and supreme emperor of the West.<sup>113</sup> He maintained a more equal intercourse with the caliph Harun al Rashid,<sup>114</sup> whose dominion stretched from Africa to India, and accepted from his ambassadors a tent, a water-clock, an elephant, and the keys of the holy sepulchre. It is not easy to conceive the private friendship of a Frank and an Arab, who were strangers to each other's person, and language, and religion: but their public correspondence was founded on vanity, and their remote situation left no room for a competition of interest. Two thirds of the Western empire of Rome were subject to Charlemagne, and the deficiency was amply supplied by his command of the inaccessible or invincible nations of Germany. But in the choice of his enemies, we may be reasonably surprised that he so often preferred the poverty of the north to the riches of the south. The three-and-thirty campaigns laboriously consumed in the woods and morasses of Germany, would have sufficed to assert the amplitude of his title by the expulsion of the Greeks from Italy and the Saracens from Spain. The weakness of the Greeks would have ensured an easy victory: and the holy crusade against the Saracens would have been prompted by glory and revenge, and loudly justified by religion and policy. Perhaps, in his expeditions beyond the Rhine and the Elbe, he aspired to save his monarchy from the fate of the Roman empire, to disarm the enemies of civilised society, and to eradicate the seed of future emigrations. But it has been wisely observed, that in a light of precaution, all conquest must be ineffectual, unless it could be universal; since the increasing circle must be involved in a larger sphere of hostility.<sup>115</sup> The subjugation of Germany withdrew the veil which had so long concealed the continent or islands of Scandinavia from the knowledge of Europe, and awakened the torpid courage of their barbarous natives. The fiercest of the Saxon idolaters escaped from the Christian tyrant to their brethren of the North; the Ocean and Mediterranean were covered with their piratical fleets; and Charlemagne beheld with a sigh the destructive progress of the Normans, who, in less than seventy years, precipitated the fall of his race and monarchy.

Had the pope and the Romans revived the primitive constitution, the titles of emperor and Augustus were conferred on Charlemagne for the term of his life; and his successors, on each vacancy, must have ascended the throne by a formal or tacit election. But the association of his son Lewis the Pious asserts the independent right of monarchy and conquest, and the emperor seems on this occasion to have foreseen

and prevented the latent claims of the clergy. The royal youth was commanded to take the crown from the altar, A. D. 815 and with his own hands to place it on his head, as a gift which he held from God, his father, and the nation.<sup>116</sup> The same ceremony was repeated, though with less energy, in the subsequent associations of Lothaire and Lewis the Second; the Carolingian sceptre was transmitted from father to son in a lineal descent of four generations; and the ambition of the popes was reduced to the empty honour of crowning and anointing these hereditary princes who were already invested with their power and dominions. The pious Lewis survived his brothers, Lewis the Pious, A. D. 811-840. and embraced the whole empire of Charlemagne; but the nations and the nobles, his bishops and his children, quickly discerned that this mighty mass was no longer inspired by the same soul; and the foundations were undermined to the centre, while the external surface was yet fair and entire. After a war, or battle, which consumed one hundred thousand Franks, the empire was divided by treaty between his three sons, who had violated every filial and fraternal duty. The kingdoms of Germany Lothaire I. A. D. 840-856. and France were for ever separated; the provinces of Gaul, between the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuse and the Rhine, were assigned, with Italy, to the Imperial dignity of Lothaire. In the partition of his share, Lorraine and Arles, two recent and transitory kingdoms, were bestowed on the younger children; and Lewis the Second, his eldest son, Lewis II. A. D. 856-875. was content with the realm of Italy, the proper and sufficient patrimony of a Roman emperor. On his death, without any male issue, the vacant throne was disputed by his uncles and cousins, and the popes most dexterously seized the occasion of judging the claims and merits of the candidates, and of bestowing on the most obsequious, or most liberal, the Imperial office of advocate of the Roman church. The dregs of the Carolingian race no longer exhibited any symptoms of virtue or power, and the ridiculous epithets of the *bald*, the *stammerer*, the *fat*, and the *simple*, distinguished the tame and uniform features of a crowd of kings alike deserving of oblivion. By the failure of the collateral branches, the whole inheritance devolved to Charles the Fat, the last emperor of his family: his insanity authorised the desertion of Germany, Italy, and France: he Division of the empire, A. D. 885. was deposed in a diet, and solicited his daily bread from the rebels by whose contempt his life and liberty had been spared. According to the measure of their force, the governors, the bishops, and the lords, usurped the fragments of the falling empire; and some preference was shown to the female or illegitimate blood of Charlemagne. Of the

<sup>113</sup> See Eginhard, c. 16. and Gislebert, tom. i. p. 361-365, who mentions, with a loose reference, the anecdote of Charlemagne and Egbert, the emperor's gift of his sceptre, and the story of the emperor of his Saxon disciple. The anecdote, if genuine, would have adorned our English history.

<sup>114</sup> The correspondence is mentioned in the French history, and the Oriental are ignorant of it. The anecdote of the emperor's gift of a water clock, which is said to have been given to the caliph, is a pure application, which is not to be taken literally.

<sup>115</sup> Gausard, tom. ii. p. 361-362. 471-476. 492. This is borrowed

from a French history, and is a pure application, which is not to be taken literally. The anecdote of the emperor's gift of a water clock, which is said to have been given to the caliph, is a pure application, which is not to be taken literally.





the head of the Latin church. His youth and manhood were of a suitable complexion; and the nations of pilgrims could bear testimony to the charges that were urged against him in a Roman synod, and in the presence of Otho the Great. As John XII. had renounced the dress and decencies of his profession, the *soldier* may not perhaps be dishonoured by the wine which he drank, the blood that he spilt, the flames that he kindled, or the licentious pursuits of gaming and hunting. His open simony might be the consequence of distress: and his blasphemous invocation of Jupiter and Venus, if it be true, could not possibly be serious. But we read with some surprise, that the worthy grandson of Marozia lived in public adultery with the matrons of Rome: that the Lateran palace was turned into a school for prostitution, and that his rapes of virgins and widows had deterred the female pilgrims from visiting the tomb of St. Peter, lest, in the devout act, they should be violated by his successor.<sup>133</sup> The Protestants have dwelt with malicious pleasure on these characters of Antichrist; but to a philosophic eye the vices of the clergy are far less dangerous than their

virtues. After a long series of Reformation and scandal, the apostolic see was re- of the church in formed and exalted by the austere A. D. 1073, &c. and zeal of Gregory VII. That ambitious monk devoted his life to the execution of two projects. I. To fix in the college of cardinals the freedom and independence of election, and for ever to abolish the right or usurpation of the emperors and the Roman people. II. To bestow and resume the Western empire as a fief or benefice<sup>134</sup> of the church, and to extend his temporal dominion over the kings and kingdoms of the earth. After a contest of fifty years, the first of these designs was accomplished by the firm support of the ecclesiastical order, whose liberty was connected with that of their chief. But the second attempt, though it was crowned with some partial and apparent success, has been vigorously resisted by the secular power, and finally extinguished by the improvement of human reason.

In the revival of the empire of Ambition of Rome, neither the bishop nor the the emperor in people could bestow on Charlemagne or Otho, the provinces which were lost, as they had been won, by the chance of arms. But the Romans were free to choose a master for themselves; and the powers which had been delegated to the patrician, were irrevocably granted to the French and Saxon emperors of the West. The broken records of the times<sup>135</sup> preserve some remembrance of their palace, their mint, their tribunal, their edicts, and the sword of justice, which, as late as the thirteenth cen-

tury, was derived from Cæsar to the præfect of the city.<sup>136</sup> Between the arts of the popes and the violence of the people, this supremacy was crushed and annihilated. Content with the titles of emperor and Augustus, the successors of Charlemagne neglected to assert this local jurisdiction. In the hour of prosperity their ambition was diverted by more alluring objects; and in the decay and division of the empire, they were oppressed by the defence of their hereditary provinces. Amidst the ruins of Italy, the famous Marozia invited Revolt of Alberic, A. D. 932; one of the usurpers to assume the character of her third husband; and Hugh, king of Burgundy, was introduced by her faction into the mole of Hadrian or castle of St. Angelo, which commands the principal bridge and entrance of Rome. Her son by the first marriage, Alberic, was compelled to attend at the nuptial banquet; but his reluctant and ungrateful service was chastised with a blow by his new father. The blow was productive of a revolution. "Romans," exclaimed the youth, "once you were the masters of the world, and these Burgundians the most abject of your slaves. They now reign, these voracious and brutal savages, and my injury is the commencement of your servitude."<sup>137</sup> The alarm-bell rung to arms in every quarter of the city; the Burgundians retreated with haste and shame; Marozia was imprisoned by her victorious son; and his brother, pope John XI., was reduced to the exercise of his spiritual functions. With the title of prince, Alberic possessed above twenty years the government of Rome, and he is said to have gratified the popular prejudice, by restoring the office, or at least the title, of consuls and tribunes. His son and heir Octavian assumed, with the pontificate, the name of John XII.; like his predecessor, he was provoked by the Lombard princes to seek a deliverer for the church and republic; and the services of Otho were rewarded with the Imperial dignity. But the Saxon was imperious, the Romans were impatient, the festival of the coronation was disturbed by the secret conflict of prerogative and freedom, and Otho commanded his sword-bearer not to stir from his person, lest he should be assaulted and murdered at the foot of the altar.<sup>138</sup> Before he repassed the Alps, the emperor chastised the of pope John XII. A. D. 967; revolt of the people and the ingratitude of John XII. The pope was degraded in a synod; the præfect was mounted on an ass, whipped through the city, and cast into a dungeon; thirteen of the most guilty were hanged, others were mutilated or banished; and this severe process was justified by the ancient laws of Theodosius and Justinian. The voice of fame

<sup>133</sup> Lateranense palatium . . . pro-tibulum moretricum . . . Tests omnium gentium, præterquam Romanorum, absente mulierum, que sanctorum apostolorum limina credita, tamen visere, cum nonnullis ante dies paucis, hunc audierunt congregate vilages, virgines et oppressisse (Lutprand, Hist. l. vi. c. 6. p. 471. See the whole affair of John XI. p. 171-476).

<sup>134</sup> A new example of the mischievous equivocation is the *beneficium* (Ducange, tom. i. p. 617, &c.) which the pope conferred on the emperor Frederick I. since the Latin word may signify either a legal fief, or a simple favour, an obligation we want the word *beneficium*. See Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 375-408. Pfeffel, Abrégé Chronologique, tom. i. p. 249-256, 317, 324-328, 424-500, 505, 509, &c.

<sup>135</sup> For the history of the emperors in Rome and Italy, see S. G. Maus,

de Regno Italie. Opp. tom. ii. with the Notes of Saxius, and the Annals of Muratori, who might refer more distinctly to the authors of

ship, but in the old writers Albericus is more frequently styled præfectus. <sup>136</sup> Dittmar, p. 351 apud Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 159.



the Cæsars was overthrown; and the invincible genius of liberty prevailed over the two Frederics, the greatest princes of the middle age; the first, superior perhaps in military prowess; the second, who undoubtedly excelled in the softer accomplishments of peace and learning.

Ambitious of restoring the splendour of the empire, Frederic the First invaded the republics of Lombardy with the arts of a statesman, the valour of a soldier, and the cruelty of a tyrant. The recent discovery of the Pandects had renewed a science most favourable to despotism; and his venal advocates proclaimed the emperor the absolute master of the lives and properties of his subjects. The royal prerogatives, in a less odious sense, were acknowledged in the diet of Roncaglia; and the revenue of Italy was fixed at thirty thousand pounds of silver,<sup>145</sup> which were multiplied to an indefinite demand, by the rapine of the fiscal officers. The obstinate cities were reduced by the terror or the force of his arms: his captives were delivered to the executioner, or shot from his military engines; and, after the siege and surrender of Milan, the buildings of that stately capital were razed to the ground, three hundred hostages were sent into Germany, and the inhabitants were dispersed in four villages, under the yoke of the inflexible conqueror.<sup>147</sup> But Milan soon rose from her ashes; and the league of Lombardy was cemented by distress: their cause was espoused by Venice, pope Alexander the Third, and the Greek emperor: the fabric of oppression was overturned in a day; and in the treaty of Constance, Frederic subscribed, with some reservations, the freedom of four-and-twenty cities. His grand-

son contended with their vigour A.D. 1198—1250. and maturity; but Frederic the Second<sup>148</sup> was endowed with some personal and peculiar advantages. His birth and education recommended him to the Italians; and in the implacable discord of the two factions, the Ghibelins were attached to the emperor, while the Guelfs displayed the banner of liberty and the cross. The court of Rome had slumbered, when his father Henry the Sixth was permitted to unite with the empire the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and from these hereditary realms, the son derived an ample and ready supply of troops and treasure. Yet Frederic the Second was finally oppressed by the arms of the Lombards and the thunders of the Vatican; his kingdom was given to a stranger, and the List of his family was beheaded at Naples on a public scaffold. During sixty years, no emperor appeared in Italy, and the name was remembered only by the ignominious sale of the last relics of sovereignty.

The barbarian conquerors of the West were pleased to decorate their chief with the title of emperor; but it was not their design to invest him with the despotism of Constantine and Jus-

tinian. The persons of the Germans were free, their conquests were their own, and their national character was animated by a spirit which scorned the servile jurisprudence of the new or the ancient Rome. It would have been a vain and dangerous attempt to impose a monarch, on the armed freemen, who were impatient of a magistrate; on the bold, who refused to obey; on the powerful, who aspired to command. The empire of Charlemagne and Otho was distributed among the dukes of the nations or provinces, the counts of the smaller districts, and the margraves of the marches or frontiers, who all united the civil and military authority as it had been delegated to the lieutenants of the first Cæsars. The Roman governors, who, for the most part, were soldiers of fortune, seduced their mercenary legions, assumed the Imperial purple, and either failed or succeeded in their revolt, without wounding the power and unity of government. If the dukes, margraves, and counts of Germany were less audacious in their claims, the consequences of their success were more lasting and pernicious to the state. Instead of aiming at the supreme rank, they silently laboured to establish and appropriate their provincial independence. Their ambition was seconded by the weight of their estates and vassals, their mutual example and support, the common interest of the subordinate nobility, the change of princes and families, the minorities of Otho the Third and Henry the Fourth, the ambition of the popes, and the vain pursuit of the fugitive crowns of Italy and Rome. All the attributes of regal and territorial jurisdiction were gradually usurped by the commanders of the provinces; the right of peace and war, of life and death, of coinage and taxation, of foreign alliance and domestic economy. Whatever had been seized by violence, was ratified by favour or distress, was granted as the price of a doubtful vote or a voluntary service; whatever had been granted to one, could not, without injury, be denied to his successor or equal; and every act of local or temporary possession was insensibly moulded into the constitution of the Germanic kingdom. In every province, the visible presence of the duke or count was interposed between the throne and the nobles; the subjects of the law became the vassals of a private chief; and the standard, which he received from his sovereign, was often raised against him in the field. The temporal power of the clergy was cherished and exalted by the superstition or policy of the Carlovingian and Saxon dynasties, who blindly depended on their moderation and fidelity; and the bishoprics of Germany were made equal in extent and privilege, superior in wealth and population, to the most ample states of the military order. As long as the emperors retained the prerogative of bestowing on every vacancy these ecclesiastic and secular benefices, their cause was maintained by the gratitude or ambition of their friends and favourites. But

which must be compared with due regard to the circumstances and prejudices of each nation, or local writer.

<sup>145</sup> For the history of Frederic II. and the house of Swabia see Muratori, *Istoria* &c. to vol. II. lib. viii.

<sup>146</sup> Gunther Lagurinus, l. vi. c. 354. et seq. apud Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 359.  
<sup>147</sup> Solus imperator fuisse quem floruit apud petrum Burchard. de Ecdia Mediolani. Script. hist. l. i. c. 10. p. 417. For the history of Muratori contains the original and the history of the First.

in the quarrel of the investitures, they were deprived of their influence over the episcopal chapters; the freedom of election was restored, and the sovereign was reduced, by a solemn mockery, to his *first prayers*, the recommendation, once in his reign, to a single prebend in each church. The secular governors, instead of being recalled at the will of a superior, could be degraded only by the sentence of their peers. In the first age of the monarchy, the appointment of the son to the duchy or county of his father, was solicited *in his favour*; it was gradually obtained as a custom, and extorted as a right: the lateral succession was often extended to the collateral or female branches; the states of the empire (their popular, and at length their legal, appellation) were divided and alienated by testament and sale; and all idea of a public trust was lost in that of a private and perpetual inheritance. The emperor could not even be enriched by the casualties of forfeiture and extinction: within the term of a year, he was obliged to dispose of the vacant fief, and in the choice of the candidate, it was his duty to consult either the general or the provincial diet.

The Germanic constitution.  
A. D. 1250.

The German constitution. A. D. 1230. Second, Germany was left a monster with an hundred heads. A crowd of princes and prelates disputed the ruins of the empire: the lords of innumerable castles were less prone to obey, than to imitate, their superiors; and, according to the measure of their strength, their incessant hostilities received their names of conquest or robbery. Such anarchy was the inevitable consequence of the laws and manners of Europe; and the kingdoms of France and Italy were shattered into fragments by the violence of the same temper. But the Italian cities and the French fiefs were divided and destroyed, while the union of the Germans has produced, under the name of an empire, a great system of a federative republic. In the present, and at last the perpetual institution of diets, a national spirit was kept alive, and the powers of a common legislature are still exercised by the three branches or colleges of the electors, the princes, and the free and Imperial cities of Germany. I. Seven of the most powerful feudatories were permitted to assume, with a distinguished name and rank, the exclusive privilege of choosing the Roman emperor; and these electors were the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, the count palatine of the Rhine, and the three archbishops of Mentz, of Treves, and of Cologne. II. The college of princes and prelates purged themselves of a promiscuous multitude, they reduced to four representative votes, the long series of independent counts, and excluded the nobles or equestrian order, sixty thousand of whom, as in the Polish diets, had appeared on

horseback in the field of election. III. The pride of birth and dominion, of the sword and the mitre, wisely adopted the commons as the third branch of the legislature, and, in the progress of society, they were introduced about the same era into the national assemblies of France, England, and Germany. The Hanseatic league commanded the trade and navigation of the north: the confederates of the Rhine secured the peace and intercourse of the inland country: the influence of the cities has been adequate to their wealth and policy, and their negative still invalidates the acts of the two superior colleges of electors and princes.<sup>149</sup>

It is in the fourteenth century, that we may view in the strongest light the state and contrast of the Roman empire of Germany, which

Roman empire of Germany, which no longer held, except on the borders of the Rhine and Danube, a single province of Trajan or Constantine. Their unworthy successors were the counts of Hapsburg, of Nassau, of Luxemburg, and of Schwartzburg; the emperor Henry the Seventh procured for his son the crown of Bohemia, and his grandson Charles the Fourth was born among a people, strange and barbarous in the estimation of the Germans themselves.<sup>150</sup> After the excommunication of Lewis of Bavaria, he received the gift or promise of the vacant empire from the Roman pontiff, who, in the exile and captivity of Avignon, affected the dominion of the earth. The death of his competitors united the electoral college, and Charles was unanimously saluted king of the Romans, and future emperor, a title which, in the same age, was prostituted to the Cæsars of Germany and Greece. The German emperor was no more than the elective and impotent magistrate of an society of princes, who had not left him a tenure that he might call his own. His best prerogative was the right of presiding and proposing in the national senate, which was convened at his summons; and his native kingdom of Bohemia, less opulent than the adjacent city of Nuremberg, was the finest seat of his power and the richest source of his revenue. The army with which he passed the Alps consisted of three hundred horse. In the

A. D. 1571.

cathedral of St. Ambrose, Charles was crowned with the *iron* crown, which tradition ascribed to the Lombard monarchy; but he was admitted only with a peaceful train; the gates of the city were shut upon him; and the king of Italy was held a captive by the arms of the Visconti, whom he confirmed in the sovereignty of Milan. In the Vatican he was again crowned with the *golden* crown of the empire; but, in obedience to a secret treaty, the Roman emperor immediately withdrew, without reposing a single night within the walls of Rome. The eloquent Petrarcli,<sup>11</sup>

most in the immense library of the human mind. I must enter quite new waters for a time, and I will also try to give you a rough sketch of the new ideas which have been developed in the last few years. I will not try to give you a complete picture of the new ideas, but I will try to give you a rough sketch of the new ideas which have been developed in the last few years. I will not try to give you a complete picture of the new ideas, but I will try to give you a rough sketch of the new ideas which have been developed in the last few years.

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> J. L. Rueschke, *The German War*. It has been estimated that the expenditure of Charles IV was paid for by his subjects at the rate of one penny in the currency of the time.





triangle of spacious but irregular dimensions. From the northern point of Beles<sup>3</sup> on the Euphrates, a line of fifteen hundred miles is terminated by the Straits of Babehandel and the land of frankincense. About half this length may be allowed for the middle breadth, from east to west, from Bassora to Suez, from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea.<sup>4</sup> The sides of the triangle are gradually enlarged, and the southern basis presents a front of a thousand miles to the Indian Ocean. The entire surface of the Peninsula exceeds in a fourfold proportion that of Germany or France; but the far greater part has been justly stigmatised with the

The soil and climate.

epithets of the *stony* and the *sandy*.

Even the wilds of Tartary are decked, by the hand of nature, with lofty trees and luxuriant herbage; and the lonesome traveller derives a sort of comfort and society from the presence of vegetable life. But in the dreary waste of Arabia, a boundless level of sand is intersected by sharp and naked mountains; and the face of the desert, without shade or shelter, is scorched by the direct and intense rays of a tropical sun. Instead of refreshing breezes, the winds, particularly from the south-west, diffuse a noxious and even deadly vapour; the hillocks of sand which they alternately raise and scatter, are compared to the billows of the ocean, and whole caravans, whole armies, have been lost and buried in the whirlwind. The common benefits of water are an object of desire and contest; and such is the scarcity of wood, that some art is requisite to preserve and propagate the element of fire. Arabia is destitute of navigable rivers, which fertilise the soil, and convey its produce to the adjacent regions: the torrents that fall from the hills are imbibed by the thirsty earth: the rare and hazy plants, the tamarind or the acacia, that strike their roots into the clefts of the rocks, are nourished by the dews of the night: a scanty supply of rain is collected in cisterns and aqueducts, the wells and springs are the secret treasure of the desert: and the pilgrim of Mecca,<sup>5</sup> after many a dry and sultry march, is disgusted by the taste of the waters, which have rolled over a bed of sulphur or salt. Such is the general and genuine picture of the climate of Arabia. The experience of evil enhances the value of any local or partial enjoyments. A shady grove, a green pasture, a stream of fresh water, are sufficient to attract a colony of sedentary Arabs to the fortunate spots which can afford food and refreshment to themselves and their cattle, and which encourage their industry in the cultivation of the palm-tree

and the vine. The high lands that border on the Indian Ocean are distinguished by their superior plenty of wood and water: the air is more temperate, the fruits are more delicious, the animals and the human race more numerous: the fertility of the soil invites and rewards the toil of the husbandman: and the peculiar gifts of frankincense<sup>6</sup> and coffee have attracted in different ages the merchants of the world. If it be compared with the rest of the peninsula, this sequestered region may truly deserve the appellation of the *happy*, and the splendid colouring of fancy and fiction has been suggested by contrast, and countenanced by distance. It was for this earthly paradise that nature had reserved her choicest favours and her most curious workmanship: the incompatible blessings of luxury and innocence were ascribed to the natives: the soil was impregnated with gold<sup>7</sup> and gems, and both the land and sea were taught to exhale the odours of aromatic sweets. This division<sup>8</sup> of the sandy, the stony, and the happy, the happy, so familiar to the Greeks and Latins, is unknown to the Arabians themselves: and it is singular enough, that a country, whose language and inhabitants have ever been the same, should scarcely retain a vestige of its ancient geography. The maritime districts of *Bahrain* and *Oman* are opposite to the realm of Persia. The kingdom of *Yemen* displays the limits, or at least the situation, of Arabia *Fœlix*: the name of *Neged* is extended over the inland space: and the birth of Mahomet has illustrated the province of *Hijaz* along the coast of the Red Sea.<sup>8</sup>

The measure of population is regulated by the means of subsistence; and the inhabitants of this vast peninsula might be outnumbered by the subjects of a fertile and industrious province. Along the shores of the Persian Gulf, of the ocean, and even of the Red Sea, the *Ichthyophagi*,<sup>9</sup> or fish-eaters, continued to wander in quest of their precarious food. In this primitive and abject state, which ill deserves the name of society, the human brute, without arts or laws, almost without sense or language, is poorly distinguished from the rest of the animal creation. Generations and ages might roll away in silent oblivion, and the helpless savage was restrained from multiplying his race, by the wants and pursuits which confined his existence to the narrow margin of the sea-coast. But in an early period of antiquity the great body of the Arabs had emerged from this scene of misery; and as the naked wilderness could not

Manners of the Bedouins, or pastoral Arabs.

<sup>3</sup> Abulfed. Descript. Arabie, p. 1. D'Anville. L'Égypte et le Tigre, p. 19. It was in this place, the probable origin of a satrap, that Xenophon and the Greeks first passed the Euphrates (Abulfed. l. i. c. 10. p. 26. edit. Wet.).

<sup>4</sup> Heind. has proposed, with much superficial learning, that our Red Sea (the Arabian Gulf) is no more than a part of the *Mæro Rubrum*, the *Euxine* &c. Name of the inner sea, which was extended to the maritime verge of the Indian Ocean. But the synonymous words *æthereæ*, *æthereæ*, applied to the colour of the black of negroes (Dissert. Miscell. tom. i. p. 99. 117.)

<sup>5</sup> In the three days, or stations, between Cairo and Mecca, there are eleven destitute of good water. See the route of the Haggas, in Shaw's Travels, p. 177.

<sup>6</sup> The aromatics, especially the *flax* or *frankincense*, of Arabia, occupies the third book of Boiss. Our greatest port of Arabia, *Aden*, is introduced, in a simile, the spars odours that are blown by the north-east wind from the Sals on coast.

<sup>7</sup> Many a legend.

<sup>8</sup> Pleased with the grateful scent, old Ocean smiles. (Plin. Hist. Natur. lib. 12.)

<sup>7</sup> Araburedes affirms, that lumps of pure gold were found, from the size of an olive to that of a nut, that iron was twice, and silver ten times, the value of gold in Mar. Rubrum, p. 66. These real or imaginary treasures are unsolved, and no gold mines are present known in Arabia (Nodding, Description, p. 131.)

<sup>8</sup> Consult, per e, and study the specimen in Historiam Arabum of Peirek. (Aron. lib. vi. p. 107.) The three pages of text and version are extracted from the fragments of the original. Alphabets, which Peirek determines finished about 1000, in the three hundred and thirty-eight notes form a classic and original work on the Arabian language.

<sup>9</sup> Arabian Travellers the Ichthyophagi, the coast of Herry (Peripplus Mar. Eux. c. 12.) and the coast of the Red Sea. It seems probable that the shores of the Red Sea and the coast of the Persian Gulf were occupied by these people in the remote antiquity, and that the Arabian people believe that they are descended from the Ichthyophagi, who in the region of Asia transgressed the Red Sea (Herod. lib. 1.)

maintain a people of hunters, they rose at once to the more secure and plentiful condition of the pastoral life. The same life is uniformly pursued by the roving tribes of the desert; and in the portrait of the modern *Bedouens*, we may trace the features of their ancestors,<sup>10</sup> who, in the age of Moses or Mahomet, dwelt under similar tents, and conducted their horses, and camels, and sheep, to the same springs and the same pastures. Our toil is lessened, and our wealth is increased, by our dominion over the useful animals: and the Arabian shepherd had acquired the absolute possession of a faithful friend and a laborious slave,<sup>11</sup> Arabia, in the

opinion of the naturalist, is the genuine and original country of the horse; the climate most propitious, not indeed to the size, but to the spirit and swiftness, of that generous animal. The merit of the Barb, the Spanish, and the English breed, is derived from a mixture of Arabian blood;<sup>12</sup> the *Bedouens* preserve, with superstitious care, the honours and the memory of the purest race: the males are sold at a high price, but the females are seldom alienated; and the birth of a noble foal was esteemed, among the tribes, as a subject of joy and mutual congratulation. These horses are educated in the tents, among the children of the Arabs, with a tender familiarity, which trains them in the habits of gentleness and attachment. They are accustomed only to walk and to gallop: their sensations are not blunted by the incessant abuse of the spur and the whip: their powers are reserved for the moments of flight and pursuit; but no sooner do they feel the touch of the hand or the stirrup, than they dart away with the swiftness of the wind; and if their friend be dismounted in the rapid career, they instantly stop till he has recovered his seat. In the sands of Africa and Arabia, the *camel* is a sacred and

precious gift. That strong and patient beast of burden can perform, without eating or drinking, a journey of several days; and a reservoir of fresh water is preserved in a large bag, fifth-tenth of this animal, whose body is impregnated with the marks of servitude: the former breed is capable of supporting a weight of a thousand pounds; and the latter, of a lighter and more active frame, out-steps the fleetest courser in the race. Alive or dead, almost every part of the camel is service-

able to man: her milk is plentiful and nutritious: the young and tender flesh has the taste of veal.<sup>13</sup> A valuable salt is extracted from the urine: the dung supplies the deficiency of fuel; and the long hair, which falls each year and is renewed, is coarsely manufactured into the garments, the furniture, and the tents, of the *Bedouens*. In the rainy seasons they consume the rare and insufficient herbage of the desert: during the heats of summer and the scarcity of winter, they remove their encampments to the sea-coast, the hills of Yemen, or the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, and have often extorted the dangerous licence of visiting the banks of the Nile, and the villages of Syria and Palestine. The life of a wandering Arab is a life of danger and distress; and though sometimes, by rapine or exchange, he may appropriate the fruits of industry, a private citizen in Europe is in the possession of more solid and pleasing luxury, than the proudest emir, who marches in the field at the head of ten thousand horse.

Yet an essential difference may be found between the hordes of <sup>Cities of Arabia.</sup> Scythia and the Arabian tribes; since many of the latter were collected into towns, and employed in the labours of trade and agriculture. A part of their time and industry was still devoted to the management of their cattle: they mingled, in peace and war, with their brethren of the desert; and the *Bedouens* derived, from their useful intercourse, some supply of their wants, and some rudiments of art and knowledge. Among the forty-two cities of Arabia,<sup>14</sup> enumerated by Abulfeda, the most ancient and populous were situate in the happy Yemen: the towers of Saana,<sup>15</sup> and the marvellous reservoir of Merab,<sup>16</sup> were constructed by the kings of the Himarites; but their profane lustre was eclipsed by the prophetic glories of Mecca<sup>17</sup> and Medina,<sup>18</sup> near the Red Sea, and at the distance from each other of two hundred and seventy miles. The last of these holy places

was known to the Greeks under the name of Mea, <sup>Mecca;</sup> and the termination of the word is expressive of its greatness, which has not in fact, in the most flourishing period, exceeded the size and population of Macclesfield. Some local motives, perhaps of superstition, must have impelled the founders, in the choice of a most unpropitious situation. They erected their ha-

<sup>10</sup> See the portrait of the *Bedouens* in the *Journal de Trévoux*, 1702, p. 100. The *Bedouens* are the same as the *Bedouins* of the *Journal de Trévoux*, 1702, p. 100. The *Bedouens* are the same as the *Bedouins* of the *Journal de Trévoux*, 1702, p. 100. The *Bedouens* are the same as the *Bedouins* of the *Journal de Trévoux*, 1702, p. 100.

<sup>11</sup> The *Bedouens* are the same as the *Bedouins* of the *Journal de Trévoux*, 1702, p. 100. The *Bedouens* are the same as the *Bedouins* of the *Journal de Trévoux*, 1702, p. 100. The *Bedouens* are the same as the *Bedouins* of the *Journal de Trévoux*, 1702, p. 100. The *Bedouens* are the same as the *Bedouins* of the *Journal de Trévoux*, 1702, p. 100.

<sup>12</sup> Yet Maron of Hama, in the *Journal de Trévoux*, 1702, p. 100, says that the *Bedouens* are the same as the *Bedouins* of the *Journal de Trévoux*, 1702, p. 100.

<sup>13</sup> The *Bedouens* are the same as the *Bedouins* of the *Journal de Trévoux*, 1702, p. 100. The *Bedouens* are the same as the *Bedouins* of the *Journal de Trévoux*, 1702, p. 100. The *Bedouens* are the same as the *Bedouins* of the *Journal de Trévoux*, 1702, p. 100.

<sup>14</sup> The *Bedouens* are the same as the *Bedouins* of the *Journal de Trévoux*, 1702, p. 100. The *Bedouens* are the same as the *Bedouins* of the *Journal de Trévoux*, 1702, p. 100. The *Bedouens* are the same as the *Bedouins* of the *Journal de Trévoux*, 1702, p. 100.

bitations of mud or stone, in a plain about two miles long and one mile broad, at the foot of three barren mountains. the soil is a rock; the water even of the holy well of Zemzem is bitter or brackish; the pastures are remote from the city; and grapes are transported above seventy miles from the gardens of Tayef. The finne and spirit of the Korishites, who reigned in Mecca, were conspicuous among the Arabian tribes; but their ungrateful soil refused the labours of agriculture, and their position was favourable to the enterprise of

Her trade, favourably to the enterprises of trade. By the sea-port of Gedda, at the distance only of forty miles, they maintained an easy correspondence with Abyssinia; and that Christian kingdom afforded the first refuge to the disciples of Mahomet. The treasures of Africa were conveyed over the Peninsula to Geriha or Katif, in the province of Bahrein, a city built, as it is said, of rock-salt, by the Chaldean exiles<sup>1</sup>; and from thence, with the native pearls of the Persian Gulf, they were floated on rafts to the mouth of the Euphrates. Mecca is placed almost at an equal distance, a month's journey, between Yemen on the right, and Syria on the left hand. The former was the winter, the latter the summer, station of her caravans; and their seasonable arrival relieved the ships of India from the tedious and troublesome navigation of the Red Sea. In the markets of Sanaa and Merab, in the harbours of Oman and Aden, the camels of the Koraishites were laden with a precious cargo of aromatics; a supply of corn and manufactures was purchased in the fairs of Bostra and Damascus; the lucrative exchange diffused plenty and riches in the streets of Mecca; and the noblest of her sons united the love of arms with the passion of merchandise.<sup>2</sup>

The perpetual independence of the Arabs has been the theme of praise among strangers and natives and the arts of controversy transform this singular event into a prophecy and a miracle, in favour of the posterity of Ismael.<sup>21</sup> Some exceptions, that can neither be dissembled nor eluded, render this mode of reasoning as indiscreet as it is superfluous: the kingdom of Yemen has been successively subdued by the Abyssinians, the Persians, the sultans of Egypt,<sup>22</sup> and the Turks;<sup>23</sup> the holy cities of Mecca and Medina have repeatedly bowed under a Scythian tyrant; and the Roman province of Ara-

Ismael and his sons must have pitched their tents in the face of their brethren. Yet these exceptions are temporary or local; the body of the nation has escaped the yoke of the most powerful monarchies, the arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never achieve the conquest of Arabia; the present sovereign of the Turks<sup>24</sup> may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction, but his pride is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people, whom it is dangerous to provoke, and fruitless to attack. The obvious causes of their freedom are inscribed on the character and country of the Arabs. Many ages before Mahomet,<sup>25</sup> their intrepid valour had been severely felt by their neighbours in offensive and defensive war. The patient and active virtues of a soldier are insensibly nursed in the habits and discipline of a pastoral life. The care of the sheep and camels is abandoned to the women of the tribe; but the martial youth, under the banner of the emir, is ever on horseback, and in the field, to practise the exercise of the bow, the javelin, and the cimeter. The long memory of their independence is the firmest pledge of its perpetuity, and succeeding generations are animated to prove their descent, and to maintain their inheritance. Their domestic feuds are suspended on the approach of a common enemy; and in their last hostilities against the Turks, the caravan of Mecca was attacked and pillaged by fourscore thousand of the confederates. When they advance to battle, the hope of victory is in the front; in the rear, the assurance of a retreat. Their horses and camels, who in eight or ten days can perform a march of four or five hundred miles, disappear before the conqueror; the secret waters of the desert elude his tracking; and his victorious troops are consumed with thirst, hunger, and fatigue, in the pursuit of an invisible foe, who scorns his efforts, and safely reposes in the heart of the burning solitude. The arms and deserts of the Bedouens are not only the safeguards of their own freedom, but the barriers also of the happy Arabia, whose inhabitants, remote from war, are enervated by the luxury of the soil and climate. The legions of Augustus melted away in disease and lassitude;<sup>27</sup> and it is only by a naval power that the reduction of Yemen has been successfully attempted. When Mahomet erected his holy standard,<sup>28</sup> that kingdom was a province of the Persian empire;

19 Strabo, l. xvi, p. 1110. See one of these salt houses near Bas-  
sora, in D'Herbelot, Bib. hist. Orient. p. 6.

20) Mirjam de Vries examines points *parva aqua* and *parva universa* in her own handwriting (Pisa Hist. Nat. Ms. 742). See S. de Korman, *Sural*, vol. 1, 2017, *Proleg. Specimen*, p. 1. D'Hertefelt, *Recherch.* Orient. p. 361. Praksis, *Life of Mahomet*, p. 1. Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*, tom. 1, p. 72, 120, 126, Ac.

21) A famous doctor (l'Université Hist. vol. xx, section elihom) has formally *demonstrated* the truth of Christianity by the non-possibility of the Arabs. A critic, besides the extent *non fiat*, might state the meaning of the text (*Gnomes*, vol. 12<sup>o</sup>), the extent of the application, and the foundation of the peducure.

22. It was subdued, A. D. 1177, by a brother of the great Suvannin, who founded a dynasty of *Chuns* or *Avouantes* (*Changnes*, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 125. Dillmeist, p. 47<sup>k</sup>).

22. All the Roman provinces, under the name of Arabia and the Jewish Palestine, the principal cities were Bora and Petra, which dated their era from the year 105, when they were subdued by Trajan, a lieutenant of Trajan (Don Cassius). Petra was a

the capital of the Nabataeans, whose name is derived from the Hebrew *bet* in the sense of Israel (Gen. xii, 42), with the termination *ne* of Aramaic, *Le Qere*, and *Qabuta*. Judaea was a plain country of ten days' journey to the south of Idlib (Ptolemy, *de Bell. Persic.* l. vi, 10), and the Persians maintained a garrison and a custom-house (Arrian in *Ptolemy* *Met. Geogr.* p. 11) in *Himfon*, hence it is called *Persopolis* in *Paganus Abus Hawara* in the territory of Mishna (*De Anni* *lib. Monstre* sur Phœnice, p. 247). These royal possessions, and some royal friends of Trojan (Ptolemy, l. vi, 11), were signified by *bars*, and medals into the Roman coinage of the *Barabara* of Arabia.

2) Niebuhr (*Description de l'Arabie*, p. 702, 703, 729-731) affords the most recent and authentic intelligence of the Turkish empire in Arabia.

<sup>20</sup> *Modurus Siculus*, *Memoria* l. xiv p. 390—397 edit. Wesselingi has clearly exposed the freedom of the Nabathæ in Arabia, who resisted the arms of Antiochus and his son.

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introduced a maxim of jurisprudence, which they believe and practise to the present hour. They pretend, that in the division of the earth, the rich and fertile climates were assigned to the other branches of the human family; and that the posterity of the outlaw Ismael might recover, by fraud or force, the portion of inheritance of which he had been unjustly deprived. According to the remark of Pliny, the Arabian tribes are equally addicted to theft and merchandise: the caravans that traverse the desert are ransomed or pillaged; and their neighbours, since the remote times of Job and Sesostris,<sup>55</sup> have been the victims of their rapacious spirit. If a Bedoween discovers from afar a solitary traveller, he rides furiously against him, crying, with a loud voice, “Undress thyself, thy aunt (*my wife*) is without a garment.” A ready submission entitles him to mercy; resistance will provoke the aggressor, and his own blood must expiate the blood which he presumes to shed in legitimate defence. A single robber, or a few associates, are branded with their genuine name; but the exploits of a numerous band assume the character of a lawful and honourable war. The temper of a people, thus armed against mankind, was doubly inflamed by the domestic licence of rapine, murder, and revenge. In the constitution of Europe, the right of peace and war is now confined to a small, and the actual exercise to a much smaller, list of respectable potentates; but each Arab, with impunity and renown, might point his javelin against the life of his countryman. The union of the nation consisted only in a vague resemblance of language and manners; and in each community, the jurisdiction of the magistrate was mute and impotent. Of the time of ignorance which preceded Mahomet, seventeen hundred battles<sup>56</sup> are recorded by tradition: hostility was embittered with the rancour of civil faction; and the recital, in prose or verse, of an obsolete feud, was sufficient to rekindle the same passions among the descendants of the hostile tribes. In private life, every man, at least every family, was the judge and avenger of its own cause. The nice sensibility of honour, which weighs the insult rather than the injury, sheds its deadly venom on the quarrels of the Arabs: the honour of their women, and of their *beards*, is most easily wounded; an indecent action, a contemptuous word, can be expiated only by the blood of the offender; and such is their patient inveteracy, that they expect whole months and years the opportunity of revenge. A fine or compensation for murder is familiar to the barbarians of every age: but in Arabia the kinsmen of the dead are at liberty to accept

the atonement, or to exercise with their own hands the law of retaliation. The refined malice of the Arabs refuses even the head of the murderer, substitutes an innocent to the guilty person, and transfers the penalty to the best and most considerable of the race by whom they have been injured. If he falls by their hands, they are exposed in their turn to the danger of reprisals, the interest and principal of the bloody debt are accumulated; the individuals of either family lead a life of malice and suspicion, and fifty years may sometimes elapse before the account of vengeance be finally settled.<sup>37</sup> This sanguinary spirit, ignorant of pity or forgiveness, has been moderated, however, by the maxims of honour, which require in every private encounter some decent equality of age and strength, of numbers and weapons. An annual festival of two, perhaps of four, months, was observed by the Annual truce. Arabs before the time of Mahomet, during which their swords were religiously sheathed both in foreign and domestic hostility; and this partial truce is more strongly expressive of the habits of anarchy and warfare.<sup>38</sup>

But the spirit of rapine and revenge was attempered by the milder influence of trade and literature. The solitary peninsula is encompassed by the most civilised nations of the ancient world: the merchant is the friend of mankind; and the annual caravans imported the first seeds of knowledge and politeness into the cities, and even the camps of the desert. Whatever may be the pedigree of the Arabs, their language is derived from the same original stock with the Hebrew, the Syriac, and the Chaldaean tongues; the independence of the tribes was marked by their peculiar dialects; but each, after their own, allowed a just preference to the pure and perspicuous idiom of Mecca. In Arabia as well as in Greece, the perfection of language outstripped the refinement of manners; and her speech could diversify the fourscore names of honey, the two hundred of a serpent, the five hundred of a lion, the thousand of a sword, at a time when this copious dictionary was intrusted to the memory of an illiterate people. The monuments of the Homerites were inscribed with an obsolete and mysterious character; but the Cufic letters, the groundwork of the present alphabet, were invented on the banks of the Euphrates; and the recent invention was taught at Mecca by a stranger who settled in that city after the birth of Mahomet. The arts of grammar, of metre, and of rhetoric, were unknown to the freeborn eloquence of the Arabians; but their penetration was sharp, their fancy luxuriant, their wit strong

35 Observe the first chapter of Job, and the beginning of 1<sup>st</sup> of Isaiah which Sesostris built from Pelusium to Memphis (Herodotus, lib. 2, c. 10, p. 67). Under the reign of Hystaspes, the satraps of Persia, they had formerly subdued Egypt (Marsham, Chron. c. 10, p. 163, &c.).

3d Or, according to another account, 1200 B.Florib. Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 77: the two historians who wrote of the *Joual Arah*, the battles of the Arabs, lived in the 6th and 7th centuries. The famous war of Dabab and Galrub is mentioned in two places, lasted forty years, and ended with a great and bloody massacre, p. 18.

37 The modern theory of prehistory for the Arabian Peninsula is based on murder, an idea raised by Schlegel in the 19th century. See "The Arabian Peninsula," in *Harvard Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 25

78. *Therapsus* (de Bl.) Pers., 1, p. 15, places the two holy months of the summer solstice. The *Ardeus* consecrate four months of the year—the first, fourth, eighth, and twelfth, and prohibit that in a longer period of time, the flock should be grazed only two or six times (Sachs, *Pre-historic Domestic*, p. 147-148, and Sachs in the introduction of the Koran, p. 174, No. 1, *Islam, Bulletin*, *Hesperia*, *Andalus*, 1904, p. 11).

1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 26



still endowed with consciousness and power. I am ignorant, and I am careless, of the blind mythology of the barbarians; of the local deities, of the stars, the air, and the earth, of their sex or titles, their attributes or subordination. Each tribe, each family, each independent warrior, created and changed the rites and the object of his fantastic worship; but the nation, in every age, has bowed to the religion, as well as to the language, of Mecca. The renu-  
 11

language, of Mecca. The genuine antiquity of the CAABA ascends beyond the Christian era; in describing the coast of the Red Sea, the Greek historian Diodorus<sup>45</sup> has remarked, between the Thaumudites and the Sabæans, a famous temple, whose superior sanctity was revered by *all* the Arabians; the linen or silken veil, which is annually renewed by the Turkish emperor, was first offered by a pious king of the Homicites, who reigned seven hundred years before the time of Mahomet.<sup>46</sup> A tent, or a cavern, might suffice for the worship of the savages, but an edifice of stone and clay has been erected in its place; and the art and power of the monarchs of the East have been confined to the simplicity of the original model.<sup>47</sup> A spacious portico encloses the quadrangle of the Caaba; a square chapel, twenty-four cubits long, twenty-three broad, and twenty-seven high; a door and a window admit the light; the double roof is supported by three pillars of wood; a spout (now of gold) discharges the rain-water, and the well Zenzem is protected by a dome from accidental pollution. The tribe of Koreish, by fraud or force, had acquired the custody of the Caaba: the sacerdotal office devolved through four lineal descents to the grandfather of Mahomet; and the family of the Hashemites, from whence he sprung, was the most respectable and sacred in the eyes of their country.<sup>48</sup> The precincts of Mecca enjoyed the rights of sanctuary; and, in the last month of each year, the city and the temple were crowded with a long train of pilgrims, who presented their vows and offerings in the house of God. The same rites, which are now accomplished by the faithful Musuhman, were invented and practised by the superstition of the idolaters. At an awful distance they cast away their garments;

seven times, with hasty steps, they encircled the Caaba, and kissed the black stone : seven times they visited and adored the adjacent mountains : seven times they threw stones into the valley of Mina and the pilgrimage was achieved, as at the present hour. By a sacrifice of sheep and camels, and the burial of their hair and nails in the consecrated ground. Each tribe either found or introduced in the Caaba their domestic worship : the temple was adorned, or defiled, with three hundred and sixty idols of men, eagles, lions, and antelopes ; and most conspicuous was the statue of Hebal, of red agate, holding in his hand seven arrows, without heads or feathers, the instruments and symbols of profane divination. But this statue was a monument of Syrian arts : the devotion of the ruder ages was content with a pillar or a tablet ; and the rocks of the desert were hewn into gods or altars, in imitation of the black stone <sup>40</sup> of Mecca, which is deeply tainted with the remnant of an idolatrous origin.

From Japan to Peru, the use of <sup>Sacrifice and</sup> sacrifice has universally prevailed; <sup>111</sup> and the votary has expressed his gratitude, or fear, by destroying or consuming, in honour of the gods, the dearest and most precious of their gifts. The life of a man<sup>20</sup> is the most precious oblation to deprecate a public calamity: the altars of Phœnicia and Egypt, of Rome and Carthage, have been polluted with human gore; the cruel practice was long preserved among the Arabs: in the third century, a boy was annually sacrificed by the tribe of the Dumatins;<sup>21</sup> and a royal captive was piously slaughtered by the prince of the Saracens, the ally and soldier of the emperor Justinian.<sup>22</sup> A pious who drags his son to the altar exhibits the most painful and sublime chord of humanity: the death of the intention was sanctified by the example of saints and heroes, and the father of Mahomet himself was devoted by a rash vow, and hardly ransomed for the equivalent of an hundred camels. In the time of ignorance, the Arabs, like the Jews and Egyptians, abstained from the taste of swine's flesh;<sup>23</sup> they circumcised<sup>24</sup> their children at the age of puberty: the same customs, without the censure or the precept of the Koran, have been silently transmitted to their posterity and

45 *homo inuenerunt litteras suas decessu suo maximo Antiochi regis  
verore* (Hudson, *Spain*, tom. 1, l. 1, p. 231). I.e. character and  
not name, which, in turn, places the text in the context of  
passage which have been read without notice or appellation. Yet  
the famous text had been overlooked by Agathangelos de Mari  
Rubio, p. 28, in Hudson, tom. 1, whom Dihodius copies in the  
rest of the discourse. Was the Spanish noun *knowing* in the  
Keyring? Or was the *fact* itself between the years of Rome 641  
and 642, or of it respectively 642, Dihodius, l. 1, Dihodius, l.  
ser. 10, p. 1. *Ind. 10*, p. 2. Fabianus, *Grac.*, tom. 1, p.  
270.

In Folsk, Spangh, p. 60, 61. From the death of Mphomet we ascertained that from his birth to 12<sup>th</sup> years, he lived in the Umanara. The soil or country which is now of oak and gum trees is very more than a piece of 12<sup>th</sup> year from Mphomet, on Mt. Mphomet, and on the hills.

47 The original part of the Caxhuahua manuscript is in the collection of the National Library of Mexico, and was a very important part of the Relato del grupo M'ikmek, pp. 117-157. It is mentioned and explained from the last of the first four chapters of the legend of the Caxhuahua of Toluca (Sprenter, pp. 110-12). The Bibliography of the Institute of Ethnology, *Bibliografía de Etnología*, and the Bibliography of the National Library of Mexico, *Bibliografía de la Biblioteca Nacional*, are the only references to it.

[illegible]

Syria and Greece, so renowned in sacred and profane antiquity  
Euseb. Prep. Evangel. l. i. p. 57. Murshorn, Canon Chron. p. 4

50) The two horrid subjects of *Aspidochela* and *Paradochela* are accurately discussed by the learned Sir John Marshall in a paper from p. 76-78. 701-704. Sandhammell derives the *Thor* in its senses from the example of *chromis*, but we are ignorant whether *chromis* lived before, or after, Abraham, or indeed whether he lived at all.

[illegible]

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The M... ..  
The ... ..  
The ... ..



proselytes. It has been sagaciously conjectured, that the artful legislator indulged the stubborn prejudices of his countrymen. It is more simple to believe that he adhered to the habits and opinions of his youth, without foreseeing that a practice congenial to the climate of Meeca, might become useless or inconvenient on the banks of the Danube or the Volga.

Introduction of the Sabians. Arabia was free: the adjacent kingdoms were shaken by the storms of conquest and tyranny, and the persecuted sects fled to the happy land where they might profess what they thought, and practise what they professed. The religions of the Sabians and Magians, of the Jews and Christians, were disseminated from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. In a remote period of antiquity, Sabianism was diffused over Asia by the science of the Chaldeans<sup>55</sup> and the arms of the Assyrians. From the observations of two thousand years, the priests and astronomers of Babylon<sup>56</sup> deduced the eternal laws of nature and providence. They adored the seven gods, or angels, who directed the course of the seven planets, and shed their irresistible influence on the earth. The attributes of the seven planets, with the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the twenty-four constellations of the northern and southern hemisphere, were represented by images and talismans; the seven days of the week were dedicated to their respective deities; the Sabians prayed thrice each day; and the temple of the moon at Haran was the term of their pilgrimage.<sup>57</sup> But the flexible genius of their faith was always ready either to teach or to learn: in the tradition of the creation, the deluge, and the patriarchs, they held a singular agreement with their Jewish captives; they appealed to the secret books of Adam, Seth, and Enoch; and a slight infusion of the Gospel has transformed the last remnant of the Polytheists into the Christians of St. John, in the territory of Bassora.<sup>58</sup> The altars of Babylon were

The Magians. overturned by the Magians; but the injuries of the Sabians were revenged by the sword of Alexander; Persia groaned above five hundred years under a foreign yoke; and the purest disciples of Zoroaster escaped from the contagion of idolatry, and breathed with their adversaries the freedom of the desert.<sup>59</sup> Seven hundred years before the death of Maho-

<sup>55</sup> Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. p. 142-145) has said on their religion the curious but absurd tale of their stars. Their astrology would be far more curious, they hold, had it not been the microscope of reason, since they could tell whether the sun were in the number of the planets or of the fixed stars.

<sup>56</sup> Simplicius (who quotes Ptolemy) de Caelo, l. ii. tom. xlvii. p. 125, lib. apud Marsham, Chron. Græc. p. 421, who doubts the existence of the Chaldeans. The earliest date of the Chaldeans is after the Christian era.

<sup>57</sup> The Chaldeans, at the time of the Christian era, were in the hands of the Arabs. The Chaldeans, at the time of the Christian era, were in the hands of the Arabs.

<sup>58</sup> Ptolemy (Specimen, p. 178-146), Hottenger Hist. Orient. p. 162-207, Hyde Hist. Religione Vet. Persarum, p. 124-128, &c., D'Hierbeht (Hist. p. 725, 726), and Sale (Chron. Jour. Discov. p. 11, 13), rather excite than give confidence, Sabianism.

<sup>59</sup> D'Anville de l'Euphrate, p. 607-614, may explain their tenets. But it is a slippery task to ascertain the creed of an ignorant people, afraid and ashamed to disclose their secret traditions.

<sup>60</sup> The Magi were used in the province of Bahrein (Guzier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 114), and mingled with the old Arabians (Pocock, Specimen, p. 149-150).

met, the Jews were settled in Arabia: and a far greater multitude was expelled from the Holy Land in the wars of Titus and Hadrian. The industrious exiles aspired to liberty and power: they erected synagogues in the cities, and castles in the wilderness, and their Gentile converts were confounded with the children of Israel, whom they resembled in the outward mark of circumcision. The Christian missionaries were still more active and successful: the Catholics asserted their universal reign: the sects whom they oppressed successively retired beyond the limits of the Roman empire; the Marcionites and the Manichæans dispersed their phantastic opinions and apocryphal Gospels; the churches of Yemen, and the princes of Hira and Gassan, were instructed in a purer creed by the Jacobite and Nestorian bishops.<sup>60</sup> The liberty of choice was presented to the tribes; each Arab was free to elect or to compose his private religion: and the rude superstition of his house was mingled with the sublime theology of saints and philosophers. A fundamental article of faith was inculcated by the consent of the learned strangers: the existence of one supreme God, who is exalted above the powers of heaven and earth, but who has often revealed himself to mankind by the ministry of his angels and prophets, and whose grace or justice has interrupted, by seasonable miraacles, the order of nature. The most rational of the Arabs acknowledged his power, though they neglected his worship;<sup>61</sup> and it was habit rather than conviction that still attached them to the relics of idolatry. The Jews and Christians were the people of the book; the Bible was already translated into the Arabic language,<sup>62</sup> and the volume of the Old Testament was accepted by the concord of these implacable enemies. In the story of the Hebrew patriarchs, the Arabs were pleased to discover the fathers of their nation. They applauded the birth and promises of Ismael; revered the faith and virtue of Abraham; traced his pedigree and their own to the creation of the first man, and imbibed, with equal credulity, the prodigies of the holy text, and the dreams and traditions of the Jewish rabbis.

The base and plebeian origin of Mahomet is an unskillful calumny of the Christians,<sup>63</sup> who exalt instead of degrading the merit of their adversary.

<sup>60</sup> The state of the Jews and Christians in Arabia is described by P. Cock (in Specimen, p. 60-174, &c.), Hottenger Hist. Orient. p. 212-278, D'Hierbeht (Hist. Orient. p. 174-176), Hyde Hist. Religione Vet. Persarum, p. 124-128, &c., D'Hierbeht (Hist. p. 725, 726), and Sale (Chron. Jour. Discov. p. 11, 13), rather excite than give confidence, Sabianism.

<sup>61</sup> In their opinions, it was a maxim to tolerate God for the profit of the soul, not a more potent, but a more terrible patron (Pocock, Specimen, p. 109, 100).

<sup>62</sup> The Arab was not extant whether Jewish or Christian, appear more recent than the Koran, but the existence of a prior translation may be fairly inferred. — 1 From the perpetual practice of the syna-

gogues, who assert that the scriptures were translated into the Arabic language (Walton, Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglota, p. 51, 52, &c., Simon, Hist. critique du V. et du N. Testament, tom. i. p. 180, 181, 282-286, 293, 303, 306, tom. iv. p. 206).

<sup>63</sup> In an ancient oracle, at plebeio vulgare genere ortum, &c. (Hottenger, Hist. Orient. p. 176). Yet theophanes, the most ancient of the Greeks, and the father of many a lie, confesses that Mahomet was of the race of Ismael, ἐκ τῆς γενεᾶς Ἰσμαὴλ (Chronograph. p. 277).

His descent from Ismael was a national privilege or fable; but if the first steps of the pedigree<sup>64</sup> are dark and doubtful, he could produce many generations of pure and genuine nobility: he sprung from the tribe of Koreish and the family of Hashem, the most illustrious of the Arabs, the princes of Mecca, and the hereditary guardians of the Caaba. The grandfather of Mahomet was Abdol Motalleb, the son of Hashem, a wealthy and generous citizen, who relieved the distress of famine with the supplies of commerce. Mecca, which had been fed by the liberality of the father, was saved by the courage of the son. The kingdom of Yemen was subject to the Christian princes of Abyssinia: their vassal Abrahah was provoked by an insult to avenge the honour of the cross; and the holy city was invested by a train of elephants, and an army of Africans. A treaty was proposed; and, in the first audience, the grandfather of Mahomet demanded the restitution of his cattle. "And why," said Abrahah, "do you not rather implore my clemency in favour of your temple, which I have threatened to destroy?" "Because," replied the intrepid chief, "the cattle is my own; the Caaba belongs to the gods, and they will defend their house from injury and sacrilege." The want of provisions, or the valour of the Koreish, compelled the Abyssinians to a disgraceful retreat: their discomfiture has been adorned with a miraculous flight of birds, who showered down stones on the heads of the infidels; and the deliverance was long commemorated by the era of the elephant.<sup>65</sup>

The glory of Abdol Motalleb was crowned with domestic happiness, his life was prolonged to the age of one hundred and ten years, and he became the father of six daughters and thirteen sons. His best beloved Abdallah was the most beautiful and modest of the Arabian youth; and in the first night, when he consummated his marriage with Amina, of the noble race of the Zahrites, two hundred virgins are said to have expired of jealousy and despair. Mahomet, or more properly Mohammed, the only son of Abdallah and Amina, was born at Mecca, four years after the death of Justinian, and two months after the defeat of the Abyssinians,<sup>66</sup> whose victory would have introduced into the Caaba the religion of the Christians. In his early infancy, he was deprived of his father, his mother, and his grandfather; his

uncles were strong and numerous; and in the division of the inheritance, the orphan's share was reduced to five camels and an Æthiopian maid-servant. At home and abroad, in peace and war, Abu Taleb, the most respectable of his uncles, was the guide and guardian of his youth; in his twenty-fifth year, he entered into the service of Cadijah, a rich and noble widow of Mecca, who soon rewarded his fidelity with the gift of her hand and fortune. The marriage contract, in the simple style of antiquity, recites the mutual love of Mahomet and Cadijah; describes him as the most accomplished of the tribe of Koreish; and stipulates a dowry of twelve ounces of gold and twenty camels, which was supplied by the liberality of his uncle.<sup>67</sup> By this alliance, the son of Abdallah was restored to the station of his ancestors; and the judicious match was content with his domestic virtues, till, in the fortieth year of his age,<sup>68</sup> he assumed the title of a prophet, and proclaimed the religion of the Koran.

According to the tradition of his companions, Mahomet<sup>69</sup> was distinguished by the beauty of his person, an outward gift which is seldom despised, except by those to whom it has been refused. Before he spoke, the orator engaged on his side the affections of a public or private audience. They applauded his commanding presence, his majestic aspect, his piercing eye, his gracious smile, his flowing beard, his countenance that painted every sensation of the soul, and his gestures that enforced each expression of the tongue. In the familiar offices of life he scrupulously adhered to the grave and ceremonious politeness of his country: his respectful attention to the rich and powerful was dignified by his condescension and affability to the poorest citizens of Mecca: the frankness of his manner concealed the artifice of his views; and the habits of courtesy were imputed to personal friendship or universal benevolence. His memory was capacious and retentive, his wit easy and social, his imagination sublime, his judgment clear, rapid, and decisive. He possessed the courage both of thought and action; and, although his designs might gradually expand with his success, the first idea which he entertained of his divine mission bears the stamp of an original and superior genius. The son of Abdallah was educated in the bosom of the noblest race, in

<sup>64</sup> Abdallah *in* Vit. Mohammed, c. 1, 2, and Garnier (*Vie de Mahomet*, p. 41-47) describes the popular and approved genealogy of the prophet. At the same time, I would not dispute the authority of Lathumie, I will venture to observe, I find in him a Mahomet, a period of 200 years, the year 1000, date of seventy-five generations. — 2. The modern Mohammedans are ignorant of their history, and careless of their pedigree (*Voyage de Dierckmann*, p. 100-107).

<sup>65</sup> The seed of this history, or fable, is contained in the sixth chapter of the Koran, and Garnier (*in* Prefat. *in* Vit. Mahomet, p. 18, &c.) has translated it into French. The old Arabian writers may be illustrated from Dierckmann (*ibid.* Orig. *ibid.* p. 12) and Pocock (*Specimen*, p. 61). The old Arabian writers may be illustrated from the account of the conquest of Mahomet, but see Garnier, *ibid.* p. 101, which is a Musliman attack, the most violent of the Doctor for believing the miracles of the Duple Arabic. — Maracci (*Moham. tom. i. part. i. p. 11* tom. i. p. 87) ascribes the miracle to the devil, and extorts from the Mohammedans the confession, that God would not have defended against the Christians the idols of the Caaba.

<sup>66</sup> The safest era of Abdallah *in* Vit. c. 1, p. 23, of Alexander, or the Greeks, 542, of Boetius Noster, or Nubianus, 1178, equally add us to the year 579. The old Arabian writers fix the date, and attempt to support the Benedictines (*Art de verifier les Dates*, p. 15), who, from the day of the month and week, deduce a new mode of calculation, and remove the birth of Mahomet to the year of Christ 573, the 10th of November. Yet this date would agree with the year

882 of the Greeks, which is assigned by Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 1) and Alaphragan (*Dynast.* p. 101, and Front. Pocock's version. 2). While we pursue our chronology, it is possible to find the date of the prophet was ignorant of his own age.

<sup>67</sup> The most famous testimonies of Abu Taleb, his family and his own, are found in his story, Arabian, and in the Arabic history of the prophet, which is a very old and valuable work, and is now in the hands of the most famous scholars. — Pocock (*Specimen*, p. 61) and Garnier (*Vie de Mahomet*, p. 41-47) describe the popular and approved genealogy of the prophet. At the same time, I would not dispute the authority of Lathumie, I will venture to observe, I find in him a Mahomet, a period of 200 years, the year 1000, date of seventy-five generations. — 2. The modern Mohammedans are ignorant of their history, and careless of their pedigree (*Voyage de Dierckmann*, p. 100-107).

<sup>68</sup> The private life of Mahomet, from his birth to his mission, is preserved by Abdallah *in* Vit. c. 3-7, and the Arabian writers of genuine or spurious notes, who are alleged by Huettinger (*Hist. Orient.* p. 201-211). — Maracci (*Moham. tom. i. part. i. p. 11* tom. i. p. 87) ascribes the miracle to the devil, and extorts from the Mohammedans the confession, that God would not have defended against the Christians the idols of the Caaba.

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to contradict the principle of the divine unity. In their obvious sense, they introduce three equal deities, and transform the man Jesus into the substance of the son of God :<sup>76</sup> an orthodox commentary will satisfy only a believing mind. intemperate curiosity and zeal had torn the veil of the sanctuary; and each of the Oriental sects was eager to confess that all, except themselves, deserved the reproach of idolatry and polytheism. The creed of Mahomet is free from suspicion or ambiguity; and the Koran is a glorious testimony to the unity of God. The prophet of Mecca rejected the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle that whatever rises must set, that whatever is born must die, that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish.<sup>77</sup> In the author of the universe, his rational enthusiasm confessed and adored an infinite and eternal being, without form or place, without issue or similitude, present to our most secret thoughts, existing by the necessity of his own nature, and deriving from himself all moral and intellectual perfection. These sublime truths, thus announced in the language of the prophet,<sup>78</sup> are firmly held by his disciples, and defined with metaphysical precision by the interpreters of the Koran. A philosophic theist might subscribe the popular creed of the Mahometans;<sup>79</sup> a creed too sublime perhaps for our present faculties. What object remains for the fancy, or even the understanding, when we have abstracted from the unknown substance all ideas of time and space, of motion and matter, of sensation and reflection? The first principle of reason and revelation was confirmed by the voice of Mahomet; his prophets, from India to Mecca, are distinguished by the name of *Prophets*; and the danger of idolatry has been prevented by the interdicted of images. The doctrine of eternal decrees and absolute predestination is strictly embraced by the Mahometans; and they struggle with the common difficulties, *how to reconcile the prescience of God with the freedom and responsibility of man; how to explain the permission of evil under the reign of infinite power and infinite goodness.*

The God of nature has written his existence on all his works, and his law in the heart of man. To restore the knowledge of the one, and the practice of the other, has been the real or pretended aim of

the prophets of every age; the liberality of Mahomet allowed to his predecessors the same credit which he claimed for himself; and the chain of inspiration was prolonged from the fall of Adam to the promulgation of the Koran.<sup>80</sup> During that period, some rays of prophetic light had been imparted to one hundred and twenty-four thousand of the elect, discriminated by their respective measure of virtue and grace; three hundred and thirteen apostles were sent with a special commission to recal their country from idolatry and vice: one hundred and four volumes have been dictated by the holy spirit; and six legislators of transcendent brightness have announced to mankind the six successive revelations of various rites, but of one immutable religion. The authority and station of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet, rise in just gradation above each other; but whosoever hates or rejects any one of the prophets is numbered with the infidels. The writings of the patriarchs were extant only in the apocryphal copies of the Greeks and Syrians; <sup>81</sup> the conduct of Adam had not entitled him to the gratitude or respect of his children; the seven precepts of Noah were observed by an inferior and imperfect class of the proselytes of the synagogue; <sup>82</sup> and the memory of Abraham was obscurely revered by the Sabians in his native land of Chaldea; of the myriads of prophets, Moses and Christ alone lived and reigned; and the remnant of the inspired writings was comprised in the books of the Old and the New Testament. The miraculous story of Moses is consecrated and embellished in the Koran <sup>83</sup> and the captive Jews enjoy the secret revenge of imposing their own belief on the nations whose recent creeds they deride. For the edict of Christianity, the Mahometans are taught by the prophet to entertain an high and mysterious reverence.<sup>84</sup> "Verily, Jesus, " Christ Jesus, the son of Mary, is " the apostle of God, and his word, which he " conveyed unto Mary, and a spirit proceeding " from him: honourable in this world, and in " the world to come; and one of those who ap- " preach near to the presence of God." <sup>85</sup> The wonders of the genuine and apocryphal gospels<sup>86</sup> are profusely heaped on his head; and the Latin church has not disdained to borrow from the Koran the immaculate conception <sup>87</sup> of his virgin mother. Yet Jesus was a mere mortal; and, at the

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ography V T p. 27-29, of Seth, p. 154-157, of Enosh, p. 199-210. But the book of Enosh is consecrated, in some measure, by the mention of the sign to St. Jude, and a large primary fragment is owned by Swedenborg and Schenck.

87 The examples of the *Shema* are explained in Mar-Iam II and Chm. 1.1.1.1-1.1.1.2, who adopts, on this occasion, the lectionary of the *Shema* of the *Salm*.

<sup>1</sup> 41 K. *op. cit.* p. 128, &c. c. 10 p. 173, &c. D'Herbelot, p. 147, &c.

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77. In addition, the United States-Korea Trade and Investment Framework and Promotion Agreement, signed by the United States and the Republic of Korea in 2007, provides for the establishment of a joint committee to monitor and promote the agreement's implementation. The committee is expected to meet regularly to discuss trade and investment issues and to coordinate efforts to address any challenges that may arise.







represented the forms of proceeding, and even the slow and successive operations of an earthly tribunal. By his intolerant adversaries he is upbraided for extending, even to themselves, the hope of salvation; for asserting the blackest heresy, that every man who believes in God, and accomplishes good works, may expect in the last day a favourable sentence. Such rational indifference is ill adapted to the character of a fanatic; nor is it probable that a messenger from heaven should depreciate the value and necessity of his own revelation. In the idiom of the Koran,<sup>108</sup> the belief of God is inseparable from that of Mahomet; the good works are those which he has enjoined; and the two qualifications imply the profession of Islam, to which all nations and all sects are equally invited. Their spiritual blindness, though excused by ignorance and crowned with virtue, will be scourged with everlasting torments; and the tears which Mahomet shed over the tomb of his mother, for whom he was forbidden to pray, display a striking contrast of humanity and enthusiasm.<sup>109</sup> The doom of the infidels is common: the measure of their guilt and punishment is determined by the degree of evidence which they have rejected, by the magnitude of the errors which they have entertained; the eternal mansions of the Christians, the Jews, the Sabians, the Magians, and the idolaters, are sunk below each other in the abyss; and the lowest hell is reserved for the faithless hypocrites who have assumed the mask of religion. After the greater part of mankind has been condemned for their opinions, the true believers only will be judged by their actions. The good and evil of each individual will be accurately varied in a just or an equal balance, and a singular mode of computation will be adopted, the number of injuries, the remission will be taken off, and out of his own good actions, for the benefit of the person whom he has wronged; and if he should be destitute of any moral property, the weight of his sins will be loaded with an adequate share of the elements of the sentence. According as the shares of guilt or virtue shall preponderate, the sentence will be pronounced, and all, without distinction, will pass over the sharp and perilous bridge of the abyss; but the innocent, treading in the foot-steps of Mahomet, will gloriously enter the gates of paradise, while the guilty will fall into the fast and mildest of the seven hells. The term of expiation will vary from nine hundred to seven thousand years; but the prophet has judiciously promised, that *all his disciples who have* may be forgiven, shall be severely tryed on faith, and life, and salvation, from eternal damnation. It is not surprising

that superstition should act most powerfully on the fears of her votaries, since the human fancy can paint with more energy the misery than the bliss of a future life. With the two simple elements of darkness and fire, we create a sensation of pain, which may be aggravated to an infinite degree by the idea of endless duration. But the same idea operates with an opposite effect on the continuity of pleasure; and too much of our present enjoyments is obtained from the relief or the comparison of evil. It is natural enough that an Arabian prophet should dwell with rapture on the groves, the fountains, and the rivers, of paradise; but instead of inspiring the blessed inhabitants with a liberal taste for harmony and science, conversation and friendship, he idly celebrates the pearls and diamonds, the robes of silk, palaces of marble, dishes of gold, rich wines, artificial dainties, numerous attendants, and the whole train of sensual and costly luxury, which becomes insipid to the owner, even in the short period of this mortal life. Seventy-two *Houris*, or black-eyed girls, of resplendent beauty, blooming youth, virgin purity, and exquisite sensibility, will be created for the use of the meanest believer; a moment of pleasure will be prolonged to a thousand years, and his faculties will be increased an hundredfold, to render him worthy of his felicity. Notwithstanding a vulgar prejudice, the gates of heaven will be open to both sexes; but Mahomet has not specified the male companions of the female elect, lest he should either alarm the jealousy of their former husbands, or disturb their felicity, by the suspicion of an everlasting marriage. This image of a carnal paradise has provoked the indignation, perhaps the envy, of the priests: they declaim against the impure religion of Mahomet; and his modest apologists are obliged to the poor excuse of figures and allegories. But the sounder and more consistent party adhere, without shame, to the literal interpretation of the Koran;—useless would be the re-creation of the body, unless it were restored to the possession and exercise of its worthy faculties; and the union of sensual and intellectual enjoyment is requisite to complete the happiness of the double animal, the perfect man. Yet the joys of the Mahometan paradise will not be confined to the indulgence of luxury and appetite; and the prophet has expressly declared, that all meaner happiness will be forgotten and despised by the saints and martyrs, who shall be admitted to the beatitude of the divine vision.<sup>110</sup>

The first and most arduous conquests of Mahomet<sup>111</sup> were those of his wife, his servant, his pupil, and his friend; since he presented himself as a pro-

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"and thou wilt be responsible for the blood of thy fellow-citizens." The weight and moderation of Abu Taleb eluded the violence of religious faction; the most helpless or timid of the disciples retired to Æthiopia, and the prophet withdrew himself to various places of strength in the town and country. As he was still supported by his family, the rest of the tribe of Koreish engaged themselves to renounce all intercourse with the children of Hashem, neither to buy nor sell, neither to marry nor to give in marriage, but to pursue them with implacable enmity, till they should deliver the person of Mahomet to the justice of the gods. The decree was suspended in the Caaba before the eyes of the nation; the messengers of the Koreish pursued the Musulman exiles in the heart of Africa; they besieged the prophet and his most faithful followers, intercepted their water, and inflamed their mutual animosity by the retaliation of injuries and insults. A doubtful truce restored the appearances of concord; till the death of Abu Taleb abandoned Mahomet to the power of his enemies, at the moment when he was deprived of his domestic comforts by the loss of his faithful and generous Cadijah. Abu Sophian, the chief of the branch of Ommyiah, succeeded to the principality of the republic of Mecca. A zealous votary of the idols, a mortal foe of the line of Hashem, he convened an assembly of the Koreishites and their allies, to decide the fate of the apostle. His imprisonment might provoke the despair of his enthusiasm; and the exile of an eloquent and popular fanatic would diffuse the mischief through the provinces of Arabia. His death was resolved; and they agreed that a sword from each tribe should be buried in his heart, to divide the guilt of his blood, and baffle the vengeance of the Hashemites.

and driven from Mecca. A. D. 622.  
An angel or a spy revealed their conspiracy; and flight was the only resource of Mahomet.<sup>117</sup> At the dead of night, accompanied by his friend Abubeker, he silently escaped from his house: the assassins watched at the door; but they were deceived by the figure of Ali, who reposed on the bed, and was covered with the green vestment of the apostle. The Koreish respected the piety of the heroic youth; but some verses of Ali, which are still extant, exhibit an interesting picture of his anxiety, his tenderness, and his religious confidence. Three days Mahomet and his companions were concealed in the cave of Thor, at the distance of a league from Mecca; and in the close of each evening, they received, from the son and daughter of Abubeker, a secret supply of intelligence and food. The diligence of the Koreish explored every haunt in the neighbourhood of the city; they arrived at the entrance of the cavern; but the providential deceit of a spider's web and a pigeon's nest, is supposed to convince them that the place was solitary and

inviolate. "We are only two," said the trembling Abubeker. "There is a third," replied the prophet; "it is God himself." No sooner was the pursuit abated, than the two fugitives issued from the rock, and mounted their camels. On the road to Medina, they were overtaken by the emissaries of the Koreish; they redeemed themselves with prayers and promises from their hands. In this eventful moment, the lance of an Arab might have changed the history of the world. The flight of the prophet from Mecca to Medina has fixed the memorable æra of the *Hegira*,<sup>118</sup> which, at the end of twelve centuries, still discriminates the lunar years of the Mahometan nations.<sup>119</sup>

The religion of the Koran might have perished in its cradle, had not Medina embraced with faith and reverence the holy outcasts of Mecca. Medina, or the city, known under the name of Yathreb, before it was sanctified by the throne of the prophet, was divided between the tribes of the Charegites and the Awsites, whose hereditary feud was rekindled by the slightest provocations. Two colonies of Jews, who boasted a sacerdotal race, were their humble allies; and without converting the Arabs, they introduced the taste of science and religion, which distinguished Medina as the city of the book. Some of her noblest citizens, in a pilgrimage to the Caaba, were converted by the preaching of Mahomet; on their return they diffused the belief of God and his prophet, and the new alliance was ratified by their deputies in two secret and nocturnal interviews on a hill in the suburbs of Mecca. In the first, ten Charegites and two Awsites united in faith and love, protested in the name of their wives, their children, and their absent brethren, that they would for ever profess the creed, and observe the precepts, of the Koran. The second was a political association, the first vital spark of the empire of the Saracens.<sup>120</sup> Seventy-three men and two women of Medina held a solemn conference with Mahomet, his kinsmen, and his disciples; and pledged themselves to each other by a mutual oath of fidelity. They promised in the name of the city, that if he should be banished, they would receive him as a confederate, obey him as a leader, and defend him to the last extremity, like their wives and children. "But if you are recalled by your country," they asked with a flattering anxiety, "will you not abandon your new allies?" "All things," replied Mahomet with a smile, "are now common between us; your blood is as my blood, your ruin as my ruin. We are bound to each other by the ties of honour and interest. I am your friend, and the enemy of your foes." "But if we are killed in your service, what," exclaimed the deputies of Medina, "will be our reward?" "PARADISE," replied the prophet. "Stretch forth thy hand." He stretched it forth, and

<sup>117</sup> *Plutarch*, lib. 13, c. 15. He relates a great variety of circumstances, but the most probable is, that he was driven from Mecca, A. D. 622, and properly commenced sixty-eight days before the flight of Mahomet, with the first of Moharrem, or first day of that Arabian year, which coincides with Friday, July 12th, A. D. 622. *Abulpharasi*, lib. 1, c. 22, 23, p. 15, 16, and *Græves* edition of *Ungl. Belg.* Epochæ Arabum, &c. c. 1, p. 8, 19, &c.

<sup>118</sup> Mahomet's flight from Mecca to the Hegira, may be found in *Abulpharasi*, lib. 1, c. 22, p. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.



of Mahomet. If they professed the creed of Islam, they were admitted to all the temporal and spiritual benefits of his primitive disciples, and marched under the same banner to extend the religion which they had embraced. The clemency of the prophet was decided by his interest, yet he seldom trampled on a prostrate enemy; and he seems to promise, that, on the payment of a tribute, the least guilty of his unbelieving subjects might be indulged in their worship, or at least in their imperfect faith. In the first months of his reign, he practised the lessons of holy warfare, and displayed his white banner before the gates of Medina: the martial apostle fought in person at nine battles or sieges;<sup>125</sup> and fifty enterprises of war were achieved in ten years by himself or his lieutenants. The Arab continued to imite the professions of a merchant and a robber; and his petty excursions for the defence or the attack of a caravan insensibly prepared his troops for the conquest of Arabia. The distribution of the spoil was regulated by a divine law:<sup>126</sup> the whole was faithfully collected in one common mass: a fifth of the gold and silver, the prisoners and cattle, the moveables and immovables, was reserved by the prophet for pious and charitable uses; the remainder was shared in adequate portions by the soldiers who had obtained the victory or guarded the camp: the rewards of the slain devolved to their widows and orphans; and the increase of cavalry was encouraged by the allotment of a double share to the horse and to the man. From all sides the roving Arabs were allured to the standard of religion and plunder: the apostle sacrificed the licence of enslaving the female captives as their wives or concubines, and the enjoyment of wealth and beauty was a feeble type of the joys of paradise prepared for the valiant martyrs of the faith. "The sword," says Mahomet, "is the key of heaven and of hell: a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting or prayer: whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven: at the day of judgment his wounds shall be as resplendent as vermillion, and odoriferous as musk; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim." The intrepid souls of the Arabs were fired with enthusiasm: the picture of the invisible world was strongly painted on their imagination; and the death which they had always despised became an object of hope and desire. The Koran inculcates, in the most absolute sense, the tenets of fate and predestination, which would extin-

guish both industry and virtue, if the actions of man were governed by his speculative belief. Yet their influence in every age has exalted the courage of the Saracens and Turks. The first companions of Mahomet advanced to battle with a fearless confidence: there is no danger where there is no chance: they were ordained to perish in their beds; or they were safe and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy.<sup>127</sup>

Perhaps the Korish would have been content with the flight of Mahomet, had they not been provoked and alarmed by the vengeance of an enemy, who could intercept their Syrian trade as it passed and repassed through the territory of Medina. Abu Sophian himself, with only thirty or forty followers, conducted a wealthy caravan of a thousand camels, the fortune or dexterity of his march escaped the vigilance of Mahomet; but the chief of the Korish was informed that the holy robbers were placed in ambush to wait his return. He despatched a messenger to his brethren of Mecca, and they were roused, by the fear of losing their merchandise and their provisions, unless they hastened to his relief with the military force of the city. The sacred band of Mahomet was formed of three hundred and thirteen Moslems, of whom seventy-seven were fugitives, and the rest auxiliaries: they mounted by turns a train of seventy camels (the camels of Yathreb were formidable in war) but such was the poverty of his first disciples, that only two could appear on horseback in the field.<sup>128</sup> In the fertile and famous vale of Beder,<sup>129</sup> three stations from Medina, he was informed by his scouts of the caravan that approached on one side; of the Korish, a hundred horse, eight hundred and fifty foot, who advanced on the other. After a short debate, he sacrificed the prospect of victory to the pursuit of glory and revenge; and a single detachment was formed to cover his troops, and a stream of fresh water, that gushed from the valley. "O Bani-nehar, " said he, elevated as the numbers. A. D. 632, of the Korish descended from the hills, "O God, if these are destroyed, by whom wilt thou be worshipped on the earth?—Courage, my children, close your ranks; discharge your arrows, and the day is your own." At these words he placed himself with Abubeker, on a throne or pulpit,<sup>130</sup> and instantly demanded the succour of Gabriel and three thousand angels. His eye was fixed on the field of battle: the Muslims fainted and were pressed: in that decisive moment the prophet started from his throne, mounted his horse, and cast a handful of

125. Al-Buhārī, in Vit. Mahom. p. 176. The private vessel of the apostle consisted of nine swords, three lances, seven spears or halberds, a bow, and a shield; and he carried three or four hundred arrows, and two or three hundred stones.

126. See the distribution of the spoils, in the same work, p. 176. The Koran is exhausted in a separate dissertation by the learned Reiland (Dissertationes Miscellanæ, tom. iii. dissert. x. p. 53—55.)

127. See the same work, p. 176. The Koran is exhausted in a separate dissertation by the learned Reiland (Dissertationes Miscellanæ, tom. iii. dissert. x. p. 53—55.)

128. See the same work, p. 176. The Koran is exhausted in a separate dissertation by the learned Reiland (Dissertationes Miscellanæ, tom. iii. dissert. x. p. 53—55.)

129. The place to which Mahomet retired during the action is called by Ouseley, in *Asiatick Researches*, p. 27, p. 38. *Abu-Mohsen* (tom. i. p. 575), *Entabun*, and *Entabun* (p. 575), and *Entabun* (p. 575). The same Arab word is recorded by Reiland, in his *Asiatick Researches*, p. 27, p. 38. *Abu-Mohsen* (tom. i. p. 575), *Entabun*, and *Entabun* (p. 575).

130. The place to which Mahomet retired during the action is called by Ouseley, in *Asiatick Researches*, p. 27, p. 38. *Abu-Mohsen* (tom. i. p. 575), *Entabun*, and *Entabun* (p. 575).

131. See the same work, p. 176. The Koran is exhausted in a separate dissertation by the learned Reiland (Dissertationes Miscellanæ, tom. iii. dissert. x. p. 53—55.)

132. See the same work, p. 176. The Koran is exhausted in a separate dissertation by the learned Reiland (Dissertationes Miscellanæ, tom. iii. dissert. x. p. 53—55.)

133. See the same work, p. 176. The Koran is exhausted in a separate dissertation by the learned Reiland (Dissertationes Miscellanæ, tom. iii. dissert. x. p. 53—55.)

sand into the air; "Let their faces be covered "with confusion." Both armies heard the thunder of his voice: their fancy beheld the angelic warriors:<sup>131</sup> the Koreish trembled and fled: seventy of the bravest were slain; and seventy captives adorned the first victory of the faithful. The dead bodies of the Koreish were despoiled and insulted: two of the most obnoxious prisoners were punished with death: and the ransom of the others, four thousand drams of silver, compensated in some degree the escape of the caravan. But it was in vain that the camels of Abu Sophian explored a new road through the desert and along the Euphrates: they were overtaken by the diligence of the Muslims; and wealthy must have been the prize, if twenty thousand drams could be set apart for the fifth of the apostle. The resentment of the public and private loss stimulated Abu Sophian to collect a body of three thousand men, seven hundred of whom were armed with cuirasses, and two hundred were mounted on horseback: three thousand camels attended his march; and his wife Henda, with fifteen matrons of Mecca, incessantly sounded their timbrels to animate the troops, and to magnify the greatness

of Ohud,  
A. D. 625.

of Hobal, the most popular deity of the Caaba. The standard of God and Mahomet was upheld by nine hundred and fifty believers: the disproportion of numbers was not more alarming than in the field of Beder; and their presumption of victory prevailed against the divine and human sense of the apostle. The second battle was fought on Mount Ohud, six miles to the north of Medina:<sup>132</sup> the Koreish advanced in the form of a crescent: and the right wing of cavalry was led by Caled, the fiercest and most successful of the Arabian warriors. The troops of Mahomet were skilfully posted on the declivity of the hill; and their rear was guarded by a detachment of fifty archers. The weight of their charge impelled and broke the centre of the idolaters; but in the pursuit they lost the advantage of their ground: the archers deserted their station: the Muslims were tempted by the spoil, disobeyed their general, and disordered their ranks. The intrepid Caled, wheeling his cavalry on their flank and rear, exclaimed, with a loud voice, that Mahomet was slain. He was indeed wounded in the face with a javelin: two of his teeth were shattered with a stone; yet, in the midst of tumult and dismay, he reproached the infidels with the murder of a prophet; and blessed the friendly hand that staunch his blood, and conveyed him to a place of safety. Seventy martyrs died for the sins of the people, they fell, said the apostle, in pairs, each brother embracing his lifeless companion.<sup>133</sup> Their bodies were mangled by the inhuman females of Mecca; and the wife of Abu Sophian tasted the entrails

of Hamza, the uncle of Mahomet. They might applaud their superstition and satiate their fury; but the Muslims soon rallied in the field, and the Koreish wanted strength or courage to undertake the siege of Medina. It was attacked the ensuing year by an army of ten thousand enemies; and this third expedition is variously named from the *nations*, which marched under the banner of Abu Sophian, from the *ditch* which was drawn before the city, and a camp of three thousand Muslims. The prudence of Mahomet declined a general engagement: the valour of Ali was signalised in single combat; and the war was protracted twenty days, till the final separation of the confederates. A tempest of wind, rain, and hail, overturned their tents: their private quarrels were fomented by an insidious adversary; and the Koreish, deserted by their allies, no longer hoped to subvert the throne, or to check the conquests, of their invincible exile.<sup>134</sup>

The nations, or the ditch, A. D. 625.

The choice of Jerusalem for the first kebla of prayer discovers the early propensity of Mahomet in favour of the Jews; and happy would it have been for their temporal interest, had they recognised, in the Arabian prophet, the hope of Israel and the promised Messiah. Their obstinacy converted his friendship into implacable hatred, with which he pursued that unfortunate people to the last moment of his life; and in the double character of an apostle and a conqueror, his persecution was extended to both worlds.<sup>135</sup> The Kainoka dwelt at Medina under the protection of the city: he seized the occasion of an accidental tumult, and summoned them to embrace his religion, or contend with him in battle. "Alas!" replied the trembling Jews, "we are ignorant of the use of arms, but we persevere in the faith and worship of our fathers; why wilt thou reduce us to the necessity of a just defence?" The unequal conflict was terminated in fifteen days; and it was with extreme reluctance that Mahomet yielded to the importunity of his allies, and consented to spare the lives of the captives. But their riches were confiscated, their arms became more effectual in the hands of the Muslims; and a wretched colony of seven hundred exiles was driven with their wives and children to implore a refuge on the confines of Syria. The Nadrirites were more guilty, since they conspired in a friendly interview to assassinate the prophet. He besieged their castle three miles from Medina, but their resolute defence obtained an honourable capitulation; and the garrison, sounding their trumpets and beating their drums, was permitted to depart with the honours of war. The Jews had excited and joined the war of the Koreish: no sooner had the *nations* retired from the *ditch*, than Mahomet, without laying aside

<sup>131</sup> The loose expressions of the Koran (c. 3, p. 124, 125, c. 9, p. 25) allow the commentators to fluctuate between the numbers of 70 and 72.

<sup>132</sup> Orientale, p. 600, 601.

<sup>133</sup> Geograph. Nubiensis, p. 47.

<sup>134</sup> In the third chapter of the Koran (p. 50-53, with Sale's Notes), the prophet alleges some poor excuses for the defeat of Ohud.

<sup>135</sup> For the detail of the three Koreish wars, of Beder, of Ohud, and of the ditch, peruse Al-Buhārī (p. 56-61, 64-69, 77-78), Gagnier (p. 61-65, 107-114, 125-128), and Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 61-65, 107-114, 125-128, 205-294).

his armour, marched on the same day to extirpate the hostile race of the children of Koraidha. After a resistance of twenty-five days, they surrendered at discretion. They trusted to the intercession of their old allies, of Medina: they could not be ignorant that fanaticism obliterates the feelings of humanity. A venerable elder, to whose judgment they appealed, pronounced the sentence of their death: seven hundred Jews were dragged in chains to the market-place of the city: they descended alive into the grave prepared for their execution and burial; and the apostle beheld with an inflexible eye the slaughter of his helpless enemies. Their sheep and camels were inherited by the Musulmans: three hundred cuirasses, five hundred pikes, a thousand lances, composed the most useful portion of the spoil. Six days' journey to the north-east of Medina, the ancient and wealthy town of Chaibar was the seat of the Jewish power in Arabia; the territory, a fertile spot in the desert, was covered with plantations and cattle, and protected by eight castles, some of which were esteemed of impregnable strength. The forces of Mahomet consisted of two hundred horse and fourteen hundred foot: in the succession of eight regular and painful sieges they were exposed to danger, and fatigue, and hunger; and the most undaunted chiefs despaired of the event. The apostle revived their faith and courage by the example of Ali, on whom he bestowed the surname of the Lion of God: perhaps we may believe that an Hebrew champion of gigantic stature was cloven to the chest by his irresistible emeter; but we cannot praise the modesty of romance, which represents him as tearing from its hinges the gate of a fortress, and wielding the ponderous buckler in his left hand.<sup>136</sup> After the reduction of the castles, the town of Chaibar submitted to the yoke. The chief of the tribe was tortured. In the presence of Mahomet, to force a confession of his hidden treasure: the industry of the shepherds and husbandmen was rewarded with a precarious toleration: they were permitted, so long as it should please the conqueror, to improve their patrimony, in equal shares, for his emolument and their own. Under the reign of Omar, the Jews of Chaibar were transplanted to Syria; and the caliph alleged the injunction of his dying master, that one and the true religion should be professed in his native land of Arabia.<sup>137</sup>

Five times each day the eyes of Submission of Mecca A.D. 630. Mahomet were turned towards Mecca,<sup>138</sup> and he was urged by the most sacred and powerful motives to revisit, as a conqueror, the city and the temple from whence he had been driven as an exile. The Caaba was present to his waking and sleeping fancy, an idle dream was translated into vision and prophecy; he unfurled the holy banner; and a rash promise of success too hastily dropped from

the lips of the apostle. His march from Medina to Mecca displayed the peaceful and solemn pomp of a pilgrimage: seventy camels, chosen and bedecked for sacrifice, preceded the van; the sacred territory was respected; and the captives were dismissed without ransom to proclaim his clemency and devotion. But no sooner did Mahomet descend into the plain, within a day's journey of the city, than he exclaimed, "They have clothed themselves with the skins of tigers:" the numbers and resolution of the Koreish opposed his progress; and the roving Arabs of the desert might desert or betray a leader whom they had followed for the hopes of spoil. The intrepid fanatic sunk into a cool and cautious politician: he waded in the treaty his title of apostle of God, concluded with the Koreish and their allies a truce of ten years, engaged to restore the fugitives of Mecca who should embrace his religion, and stipulated only, for the ensuing year, the humble privilege of entering the city as a friend, and of remaining three days to accomplish the rites of the pilgrimage. A cloud of shame and sorrow hung on the retreat of the Musulmans, and their disappointment might justly accuse the failure of a prophet who had so often appealed to the evidence of success. The faith and hope of the pilgrims were rekindled by the prospect of Mecca: their swords were sheathed; seven times in the footsteps of the apostle they encompassed the Caaba; the Koreish had retired to the hills, and Mahomet, after the customary sacrifice, evacuated the city on the fourth day. The people was edified by his devotion; the hostile chiefs were awed, or divided, or seduced; and both Caled and Amrou, the future conquerors of Syria and Egypt, most seasonably deserted the sinking cause of idolatry. The power of Mahomet was increased by the submission of the Arabian tribes; ten thousand soldiers were assembled for the conquest of Mecca; and the idolaters, the weaker party, were easily convicted of violating the truce. Enthusiasm and discipline impelled the march, and preserved the secret, till the blaze of ten thousand fires proclaimed to the astonished Koreish the design, the approach, and the irresistible force of the enemy. The laughty Abu Sophian presented the keys of the city, admired the variety of arms and ensigns that passed before him in review; observed that the son of Abdallah had acquired a mighty kingdom, and confessed, under the cincture of Omar, that he was the apostle of the true God. The return of Marius and Sylla was stained with the blood of the Romans; the revenge of Mahomet was stimulated by religious zeal, and his injured followers were eager to execute or to prevent the order of a massacre. Instead of indulging their passions and his own,<sup>139</sup> the victorious exile forgave the guilt, and united the factions,

<sup>136</sup> Abu Rafe, the servant of Mahomet, is said to affirm that he himself, and seven of his men, afterwards obtained access to measure the circumference of the ground. Abu Rafe, p. 90. Abu Rafe was an eunuch, and of whom we learn nothing more.

<sup>137</sup> The banishment of the Jews is attributed by Eusebius (Hist. Sacr. lib. vi.) and the great Al Zahari (Glosses, lib. i. c. 12.)

<sup>138</sup> The successive steps of the pilgrimage to Mecca are related by Abul Fihri (S. 84. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.



"month, not an hour." "Excuse us at least from the obligation of prayer." "Without prayer religion is of no avail." They submitted in silence; their temples were demolished, and the same sentence of destruction was executed on all the idols of Arabia. His lieutenants, on the shores of the Red Sea, the Ocean, and the Gulf of Persia, were saluted by the acclamations of a faithful people; and the ambassadors who knelt before the throne of Medina, were as numerous (says the Arabian proverb) as the dates that fall from the maturity of a palm-tree. The nation submitted to the God and the sceptre of Mahomet: the opprobrious name of tribute was abolished; the spontaneous or reluctant oblations of alms and tithes were applied to the service of religion; and one hundred and fourteen thousand Moslems accompanied the last pilgrimage of the apostle.<sup>144</sup>

When Heraclius returned in triumph from the Persian war, he entertained, at Emesa, one of the ambassadors of Mahomet, who invited the princes and nations of the earth to the profession of Islam. On this foundation the zeal of the Arabians has supposed the secret conversion of the Christian emperor: the vanity of the Greeks has feigned a personal visit of the prince of Medina, who accepted from the royal bounty a rich domain, and a secure retreat, in the province of Syria.<sup>145</sup> But the friendship of Heraclius and Mahomet was of short continuance: the new religion had inflamed rather than assuaged the rapacious spirit of the Saracens; and the murder of an envoy afforded a decent pretence for invading, with three thousand soldiers, the territory of Palestine, that extends to the eastward of the Jordan. The holy banner was intrusted to Zeid; and such was the discipline or enthusiasm of the rising sect, that the noblest chiefs served without reluctance under the slave of the prophet. On the event of his decease, Jaafar and Abdallah were successively substituted to the command; and if the three should perish in the war, the troops were authorised to elect their general. The three leaders were slain in the battle of Muta,<sup>146</sup> the first military action which tried the valour of the Moslems against a foreign enemy. Zeid fell, like a soldier, in the foremost ranks; the death of Jaafar was heroic and memorable; he lost his right-hand; he shifted the standard to his left; the left was severed from his body: he embraced the standard with his bleeding stumps, till he was transfix'd to the ground with fifty honourable wounds. "Advance," cried Abdallah, who stepped into the vacant place, "advance with confidence: either victory or

"paradise is our own." The lance of a Roman decided the alternative; but the falling standard was rescued by Caled, the proselyte of Meccah: nine swords were broken in his hands; and his valour withstood and repulsed the superior numbers of the Christians. In the nocturnal council of the camp he was chosen to command; his skilful evolutions of the ensuing day secured either the victory or the retreat of the Saracens; and Caled is renowned among his brethren and his enemies by the glorious appellation of the *Sword of God*. In the pulpit, Mahomet described, with prophetic rapture, the crowns of the blessed martyrs; but in private he betrayed the feelings of human nature: he was surprised as he wept over the daughter of Zeid. "What do I see?" said the astonished votary. "You see," replied the apostle, "a friend who is deploring the loss of his most faithful friend." After the conquest of Meccah, the sovereign of Arabia affected to prevent the hostile preparations of Heraclius; and solemnly proclaimed war against the Romans, without attempting to disguise the hardships and dangers of the enterprise.<sup>147</sup> The Moslems were discouraged: they alleged the want of money, or horses, or provisions; the season of harvest, and the intolerable heat of the summer: "Hell is much hotter," said the indignant prophet. He disdain'd to compel their service; but on his return he admonished the most guilty, by an excommunication of fifty days. Their desertion enhanced the merit of Abubeker, Othman, and the faithful companions who devoted their lives and fortunes; and Mahomet displayed his banner at the head of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. Painful indeed was the distress of the march: lassitude and thirst were aggravated by the scorching and pestilential winds of the desert: ten men rode by turns on the same camel; and they were reduced to the shameful necessity of drinking the water from the belly of that useful animal. In the mid-way, ten days' journey from Medina and Damascus, they reposed near the grove and fountain of Tabuc. Beyond that place Mahomet declined the prosecution of the war; he declared himself satisfied with the peaceful intentions, he was more probably daunted by the martial array, of the emperor of the East. But the active and intrepid Caled spread around the terror of his name; and the prophet received the submission of the tribes and cities, from the Euphrates to Allah, at the head of the Red Sea. To his Christian subjects, Mahomet readily granted the security of their persons, the freedom of their trade, the property of their goods, and the toleration of their worship.<sup>148</sup>

144 The last conquest and pilgrimage of Mahomet are recounted in Abulphida p. 121. 1276. Geograph. p. 11. p. 116. 12. 14. Hennen p. 10. 111. Abulphidius p. 107. The death of the Heraclius styled the Young of Emesa, Geograph. p. 11. Abulphidius p. 121.

145 Compare the legend of the flight of the emperor Heraclius p. 172. Zeid, with the noblest heroes of Arabia, p. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

146 The expedition of Zeid is recorded in Abulphidius p. 121. 1276. Geograph. p. 11. p. 116. 12. 14. Hennen p. 10. 111. Abulphidius p. 107. The death of the Heraclius styled the Young of Emesa, Geograph. p. 11. Abulphidius p. 121.

147 The *Epiphany* secret of the emperor Heraclius is attested by Abulphidius p. 121. 1276. Geograph. p. 11. p. 116. 12. 14. Hennen p. 10. 111. Abulphidius p. 107. The death of the Heraclius styled the Young of Emesa, Geograph. p. 11. Abulphidius p. 121.

148 The expedition of Zeid is recorded in Abulphidius p. 121. 1276. Geograph. p. 11. p. 116. 12. 14. Hennen p. 10. 111. Abulphidius p. 107. The death of the Heraclius styled the Young of Emesa, Geograph. p. 11. Abulphidius p. 121.



The weakness of their Arabian brethren had restrained them from opposing his ambition; the disciples of Jesus were endeared to the enemy of the Jews; and it was the interest of a conqueror to propose a fair capitulation to the most powerful religion of the earth.

Death of  
Mahomet.  
A. D. 634,  
June.

Till the age of sixty-three years, the strength of Mahomet was equal to the temporal and spiritual fatigues of his mission. His epileptic fits, an absurd calumny of the Greeks, would be an object of pity rather than abhorrence;<sup>147</sup> but he seriously believed that he was poisoned at Chailbar by the revenge of a Jewish female.<sup>148</sup> During four years, the health of the prophet declined; his infirmities increased; but his mortal disease was a fever of fourteen days, which deprived him by intervals of the use of reason. As soon as he was conscious of his danger, he edified his brethren by the humility of his virtue or penitence. "If there be any man," said the apostle from the pulpit, "whom I have unjustly scourged, I submit my own back to the lash of retaliation. Have I aspersed the reputation of a Musulman? let him proclaim my faults in the face of the congregation. Has any one been despoiled of his goods? the little that I possess shall compensate the principal and the interest of the debt." "Yes," replied a voice from the crowd, "I am entitled to three drams of silver." Mahomet heard the complaint, satisfied the demand, and thanked his creditor for accusing him in this world rather than at the day of judgment. He beheld with temperate firmness the approach of death; enfranchised his slaves (seventeen men, as they are named, and eleven women); minutely directed the order of his funeral, and moderated the lamentations of his weeping friends, on whom he bestowed the benediction of peace. Till the third day before his death, he regularly performed the function of public prayer. the choice of Abubeker to supply his place, appeared to mark that ancient and faithful friend as his successor in the sacerdotal and regal office; but he prudently declined the risk and envy of a more explicit nomination. At a moment when his faculties were visibly impaired, he called for pen and ink to write, or, more properly, to dictate, a divine book, the sum and accomplishment of all his revelations—a dispute arose in the chamber, whether he should be allowed to supersede the authority of the Koran; and the prophet was forced to reprove the indecent vehemence of his disciples. If the slightest credit

may be afforded to the traditions of his wives and companions, he maintained, in the bosom of his family, and to the last moments of his life, the dignity of an apostle, and the faith of an enthusiast; described the visits of Gabriel, who bade an everlasting farewell to the earth, and expressed his lively confidence, not only of the mercy, but of the favour, of the Supreme Being. In a familiar discourse he had mentioned his special prerogative, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his soul till he had respectfully asked the permission of the prophet. The request was granted; and Mahomet immediately fell into the agony of his dissolution: his head was reclined on the lap of Ayesha, the best beloved of all his wives; he fainted with the violence of pain; recovering his spirits, he raised his eyes towards the roof of the house, and, with a steady look, though a faltering voice, uttered the last broken, though articulate, words: "O God! . . . . pardon my sins. . . . . Yes, . . . . I come, . . . . among my fellow-citizens on high;" and thus peaceably expired on a carpet spread upon the floor. An expedition for the conquest of Syria was stopped by this mournful event. the army halted at the gates of Medina; the chiefs were assembled round their dying master. The city, more especially the house, of the prophet, was a scene of a clamorous sorrow or silent despair; fanaticism alone could suggest a ray of hope and consolation. "How can he be dead, our witness, our intercessor, our mediator, with God? By God he is not dead; like Moses and Jesus he is wrapt in a holy trance, and speedily will he return to his faithful people." The evidence of sense was disregarded; and Omar, unsheathing his cineter, threatened to strike off the heads of the infidels, who should dare to affirm that the prophet was no more. The tumult was appeased by the weight and moderation of Abubeker. "Is it Mahomet," said he to Omar and the multitude, "or the God of Mahomet, whom you worship? The God of Mahomet liveth for ever, but the apostle was a mortal like ourselves, and according to his own prediction, he has experienced the common fate of mortality." He was piously interred by the hands of his nearest kinsman, on the same spot on which he expired;<sup>149</sup> Medina has been sanctified by the death and burial of Mahomet; and the innumerable pilgrims of Mecca often turn aside from the way, to bow, in voluntary devotion,<sup>150</sup> before the simple tomb of the prophet.<sup>151</sup>

149 The epidemic, or falling sickness, of Mahomet, is ascribed by Theophrastus, Zonaras, and the rest of the Greeks, and is equally swallowed by the grossing error of Homeræque that Orant. p. 16, 11, Pindarus (Life of Mahomet, p. 12), and Metastases (p. 200, n. p. 262, 763 k). The title *the apostle of the Arabs* is not a translation of the Koran, (77, 74) nor hardly to be construed as an interpretation of the sense, the ignorance of the Mahometan community is more numerous than their superstition; and the epithet, which is ascribed to him by the Greeks, is not a translation, but a title, as given at Me'chedum, p. 9. Vide Mahomet tomb, p. 118, and Sala Okarim, p. 90—113.

150 The personation, anonymous since it was offered as a test of his prophetic knowledge, is the first circumstance in his history, vaticinium, Abulpheda (p. 92) and Al Jauhar (the epical Gagner, 190, n. p. 266, 268).

151 The Greeks and Latins have invented and propagated the vulgar and ridiculous story, that Mahomet's iron tomb is supported on the air at Me'chedum, across the desert. L'Asie (Chap. 20, l'Asie de Belus Taurus, l. iii. p. 66), by the action of equal and potent loads

stone (Dictionnaire de Bayle, Mahomet, Rem. EE FF). Without any philosophical enquiries, it may suffice, that, 1. The prophet was not buried at Mecca; and, 2. That his tomb at Medina, which has been visited by millions, is placed on the ground (Heland de Rebus, Moham. l. iii. c. 19, p. 209—211), Gagner (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 263—268).

152 Al Jauhar enumerates (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 372—391, p. 394, 394).

153 The sickness, death, and burial of Mahomet, are described by Abulpheda and Gagner (Vie de Mahomet, p. 175, 112. Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 263—271). The narrative is not interesting or agreeable, and is not a translation of the Arabic, but the facts of his life, which are not repeated the first time, to a second or third generation of pilgrims.





wants, when I was poor and persecuted by the world." 165

In the largest indulgence of polygamy, the founder of a religion and empire might aspire to multiply the chances of a numerous posterity and a lineal succession. The hopes of Mahomet were fatally disappointed. The virgin Ayesha, and his ten widows of mature age and approved fertility, were barren in his potent embraces. The four sons of Cadijah died in their infancy. Mary, his Egyptian concubine, was endeared to him by the birth of Ibrahim. At the end of fifteen months the prophet wept over his grave; but he sustained with firmness the railery of his enemies, and checked the adulation or credulity of the Moslems, by the assurance that an eclipse of the sun was *not* occasioned by the death of the infant. Cadijah had likewise given him four daughters, who were married to the most faithful of his disciples: the three eldest died before their father; but Fatima, who possessed his confidence and love, became the wife of her cousin Ali, and the mother of an illustrious progeny. The merit and misfortunes of Ali and his descendants will lead me to anticipate, in this place, the series of the Saracen caliphs, a title which describes the commanders of the faithful as the vicars and successors of the apostle of God. 166

The birth, the alliance, the character of Ali, which exalted him above the rest of his countrymen, might justify his claim to the vacant throne of Arabia. The son of Abu Taleb was, in his own right, the chief of the family of Hashem, and the hereditary prince or guardian of the city and temple of Mecca. The light of prophecy was extinct, but the husband of Fatima might expect the inheritance and blessing of her father: the Arabs had sometimes been patient of a female reign; and the two grand-sons of the prophet had often been fondled in his lap, and shown in his pulpit, as the hope of his age, and the chief of the youth of paradise. The first of the true believers might aspire to march before them in this world and in the next; and if some were of a graver and more rigid cast, the zeal and virtue of Ali were never outstripped by any recent proselyte. He united the qualifications of a poet, a soldier, and a saint: his wisdom still breathes in a collection of moral and religious sayings; 167 and every antagonist, in the combats of the tongue or of the sword, was subdued by his eloquence and valour. From the first hour of his mission to the last rites of his funeral, the apostle was never forsaken by a generous friend, whom he delighted to name his brother, his vicegerent, and the faithful Aaron of a second Moses. This son of Abu Taleb was afterwards reproached for neglecting

to secure his interest by a solemn declaration of his right, which would have silenced all competition, and sealed his succession by the decrees of heaven. But the un-suspecting hero confided in himself: the jealousy of empire, and perhaps the fear of opposition, might suspend the resolutions of Mahomet; and the bed of sickness was besieged by the artful Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker, and the enemy of Ali.

The silence and death of the prophet restored the liberty of the people; and his companions convened an assembly to deliberate on the choice of his successor. The hereditary claim and lofty spirit of Ali were offensive to an aristocracy of elders, desirous of bestowing and resuming the sceptre by a free and frequent election: the Korish could never be reconciled to the proud pre-eminence of the line of Hashem; the ancient discord of the tribes was rekindled; the fugitives of Mecca and the anathemates of Medina asserted their respective merits; and the rash proposal of choosing two independent caliphs would have crushed in their infancy the religion and empire of the Saracens. The tumult was appeased by the disinterested resolution of Omar, who, suddenly renouncing his own pretensions, stretched forth his hand, and declared himself the first subject of the mild and venerable Abubeker. The urgency of the moment, and the acquiescence of the people, might excuse this illegal and precipitate measure; but Omar himself confessed from the pulpit, that if any Musulman should hereafter presume to anticipate the suffrage of his brethren, both the elector and the elected would be worthy of death. 168 After the simple inauguration of Abubeker, he was obeyed in Medina, Mecca, and the provinces of Arabia: the Hashemites alone declined the oath of fidelity; and their chief, in his own house, maintained, above six months, a sullen and independent reserve; without listening to the threats of Omar, who attempted to consume with fire the habitation of the daughter of the apostle. The death of Fatima, and the decline of his party, subdued the indignant spirit of Ali: he condescended to salute the commander of the faithful, accepted his excuse of the necessity of preventing their common enemies, and wisely rejected his courteous offer of abdicating the government of the Arabians. After a reign of two years, the aged caliph was summoned by the angel of death. In his testament, with the tacit approbation of the companions, he bequeathed the sceptre to the firm and intrepid virtue of Omar. "I have no occasion," said the modest candidate, "for the place," "But the place has occasion for you," replied Abubeker; who expired with a fervent prayer, that the God of Mahomet would ratify his choice, and direct

Reign of Abu-  
Bekr.  
A. D. 632,  
June 7.

Character of  
Ali.

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rather serve than reign; rebuked the presumption of the strangers; and required the formal, if not the voluntary, assent of the chiefs of the nation. He has never been accused of prompting the assassin of Omar; though Persia indiscreetly celebrates the festival of that holy martyr. The quarrel between Othman and his subjects was assuaged by the early mediation of Ali; and Hasan, the eldest of his sons, was insulted and wounded in the defence of the caliph. Yet it is doubtful whether the father of Hasan was strenuous and sincere in his opposition to the rebels; and it is certain that he enjoyed the benefit of their crime. The temptation was indeed of such magnitude as might stagger and corrupt the most obdurate virtue. The ambitious candidate no longer aspired to the barren sceptre of Arabia; the Saracens had been victorious in the East and West; and the wealthy kingdoms of Persia, Syria, and Egypt were the patrimony of the commander of the faithful.

A life of prayer and contemplation had not chilled the martial activity of Ali; but in a mature age, after a long experience of mankind, he still betrayed in his conduct the rashness and indiscretion of youth. In the first days of his reign, he neglected to secure, either by gifts or fetters, the doubtful allegiance of Telha and Zobeir, two of the most powerful of the Arabian chiefs. They escaped from Medina to Mecca, and from thence to Bassora; erected the standard of revolt; and usurped the government of Irak, or Assyria, which they had vainly solicited as the reward of their services. The mask of patriotism is allowed to cover the most glaring inconsistencies; and the enemies, perhaps the assassins, of Othman now demanded vengeance for his blood. They were accompanied in their flight by Ayesha, the widow of the prophet, who cherished, to the last hour of her life, an implacable hatred against the husband and the posterity of Fatima. The most reasonable Moslems were scandalised, that the mother of the faithful should expose in a camp her person and character; but the superstitious crowd was confident that her presence would sanctify the justice, and assure the success, of their cause. At the head of twenty thousand of his loyal Arabs, and nine thousand valiant auxiliaries of Cufa, the caliph encountered and defeated the superior numbers of the rebels under the walls of Bassora. Their leaders, Telha and Zobeir, were slain in the first battle that stained with civil blood the arms of the Moslems. After passing through the ranks to animate the troops, Ayesha had chosen her post amidst the dangers of the field. In the heat of the action, seventy men who held the bundle of her camel were successively killed or wounded; and the cage, or litter, in which she sat was stuck with javelins and darts like the quills of a porcupine. The venerable captive sustained with firmness the reproaches of the conqueror, and was speedily dismissed to her proper station, at the tomb of Mahomet, with the respect and tenderness that was still due to the widow of the apostle. After this victory,

which was styled the Day of the Camel, Ali marched against a more formidable adversary; against Moawiyah, the son of Abu Sophian, who had assumed the title of caliph, and whose claim was supported by the forces of Syria and the interest of the house of Omudjah. From the passage of Thapsacus, the plain of Siffin<sup>174</sup> extends along the western bank of the Euphrates. On this spacious and level theatre, the two competitors waged a desultory war of one hundred and ten days. In the course of ninety actions or skirmishes, the loss of Ali was estimated at twenty five, that of Moawiyah at forty-five, thousand soldiers; and the list of the slain was dignified with the names of five-and-twenty veterans who had fought at Beder under the standard of Mahomet. In this sanguinary contest the lawful caliph displayed a superior character of valour and humanity. His troops were strictly enjoined to wait the first onset of the enemy, to spare their flying brethren, and to respect the bodies of the dead, and the chastity of the female captives. He generously proposed to save the blood of the Moslems by a single combat; but his trembling rival declined the challenge as a sentence of inevitable death. The ranks of the Syrians were broken by the charge of a hero who was mounted on a pichald horse, and wielded with irresistible force his ponderous and two-edged sword. As often as he smote a rebel, he shouted the Allah Acbar, "God is victorious;" and in the tumult of a nocturnal battle he was heard to repeat four hundred times that tremendous exclamation. The prince of Damascus already meditated his flight; but the certain victory was snatched from the grasp of Ali by the disobedience and enthusiasm of his troops. Their conscience was awed by the solemn appeal to the books of the Koran which Moawiyah exposed on the foremost lances; and Ali was compelled to yield to a disgraceful truce and an insidious compromise. He retreated with sorrow and indignation to Cufa; his party was discouraged; the distant provinces of Persia, of Yemen, and of Egypt, were subdued or seduced by his crafty rival; and the stroke of fanaticism, which was aimed against the three chiefs of the nation, was fatal only to the cousin of Mahomet. In the temple of Mecca, three Charegites or enthusiasts discoursed of the disorders of the church and state; they soon agreed, that the deaths of Ali, of Moawiyah, and of his friend Amrou, the victory of Egypt, would restore the peace and unity of religion. Each of the assassins chose his victim, poisoned his dagger, devoted his life, and secretly repaired to the scene of action. Their resolution was equally desperate: but the first mistook the person of Amrou, and stabbed the deputy who occupied his seat; the prince of Damascus was dangerously hurt by the second; the lawful caliph, in the mosch of Cufa, received a mortal wound from the hand of the third. He expired in the sixty-third year of his age, and mercifully recommended to his carver, that they would despatch the murderer by a single stroke. The

174 P. c. ... from the ... of the ...  
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“and return to their Creator. My brother, my father, my mother, were better than me, and every Musulman has an example in the prophet.” He pressed his friends to consult their safety by a timely flight: they unanimously refused to desert or survive their beloved master; and their courage was fortified by a fervent prayer and the assurance of paradise. On the morning of the fatal day, he mounted on horseback, with his sword in one hand and the Koran in the other: his generous band of martyrs consisted only of thirty-two horse and forty foot; but their flanks and rear were secured by the tent-ropes, and by a deep trench which they had filled with lighted faggots, according to the practice of the Arabs. The enemy advanced with reluctance; and one of their chiefs deserted, with thirty followers, to claim the partnership of inevitable death. In every close onset, or single combat, the despair of the Fatimites was invincible; but the surrounding multitudes galled them from a distance with a cloud of arrows, and the horses and men were successively slain. A truce was allowed on both sides for the hour of prayer; and the battle at length expired by the death of the last of the companions of Hosein. Alone, weary, and wounded, he seated himself at the door of his tent. As he tasted a drop of water, he was pierced in the mouth with a dart; and his son and nephew, two beautiful youths, were killed in his arms. He lifted his hands to heaven, they were full of blood, and he uttered a funeral prayer for the living and the dead. In a transport of despair his sister issued from the tent, and adjured the general of the Calians, that he would not suffer Hosein to be murdered before his eyes: a tear trickled down his venerable beard; and the boldest of his soldiers fell back on every side as the dying hero threw himself among them. The remorseless Shamer, a name detested by the faithful, reproached their cowardice; and the grandson of Mahomet was slain with three and thirty strokes of lances and swords. After they had trampled on his body, they carried his head to the castle of Cufa, and the inhuman Obaidollah struck him on the mouth with a cane: “Alas!” exclaimed an aged Musulman, “on these lips have I seen the lips of the apostle of God!” In a distant age and climate the tragic scene of the death of Hosein will awaken the sympathy of the coldest reader.<sup>171</sup> On the annual festival of his martyrdom, in the devout pilgrimage to his sepulchre, the Persian scintillates abandon their souls to the religious frenzy of sorrow and indignation.<sup>172</sup>

When the sisters and children of Ali were brought in chains to the throne of Damascus, the caliph was advised to extirpate the enmity of a popular and hostile race, whom he had injured beyond the hope of reconciliation. But Yezid preferred the counsels of mercy; and the mourning family was honourably dismissed to mingle their tears with their kindred at Medina. The glory of martyrdom superseded the right of primogeniture; and the twelve Imams,<sup>173</sup> or pontiffs, of the Persian creed are Ali, Hassan, Hosein, and the lineal descendants of Hosein to the ninth generation. Without arms, or treasures, or subjects, they successively enjoyed the veneration of the people, and provoked the jealousy of the reigning caliphs: their tombs at Mecca or Medina, on the banks of the Euphrates, or in the province of Chorasán, are still visited by the devotion of their sect. Their names were often the pretence of sedition and civil war; but these royal saints despised the pomp of the world, submitted to the will of God and the injustice of man, and devoted their innocent lives to the study and practice of religion. The twelfth and last of the Imams, conspicuous by the title of *Mahadi*, or the Guide, surpassed the solitude and sanctity of his predecessors. He concealed himself in a cavern near Bagdad: the time and place of his death are unknown; and his votaries pretend, that he still lives, and will appear before the day of judgment to overthrow the tyranny of Dejal, or the Antichrist.<sup>174</sup> In the lapse of two or three centuries the posterity of Abbas, the uncle of Mahomet, had multiplied to the number of thirty-three thousand;<sup>175</sup> the race of Ali might be equally prolific; the meanest individual was above the first and greatest of princes; and the most eminent were supposed to excel the perfection of angels. But their adverse fortune, and the wide extent of the Musulman empire, allowed an ample scope for every bold and artful impostor, who claimed affinity with the holy seed, the sceptre of the Almehades in Spain and Africa, of the Fatimites in Egypt and Syria,<sup>176</sup> of the Sultans of Yemen, and of the Sophis of Persia,<sup>177</sup> has been consecrated by this vague and ambiguous title. Under their reigns it might be dangerous to dispute the legitimacy of their birth; and one of the Fatimite caliphs silenced an indirect question by drawing his scimitar. “This,” said Moer, “is my pedigree; and these,” casting a handful of gold to his soldiers, “and these are my kindred and my children.” In the various conditions of princes, or doctors, cradles, or merchants, or

Posterity of Mahomet and Ali.

<sup>171</sup> Theolog. Acad. Soc. Journ. 1780. p. 104. “The death of Hosein is the most celebrated of the events of the prophet’s life, and the most sacred of the events of the prophet’s life.”  
<sup>172</sup> See, for the history of the festival, the *As-Samawet*, p. 104. “The festival of the death of Hosein is the most celebrated of the events of the prophet’s life, and the most sacred of the events of the prophet’s life.”  
<sup>173</sup> The twelve Imams are: 1. Ali, 2. Hassan, 3. Hosein, 4. Ali, 5. Hassan, 6. Hosein, 7. Ali, 8. Hassan, 9. Hosein, 10. Ali, 11. Hassan, 12. Hosein.  
<sup>174</sup> The story of the hidden Imam is told in the *As-Samawet*, p. 104. “The hidden Imam is the most celebrated of the events of the prophet’s life, and the most sacred of the events of the prophet’s life.”  
<sup>175</sup> The number of thirty-three thousand is given in the *As-Samawet*, p. 104. “The number of thirty-three thousand is the most celebrated of the events of the prophet’s life, and the most sacred of the events of the prophet’s life.”  
<sup>176</sup> The story of the hidden Imam is told in the *As-Samawet*, p. 104. “The hidden Imam is the most celebrated of the events of the prophet’s life, and the most sacred of the events of the prophet’s life.”  
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<sup>185</sup> The story of the hidden Imam is told in the *As-Samawet*, p. 104. “The hidden Imam is the most celebrated of the events of the prophet’s life, and the most sacred of the events of the prophet’s life.”  
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beggars, a swarm of the genuine or fictitious descendants of Mahomet and Ali is honoured with the appellation of sheiks, or sherifs, or emirs. In the Ottoman empire, they are distinguished by a green turban, receive a stipend from the treasury, are judged only by their chief, and, however debased by fortune or character, still assert the proud pre-eminence of their birth. A family of three hundred persons, the pure and orthodox branch of the caliph Hassan, is preserved without taint or suspicion in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and still retains, after the revolutions of twelve centuries, the custody of the temple and the sovereignty of their native land. The fame and merit of Mahomet would ennoble a plebeian race, and the ancient blood of the Koréish transcends the recent majesty of the kings of the earth.<sup>186</sup>

The talents of Mahomet are entitled to our applause, but his success has perhaps too strongly attracted our admiration. Are we surprised that a multitude of proselytes should embrace the doctrine and the passions of an eloquent fanatic? In the heresies of the church, the same seduction has been tried and repeated from the time of the apostles to that of the reformers. Does it seem incredible that a private citizen should grasp the sword and the sceptre, subdue his native country, and erect a monarchy by his victorious arms? In the moving picture of the dynasties of the East, an hundred fortunate usurpers have arisen from a baser origin, surmounted more formidable obstacles, and filled a larger scope of empire and conquest. Mahomet was alike instructed to preach and to fight; and the union of these opposite qualities, while it enhanced his merit, contributed to his success: the operation of force and persuasion, of enthusiasm and fear, continually acted on each other, till every barrier yielded to their irresistible power. His voice invited the Arabs to freedom and victory, to arms and rapine, to the indulgence of their darling passions in this world and the other; the restraints which he imposed were requisite to establish the credit of the prophet, and to exercise the obedience of the people; and the only objection to his success was his rational creed of the unity and perfection of God.

It is not the propagation, but the permanency, of his religion that deserves our wonder: the same pure and perfect impression which he engraved at Mecca and Medina is preserved, after the revolutions of twelve centuries, by the Indian, the African, and the Turkish proselytes of the Koran. If the Christian apostles, St. Peter or St. Paul, could return to the Vatican, they might possibly enquire the name of the deity who is worshipped with such mysterious rites in that magnificent temple: at Oxford or Geneva, they would experience less surprise; but it might still be incumbent on them to peruse the catechism of the church, and to study the orthodox commentators on their own writings and the words of their master.

But the Turkish dome of St. Sophia, with an increase of splendor and size, represents the humble tabernacle erected at Medina by the hands of Mahomet. The Mahometans have uniformly withstood the temptation of reducing the object of their faith and devotion to a level with the senses and imagination of man. "I believe in one God, and Mahomet the apostle of God," is the simple and invariable profession of Islam. The intellectual image of the Deity has never been degraded by any visible idol: the honours of the prophet have never transgressed the measure of human virtue; and his living precepts have restrained the gratitude of his disciples within the bounds of reason and religion. The votaries of Ali have indeed consecrated the memory of their hero, his wife, and his children, and some of the Persian doctors pretend that the divine essence was incarnate in the person of the Imams; but their superstition is universally condemned by the Sunnites; and their impiety has afforded a seasonable warning against the worship of saints and martyrs. The metaphysical questions on the attributes of God, and the liberty of man, have been agitated in the schools of the Mahometans, as well as in those of the Christians; but among the former they have never engaged the passions of the people, or disturbed the tranquillity of the state. The cause of this important difference may be found in the separation or union of the regal and sacerdotal characters. It was the interest of the caliphs, the successors of the prophet and commanders of the faithful, to repress and discourage all religious innovations; the order, the discipline, the temporal and spiritual ambition of the clergy, are unknown to the Moslems; and the sages of the law are the guides of their conscience and the oracles of their faith. From the Atlantic to the Ganges, the Koran is acknowledged as the fundamental code, not only of theology, but of civil and criminal jurisprudence; and the laws which regulate the actions and the property of mankind, are guarded by the inflexible and immutable sanction of the will of God. This religious servitude is attended with some practical disadvantage: the illiterate legislator had been often misled by his own prejudices and those of his country; and the institutions of the Arabian desert may be ill adapted to the wealth and numbers of Ispahan and Constantinople. On these occasions, the Cadhi respectfully places on his head the holy volume, and substitutes a dexterous interpretation, more apposite to the principles of equity and the manners and policy of the times.

His beneficial or pernicious influence on the public happiness is the last consideration in the character of Mahomet. The most bitter or most bigoted of his Christian or Jewish foes will surely allow that he assumed a false commission to inculcate a salutary doctrine, less perfect only than their own. He piously supposed, as the basis of his religion, the truth and sanctity of

<sup>186</sup> The present state of the family of Mahomet and Ali is most accurately described by Denetours (Anteur Hist. of the Ottoman Empire, p. 94), and Niebuhr (Description de l'Arabie, p. 9—16, 317).

<sup>187</sup> It is much to be lamented, that the Danish traveller was unable to purchase the chronicles of Arabia.

their prior revelations, the virtues and miracles of their founders. The idols of Arabia were broken before the throne of God; the blood of human victims was expiated by prayer, and fasting, and alms, the laudable or innocent arts of devotion; and his rewards and punishments of a future life were painted by the images more congenial to an ignorant and carnal generation. Mahomet was perhaps incapable of dictating a moral and political system for the use of his countrymen: but he breathed among the faithful a spirit of charity and friendship, recommended the practice of the social virtues, and checked, by his laws and precepts, the thirst of revenge and the oppression of widows and orphans. The hostile tribes were united in faith and obedience, and the valour which had been idly spent in domestic quarrels was vigorously directed against a foreign enemy. Had the impulse been less powerful, Arabia, free at home, and formidable abroad, might have flourished under a succession of her native monarchs. Her sovereignty was lost by the extent and rapidity of conquest. The colonies of the nation were scattered over the East and West, and their blood was mingled with the blood of their converts and captives. After the reign of three caliphs, the throne was transported from Medina to the valley of Damascus and the banks of the Tigris; the holy cities were violated by impious war; Arabia was ruled by the rod of a subject, perhaps of a stranger; and the Bedouens of the desert, awakening from their dream of dominion, resumed their old and solitary independence.<sup>187</sup>

## CHAP. LI.

*The Conquest of Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, by the Arabs or Saracens — Empire of the Caliphs, or Successors of Mahomet — State of the Christians, &c. under their Government.*

Union of the  
Arabs.  
A.D. 632.

**THE** revolution of Arabia had not changed the character of the Arabs; the death of Mahomet was the signal of independence; and the hasty structure of his power and religion tottered to its foundations. A small and faithful band of his primitive disciples had listened to his eloquence, and shared his distress; had fled with the apostle from the persecution of Mecca, or had received the fugitive in the walls of Medina. The increasing myriads, who acknowledged Mahomet as their king and prophet, had been compelled by his arms, or allured by his prosperity. The

polytheists were confounded by the simple idea of a solitary and invisible God : the pride of the Christians and Jews disdained the yoke of a mortal and contemporary legislator. Their habits of faith and obedience were not sufficiently confirmed ; and many of the new converts regretted the venerable antiquity of the law of Moses, or the rites and mysteries of the Catholic church, or the idols, the sacrifices, the joyous festivals, of their Pagan ancestors. The jarring interests and hereditary feuds of the Arabian tribes had not yet coalesced in a system of union and subordination ; and the barbarians were impatient of the mildest and most salutary laws that curbed their passions, or violated their customs. They submitted with reluctance to the religious precepts of the Koran, the abstinence from wine, the fast of the Ramadan, and the daily repetition of five prayers ; and the alms and tithes, which were collected for the treasury of Medina, could be distinguished only by a name from the payment of a perpetual and ignominious tribute. The example of Mahomet had excited a spirit of fanaticism or imposture, and several of his rivals presumed to imitate the conduct and defy the authority of the living prophet. At the head of the *fugitives* and *assailants*, the first caliph was reduced to the cities of Mecca, Medina, and Tayef ; and perhaps the Koreish would have restored the idols of the Caaba, if their levity had not been checked by a seasonable reproof. " Ye men of " Mecca, will ye be the last to embrace and the " first to abandon the religion of Islam ? " After exhorting the Mo-lems to confide in the aid of God and his apostle, Abubeker resolved, by a vigorous attack, to prevent the junction of the rebels. The women and children were safely lodged in the cavities of the mountains. The warriors, marching under eleven banners, diffused the terror of their arms ; and the appearance of a military force revived and confirmed the loyalty of the faithful. The inconstant tribes accepted, with humble repentance, the duties of prayer, and fasting, and alms ; and, after some examples of success and severity, the most daring apostates fell prostrate before the sword of the Lord and of Caled. In the fertile province of Yamanah,<sup>1</sup> between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Persia, in a city not inferior to Medina itself, a powerful chief, his name was Mo-elama, had assumed the character of a prophet, and the tribe of Hanifa listened to his voice. A female prophethess was attracted by his reputation ; the decencies of words and actions were spurned by these faveinites of heaven ;<sup>2</sup> and they employed several days in mystic and amorous converse. An obscure

[illegible]

1. See the description of the city and country of Al Yaman, in *Al-Muhtasab*, Descriptive Catalogue, p. 104, 105. In the early years, there were some Christians and Jews present, but in the present century, the same group has been almost entirely wiped out, and no longer exist, at least, in the city. The only remaining known Christians, Descriptive Catalogue, p. 104, 105.

2. The first group can only be transcribed, but cannot be translated. It is, therefore, that  $N^*$  is not a word or word-  
—

Scapulae fere et in quibus sternis perpendiculari, nam strabus tibi thorax

[illegible]

A  $\pi$ -system is a  $H^1$ -system with no trends, but of a different sort. In fact, it is a  $H^1$ -system in the standard form, but it is not a  $H^1$ -system in the standard form.

$$M = \begin{pmatrix} 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 \\ 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 \\ 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 \\ 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 \\ 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 & 1 \end{pmatrix} \quad \text{and} \quad M^{-1} = \begin{pmatrix} 1 & -1 & 1 & -1 & 1 \\ -1 & 1 & -1 & 1 & -1 \\ 1 & -1 & 1 & -1 & 1 \\ -1 & 1 & -1 & 1 & -1 \\ 1 & -1 & 1 & -1 & 1 \end{pmatrix}$$

But her new sense of direction, however, returned to her. "I was not a person who was not a person," she said. "I was a person who was not a person."

3: Lycopodium, Abies, etc., also some ferns, mosses, etc.

sentence of his Koran, or book, is yet extant;<sup>3</sup> and in the pride of his mission, Moseilana condescended to offer a partition of the earth. The proposal was answered by Mahomet with contempt; but the rapid progress of the impostor awakened the fears of his successor. forty thousand Moslems were assembled under the standard of Caled; and the existence of their faith was resigned to the event of a decisive battle. In the first action they were repulsed with the loss of twelve hundred men; but the skill and perseverance of their general prevailed: their defeat was avenged by the slaughter of ten thousand infidels; and Moseilana himself was pierced by an Ethiopian slave with the same javelin which had mortally wounded the uncle of Mahomet. The various rebels of Arabia, without a chief or a cause, were speedily suppressed by the power and discipline of the rising monarchy; and the whole nation again professed, and more steadfastly held, the religion of the Koran. The ambition of the caliphs provided an immediate exercise for the restless spirit of the Saracens; their valour was united in the prosecution of an holy war; and their enthusiasm was equally confirmed by opposition and victory.

From the rapid conquests of the  
 Character of their caliphs. Saracens a presumption will naturally arise, that the first caliphs commanded in person the armies of the faithful, and sought the crown of martyrdom in the foremost ranks of the battle. The courage of Abubeker,<sup>4</sup> Omar,<sup>5</sup> and Othman,<sup>6</sup> had indeed been tried in the persecution and wars of the prophet; and the personal assurance of paradise must have taught them to despise the pleasures and dangers of the present world. But they ascended the throne in a venerable or mature age; and esteemed the domestic cares of religion and justice the most important duties of a sovereign. Except the presence of Omar at the siege of Jerusalem, their longest expeditions were the frequent pilgrimage from Medina to Mecca; and they calmly received the tidings of victory as they prayed or preached before the sepulchre of the prophet. The austere and frugal measure of their lives was the effect of virtue or habit, and the grile of their simplicity insulted the vain magnificence of the kings of the east. When Abubeker assumed the office of caliph, he employed his daughter Ayesha to take a strict account of his private patrimony, that it might be evident whether he were enriched or impoverished by the service of the state. He thought himself entitled to a stipend of three pieces of gold, with the sufficient maintenance of a single camel and a black slave; but on the Friday of each week he distributed the residue of his own and the public money, first to the most worthy, and then to the most indigent, of the Moslems. The remains of his wealth, a coarse garment, and five pieces of gold, were delivered to his successor,

who lamented with a modest sigh his own inability to equal such an admirable model. Yet the abstinence and humility of Omar were not inferior to the virtues of Abubeker; his food consisted of barley-bread or dates; his drink was water; he preached in a gown that was torn or tattered in twelve places; and a Persian satrap, who paid his homage to the conqueror, found him asleep among the beggars on the steps of the mosch of Medina. Economy is the source of liberality, and the increase of the revenue enabled Omar to establish a just and perpetual reward for the past and present services of the faithful. Careless of his own emolument, he assigned to Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, the first and most ample allowance of twenty-five thousand drams or pieces of silver. Five thousand were allotted to each of the aged warriors, the relics of the field of Beder, and the last and meanest of the companions of Mahomet was distinguished by the annual reward of three thousand pieces. One thousand was the stipend of the veterans who had fought in the first battles against the Greeks and Persians; and the decreasing pay, as low as fifty pieces of silver, was adapted to the respective merit and seniority of the soldiers of Omar. Under his reign, and that of his predecessor, the conquerors of the East were the trusty servants of God and the people; the mass of the public treasure was consecrated to the expenses of peace and war; a prudent mixture of justice and bounty maintained the discipline of the Saracens, and they united, by a rare felicity, the despatch and execution of despotism, with the equal and frugal maxims of a republican government. The heroic courage of Ali,<sup>7</sup> the consummate prudence of Moawiyah,<sup>8</sup> excited the emulation of their subjects; and the talents which had been exercised in the school of civil discord, were more usefully applied to propagate the faith and dominion of the prophet. In the sloth and vanity of the palace of Damascus, the succeeding princes of the house of Ommayah were alike destitute of the qualifications of statesmen and of saints.<sup>9</sup> Yet the spoils of unknown nations were continually laid at the feet of their throne; and the uniform ascent of the Arabian greatness must be ascribed to the spirit of the nation rather than the abilities of their chiefs. A large deduction must be allowed for the weakness of their enemies. The birth of Mahomet was fortunately placed in the most degenerate and disorderly period of the Persians, the Romans, and the barbarians of Europe: the empires of Trajan, or even of Constantine or Chaulernagne, would have repelled the assault of the naked Saracens, and the torrent of fanaticism might have been obscurely lost in the sands of Arabia.

In the victorious days of the Roman republic, it had been the aim of the senate to confine their consuls and le-

Their conquests.

<sup>3</sup> See the story of the revelation of the Koran from the pen of Mohammed, in the *History of the Arabs*, p. 17, and *Dynasty of the Umayyads*, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *History of the Arabs*, p. 17. *History of the Umayyads*, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> *History of the Arabs*, p. 17. *History of the Umayyads*, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> *History of the Arabs*, p. 17. *History of the Umayyads*, p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> *History of the Arabs*, p. 17. *History of the Umayyads*, p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> *History of the Arabs*, p. 17. *History of the Umayyads*, p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> *History of the Arabs*, p. 17. *History of the Umayyads*, p. 17.

gions to a single war, and completely to suppress a first enemy before they provoked the hostilities of a second. These timid maxims of policy were dissuaded by the magnanimity or enthusiasm of the Arabian caliphs. With the same vigour and success they invaded the successors of Augustus, and those of Artaxerxes; and the rival monarchies at the same instant became the prey of an enemy whom they had been so long accustomed to despise. In the ten years of the administration of Omar, the Saracens reduced to his obedience thirty-six thousand cities or castles, destroyed four thousand churches or temples of the unbelievers, and edified fourteen hundred mosques for the exercise of the religion of Mahomet. One hundred years after his flight from Mecca, the arms and the reign of his successors extended from India to the Atlantic Ocean, over the various and distant provinces, which may be comprised under the names of, I. Persia; II. Syria; III. Egypt; IV. Africa; and, V. Spain. Under this general division, I shall proceed to unfold these memorable transactions; despatching with brevity the remote and less interesting conquests of the East, and reserving a fuller narrative for those domestic countries which had been included within the pale of the Roman empire. Yet I must excuse my own defects by a just complaint of the blindness and insufficiency of my guides. The Greeks, so loquacious in controversy, have not been anxious to celebrate the triumphs of their enemies.<sup>10</sup> After a century of ignorance, the first annals of the Musulmans were collected in a great measure from the voice of tradition.<sup>11</sup> Among the numerous productions of Arabic and Persian literature,<sup>12</sup> our interpreters have selected the imperfect sketches of a more recent age.<sup>13</sup> The art and genius of history have ever been unknown to the Asiatics;<sup>14</sup> they are ignorant of the laws of criticism; and our monkish chronicles of the same period may be compared to their most popular works, which are never vivified by the spirit of philosophy and freedom. The *Oriental Library* of a Frenchman<sup>15</sup> would instruct the most learned muffi of the East; and perhaps the Arabs might not

find in a single historian so clear and comprehensive a narrative of their own exploits as that which will be deduced in the ensuing sheets.

I. In the first year of the first caliph, his lieutenant Caled, the <sup>Irony of</sup> Sword of God, and the scourge of <sup>A.D. 634</sup> the infidels, advanced to the banks of the Euphrates, and reduced the cities of Arhar and Hira. Westward of the ruins of Babylon, a tribe of sedentary Arabs had fixed themselves on the verge of the desert; and Hira was the seat of a race of kings who had embraced the Christian religion, and reigned above six hundred years under the shadow of the throne of Persia.<sup>16</sup> The last of the Mondars was defeated and slain by Caled; his son was sent a captive to Medina; his nobles bowed before the successor of the prophet; the people was tempted by the example and success of their countrymen; and the caliph accepted, as the first-fruits of foreign conquest, an annual tribute of seventy thousand pieces of gold. The conquerors, and even their historians, were astonished by the dawn of their future greatness: "In the same year," says Elmucin, "Caleb fought many signal battles; an immense multitude of the infidels was slaughtered; and spoils infinite and innumerable, were acquired by the victorious Moslems."<sup>17</sup> But the invincible Caled was soon transferred to the Syrian war: the invasion of the Persian frontier was conducted by less active or less prudent commanders; the Saracens were repulsed with loss in the passage of the Euphrates; and, though they chastised the insolent pursuit of the Magians, their remaining forces still hovered in the desert of Babylon.

The indignation and fears of the Persians suspended for a moment <sup>Part of</sup> their intestine divisions. By the <sup>of a</sup> unanimous sentence of the priests and nobles, their queen Arzema was deposed; the sixth of the transient usurpers, who had arisen and vanished in three or four years, since the death of Chosroes and the retreat of Heraclius. Her tiara was placed on the head of Yazdegerd, the grandson of Chosroes; and the same æra, which

<sup>10</sup> For the sixth and seventh centuries, the only evidence of the Byzantine history is the *Chronicon* of Theophanes, a Greek monk, who lived in the ninth century. His work is a compilation of the works of other historians, and is full of errors and contradictions. The *Chronicon* of Theophanes is a valuable work, but it is not a history in the modern sense of the word. It is a collection of facts, and it is not a narrative of events. The *Chronicon* of Theophanes is a valuable work, but it is not a history in the modern sense of the word. It is a collection of facts, and it is not a narrative of events.

<sup>11</sup> The *Chronicon* of Theophanes is a valuable work, but it is not a history in the modern sense of the word. It is a collection of facts, and it is not a narrative of events. The *Chronicon* of Theophanes is a valuable work, but it is not a history in the modern sense of the word. It is a collection of facts, and it is not a narrative of events.

<sup>12</sup> The *Chronicon* of Theophanes is a valuable work, but it is not a history in the modern sense of the word. It is a collection of facts, and it is not a narrative of events. The *Chronicon* of Theophanes is a valuable work, but it is not a history in the modern sense of the word. It is a collection of facts, and it is not a narrative of events.

<sup>13</sup> The *Chronicon* of Theophanes is a valuable work, but it is not a history in the modern sense of the word. It is a collection of facts, and it is not a narrative of events. The *Chronicon* of Theophanes is a valuable work, but it is not a history in the modern sense of the word. It is a collection of facts, and it is not a narrative of events.

<sup>14</sup> The *Chronicon* of Theophanes is a valuable work, but it is not a history in the modern sense of the word. It is a collection of facts, and it is not a narrative of events. The *Chronicon* of Theophanes is a valuable work, but it is not a history in the modern sense of the word. It is a collection of facts, and it is not a narrative of events.

<sup>15</sup> The *Chronicon* of Theophanes is a valuable work, but it is not a history in the modern sense of the word. It is a collection of facts, and it is not a narrative of events. The *Chronicon* of Theophanes is a valuable work, but it is not a history in the modern sense of the word. It is a collection of facts, and it is not a narrative of events.

<sup>16</sup> The *Chronicon* of Theophanes is a valuable work, but it is not a history in the modern sense of the word. It is a collection of facts, and it is not a narrative of events. The *Chronicon* of Theophanes is a valuable work, but it is not a history in the modern sense of the word. It is a collection of facts, and it is not a narrative of events.

<sup>17</sup> The *Chronicon* of Theophanes is a valuable work, but it is not a history in the modern sense of the word. It is a collection of facts, and it is not a narrative of events. The *Chronicon* of Theophanes is a valuable work, but it is not a history in the modern sense of the word. It is a collection of facts, and it is not a narrative of events.

coincides with an astronomical period,<sup>18</sup> has recorded the fall of the Sassanian dynasty and the religion of Zoroaster.<sup>19</sup> The youth and inexperience of the prince, he was only fifteen years of age, declined a perilous encounter: the royal standard was delivered into the hands of his general Rustam; and a remnant of thirty thousand regular troops was swelled in truth, or in opinion, to one hundred and twenty thousand subjects, or allies, of the great king. The Moslems, whose numbers were reinforced from twelve to thirty thousand, had pitched their camp in the plains of Cadesia;<sup>20</sup> and their line, though it consisted of fewer men, could produce more soldiers than the unwieldy host of the infidels. I shall here observe, what I must often repeat, that the charge of the Arabs was not, like that of the Greeks and Romans, the effort of a firm and compact infantry: their military force was chiefly formed of cavalry and archers; and the engagement, which was often interrupted and often renewed by single combats and flying skirmishes, might be protracted without any decisive event to the continuance of several days. The periods of the battle of Cadesia were distinguished by their peculiar appellations. The first, from the well-timed appearance of six thousand of the Syrian brethren, was denominated the day of *succour*. The day of *conversion* might express the disorder of one, or perhaps of both, of the contending armies. The third, a nocturnal tumult, received the whimsical name of the night of *barking*, from the discordant clamours, which were compared to the inarticulate sounds of the fiercest animals. The morning of the succeeding day determined the fate of Persia; and a seasonable whirlwind drove a cloud of dust against the faces of the unbelievers. The clangor of arms was re-echoed to the tent of Rustam, who, far unlike the ancient hero of his name, was gently reclining in a cool and tranquil shade, amidst the baggage of his camp, and the train of mules that were laden with gold and silver. On the sound of danger he started from his couch; but his flight was overtaken by a valiant Arab, who caught him by the foot, struck off his head, hoisted it on a lance, and instantly returning to the field of battle, carried slaughter and dismay among the thickest ranks of the Persians. The Saracens confess a loss of seven thousand five hundred men; and the battle of Cadesia is justly described by the epithets of obstinate and atrocious.<sup>21</sup> The standard of the monarchy was overthrown and captured in the field—a leathern apron of a blacksmith, who, in ancient times, had arisen the deliverer of Persia; but this

badge of heroic poverty was disguised, and almost concealed, by a profusion of precious gems.<sup>22</sup> After this victory, the wealthy province of Irak, or Assyria, submitted to the caliph, and his conquests were firmly established by the speedy foundation of Basora, a place which ever commands the trade and navigation of the Persians. At the distance of four-score miles from the gulf, the Euphrates and Tigris unite in a broad and direct current, which is aptly styled the river of the Arabs. In the midway, between the junction and the mouth of these famous streams, the new settlement was planted on the western bank: the first colony was composed of eight hundred Moslems; but the influence of the situation soon reared a flourishing and populous capital. The air, though excessively hot, is pure and healthy: the meadows are filled with palm-trees and cattle; and one of the adjacent valleys has been celebrated among the four paradises or gardens of Asia. Under the first caliph, <sup>Foundation of Basora</sup> the jurisdiction of this Arabian colony extended over the southern provinces of Persia: the city has been sanctified by the tombs of the companions and martyrs; and the vessels of Europe still frequent the port of Basora, as a convenient station and passage of the Indian trade.

After the defeat of Cadesia, a <sup>Sack of Ma-</sup>country intersected by rivers and <sup>down</sup> canals might have opposed an in- <sup>A. D. 657, March.</sup>superable barrier to the victorious cavalry; and the walls of Ctesiphon or Madayn, which had resisted the battering rams of the Romans, would not have yielded to the darts of the Saracens. But the flying Persians were overcome by the belief, that the last day of their religion and empire was at hand: the strongest posts were abandoned by treachery or cowardice; and the king, with a part of his family and treasures, escaped to Holwan at the foot of the Median hills. In the third month after the battle, Said, the lieutenant of Omar, passed the Tigris without opposition: the capital was taken by assault; and the disorderly resistance of the people gave a keener edge to the sables of the Moslems, who shouted with religious transport, "This is the white palace of Chosroes: this is the promise of the apostle of God!" The naked robbers of the desert were suddenly enriched beyond the measure of their hope or knowledge. Each chamber revealed a new treasure secreted with art, or ostentatiously displayed: the gold and silver, the various wardrobes and precious furniture, surpassed (says Abulfeda) the estimate of fancy or numbers;

<sup>18</sup> A cycle of 120 years, at the end of which an intercalary month of 30 days supplied the use of our new style, and renewed the antiquity of the solar year. In a great revolution of 1100 years, this intercalation was successively renewed from the first to the twelfth month, but Hyde and Ford have misused, in a profound controversy, whether the twelve, or only eight of these changes were accomplished before the era of Yazdegerd, which is unanimously fixed to the 10th of June, A. D. 632. How laboriously does the curious spirit of Europe explore the darkest and most distant antiquities! Hyde, de Rebus Perfarum, c. 11—18, p. 181—211. Ford, in the Mem. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvi. p. 275, 277.

<sup>19</sup> Nine days after the death of Mahomet (7th June, A. D. 632) we find the era of Yazdegerd, 10th June, A. D. 632, and his accession

<sup>20</sup> Cadesia, says the Nubian geographer (p. 121) is in margin solitary, 41 leagues from Baghdad, and two stations from Cufa. Other (Voyage, tom. i. p. 183; reckons 15 leagues, and others 5, that the place is supplied with dates and water.

<sup>21</sup> The

press

22

25

sultim

belab

14re

tom. i

391

p. 313

199.

and another historian defines the untold and almost infinite mass, by the fabulous computation of three thousands of thousands of thousands of pieces of gold.<sup>24</sup> Some minute though curious facts represent the contrast of riches and ignorance. From the remote islands of the Indian Ocean, a large provision of camphire<sup>25</sup> had been imported, which is employed with a mixture of wax to illuminate the palaces of the East. Strangers to the name and properties of that odoriferous gum, the Saracens, mistaking it for salt, mingled the camphire in their bread, and were astonished at the bitterness of the taste. One of the apartments of the palace was decorated with a carpet of silk, sixty cubits in length, and as many in breadth: a paradise or garden was depicted on the ground; the flowers, fruits, and shrubs, were imitated by the figures of the gold embroidery, and the colours of the precious stones; and the ample square was encircled by a variegated and verdant border. The Arabian general persuaded his soldiers to relinquish their claim, in the reasonable hope that the eyes of the caliph would be delighted with the splendid workmanship of nature and industry. Regardless of the merit of art, and the pomp of royalty, the rigid Omar divided the prize among his brethren of Medina: the picture was destroyed; but such was the intrinsic value of the materials, that the share of Ali alone was sold for twenty thousand drams. A mule that carried away the tiara and cuirass, the belt and bracelets of Chosroes, was overtaken by the pursuers: the gorgeous trophy was presented to the commander of the faithful; and the gravest of the companions condescended to smile when they beheld the white beard, hairy arms, and uncouth figure of the veteran, who was invested with the spoils of the great king.<sup>26</sup> The sack of Ctesiphon was followed by its desolation and gradual decay. The Saracens disliked the air and situation of the place; and Omar was advised by his general to remove the seat of government to the western side of the Euphrates. In every age the foundation and ruin of the Assyrian cities has been easy and rapid: the country is destitute of stone and timber; and the most solid structures<sup>27</sup> are composed of bricks baked in the sun, and joined by a cement of the native bitumen. The name of *Cufa*<sup>28</sup> describes an habitation of reeds and earth; but the importance of the new capital was supported by the numbers, wealth, and spirit of a colony of veterans; and their licentiousness was indulged by the wisest caliphs, who were apprehensive of provoking the revolt

of an hundred thousand swords: "Ye men of Cufa," said Ali, who solicited their aid, "you have been always conspicuous by your valour. You conquered the Persian king, and scattered his forces, till you had taken possession of his inheritance." This mighty conquest was achieved by the battles of Jâula and Nehavend. After the loss of the former, Yezdegerd fled from Holwan, and concealed his shame and despair in the mountains of Farsistan, from whence Cyrus had descended with his equal and valiant companions. The courage of the nation survived that of the monarch: among the hills to the south of Ecbatana or Hamadan, one hundred and fifty thousand Persians made a third and final stand for their religion and country; and the decisive battle of Nehavend was styled by the Arabs the victory of victories. If it be true that the flying general of the Persians was stopped and overtaken in a crowd of mules and camels laden with honey, the incident, however slight or singular, will denote the luxurious impediments of an Oriental army.<sup>29</sup>

The geography of Persia is darkly delineated by the Greeks and Latins; but the most illustrious of her cities appear to be more ancient than the invasion of the Arabs. By the reduction of Hamadan and Ispahan, of Caswin, Tauris, and Rei, they gradually approached the shores of the Caspian Sea; and the orators of Mecca might applaud the success and spirit of the faithful, who had already lost sight of the northern bear, and had almost transcended the bounds of the habitable world.<sup>30</sup> Again turning towards the West and the Roman empire, they repassed the Tigris over the bridge of Mosul, and, in the captive provinces of Armenia and Mesopotamia, embraced their victorious brethren of the Syrian army. From the palace of Madayn their Eastern progress was not less rapid or extensive. They advanced along the Tigris and the Gulf; penetrated through the passes of the mountains into the valley of Estachar or Persopolis; and profaned the last sanctuary of the Magian empire. The grandson of Chosroes was nearly surprised among the falling columns and mutilated figures; a sad emblem of the past and present fortune of Persia.<sup>31</sup> He fled with accelerated haste over the desert of Kirman, implored the aid of the warlike Segestans, and sought an humble refuge on the verge of the Turkish and Chinese power. But a victorious army is insensible of fatigue; the Arabs divided their forces in the pursuit of a timorous enemy; and the Caliph Othman pro-

Foundation of Cufa.

24. Mente six potest numerare comprehendi quanta spoliis Persarum reserant. Macrob. l. p. 67. Yet it did not enter the extravagant number of Eldred may be the error, not of the text, but of the version. The best authorities are from the Greeks, for instance, 115, 1 to be very poor authorities.

25. The camphire tree, as is well known, grows in the most humid and most precious soil of the tropics. It is said to be the most precious of all the aromatic plants. The name of Camphire is derived from the Greek word *camphora*, which signifies the most precious of all the aromatic plants. The name of Camphire is derived from the Greek word *camphora*, which signifies the most precious of all the aromatic plants.

26. See the account of the battle of Nehavend in the History of the Arabs, p. 577, 578. I am indebted to the late Mr. G. G. G. for the information that the battle of Nehavend was fought on the 20th of August, 657, and that the Persians were defeated.

27. The ruins of the city of Babylon, which was destroyed by the Babylonians in 539 B.C., are still visible. The ruins of the city of Nineveh, which was destroyed by the Assyrians in 612 B.C., are still visible. The ruins of the city of Ctesiphon, which was destroyed by the Saracens in 637 A.D., are still visible. The ruins of the city of Hamadan, which was destroyed by the Persians in 650 A.D., are still visible. The ruins of the city of Ispahan, which was destroyed by the Persians in 650 A.D., are still visible. The ruins of the city of Caswin, which was destroyed by the Persians in 650 A.D., are still visible. The ruins of the city of Tauris, which was destroyed by the Persians in 650 A.D., are still visible. The ruins of the city of Rei, which was destroyed by the Persians in 650 A.D., are still visible.

mised the government of Chorasan to the first general who should enter that large and populous country, the kingdom of the ancient Bactrians. The condition was accepted; the prize was deserved; the standard of Mahomet was planted on the walls of Herat, Merou, and Balch; and the successful leader neither halted nor reposed till his foaming cavalry had tasted the waters of the Oxus. In the public anarchy, the independent governors of the cities and castles obtained their separate capitulations: the terms were granted or imposed by the esteem, the prudence, or the compassion, of the victors; and a simple profession of faith established the distinction between a brother and a slave. After a noble defence, Harmozan, the prince or satrap of Ahwaz and Sasa, was compelled to surrender his person and his state to the discretion of the caliph; and their interview exhibits a portrait of the Arabian manners. In the presence, and by the command, of Omar, the gay barbarian was despoiled of his silken robes embroidered with gold, and of his tiara bedecked with rubies and emeralds: "Are you now sensible," said the conqueror to his naked captive; "are you now sensible of the judgment of God, and of the different rewards of infidelity and obedience?" "Alas!" replied Harmozan, "I feel them too deeply. In the days of our common ignorance, we fought with the weapons of the flesh, and my nation was superior. God was then neuter: since he has espoused your quarrel, you have subverted our kingdom and religion." Oppressed by this painful dialogue, the Persian complained of intolerable thirst, but discovered some apprehensions lest he should be killed whilst he was drinking a cup of water. "Be of good courage," said the caliph, "your life is safe till you have drank this water:" the crafty satrap accepted the assurance, and instantly dashed the vase against the ground. Omar would have avenged the deceit; but his companions represented the sanctity of an oath; and the speedy conversion of Harmozan entitled him not only to a free pardon, but even to a stipend of two thousand pieces of gold. The administration of Persia was regulated by an actual survey of the people, the cattle, and the fruits of the earth; and this monument, which attests the vigilance of the caliphs, might have instructed the philosophers of every age.<sup>72</sup>

The flight of Yazdegerd had carried him beyond the Oxus, and as far as the Jaxartes, two rivers<sup>73</sup> of ancient and modern renown, which descend from the mountains of India towards the Caspian Sea. He was hospitably entertained by

Tarkhan, Prince of Fargana<sup>74</sup>, a fertile province on the Jaxartes; the King of Samarcand, with the Turkish tribes of Sogdiana and Sogdiana, were moved by the lamentations and promises of the fallen monarch; and he solicited, by a suppliant embassy, the more solid and powerful friendship of the Emperor of China.<sup>75</sup> The virtuous Tait-sung, the first of the dynasty of the Tang, may be justly compared with the Antonines of Rome: his people enjoyed the blessings of prosperity and peace; and his dominion was acknowledged by forty-four hordes of the barbarians of Tartary. His last garrisons of Cashgar and Khoten maintained a frequent intercourse with their neighbours of the Jaxartes and Oxus; a recent colony of Persians had introduced into China the astronomy of the Magi; and Tait-sung might be alarmed by the rapid progress and dangerous vicinity of the Arabs. The influence, and perhaps the supplies, of China revived the hopes of Yazdegerd, and the zeal of the worshippers of fire; and he returned with an army of Turks to conquer the inheritance of his fathers. The fortunate Moslems, without unsheathing their swords, were the spectators of his ruin and death. The grandson of Choroës was betrayed by his servant, insulted by the seditious inhabitants of Merou, and oppressed, defeated, and pursued, by his barbarian allies. He reached the banks of a river, and offered his rings and bracelets for an instant passage in a miller's boat. Ignorant or insensible of royal distress, the rustic replied, that four drams of silver were the daily profit of his mill, and that he would not suspend his work unless the loss were repaid. In this moment of hesitation and delay, the last of the Sassanian kings was overtaken and slaughtered by the Turkish cavalry, in the nineteenth year of his unhappy reign.<sup>76</sup> His son Firuz, an humble client of the Chinese emperor, accepted the station of captain of his guards; and the Magian worship was long preserved by a colony of loyal exiles in the province of Bucharia. His grandson inherited the regal name; but after a faint and fruitless enterprise, he returned to China, and ended his days in the palace of Sigan. The male line of the Sassanides was extinct; but the female captives, the daughters of Persia, were given to the conquerors in servitude, or marriage; and the race of the caliphs and imams was ennobled by the blood of their royal mothers.<sup>77</sup>

After the fall of the Persian kingdom, the river Oxus divided the territories of the Saracens and of the Turks. This narrow boundary was soon overlapped by the spirit of the Arabs: the go-

Death of the  
last king  
A. D. 710.

The conquest  
of Transoxiana,  
A. D. 710.

<sup>72</sup> After the conquest of Persia. Theophanes, *ad. ann. 710*, p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>73</sup> *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>74</sup> *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>75</sup> *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>76</sup> *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>77</sup> *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>78</sup> *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>79</sup> *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>80</sup> *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100.

<sup>81</sup> *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100. *Annals of the Eastern Empire*, vol. i. p. 100.

vernors of Chorasán extended their successive inroads; and one of their triumphs was adorned with the buskin of a Turkish queen, which she dropt in her precipitate flight beyond the hills of Bochara.<sup>40</sup> But the final conquest of Transoxiana,<sup>41</sup> as well as of Spain, was reserved for the glorious reign of the inactive Walid; and the name of Catibah, the camel driver, declares the origin and merit of his successful lieutenant. While one of his colleagues displayed the first Mahometan banner on the banks of the Indus, the spacious regions between the Oxus, the Jaxartes, and the Caspian Sea, were reduced by the arms of Catibah to the obedience of the prophet and of the caliph.<sup>42</sup> A tribute of two millions of pieces of gold was imposed on the infidels: their idols were burnt or broken: the Musulman chief pronounced a sermon in the new mosch of Carizme; after several battles, the Turkish hordes were driven back to the desert; and the emperors of China solicited the friendship of the victorious Arabs. To their industry, the prosperity of the province, the Sogdiana of the ancients, may in a great measure be ascribed; but the advantages of the soil and climate had been understood and cultivated since the reign of the Macedonian kings. Before the invasion of the Saracens, Carizme, Bocara, and Samarcand, were rich and populous under the yoke of the shepherds of the north. These cities were surrounded with a double wall; and the exterior fortification, of a larger circumference, enclosed the fields and gardens of the adjacent district. The mutual wants of India and Europe were supplied by the diligence of the Sogdian merchants; and the inestimable art of transforming linen into paper, has been diffused from the manufacture of Samarcand over the western world.<sup>43</sup>

II. No sooner had Abubeker restored the unity of faith and government, than he despatched a circular letter to the Arabian tribes. "In the name of the most merciful God, to the rest of the true believers. Health and happiness, and the mercy and blessing of God be upon you. I praise the most high God, and I pray for his prophet Mahomet. This is to acquaint you, that I intend to send the true believers into Syria<sup>44</sup> to take it out of the hands of the infidels. And I would have you know, that the fighting for religion is an act of obedience to God." His messengers returned with the

tidings of pious and martial ardour which they had kindled in every province; and the camp of Medina was successively filled with the intrepid bands of the Saracens, who panted for action, complained of the heat of the season and the scarcity of provisions, and accused with impatient murmurs the delays of the caliph. As soon as their numbers were complete, Abubeker ascended the hill, reviewed the men, the horses, and the arms, and poured forth a fervent prayer for the success of their undertaking. In person and on foot, he accompanied the first day's march; and when the blushing leaders attempted to dismount, the caliph removed their scruples by a declaration, that those who rode, and those who walked, in the service of religion, were equally meritorious. His instructions<sup>45</sup> to the chiefs of the Syrian army were inspired by the warlike fanaticism which advances to seize, and affects to despise, the objects of earthly ambition. "Remember," said the successor of the prophet, "that you are always in the presence of God, on the verge of death, in the assurance of judgment, and the hope of paradise. Avoid injustice and oppression; consult with your brethren, and study to preserve the love and confidence of your troops. When you fight the battles of the Lord, acquit yourselves like men, without turning your backs; but let not your victory be stained with the blood of women or children. Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant or article, stand to it, and be as good as your word. As you go on, you will find some religious persons who live retired in monasteries, and propose to themselves to serve God that way; let them alone, and neither kill them nor destroy their monasteries.<sup>46</sup> and you will find another sort of people that belong to the synagogue of Satan, who have shaven crowns;<sup>47</sup> be sure you cleave their skulls, and give them no quarter till they either turn Mahometans or pay tribute." All profane or frivolous conversation; all dangerous recollection of ancient quarrels, was severely prohibited among the Arabs. In the tumult of a camp, the exercises of religion were assiduously practised; and the intervals of action were employed in prayer, meditation, and the study of the Koran. The abuse, or even the use, of wine was chastised by four-

40 It was valued at 2000 pieces of gold, and was the prize of Othollah, the son of Zayd, a famous and virtuous hero in the murder of Hosen (Ockley's History of the Saracens, vol. p. 112, 113). His brother Salem was accompanied by his wife, the first Adnan woman (A. D. 650) who passed the Ocean, she borrowed, or rather stole, the

ascribing it to the writers of antiquity.

41 The conquests of Catibah are fairly marked by Ptolemy (Hist. Saracens. p. 515). D'Herbelot (Biblioth. Orient. Ch. A. Samarcand, 145), and de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 58, 59).

42 A curious description of Samarcand is inserted in the *Itinerarium* of A. D. 822. It likewise wrote the conquest of Egypt, of Bakhara, &c.

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Above the margin, recent chronicles of the Arabians, Al Wakah has the double merit of antiquity and consistency. His tales and traditions afford an interesting picture of the mind of the times. Yet his narrative is

47 Even in the North of Africa, the monks were generally women; they were their own nuns, and the best of them, and the most virtuous, were their own nuns. The monks of the East were generally men, and the best of them, and the most virtuous, were their own monks. The monks of the East were generally men, and the best of them, and the most virtuous, were their own monks.

48 The conquests of Catibah are fairly marked by Ptolemy (Hist. Saracens. p. 515). D'Herbelot (Biblioth. Orient. Ch. A. Samarcand, 145), and de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 58, 59).

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50 The conquests of Catibah are fairly marked by Ptolemy (Hist. Saracens. p. 515). D'Herbelot (Biblioth. Orient. Ch. A. Samarcand, 145), and de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 58, 59).

51 A curious description of Samarcand is inserted in the *Itinerarium* of A. D. 822. It likewise wrote the conquest of Egypt, of Bakhara, &c.

52 The conquests of Catibah are fairly marked by Ptolemy (Hist. Saracens. p. 515). D'Herbelot (Biblioth. Orient. Ch. A. Samarcand, 145), and de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 58, 59).

53 A curious description of Samarcand is inserted in the *Itinerarium* of A. D. 822. It likewise wrote the conquest of Egypt, of Bakhara, &c.





nerals themselves. So many a lance was shivered in the plain of Calad, Damascus, and the personal prowess of Calad was signified in the first sally of the besieged. After an obstinate combat, he had overthrown and made prisoner one of the Christian leaders, a stout and worthy antagonist. He instantly mounted a fresh horse, the gift of the governor of Palmyra, and pushed forwards to the front of the battle. "Repose thyself for a moment," said his friend Derar, "and permit me to supply your place: you are fatigued with fighting with this dog." "O Derar!" replied the indefatigable Saracen, "we shall rest in the world to come. He that labours to-day shall rest to-morrow." With the same unabated ardour, Calad answered, encountered, and vanquished a second champion; and the heads of his two captives, who refused to abandon their religion, were indignantly hurled into the midst of the city. The event of some general and partial actions reduced the Damascenes to a closer defence: but a messenger whom they dropped from the walls, returned with the promise of speedy and powerful succour, and their tumultuous joy conveyed the intelligence to the camp of the Arabs. After some debate it was resolved by the generals to raise, or rather to suspend, the siege of Damascus, till they had given battle to the forces of the emperor. In the retreat, Calad would have chosen the more perilous station of the rear-guard; he modestly yielded to the wishes of Abu Obcidah. But in the hour of danger he flew to the rescue of his companion, who was rudely pressed by a sally of six thousand horse and ten thousand foot; and few among the Christians could relate at Damascus the circumstances of their defeat. The importance of the contest required the junction of the Saracens, who were dispersed on the frontiers of Syria and Palestine; and I shall transcribe one of the circular mandates which was addressed to Amrou, the future conqueror of Egypt. "In the name of the most merciful God, from Calad to Amrou, health and happiness. Know that thy brethren the Moslems design to march to Ainzadin, where there is an army of seventy thousand Greeks, who purpose to come against us, that they may extinguish the light of God with their mouths; but God preserveth his light in spite of the infidels.<sup>55</sup> As soon therefore as this letter of mine shall be delivered to thy hands, come with those that are with thee to Ainzadin, where thou shalt find us, if it please the most high God." The summons was cheerfully obeyed; and the forty-five thousand Moslems who met on the same day, on the same spot, ascribed to the blessing of Providence the effects of their activity and zeal.

Battle of  
Ainzadin,  
A. D. 637,  
July 15.

About four years after the triumphs of the Persian war, the repose of Heraclius and the empire

was again disturbed by a new enemy, the power of whose religion was more strongly felt than it was clearly understood by the Christians of the East. In his palace of Constantinople or Antioch, he was awakened by the invasion of Syria, the loss of Beroa, and the danger of Damascus. An army of seventy thousand veterans, or new levies, was assembled at Hems or Emesa, under the command of his general Werdan;<sup>56</sup> and these troops, consisting chiefly of cavalry, might be indifferently styled either Syrians, or Greeks, or Romans: *Syrians*, from the place of their birth or warfare; *Greeks*, from the religion and language of their sovereign; and *Romans*, from the proud appellation which was still profaned by the successors of Constantine. On the plain of Ainzadin, as Werdan rode on a white mule decorated with gold chains, and surrounded with ensigns and standards, he was surprised by the near approach of a fierce and naked warrior, who had undertaken to view the state of the enemy. The adventurous valour of Derar was inspired, and has perhaps been adorned, by the enthusiasm of his age and country. The hatred of the Christians, the love of spoil, and the contempt of danger, were the ruling passions of the audacious Saracen; and the prospect of instant death could never shake his religious confidence, or ruffle the calmness of his resolution, or even suspend the frank and martial pleasantry of his humour. In the most hopeless enterprises, he was bold, and prudent, and fortunate: after innumerable hazards, after being thrice a prisoner in the hands of the infidels, he still survived to relate the achievements, and to enjoy the rewards, of the Syrian conquest. On this occasion, his single lance maintained a flying fight against thirty Romans, who were detached by Werdan; and after killing or unhorsing seventeen of their number, Derar returned in safety to his applauding brethren. When his rashness was mildly censured by the general, he excused himself with the simplicity of a soldier. "Nay," said Derar, "I did not begin first. But they came out to take me, and I was afraid that God should see me turn my back; and indeed I fought in good earnest, and without doubt God assisted me against them; and had I not been apprehensive of disobeying your orders, I should not have come away as I did; and I perceive already that they will fall into our hands." In the presence of both armies, a venerable Greek advanced from the ranks with a liberal offer of peace; and the departure of the Saracens would have been purchased by a gift to each soldier, of a turban, a robe, and a piece of gold; ten robes and an hundred pieces to their leader; one hundred robes and a thousand pieces to the caliph. A smile of indignation expressed the refusal of Calad. "Ye Christian dogs, you know your option," the Koran, the

<sup>55</sup> Vulture, who casts a keen and lively glance over the surface of history, has been struck with the resemblance of the first Moslems and the heroes of the Iliad: the siege of Troy and that of Damascus (Hist. Générale, tom. 1. p. 518.)

<sup>56</sup> These words are the text of the Koran, c. iv. 52. lat. 8. I know our fanatics of the last century, the Moslems, on every familiar or important occasion, spoke the largeness of their scriptures, as they are natural in their mouths, than the Hebrew idiom transplanted into the climate and dialect of Britain.

<sup>57</sup> The name of Werdan is unknown to Theopanes, and, though it might belong to any Arabian, has very little of a Greek appearance. If the Persian historians have named the Oriental troops, the Arabs, in the present case, I have not taken any notice on their names. In the passage the Greek character is not used, as it might have not produced the same favourable impression, something like the negroes of the East.

"tribute, or the sword. We are a people whose delight is in war, rather than in peace; and we despise your pitiful alms, since we shall be speedily masters of your wealth, your families, and your persons." Notwithstanding this apparent disdain, he was deeply conscious of the public danger: those who had been in Persia, and had seen the armies of Chosroes, confessed that they never beheld a more formidable array. From the superiority of the enemy, the artful Saracen derived a fresh incentive of courage. "You see before you," said he, "the united force of the Romans; you cannot hope to escape, but you may conquer Syria in a single day. The event depends on your discipline and patience. Reserve yourselves till the evening. It was in the evening that the prophet was accustomed to vanquish." During two successive engagements, his temperate firmness sustained the darts of the enemy, and the murmurs of his troops. At length, when the spirits and quivers of the adverse line were almost exhausted, Calad gave the signal of onset and victory. The remains of the Imperial army fled to Antioch, or Cæsarea, or Damascus; and the death of four hundred and seventy Moslems was compensated by the opinion that they had sent to hell above fifty thousand of the infidels. The spoil was inestimable; many banners and crosses of gold and silver, precious stones, silver and gold chains, and innumerable suits of the richest armour and apparel. The general distribution was postponed till Damascus should be taken; but the seasonable supply of arms became the instrument of new victories. The glorious intelligence was transmitted to the throne of the caliph; and the Arabian tribes, the coldest or most hostile to the prophet's mission, were eager and importunate to share the harvest of Syria.

The sad tidings were carried to Damascus by the speed of grief and terror; and the inhabitants beheld from their walls the return of the heroes of Aiznadin. Amrou led the van at the head of nine thousand horse: the bands of the Saracens succeeded each other in formidable review; and the rear was closed by Calad in person, with the standard of the black eagle. To the activity of Derar he intrusted the commission of patrolling round the city with two thousand horse, of scouring the plain, and of intercepting all succour or intelligence. The rest of the Arabian chiefs were fixed in their respective stations before the seven gates of Damascus; and the siege was renewed with fresh vigour and confidence. The art, the labour, the military engines, of the Greeks and Romans are seldom to be found in the simple, though successful, operations of the Saracens: it was sufficient for them to invest a city with arms, rather than with trenches; to repel the sallies of the besieged; to attempt a stratagem or an assault; or to expect the progress of famine and discontent. Damascus

would have acquiesced in the trial of Aiznadin, as a final and peremptory sentence between the emperor and the caliph; her courage was rekindled by the example and authority of Thomas, a noble Greek, illustrious in a private condition by the alliance of Heraclius.<sup>58</sup> The tumult and illumination of the night proclaimed the design of the morning sally; and the Christian hero, who affected to despise the enthusiasm of the Arabs, employed the resource of a similar superstition. At the principal gate, in the sight of both armies, a lofty crucifix was erected; the bishop, with his clergy, accompanied the march, and laid the volume of the New Testament before the image of Jesus; and the contending parties were scandalised or edified by a prayer, that the Son of God would defend his servants and vindicate his truth. The battle raged with incessant fury; and the dexterity of Thomas,<sup>59</sup> an incomparable archer, was fatal to the boldest Saracens, till their death was revengeed by a female heroine. The wife of Aban, who had followed him to the holy war, embraced her expiring husband. "Happy," said she, "happy art thou, my dear: thou art gone to thy Lord who first joined us together, and then parted us asunder. I will revenge thy death, and endeavour to the utmost of my power to come to the place where thou art, because I love thee. Henceforth shall no man ever touch me more, for I have dedicated myself to the service of God." Without a groan, without a tear, she washed the corpse of her husband, and buried him with the usual rites. Then grasping the manly weapons, which in her native land she was accustomed to wield, the intrepid widow of Aban sought the place where his murderer fought in the thickest of the battle. Her first arrow pierced the hand of his standard-bearer: her second wounded Thomas in the eye; and the fainting Christians no longer beheld their ensign or their leader. Yet the generous champion of Damascus refused to withdraw to his palace: his wound was dressed on the rampart; the fight was continued till the evening; and the Syrians rested on their arms. In the silence of the night, the signal was given by a stroke on the great bell; the gates were thrown open, and each gate discharged an impetuous column on the sleeping camp of the Saracens. Calad was the first in arms; at the head of four hundred horse he flew to the post of danger, and the tears trickled down his iron cheeks, as he uttered a fervent ejaculation; "O God! who never sleepest, look upon thy servants, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies." The valour and victory of Thomas was arrested by the presence of the *Sword of God*; with the knowledge of the peril, the Moslems recovered their ranks, and charged the assailants in the flank and rear. After the loss of thousands, the Christian general retreated with a sigh of despair, and the pursuit of the Saracens was checked by the military engines of the rampart.

<sup>58</sup> Vandy prompted the Arabs to believe, that Thomas was the son-in-law of the emperor. We know the child was of them, not by his two wives, and his *second* daughter would not have married an *emile* of Damascus. See *Diogenes Laërtius*, lib. vi. c. 118, 119. Had he been less religious, I might only detect the imposture of the dastard

<sup>59</sup> At Wexley, Ogleby, p. 101, says, "with poisoned arrows," but the six are made, it is so long, but to the point to need the Greek and Romans, but I must suspect on this occasion, the mischievous credulity of the Saracens.



would have been extinguished by the hopeless computation of time and distance; but he listened to the importunities of Jonas, who assured him that the weary fugitives might yet be overtaken. At the head of four thousand horse, in the disguise of Christian Arabs, Caled undertook the pursuit. They halted only for the moments of prayer; and their guide had a perfect knowledge of the country. For a long way the footsteps of the Damascenes were plain and conspicuous: they vanished on a sudden; but the Saracens were comforted by the assurance that the caravan had turned aside into the mountains, and must speedily fall into their hands. In traversing the ridges of the Libanus, they endured intolerable hardships, and the sinking spirits of the veteran fanatics were supported and cheered by the unconquerable ardour of a lover. From a peasant of the country they were informed, that the emperor had sent orders to the colony of exiles to pursue without delay the road of the sea-coast, and of Constantinople; apprehensive, perhaps, that the soldiers and people of Antioch might be discouraged by the sight and the story of their sufferings. The Saracens were conducted through the territories of Gabala<sup>63</sup> and Laodicea, at a cautious distance from the walls of the cities; the rain was incessant, the night was dark, a single mountain separated them from the Roman army; and Caled, ever anxious for the safety of his brethren, whispered an ominous dream in the ear of his companion. With the dawn of day, the prospect again cleared, and they saw before them, in a pleasant valley, the tents of Damascus. After a short interval of repose and prayer, Caled divided his cavalry into four squadrons, committing the first to his faithful Derar, and reserving the last for himself. They successively rushed on the promiscuous multitude, insufficiently provided with arms, and already vanquished by sorrow and fatigue. Except a captive who was pardoned and dismissed, the Arabs enjoyed the satisfaction of believing that not a Christian of either sex escaped the edge of their cimeters. The gold and silver of Damascus was scattered over the camp; and a royal wardrobe of three hundred load of silk might clothe an army of naked barbarians. In the tumult of the battle, Jonas sought and found the object of his pursuit; but her resentment was inflamed by the last act of his petulancy; and as Eudocia struggled in his brutal embraces, she struck a dagger to her heart. Another female, the widow of Thomas, and the real or supposed daughter of Heraclius, was spared and released without a ransom; but the generosity of Caled was the effect of his contempt; and the haughty Saracen insulted, by a message of defiance, the throne of the Cæsars. Caled had penetrated above an hundred and fifty miles

into the heart of the Roman province: he returned to Damascus with the same secrecy and speed. On the accession of Omar, the *Sword of God* was removed from the command; but the caliph, who blamed the rashness, was compelled to applaud the vigour and conduct, of the enterprise.

Another expedition of the conquerors of Damascus will equally <sup>Fair of Abyla.</sup> display their avidity and their contempt for the riches of the present world. They were informed that the produce and manufactures of the country were annually collected in the fair of Abyla,<sup>64</sup> about thirty miles from the city; that the cell of a devout hermit was visited at the same time by a multitude of pilgrims; and that the festival of trade and superstition would be ennobled by the nuptials of the daughter of the governor of Tripoli. Abdallah, the son of Jaafar, a glorious and holy martyr, undertook, with a banner of five hundred horse, the pious and profitable commission of despoiling the infidels. As he approached the fair of Abyla, he was astonished by the report of the mighty concourse of Jews and Christians, Greeks and Armenians, of natives of Syria and of strangers of Egypt, to the number of ten thousand, besides a guard of five thousand horse that attended the person of the bride. The Saracens paused: "For my own part," said Abdallah, "I dare not go back: our foes are many, our danger is great; but our reward is splendid and secure, either in this life or in the life to come. Let every man, according to his inclination, advance or retire." Not a Musulman deserted his standard. "Lead the way," said Abdallah to his Christian guide, "and you shall see what the companions of the prophet can perform." They charged in five squadrons; but after the first advantage of the surprise, they were encompassed and almost overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies; and their valiant band is fancifully compared to a white spot in the skin of a black camel.<sup>65</sup> About the hour of sunset, when their weapons dropped from their hands, when they panted on the verge of eternity, they discovered an approaching cloud of dust, they heard the welcome sound of the *techar*,<sup>66</sup> and they soon perceived the standard of Caled, who flew to their relief with the utmost speed of his cavalry. The Christians were broken by his attack, and slaughtered in their flight, as far as the river of Tripoli. They left behind them the various riches of the fair; the merchandises that were exposed for sale, the money that was brought for purchase, the gay decorations of the nuptials, and the governor's daughter, with forty of her female attendants. The fruits, provisions, and furniture, the money, plate, and jewels, were diligently laden on the backs of horses, asses, and

<sup>63</sup> The towns of Gabala and Laodicea, which the Arabs passed, still exist in a state of ruin. (Mundell, p. 11, 12. P. 2, v. 10, p. 15.) Had not the Christians been exiles, they must have crossed the

Libanus, I discover the Abana of Lybani between Damascus and Hama. The name of Libanus, however, is not used in the Arabian text to justify my conjecture (Orelant, *l'Asie* tom. i. p. 317. tom. ii. p. 525, 527.)

<sup>64</sup> I am bolder than Mr. Ockley (vol. i. p. 161.), who dares not insert this narrative expression in the text, though he observes in a marginal note, that the Arabians often borrow their names from a novel and fanciful animal. The real deer may be equally famous in the eyes of the Libyans.

<sup>65</sup> We heard the *techar*, as the Arabs call their shout of conquest, when with loud appeal they hallooed heaven, as if demanding conquest. This word, so heard in their holy wars, is a verb active (says Ockley) which does not seem to encourage them from *Kubara*, which signifies *to be great*, as the word is most to glory.

mules; and the holy robbers returned in triumph to Damascus. The hermit, after a short and angry controversy with Calad, declined the crown of martyrdom, and was left alive in the solitary scene of blood and devastation.

Syria,<sup>67</sup> one of the countries that have been improved by the most early cultivation, is not unworthy of the preference.<sup>68</sup> The heat of the climate is tempered by the vicinity of the sea and mountains, by the plenty of wood and water; and the produce of a fertile soil affords the subsistence, and encourages the propagation, of men and animals. From the age of David to that of Heraclius, the country was over-spread with ancient and flourishing cities: the inhabitants were numerous and wealthy; and, after the slow ravage of despotism and superstition, after the recent calamities of the Persian war, Syria could still attract and reward the rapacious tribes of the desert. A plain, of ten days journey, from Damascus to Aleppo and Antioch, is watered, on the western side, by the winding course of the Orontes. The hills of Libanus and Anti-Libanus are planted from north to south, between the Orontes and the Mediterranean; and the epithet of *hollow* (Coesyria) was applied to a long and fruitful valley, which is confined in the same direction by the two ridges of snowy mountains.<sup>69</sup> Among the cities, which are enumerated by Greek and Oriental names in the geography and conquest of Syria, we may distinguish Emesa or Hems, Heliopolis or Baalbec, the former as the metropolis of the plain, the latter as the capital of the valley. Under the last of the Cæsars, they were strong and populous: the turrets glittered from afar, an ample space was covered with public and private buildings; and the citizens were illustrious by their spirit, or at least by their pride; by their riches, or at least by their luxury. In the days of paganism, both Emesa and Heliopolis were addicted to the worship of Baal, or the sun; but the decline of their superstition and splendour has been marked by a singular variety of fortune. Not a vestige remains of the temple of Emesa, which was equalled in poetic style to the summits of mount Libanus,<sup>70</sup> while the ruins of Baalbec, invisible to the writers of antiquity, excite the curiosity and wonder of the European traveller.<sup>71</sup> The measure of the temple is two hundred feet in length, and one hundred in breadth: the front is adorned with a double portico of eight columns;

fourteen may be counted on either side; and each column, forty-five feet in height, is composed of three massy blocks of stone or marble. The proportions and ornaments of the Corinthian order express the architecture of the Greeks; but as Baalbec has never been the seat of a monarch, we are at a loss to conceive how the expense of these magnificent structures could be supplied by private or municipal liberality.<sup>72</sup> From the conquest of Damascus the Saracens proceeded to Heliopolis and Emesa: but I shall decline the repetition of the sallies and combats which have been already shown on a larger scale. In the prosecution of the war, their policy was not less effectual than their sword. By short and separate truces they dissolved the union of the enemy; accustomed the Syrians to compare their friendship with their enmity; familiarised the idea of their language, religion and manners; and exhausted by clandestine purchase, the magazines and arsenals of the cities which they returned to besiege. They aggravated the ransom of the more wealthy, on the more obstinate; and Chalces alone was taxed at five thousand ounces of gold, five thousand ounces of silver, two thousand robes of silk, and as many figs and olives as would load five thousand asses. But the terms of truce or capitulation were faithfully observed; and the lieutenant of the caliph, who had promised not to enter the walls of the captive Baalbec, remained tranquil and immovable in his tent till the jarring factions solicited the interposition of a foreign master. The conquest of the plain and valley of Syria was achieved in less than two years. Yet the commander of the faithful reproved the slowness of their progress; and the Saracens, bewailing their fault with tears of rage and repentance, called aloud on their chiefs to lead them forth to fight the battles of the Lord. In a recent action, under the walls of Emesa, an Arabian youth, the cousin of Calad, was heard aloud to exclaim, "Methinks I see the black-eyed girls looking upon me; one of whom, should she appear in this world, all mankind would die for love of her. And I see in the hand of one of them, an handkerchief of green silk, and a cap of precious stones, and she beckons me, and calls out, Come hither quickly, for I love thee." With these words, charging the Christians, he made havoc wherever he went, till, observed at length by the governor of Hems, he was struck through with a javelin.

67 In the geography of Alfrith, the description of Syria has many omissions, particularly the mountain Libanus. It was published by Brocard and Laroche, Paris, 1760, in quarto, with the learned notes of Bochart and Beza, and some extensive additions by the learned and judicious Mr. de Vossius. Among the moderns, the only books that treat of the East, are the *Journal du Monténier*, &c. &c. by P. Simon, 1761, 8vo. and the *Journal de l'Asie*, &c. &c. by the author, 1762, 8vo. and what he had collected at his bed head.

68 The prince of Damascus, who died in 1700, was a Syrian. See *Notices de l'Asie*, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c. *Geographie Minor*, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c. *Notices de l'Asie*, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c.

69 The Greek name of the country is *Coesyria*, &c. &c. See *Geographie*, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c. *Notices de l'Asie*, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c. *Geographie*, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c.

70 The topography of the Libanus, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c. *Notices de l'Asie*, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c. *Geographie*, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c.

71 The ruins of Baalbec, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c. *Notices de l'Asie*, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c. *Geographie*, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c.

Torribus in celum nitentibus incolis clavis

Græcæque domus, in medioque portico  
Vixit lignum. Libanus tunc in æmulo tangeri,

Libanus tunc in æmulo tangeri,

The exactness of the description of this temple is attested by the Greek and Latin writers, and the Arabic writers. It was mentioned by Eusebius, Eusebius, &c. &c. in the *Journal de l'Asie*, &c. &c. by P. Simon, 1761, 8vo. &c. &c. *Notices de l'Asie*, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c. *Geographie*, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c.

72 The ruins of Baalbec, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c. *Notices de l'Asie*, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c. *Geographie*, &c. &c. by the same author, 1702, 8vo. &c. &c.

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securely choose among the fortified towns of Syria, the first object of their attack. They consulted the caliph whether they should march to Cæsarea or Jerusalem; and the advice of Ali determined the immediate siege of the latter. To a profane eye, Jerusalem was the first or second capital of Palestine; but after Mecca and Medina, it was revered and visited by the devout Moslems, as the temple of the Holy Land which had been sanctified by the revelation of Moses, of Jesus, and of Mahomet himself. The son of Abu Sophian was sent with five thousand Arabs to try the first experiment of surprise or treaty; but on the eleventh day, the town was invested by the whole force of Abu Obeidah. He addressed the customary summons to the chief commanders and people of *Jerusalem*. "Health and happiness," to every one that follows the right way! We "require of you to testify that there is but one "God, and that Mahomet is his apostle. If "you refuse this, consent to pay tribute, and be "under us forthwith. Otherwise I shall bring "men against you who love death better than "you do the drinking of wine or eating hog's "flesh. Nor will I ever stir from you, if it "please God, till I have destroyed those that "fight for you, and made slaves of your chil- "dren." But the city was defended on every side by deep valleys and steep ascents; since the invasion of Syria, the walls and towers had been anxiously restored; the bravest of the fugitives of Yermuk had stopped in the nearest place of refuge; and in the defence of the sepulchre of Christ, the natives and strangers might feel some sparks of the enthusiasm which so fiercely glowed in the bosoms of the Saracens. The siege of Jerusalem lasted four months; not a day was lost without some action of sally or assault; the military engines incessantly played from the ramparts; and the inclemency of the winter was still more painful and destructive to the Arabs. The Christians yielded at length to the perseverance of the besiegers. The patriarch Sophronius appeared on the walls, and by the voice of an interpreter demanded a conference. After a vain attempt to dissuade the lieutenant of the caliph from his impious enterprise, he proposed, in the name of the people, a fair capitulation, with this extraordinary clause, that the articles of security should be ratified by the authority and presence of Omar himself. The question was debated in the council of Medina; the sanctity of the place, and the advice of Ali, persuaded the caliph to gratify the wishes of his soldiers and enemies; and the simplicity of his journey is more illustrious than

the royal pageants of vanity and oppression. The conqueror of Persia and Syria was mounted on a red camel, which carried, besides his person, a bag of corn, a bag of dates, a wooden dish, and a leathern bottle of water. Wherever he halted, the company, without distinction, was invited to partake of his homely fare, and the repast was consecrated by the prayer and exhortation of the commander of the faithful.<sup>80</sup> But in this expedition or pilgrimage, his power was exercised in the administration of justice: he reformed the licentious polygamy of the Arabs, relieved the tributaries from extortion and cruelty, and chastised the luxury of the Saracens, by despoiling them of their rich silks, and dragging them on their faces in the dirt. When he came within sight of Jerusalem, the caliph cried with a loud voice, "God is victorious." O Lord, give us an easy conquest; and, pitching his tent of coarse hair, calmly seated himself on the ground. After signing the capitulation, he entered the city without fear or precaution; and courteously discoursed with the patriarch concerning its religious antiquities.<sup>81</sup> Sophronius bowed before his new master, and secretly muttered, in the words of Daniel, "The abomination of desolation is in the holy place."<sup>82</sup> At the hour of prayer they stood together in the church of the Resurrection; but the caliph refused to perform his devotions, and contented himself with praying on the steps of the church of Constantine. To the patriarch he disclosed his prudent and honourable motive. "Had I yielded," said Omar, "to your request, the Moslems of a future age would have imitated the needy under colour of imitating my example." By his command the ground of the temple of Solomon was prepared for the foundation of a mosque; and, during a residence of ten days, he regulated the present and future state of his Syrian conquests. Medina might be jealous, lest the caliph should be detained by the sanctity of Jerusalem or the beauty of Damascus; her apprehensions were dispelled by his prompt and voluntary return to the tomb of the apostle.<sup>84</sup>

To achieve what yet remained of the Syrian war, the caliph had formed two separate armies; a chosen detachment, under Amrou and Yezid, was left in the camp of Palestine; while the larger division, under the standard of Alu Obaidah and Caled, marched away to the north against Antioch and Aleppo. The latter of these, the Beraa of the Greeks, was not yet illustrious as the capital of a province or a kingdom; and the inhabitants, by anticipating

[illegible]

61. The Arabs boast of an old prophecy preserved in Jerusalem, and denoting the nation, the religion, and the year of their conquest of the city, by such arts the Jews are said to have deceived the pride of their foreign masters, Cyrus and Alexander (Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. x. c. l. 8, p. 347, 349-351).

<sup>92</sup> Το ἔθδελγμα τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου  
ἐστὼς ἐν τοῖσι ἀγίοις. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 261. This pre-

ation, which had already served for Antiochus and the Romans, was again utilized for the production of iron, to the east of Sagunto, in one of the nearest towns of the Monarchia, to other

[illegible]



their submission and pleading their poverty, obtained a moderate composition for their lives and religion. But the castle of Aleppo,<sup>55</sup> distinct from the city, stood erect on a lofty artificial mound: the sides were sharpened to a precipice, and faced with freestone; and the breadth of the ditch might be filled with water from the neighbouring springs. After the loss of three thousand men, the garrison was still equal to the defence; and Youkima, their valiant and hereditary chief, had murdered his brother, an holy monk, for daring to pronounce the name of peace. In a siege of four or five months, the hardest of the Syrian war, great numbers of the Saracens were killed and wounded: their removal to the distance of a mile could not seduce the vigilance of Youkima; nor could the Christians be terrified by the execution of three hundred captives, whom they beheld before the castle wall. The silence, and at length the complaints, of Abu Obeidah informed the caliph that their hope and patience were consumed at the foot of this impregnable fortress. "I am variously affected," replied Omar, "by the difference of your success; but I charge you by no means to raise the siege of the castle. Your retreat would diminish the reputation of our arms, and encourage the infidels to fall upon you on all sides. Remain before Aleppo till God shall determine the event, and forage with your horse round the adjacent country." The exhortation of the commander of the faithful was fortified by a supply of volunteers from all the tribes of Arabia, who arrived in the camp on horses or camels. Among these was Dames, of a servile birth, but of gigantic size, and intrepid resolution. The forty seventh day of his service he proposed, with only thirty men, to make an attempt on the castle. The experience and testimony of Caled recommended his offer; and Abu Obeidah admonished his brethren not to despise the baser origin of Dames, since he himself could he relinquish the public care, would cheerfully serve under the banner of the slave. His design was covered by the appearance of a retreat; and the camp of the Saracens was pitched about a league from Aleppo. The thirty adventurers lay in ambush at the foot of the hill; and Dames at length succeeded in his enquiries, though he was provoked by the ignorance of his Greek captives. "God curse these dogs," said the moderate Arab, "what a strange barbarous language they speak!" At the darkest hour of the night, he scaled the most accessible height, which he had diligently surveyed, a place where the stones were less crumbly, or the slope less perpendicular, or the guard less vigilant. Seven of the stoutest Saracens mounted on each other's shoulders, and the weight of the

column was sustained on the broad and sinewy back of the gigantic slave. The foremost in this painful ascent could grasp and climb the lowest part of the battlements; they silently stabbed and cast down the sentinels; and the thirty brethren, repeating a pious ejaculation, "O apostle of God, help and deliver us!" were successively drawn up by the long folds of their turbans. With bold and cautious footsteps, Dames explored the palace of the governor, who celebrated, in riotous merriment, the festival of his deliverance. From thence returning to his companions, he assaulted on the inside the entrance of the castle. They overpowered the guard, unbolted the gate, let down the drawbridge, and defended the narrow pass, till the arrival of Caled, with the dawn of day, relieved their danger and assured their conquest. Youkima, a formidable foe, became an active and useful proselyte; and the general of the Saracens expressed his regard for the most humble merit, by detaining the army at Aleppo till Dames was cured of his honourable wounds. The capital of Syria was still covered by the castle of Aazaz and the iron bridge of the Orontes. After the loss of those important posts, and the defeat of the last of the Roman armies, the luxury of Antioch<sup>56</sup> trembled and obeyed. Her safety was ransomed with three hundred thousand pieces of gold; but the throne of the successors of Alexander, the seat of the Roman government in the East, which had been decorated by Cesar with the titles of free, and holy, and inviolate, was degraded under the yoke of the caliphs to the secondary rank of a provincial town.<sup>57</sup>

In the life of Heraclius, the glories of the Persian war are clouded on either hand by the disgrace and weakness of his more early and his later days. When the successors of Mahomet unsheathed the sword of war and religion, he was astonished at the boundless prospect of toil and danger; his nature was indolent, nor could the infirm and fagid age of the emperor be kindled to a second effort. The sense of shame, and the importunities of the Syrians, prevented his hasty departure from the scene of action; but the hero was no more; and the loss of Damascus and Jerusalem, the bloody fields of Azzadin and Yarmuk, may be imputed in some degree to the absence or misconduct of the sovereign. Instead of defending the sepulchre of Christ, he involved the church and state in a metaphysical controversy for the unity of his will; and while Heraclius crowned the offspring of his second nuptials, he was tamely stripped of the most valuable part of their inheritance. In the cathedral of Antioch, in the presence of the bishops, at the foot of the crucifix, he bewailed the sins

Flight of Heraclius.  
A. D. 628.

<sup>55</sup> The Persian historian of Tamerlane (vol. i. p. 21, 22) describes the castle of Aleppo as founded on a rock on a steep culcit in height, a prodigy, says the Persian tradition, that he had never seen and the place. It is now at the summit of the city, and is strongly, with a single gate, the circular tower (vol. i. p. 22), and the ditch half full of stagnant water (Vol. i. p. 22). The fortresses of the East are contemptible to an European eye.

<sup>56</sup> The date of the conquest of Antioch by the Arabs is of some importance. By comparing the years of the world in the chronology of Theophanes with the year of a Hebrew in the passage of Eusebius, we shall determine, that the conquest of Antioch was

51. and September 1st of the year of Christ 638 (Theophanes in 1. 1. c. 21. p. 21. c. 22. p. 22. c. 23. p. 23. c. 24. p. 24. c. 25. p. 25. c. 26. p. 26. c. 27. p. 27. c. 28. p. 28. c. 29. p. 29. c. 30. p. 30. c. 31. p. 31. c. 32. p. 32. c. 33. p. 33. c. 34. p. 34. c. 35. p. 35. c. 36. p. 36. c. 37. p. 37. c. 38. p. 38. c. 39. p. 39. c. 40. p. 40. c. 41. p. 41. c. 42. p. 42. c. 43. p. 43. c. 44. p. 44. c. 45. p. 45. c. 46. p. 46. c. 47. p. 47. c. 48. p. 48. c. 49. p. 49. c. 50. p. 50. c. 51. p. 51. c. 52. p. 52. c. 53. p. 53. c. 54. p. 54. c. 55. p. 55. c. 56. p. 56. c. 57. p. 57. c. 58. p. 58. c. 59. p. 59. c. 60. p. 60. c. 61. p. 61. c. 62. p. 62. c. 63. p. 63. c. 64. p. 64. c. 65. p. 65. c. 66. p. 66. c. 67. p. 67. c. 68. p. 68. c. 69. p. 69. c. 70. p. 70. c. 71. p. 71. c. 72. p. 72. c. 73. p. 73. c. 74. p. 74. c. 75. p. 75. c. 76. p. 76. c. 77. p. 77. c. 78. p. 78. c. 79. p. 79. c. 80. p. 80. c. 81. p. 81. c. 82. p. 82. c. 83. p. 83. c. 84. p. 84. c. 85. p. 85. c. 86. p. 86. c. 87. 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of the prince and people; but his confession instructed the world, that it was vain, and perhaps impious, to resist the judgment of God. The Saracens were invincible in fact, since they were invincible in opinion; and the desertion of Yonkina, his false repentance and repeated perfidy, might justify the suspicion of the emperor, that he was encompassed by traitors and apostates, who conspired to betray his person and their country to the enemies of Christ. In the hour of adversity, his superstition was agitated by the omens and dreams of a falling crown; and after bidding an eternal farewell to Syria, he secretly embarked with a few attendants, and absolved the faith of his subjects.<sup>63</sup> Constantine, his eldest son, had been stationed with forty thousand men at Casarea, the civil metropolis of the three provinces of Palestine. But his private interest recalled him to the Byzantine court; and, after the flight of his father, he felt himself an unequal champion to the united force of the caliph. His vanguard was boldly attacked by three hundred Arabs and a thousand black slaves, who, in the depth of winter, had climbed the snowy mountains of Libanus, and who were speedily followed by the victorious squadrons of Calad himself. From the north and south the troops of Antioch and Jerusalem advanced along the sea-shore, till their banners were joined under

the walls of the Phœnician cities ;  
Tripoli and Tyre were betrayed ;  
and a fleet of fifty transports, which entered  
without distrust the captive harbours, brought a  
seasonable supply of arms and provisions to the  
camp of the Saracens. Their labours were ter-  
minated by the unexpected surrender of Cæsa-  
rea : the Roman prince had embarked in the  
night ;<sup>81</sup> and the defenceless citizens solicited  
their pardon with an offering of two hundred  
thousand pieces of gold. The remainder of the  
province, Ramlah, Ptolemais or Acre, Sichem  
or Neapolis, Gaza, Ascalon, Berytus, Sidon,  
Gubala, Ladicie, Apamea, Hierapolis, no  
longer presumed to dispute the will of the  
conqueror ; and Syria bowed under the sceptre  
of the caliphs seven hundred years after Pom-  
pey had despoiled the last of the Macedonian  
kings.<sup>90</sup>

The sieges and battles of six campaigns had consumed many thousands of the Moslems. They died with the reputation and the cheerfulness of martyrs; and the simplicity of their faith may be expressed in the words of an Arabian youth, when he embraced, for the last time, his sister and mother: "It is not," said he, "the delicacies of Syria, or the fading delights of this world, that have prompted me to devote my life in the cause of religion. But I seek the favour of God and his apostle; and I have

"heard, from one of the companions of the prophet, that the spirits of the martyrs will be lodged in the crops of green birds, who shall taste the fruits, and drink of the rivers, of paradise. Farewell, we shall meet again among the groves and fountains which God has provided for his elect." The faithful captives might exercise a passive and more arduous resolution; and a cousin of Mahomet is celebrated for refusing, after an abstinence of three days, the wine and pork, the only nourishment that was allowed by the malice of the infidels. The frailty of some weaker brethren exasperated the implacable spirit of fanaticism; and the father of Amer deplored, in pathetic strains, the apostasy and damnation of a son, who had renounced the promises of God, and the intercession of the prophet, to occupy, with the priests and deacons, the lowest mansions of hell. The more fortunate Arabs, who survived the war, and persevered in the faith, were restrained by their abstemious leader from the abuse of prosperity. After a refreshment of three days, Abu Obeidah withdrew his troops from the pernicious contagion of the luxury of Antioch, and assured the caliph that their religion and virtue could only be preserved by the hard discipline of poverty and labour. But the virtue of Omar, however rigorous to himself, was kind and liberal to his brethren. After a just tribute of praise and thanksgiving, he dropped a tear of compassion; and sitting down on the ground, wrote an answer, in which he mildly censured the severity of his lieutenant: "God," said the successor of the prophet, "has not forbidden the use of the good things of this world to faithful men, and such as have performed good works. Therefore you ought to have given them leave to rest themselves, and partake freely of those good things which the country affords them. If any of the Saracens have no family in Arabia, they may marry in Syria; and whosoever of them wants any female slaves, he may purchase as many as he hath occasion for." The conquerors prepared to use, or to abuse, this gracious permission; but the year of their triumph was marked by a mortality of men and cattle; and twenty-five thousand Saracens were snatched away from the possession of Syria. The death of Abu Obeidah might be lamented by the Christians: but his brethren recollected that he was one of the ten elect whom the prophet had named as the heirs of paradise.<sup>1</sup> Ciled survived his brethren about three years; and the tomb of the Sword of God is shown in the neighbourhood of Emesa. His valour, which founded in Arabia and Syria the empire of the caliphs, was fortified by the opinion of a special providence; and as long as he wore a cap, which had been blessed by Mahomet, he deemed him-

88 See Ockley (vol. 1, p. 708, 512), who laughs at the credulity of his author. When Herodotus had finished his *Saxa Rubra* and *aluminum vale*, he prophesied that the Romans should conquer the province till the birth of an *imperatoris mundi*, the future savior of the empire. Abu'l-kātib, p. 67. I am perfectly ignorant of the mystic value or non-value of the word *aluminum*.

89. In the house of the great king, that is, I mean, of the authentic record for the book of chronicles of the emperor (phyllogentis) which certifies that, the 1st of A.D. 1870, the emperor crowned his successor on Hsiao-shan, in the presence of his illustrious stature, and in the palace of Constantinople, that January 1st of 1870, the royal procession visited the great court, and on the 15th of the same month, the hippodrome.

10. Six to five years before Christ, Santa Pontusque mountain enters into the human series. Volcanism in 5800 years of the former and over the whole of Santa Pontusque, at present, and the use of the sea, does were not only of the same power, but the defects of the population, see the *Annales* collected by Lister, *Annals*, p. 111.

[illegible]

self invulnerable amidst the darts of the infidels.

Progress of  
the Syrian  
conquerors.  
A.D. 639-655.

The place of the first conquerors was supplied by a new generation of their children and countrymen: Syria became the seat and support of the house of Ommyyah; and the revenue, the soldiers, the ships of that powerful kingdom, were consecrated to enlarge on every side the empire of the caliphs. But the Saracens despise a superfluity of fame; and their historians scarcely condescend to mention the subordinate conquests which are lost in the splendour and rapidity of their victorious career. To the north of Syria, they passed mount Taurus, and reduced to their obedience the province of Cilicia, with its capital Tarsus, the ancient monument of the Assyrian kings. Beyond a second ridge of the same mountains, they spread the flame of war, rather than the light of religion, as far as the shores of the Euxine and the neighbourhood of Constantinople. To the east they advanced to the banks and sources of the Euphrates and Tigris;<sup>92</sup> the long-disputed barrier of Rome and Persia was for ever confounded; the walls of Edessa and Amida, of Dura and Nisibis, which had resisted the arms and engines of Sapor or Nushirvan, were levelled in the dust; and the holy city of Abgarus might vainly produce the epistle of the image of Christ to an unbelieving conqueror. To the west, the Syrian kingdom is bounded by the sea; and the ruin of Aradus, a small island or peninsula on the coast, was postponed during ten years. But the hills of Libanus abounded in timber; the trade of Phœnicia was populous in mariners; and a fleet of seventeen hundred barks was equipped and manned by the natives of the desert. The Imperial navy of the Romans fled before them from the Pamphylian rocks to the Hellespont; but the spirit of the emperor, a grandson of Heraclius, had been subdued before the combat by a dream and a pun.<sup>93</sup> The Saracens rode masters of the sea; and the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Cyclades were successively exposed to their rapacious visits. Three hundred years before the Christian era, the memorable though fruitless siege of Rhodes<sup>94</sup> by Demetrius, had furnished that maritime republic with the materials and the subject of a trophy. A gigantic statue of Apollo or the sun, seventy cubits in height, was erected at the entrance of the harbour, a monument of the freedom and the arts of Greece. After standing fifty-six years, the colossus of Rhodes was overthrown by an earthquake; but the massy trunk, and huge fragments, lay scattered eight centuries on the ground, and are

often described as one of the wonders of the ancient world. They were collected by the diligence of the Saracens, and sold to a Jewish merchant of Edessa, who is said to have laden nine hundred camels with the weight of the brass metal, an enormous weight, though we should include the hundred colossal figures,<sup>95</sup> and the three thousand statues, which adorned the prosperity of the city of the sun.

II. The conquest of Egypt may be explained by the character of the victorious Saracen, one of the first of his nation, in an age when the meaneft of the brethren was exalted above his nature by the spirit of enthusiasm. The birth of Amrou was at once base and illustrious; his mother, a notorious prostitute, was unable to decide among five of the Koreish; but the proof of resemblance adjudged the child to Aasi, the oldest of her lovers.<sup>96</sup> The youth of Amrou was impelled by the passions and prejudices of his kindred: his poetic genius was exercised in satirical verses against the person and doctrine of Mahomet; his dexterity was employed by the reigning faction to pursue the religious exiles who had taken refuge in the court of the Æthiopian king.<sup>97</sup> Yet he returned from this embassy, a secret proselyte; his reason or his interest determined him to renounce the worship of idols; he escaped from Mecca with his friend Caled, and the prophet of Medina enjoyed at the same moment the satisfaction of embracing the two firmest champions of his cause. The impatience of Amrou to lead the armies of the faithful was checked by the reproof of Omar, who advised him not to seek power and dominion, since he who is a subject to-day, may be a prince to-morrow. Yet his merit was not overlooked by the two first successors of Mahomet; they were indebted to his arms for the conquest of Palestine; and in all the battles and sieges of Syria, he united with the temper of a chief, the valour of an adventurous soldier. In a visit to Medina, the caliph expressed a wish to survey the sword which had cut down so many Christian warriors; the son of Aasi unsheathed a short and ordinary cimeter; and as he perceived the surprise of Omar, "Alas!" said the modest Saracen, "the sword itself, without the arm of its master, is neither sharper nor more weighty than the sword of Pharezidak the poet."<sup>98</sup> After the conquest of Egypt, he was recalled by the jealousy of the caliph Orhman; but in the subsequent troubles, the ambition of a soldier, a statesman, and an orator, emerged from a private station. His powerful support, both in council and in the field, established the throne of the

E. vrr.  
Character  
and life of  
Amrou.

<sup>92</sup> Al Waki's had likewise written an history of the conquest of Persia, or Mesopotamia (p. 133), in the end of the 8th c., which his interpreters do not appear to have seen. The Chronicle of Theophanes of Mytilene, the last Greek historian, records the taking of Edessa, A.D. 637, and of Dura, A.D. 641. Avasi in Bledet Ozeret, tom. i. p. 107, &c. and the anecdote may give some additional information from the chronicle of Theophanes (p. 287, 287, 287). Most of the towns of Mesopotamia yielded by surrender. Aboupharia, p. 112.

<sup>93</sup> He dreamt that he was at Thebes, and, in a harmless and unmeaning vision, but his wife, or his cousin, understood the omens of a defeat concealed in that man's name, and he was obliged to give to another the victory (Theophanes, p. 286). Zonaras, tom. i. l. xiv. p. 58.

<sup>94</sup> Every passage and every fact that relates to the siege, the city, and the colossus of Rhodes, are compiled in the laborious treatise of Meunier, who has bestowed the same diligence on the two larger

islands of Crete and Cyprus. See in the 1st vol. of his works, the *Revue de Meunier* (l. i. c. 15, p. 715, 716). The Byzantine writers, Theophanes and Constantine, have ignorantly prolonged this term to 1360 years, and ridiculously divide the weight among 200 colossi.

<sup>95</sup> Ceterum colossi nam nobilitatem locum, says Pliny, with his usual spirit. Hist. Natur. lxxv. 18.

<sup>96</sup> We learn this anecdote from a spirited old woman, who related to other tales the caliph and his friends. She was encouraged by the science of Amrou and the liberality of Moawiyah (Abulfada, Annal. Muslim. p. 111).

<sup>97</sup> Ceterum, Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 16, &c. who quotes the Abyssinian history, or romance of Abdal Balides. Yet the fact of the embassy and ambassador may be allowed.

<sup>98</sup> This saying is preserved in Fowok (Not. ad Carmen Tograi, p. 151), and imitated by Mr. Harris. Philosophical Arrangements, p. 350.

Omniades; the administration and revenue of Egypt were restored by the gratitude of Moawiah to a faithful friend who had raised himself above the rank of a subject; and Amrou ended his days in the palace and city which he had founded on the banks of the Nile. His dying speech to his children is celebrated by the Arabians as a model of eloquence and wisdom: he deplored the errors of his youth; but if the penitent was still infected by the vanity of a poet, he might exaggerate the venom and mischief of his invidious compositions.<sup>99</sup>

From his camp, in Palestine, Amrou had surprised or anticipated the caliph's leave for the invasion of Egypt.<sup>100</sup> The magnanimous Omar trusted in his God and his sword, which had shaken the thrones of Chosroes and Casar; but when he compared the slender force of the Moslems with the greatness of the enterprise, he condemned his own rashness, and listened to his timid companions. The pride and the greatness of Pharaoh were familiar to the readers of the Koran; and a tenfold repetition of prodigies had been scarcely sufficient to effect, not the victory, but the flight of six hundred thousand of the children of Israel: the cities of Egypt were many and populous; their architecture was strong and solid; the Nile, with its numerous branches, was alone an insuperable barrier; and the granary of the Imperial city would be obstinately defended by the Roman powers. In this perplexity, the commander of the faithful resigned himself to the decision of chance, or, in his opinion, of Providence. At the head of only four thousand Arabs, the intrepid Amrou had marched away from his station of Gaza when he was overtaken by the messenger of Omar. "If you are still in Syria," said the ambiguous mandate, "retreat without delay; but if at the receipt of this epistle, you have already reached the frontiers of Egypt, advance with confidence, and depend on the succour of God and of your brethren." The experience, perhaps the secret intelligence, of Amrou had taught him to suspect the mutability of courts; and he continued his march till his tents were unquestionably pitched on Egyptian ground. He there assembled his officers, broke the seal, perused the epistle, gravely enquired the name and situation of the place, and declared his ready obedience to the commands of the caliph. After a siege of thirty days, he took possession of Farnah or Pelusium; and that key of Egypt, as it has been justly named, unlocked the entrance of

the country, as far as the ruins of Heliopolis and the neighbourhood of the modern Cairo.

On the western side of the Nile, at a small distance to the east of the pyramids, at a small distance to the south of the Delta, Memphis, one hundred and fifty furlongs in circumference, displayed the magnificence of ancient kings. Under the reign of the Ptolemies and Cæsars, the seat of government was removed to the sea-coast; the ancient capital was eclipsed by the arts and opulence of Alexandria; the palaces, and at length the temples, were reduced to a desolate and ruinous condition; yet in the age of Augustus, and even in that of Constantine, Memphis was still numbered among the greatest and most populous of the provincial cities.<sup>101</sup> The banks of the Nile, in this place of the breadth of three thousand feet, were united by two bridges of sixty and of thirty boats, connected in the middle stream by the small island of Rouda, which was covered with gardens and habitations.<sup>102</sup> The eastern extremity of the bridge was terminated by the town of Babylon and the camp of a Roman legion, which protected the passage of the river and the second capital of Egypt. This important fortress, which might fairly be described as a part of Memphis or *Moraf*, was invested by the arms of the lieutenant of Omar: a reinforcement of four thousand Saracens soon arrived in his camp; and the military engines which battered the walls, may be imputed to the art and labour of his Syrian allies. Yet the siege was protracted to seven months; and the rash invaders were encompassed and threatened by the inundation of the Nile.<sup>103</sup> Their last assault was bold and successful; they passed the ditch, which had been fortified with iron spikes, applied their scaling-ladders, entered the fortress with the shout of "God is victorious!" and drove the remnant of the Greeks to their boats and the isle of Rouda. The spot was afterwards recommended to the conqueror by the easy communication with the gulf and the peninsula of Arabia: the remains of Memphis were deserted; the tents of the Arabs were converted into permanent habitations: and the first mosch was blessed by the presence of fourscore companions of Mahomet.<sup>104</sup> A new city arose in their camp on the eastward bank of the Nile; and the contiguous quarters of Babylon and Fostat are confounded in their present decay by the appellation of old Misrah or Cairo, of which they form an extensive suburb. But the name of Cairo, the town of victory, more strictly belongs to the modern

99 For the life and character of Amrou, see Oakes *l.c.* of the *Sargens*, vol. I, p. 58, 67, 71, 72, 73, 74, and to the *Ch. de* volume, vol. I, p. 58, 71, 72, 73, 74, and to the *Ch. de* *de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tome xxi, p. 171, 172. The records of Tacitus may apply to the *Ch. de* *de l'Académie des Inscriptions* and *de l'Académie des Inscriptions* and *de l'Académie des Inscriptions*. Yet the resemblance is still more in the *Ch. de* *de l'Académie des Inscriptions* and *de l'Académie des Inscriptions*.

separate history of the conservative movement, and his own faith in the original text of the English text.

101 Strabo, an accurate and attentive spectator, observes of Heliopolis, *ἐν τῇ πόλει οὐκ ἔστιν ἱερὸν τι πλὴν τοῦ ἡλίου* (Geograph. 1 v. 11 § 8) but of Memphis he declares, *πρὸς τῇ πόλει μέγα τε καὶ πάλιν ἔστιν ἱερὸν περὶ Ἀφροδίτην* (p. 116 f.), he notices, however, the presence of inhabitants and the ruin of the palaces. In the pro-

Egypt. Ammanus enumerates Memphis among the four cities, *in suis urbibus quibus preceperat* (xxxv 16), and the name of Memphis appears with distinction in the Roman Itinerary and episcopal lists.

102 These are numerous facts, the breadth (2400 feet) and the length of the Nile are to be found in the Danish traveller and the Nile on a grapher p. 183.

103 From 13th month of April, the Nile begins to overflow, to rise, the soil becomes strong and visible in the flood, for the storm season (Plo) that Nubia is 2000 ft. above the sea level, the Nile rises 100 ft. per day of Plo, in 20 days, the water rises 2000 ft. in 20 days, the greatest height of the waters between July 25 and August 15. May list Description of a height, letter 3, p. 171, X. P. K. Description of the East, vol. 1, p. 204. Shaw's Travels, p. 258.

1st Murray's Meroe, Egypt, p 215-219. He separates on the ground water level and humidity of cotton and flax, and his soil tracings have a strong air of truth and accuracy.

capital, which was founded in the tenth century by the Fatimite caliphs.<sup>107</sup> It has gradually receded from the river, but the continuity of buildings may be traced by an attentive eye from the monuments of Sesostris to those of Saladin.<sup>108</sup>

Yet the Arabs, after a glorious and profitable enterprise, must have retreated to the desert, had they not found a powerful alliance in the heart of the country. The rapid conquest of Alexander was assisted by the superstition and revolt of the natives; they abhorred their Persian oppressors, the disciples of the Magi, who had burnt the temples of Egypt, and feasted with sacrilegious appetite on the flesh of the god Apis.<sup>109</sup> After a period of ten centuries the same revolution was renewed by a similar cause; and in the support of an incomprehensible creed, the zeal of the Coptic Christians was equally ardent. I have already explained the origin and progress of the Monophysite controversy, and the persecution of the emperors, which converted a sect into a nation, and alienated Egypt from their religion and government. The Saracens were received as the deliverers of the Jacobite church; and a secret and effectual treaty was opened during the siege of Memphis between a victorious army and a people of slaves. A rich and noble Egyptian, of the name of Mokawkas, had dissembled his faith to obtain the administration of his province; in the disorders of the Persian war he aspired to independence: the embassy of Mahomet ranked him among princes; but he declined, with rich gifts and ambiguous compliments, the proposal of a new religion.<sup>110</sup> The abuse of his trust exposed him to the resentment of Heraclius; his submission was delayed by arrogance and fear; and his conscience was prompted by interest to throw himself on the favour of the nation and the support of the Saracens. In his first conference with Amrou, he heard without indignation the usual option of the Koran, the tribute, or the sword. "The Greeks," replied Mokawkas, "are determined to abide the determination of the sword; but with the Greeks I desire no communion, either in this world or in the next, and I abjure for ever the Byzantine tyrant, his synod of Chalcedon, and his Melchite slaves. For myself and my brethren, we are resolved to live and die in the possession of the Gospel and unity of Christ. It is I appoint for us to embrace the revelations of your prophet; and we are desirous of peace, and cheerfully

"submit to pay tribute and obedience to his temporal successors." The tribute was ascertained at two pieces of gold for the head of every Christian; but old men, monks, women, and children of both sexes, under sixteen years of age, were exempted from this personal assessment: the Copts above and below Memphis swore allegiance to the caliph, and promised an hospitable entertainment of three days to every Musulman who should travel through their country. By this charter of security, the ecclesiastical and civil tyranny of the Melchites was destroyed: the anathemas of St. Cyril were thundered from every pulpit; and the sacred edifices, with the patrimony of the church, were restored to the national communion of the Jacobites, who enjoyed without moderation the moment of triumph and revenge. At the pressing summons of Amrou, their patriarch Benjamin emerged from his desert; and, after the first interview, the courteous Arab affected to declare, that he had never conversed with a Christian priest of more innocent manners and a more venerable aspect.<sup>111</sup> In the march from Memphis to Alexandria the lieutenant of Omar intrusted his safety to the zeal and gratitude of the Egyptians: the roads and bridges were diligently repaired; and in every step of his progress, he could depend on a constant supply of provisions and intelligence. The Greeks of Egypt, whose numbers could scarcely equal a tenth of the natives, were overwhelmed by the universal defection; they had ever been hated, they were no longer feared: the magistrate fled from his tribunal, the bishop from his altar; and the distant garrisons were surprised or starved by the surrounding multitudes. Had not the Nile afforded a safe and ready conveyance to the sea, not an individual could have escaped, who by birth, or language, or office, or religion, was connected with their odious name.

By the retreat of the Greeks from the provinces of Upper Egypt, a considerable force was collected in the island of Delta; the natural and artificial channels of the Nile afforded a succession of strong and defensible posts, and the road to Alexandria was laboriously cleared by the victory of the Saracens in two-and-twenty days of general or partial combat. In their annals of conquest, the siege of Alexandria<sup>112</sup> is perhaps the most arduous and important enterprise. The first trading city in the world was abundantly replenished with the means of subsistence and

<sup>107</sup> D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, vol. i. p. 53. The city situated near the modern Cairo, and now the seat of the Ottoman empire, is not the same as the city of Memphis, which was the capital of Egypt in the time of the Pharaohs, and which was destroyed by the Persians. The city of Memphis, which was the capital of Egypt in the time of the Pharaohs, and which was destroyed by the Persians, is now the seat of the Ottoman empire. The city of Memphis, which was the capital of Egypt in the time of the Pharaohs, and which was destroyed by the Persians, is now the seat of the Ottoman empire.

<sup>108</sup> See Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 27, 28, 29. Euseb. Hist. Var. lib. c. 9. Suidas in Egypt, tom. ii. p. 771. Diodor. Sicul. tom. ii. lib. p. 107. edit. Wesseling. Ταυ Περσικων ημετερονων εις τα ιερα, says the last of these historians.

<sup>109</sup> Mokawkas sent the prophet two Coptic dannels, with two maids, and one eunuch, an alabaster vase, an urn of pure gold, and honey, and the finest white linen of Egypt, with an horse, a mule, and an ass, distinguished by their respective quantities. The embassy

of Mokawkas is detailed from Mahomet in the seventh year of the Hijra (A. D. 628). See Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 275.

<sup>110</sup> The province of Egypt, and the conduct of the war, had been entrusted by Heraclius to the patriarch Cyrus (Theophan. p. 280).

<sup>111</sup> "In Spain," said James II. "do you not consult your priest?" "We do," replied the Catholic ambassador, "and our affairs succeed accordingly." I know not how to relate the pious of Cyrus, of paying tribute without impairing the revenue, and of converting Omar by his marriage with the emperor's daughter (Nicetior. Brevar. p. 172, 183).

<sup>112</sup> The siege of Alexandria is detailed from the annals of the Caliph Omar, and the annals of the Patriarch Benjamin.

The one may, I think, be taken from the annals of the Caliph Omar, and the other from the annals of the Patriarch Benjamin.

defence. Her numerous inhabitants fought for the dearest of human rights, religion and prosperity; and the enmity of the natives seemed to exclude them from the common benefit of peace and toleration. The sea was continually open; and if Heraclius had been awake to the public distress, fresh armies of Romans and barbarians might have been poured into the harbour to save the second capital of the empire. A circumference of ten miles would have scattered the forces of the Greeks, and favoured the stratagems of an active enemy; but the two sides of an oblong square were covered by the sea and the lake Mariæotis, and each of the narrow ends exposed a front of no more than ten furlongs. The efforts of the Arabs were not inadequate to the difficulty of the attempt and the value of the prize. From the throne of Medina, the eyes of Omar were fixed on the camp and city; his voice excited to arms the Arabian tribes and the veterans of Syria; and the merit of an holy war was recommended by the peculiar fame and fertility of Egypt. Anxious for the ruin or expulsion of their tyrants, the faithful natives devoted their labours to the service of Amrou; some sparks of martial spirit were perhaps rekindled by the example of their allies; and the sanguine hopes of Mokawkas had fixed his sepulchre in the church of St. John of Alexandria. Eutychius the patriarch observes that the Saracens fought with the courage of lions; they repulsed the frequent and almost daily sallies of the besieged, and soon assaulted in their turn the walls and towers of the city. In every attack, the sword, the banner of Amrou, glittered in the van of the Moslems. On a memorable day, he was betrayed by his imprudent valour: his followers who had entered the citadel were driven back; and the general, with a friend and a slave, remained a prisoner in the hands of the Christians. When Amrou was conducted before the prefect, he remembered his dignity, and forgot his situation; a lofty demeanour, and resolute language, revealed the lieutenant of the caliph, and the battle-axe of a soldier was already raised to strike off the head of the audacious captive. His life was saved by the readiness of his slave, who instantly gave his master a blow on the face, and commanded him, with an angry tone, to be silent in the presence of his superiors. The credulous Greek was deceived; he listened to the offer of a treaty, and his prisoners were dismissed in the hope of a more respectable embassy, till the joyful acclamations of the camp announced the return of their general, and insulted the folly of the infidels. At length, after a siege of fourteen months,<sup>112</sup> and the loss of three and twenty thousand men, the Saracens prevailed; the Greeks embarked their dispirited

and di-vised numbers, and the standard of Mahomet was planted on the walls of the capital of Egypt. "I have taken," said Amrou to the caliph, "the great city of the West. It is impossible for me to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty; and I shall content myself with observing, that it contains four thousand palaces, four thousand baths, four hundred theatres or places of amusement, twelve thousand shops for the sale of vegetable food, and forty thousand tributary Jews. The town has been subdued by force of arms, without treaty or capitulation, and the Moslems are impatient to seize the fruits of their victory."<sup>13</sup> The commander of the faithful rejected with firmness the idea of pillage, and directed his lieutenant to reserve the wealth and revenue of Alexandria for the public service and the propagation of the faith: the inhabitants were numbered; a tribute was imposed; the zeal and resentment of the Jacobites were curbed, and the Melchites who submitted to the Arabian yoke were indulged in the obscure, but tranquil, exercise of their worship. The intelligence of this disgraceful and calamitous event afflicted the declining health of the emperor; and Heraclius died of a dropsy about seven weeks after the loss of Alexandria.<sup>14</sup> Under the minority of his grandson, the clamours of a people, deprived of their daily sustenance, compelled the Byzantine court to undertake the recovery of the capital of Egypt. In the space of four years, the harbour and fortifications of Alexandria were twice occupied by a fleet and army of Romans. They were twice expelled by the valour of Amrou, who was recalled by the domestic peril from the distant wars of Tripoli and Nubia. But the facility of the attempt, the repetition of the insult, and the obstinacy of the resistance, provoked him to swear, that if a third time he drove the infidels into the sea, he would render Alexandria as accessible on all sides as the house of a prostitute. Faithful to his promise, he dismantled several parts of the walls and towers, but the people were spared in the chastisement of the city, and the mosque of *Merey* was erected on the spot where the victorious general had stopped the fury of his troops.

I should deceive the expectation of the reader, if I passed in silence the fate of the Alexandrian library, as described by the learned Abulpharagius. The spirit of Amrön was more curious and liberal than that of his brethren, and in his leisure hours the Arabian chieft was pleased with the conversation of John, the last disciple of Ammonius, and who derived the surname of *Philoponus* from his laborious studies of grammar and philosophy.<sup>115</sup> Emboldened by this fami-

112 Both Futchus (Annal. fort. u. p. 319.) and Elmacin H. S. Saracen p. 2.) connect, in fixing the taking of Alexandria to Friday of the 10th month of Moharrum of the second year of the Hegira (the number 22, A. D. 610). It is now going backward, for it is not spent before Alexandria, seven months before Babylon. See Amir a night here assured, p. 65. But we are Bayn, 16th of June ran apud Renaudot.

X. of France, visited at Pelusium, or Damietta, during the season of the inundation of the Nile

113 Eutych. *Annal.* tom. ii. p. 316. 719  
114 Notwithstanding some inconsistencies of Theophrastus and Ce-

Genus, the nucleus, of *Egg Hatched*, term p. 544) has extracted from Nephelium and the Chromon or Chromone the true dye of the north of America, January 11th, A.D. 1814, 16 days after the loss of Alexandria. A fourth of that time was sufficient to convey the vital force.

115. Many treatises of this 'love of labour' (*phobos*) are still extant. But for readers of the present age, the primary reference point is the chief chapter of his very last commentary, one in which he defines *phobos* as *Mania*. John D. Leach, 'Plato's *Mania* and the *Phobos*' (*Classical Quarterly*, 1967), was the first to place *phobos* in this context, and his study was followed by Philipinos in diligence, and far more in good sense and real knowledge.

liar intercourse, Philoponus presumed to solicit a gift, inestimable in *his* opinion, contemptible in that of the barbarians; the royal library, which alone, among the spoils of Alexandria, had not been appropriated by the visit and the seal of the conqueror. Amrou was inclined to gratify the wish of the grammarian, but his rigid integrity refused to alienate the minutest object without the consent of the caliph; and the well-known answer of Omar was inspired by the ignorance of a fanatic. "If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless and need not be preserved. if they disagree, they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed." The sentence was executed with blind obedience: the volumes of paper or parchment were distributed to the four thousand baths of the city; and such was their incredible multitude, that six months were barely sufficient for the consumption of this precious fuel. Since the Dynasties of Abulpharagius,<sup>116</sup> have been given to the world in a Latin version, the tale has been repeatedly transcribed; and every scholar, with pious indignation, has deplored the irreparable shipwreck of the learning, the arts, and the genius, of antiquity. For my own part, I am strongly tempted to deny both the fact and the consequences. The fact is indeed marvellous; "Read and wonder!" says the historian himself: and the solitary report of a stranger who wrote at the end of six hundred years on the confines of Media, is overbalanced by the silence of two annalists of a more early date, both Christians, both natives of Egypt, and the most ancient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius, has amply described the conquest of Alexandria.<sup>117</sup> The rigid sentence of Omar is repugnant to the sound and orthodox precept of the Mahometan casuists: they expressly declare, that the religious books of the Jews and Christians, which are acquired by the right of war, should never be committed to the flames; and that the works of profane science, historians or poets, physicians or philosophers, may be lawfully applied to the use of the faithful.<sup>118</sup> A more destructive zeal may perhaps be attributed to the first successors of Mahomet; yet in this instance, the conflagration would have speedily expired in the deficiency of materials. I shall not recapitulate the disasters of the Alexandrian library, the involuntary flame that was kindled by Cæsar in his own defence,<sup>119</sup> or the mischievous bigotry of the Christians who studied to destroy the monuments of idolatry.<sup>120</sup> But if we gradually descend from the age of the

Antonines to that of Theodosius, we shall learn from a chain of contemporary witnesses, that the royal palace and the temple of Serapis no longer contained the four, or the seven, hundred thousand volumes, which had been assembled by the curiosity and magnificence of the Ptolemies.<sup>121</sup> Perhaps the church and seat of the patriarchs might be enriched with a repository of books; but if the ponderous mass of Arian and Monophysite controversy were indeed consumed in the public baths,<sup>122</sup> a philosopher may allow, with a smile, that it was ultimately devoted to the benefit of mankind. I sincerely regret the more valuable libraries which have been involved in the ruin of the Roman empire; but when I seriously compute the lapse of ages, the waste of ignorance, and the calamities of war, our treasures, rather than our losses, are the object of my surprise. Many curious and interesting facts are buried in oblivion; the three great historians of Rome have been transmitted to our hands in a mutilated state, and we are deprived of many pleasing compositions of the lyric, iambic, and dramatic poetry of the Greeks. Yet we should gratefully remember, that the mischances of time and accident have spared the classic works to which the suffrage of antiquity<sup>123</sup> had adjudged the first place of genius and glory: the teachers of ancient knowledge, who are still extant, had perused and compared the writings of their predecessors;<sup>124</sup> nor can it fairly be presumed that any important truth, any useful discovery in art or nature, has been snatched away from the curiosity of modern ages.

In the administration of Egypt,<sup>125</sup> Amrou balanced the demands of justice and policy; the interest of the people of the law, who were defended by God; and of the people of the alliance, who were protected by man. In the recent tumult of conquest and deliverance, the tongue of the Copts and the sword of the Arabs were most adverse to the tranquillity of the province. To the former, Amrou declared, that faction and falsehood would be doubly chastised; by the punishment of the accusers, whom he should detest as his personal enemies, and by the promotion of their innocent brethren, whom their envy had laboured to injure and supplant. He excited the latter by the motives of religion and honour to sustain the dignity of their character, to endure themselves by a modest and temperate conduct to God and the caliph, to spare and protect a people who had trusted to their faith, and to content themselves with the legitimate and splendid

<sup>116</sup> Abulpharag. Denest. p. 114. vers. Boce & Avid. quid factum sit et mirum. It would be endless to enumerate the reasons who have wondered, and believe it, but I must disengage with it our rational scepticism of the author (Hist. Alex. Baruch. p. 170) history . . . habet digni . . . et adhibere tamque est.

<sup>117</sup> This curious anecdote will be vainly sought in the annals of Eutychius, and the Syrian history of Phocas. The silence of Abulpharagius, and the road of Moslems, is less conclusive from their ignorance of Christian literature.

<sup>118</sup> See Reland, de Jure Muslim. Mohammedanorum, in his volume of Dissertations, p. 17. The reason for not burning the religious books of the Jews or Christians, is derived from the respect that is due to the name of God.

<sup>119</sup> Consult the collections of Frenschem (Supplement. Turc. c. 12. 13.) and Fisher (Annal. p. 469). Lys himself had styled the

and the words of Ammianus are remarkably strong: fuerunt bibliotheca innumerabiles; et loquatur monumentorum veterum concinnis filis, &c.

<sup>122</sup> Renaud answers for versions of the Bible, Hexapla, *Curia Patrum*, Commentaries, &c. (p. 170). Our Alexandrian MS. it came from Egypt, and not from Constantinople or Mount Athos (Wetstein, Prolegom. ad N. T. p. 8, &c.) might possibly be among them.

<sup>123</sup> I have often perused with pleasure a chapter of Quintilian (*Instit. Orator.* x. 1), in which that judicious critic enumerates and approximates the series of Greek and Latin Classics.

<sup>124</sup> I have often perused with pleasure a chapter of Quintilian (*Instit. Orator.* x. 1), in which that judicious critic enumerates and approximates the series of Greek and Latin Classics.

<sup>125</sup> This curious and authentic intelligence of Muradî (p. 241—253) has not been discovered either by Mr. Ockley, or by the sufficient compilers of the Modern Universal History.

rewards of their victory. In the management of the revenue he disapproved the simple but oppressive mode of a capitation, and preferred with reason a proportion of taxes, deducted on every branch from the clear profits of agriculture and commerce. A third part of the tribute was appropriated to the annual repairs of the dykes and canals, so essential to the public welfare. Under his administration the fertility of Egypt supplied the dearth of Arabia; and a string of camels, laden with corn and provisions, covered almost without an interval the long road from Memphis to Medina.<sup>126</sup> But the genius of Amrou soon renewed the maritime communication which had been attempted or achieved by the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, or the Cæsars; and a canal, at least eighty miles in length, was opened from the Nile to the Red Sea. This inland navigation, which would have joined the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, was soon discontinued as useless and dangerous: the throne was removed from Medina to Damascus, and the Grecian fleets might have explored a passage to the holy cities of Arabia.<sup>127</sup>

Of his new conquest, the caliph Riches and populousness. Omar had an imperfect knowledge from the voice of fame and the legends of the Koran. He requested that his lieutenant would place before his eyes the realm of Pharaoh and the Amalekites; and the answer of Amrou exhibits a lively and not unfaithful picture of that singular country.<sup>128</sup> "O commander of the faithful, Egypt is a compound of black earth and green plants, between a pulverised mountain and a red sand. The distance from Syene to the sea is a month's journey for an horseman. Along the valley descends a river, on which the blessing of the Most High reposes both in the evening and morning, and which rises and falls with the revolutions of the sun and moon. When the annual dispensation of Providence unlocks the springs and fountains that nourish the earth, the Nile rolls his swelling and sounding waters through the realm of Egypt: the fields are overspread by the salutary flood; and the villages communicate with each other in their painted barks. The retreat of the inundation deposits a fertilising mud for the reception of the various

"seeds: the crowds of husbandmen who blacken the land may be compared to a swarm of industrious ants; and their native indolence is quickened by the lash of the task-master, and the promise of the flowers and fruits of a plentiful increase. Their hope is seldom deceived; but the riches which they extract from the wheat, the barley, and the rice, the legumes, the fruit-trees, and the cattle, are unequally shared between those who labour and those who possess. According to the vicissitudes of the seasons, the face of the country is adorned with a silver wave, a verdant emerald, and the deep yellow of a golden harvest."<sup>129</sup> Yet this beneficial order is sometimes interrupted; and the long delay and sudden swell of the river in the first year of the conquest might afford some colour to an edifying fable. It is said, that the annual sacrifice of a virgin<sup>130</sup> had been interdicted by the piety of Omar; and that the Nile lay sullen and inactive in his shallow bed, till the mandate of the caliph was cast into the obedient stream, which rose in a single night to the height of sixteen cubits. The admiration of the Arabs for their new conquest encouraged the licence of their romantic spirit. We may read, in the gravest authors, that Egypt was crowded with twenty thousand cities or villages;<sup>131</sup> that, exclusive of the Greeks and Arabs, the Copts alone were found, on the assessment, six millions of tributary subjects,<sup>132</sup> or twenty millions of either sex, and of every age: that three hundred millions of gold or silver were annually paid to the treasury of the caliph.<sup>133</sup> Our reason must be startled by these extravagant assertions; and they will become more palpable, if we assume the compass and measure the extent of habitable ground: a valley from the tropic to Memphis, seldom broader than twelve miles, and the triangle of the Delta, a flat surface of two thousand one hundred square leagues, compose a twelfth part of the magnitude of France.<sup>134</sup> A more accurate research will justify a more reasonable estimate. The three hundred millions, created by the error of a scribe, are reduced to the decent revenue of four millions three hundred thousand pieces of gold, of which nine hundred thousand were consumed by the pay of the soldiers.<sup>135</sup> Two

<sup>126</sup> Eutychius, *Annal.* tom. ii. p. 320. Elmacin, *Hist. Saracen.* p. 35.

<sup>127</sup> On these obscure canals, the reader may try to satisfy himself from D'Anville (*Mém. sur l'Égypte*, p. 108–110, 124, 132), and a learned thesis maintained and printed at Strasbourg in the year 1750 (*Fundamenta antiquæ hydraulice ægyptiæ*, p. 70–72, 84–85). Even the supine Turks have agitated the old project of joining the two seas (*Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, tom. iv.).

<sup>128</sup> A small volume, des Merveilles, &c. de l'Égypte, composed in

phy of his native country (see the correspondence of Amrou and Omar, p. 279–281).

<sup>129</sup> In a twenty years' residence at Cairo, the consul Maillet had contemplated that varying scene, the Nile drest in particular p. 71, 75; the fertility of the land (livre x.). From a collector at Iambou, the poetic eye of Gray had seen the same objects, with a keener glance.

What wonder in the sultry climes that spread,  
Where Nile, redundant o'er his summer bed,  
From his broad bosom life and verdure hurles,  
And broods o'er Egypt with his wat'ry wings.

<sup>130</sup> Mu-  
huns' sacrifice under the Christian emperors, or a miracle of the  
sire-sons of Mahomet.

<sup>131</sup> Maillet, *Description de l'Égypte*, p. 22. He mentions this number as the common opinion; and adds, that the greatness of these vil-

lages contain two or three thousand persons, and that many of them are more populous than our large cities.

<sup>132</sup> Eutych. *Annal.* tom. ii. p. 308, 311. The twenty millions are computed from the following data. one twelfth of mankind above sixty, one third below sixty, the proportion of men to women as seven to sixteen (*Recherches sur la Population de la France*, p. 71, 72). The president Giquet (*Origine des Arts*, &c. tom. i. p. 26, &c.) bestows twenty-seven millions on ancient Egypt, because the seventeen hundred companions of Sesostri were born on the same day.

<sup>133</sup> *Hist. Saracen.* p. 915. and this gross lump is swelled (Biblioth. orient. p. 1071), *Arab.* p. 262, and *De Ganges* (*Hist.* night allege the not less extravagant of the Ptolemies (in præfix) of seventy-four myriads, 740,000 talents, an annual income of 187, or near 300 millions of pounds sterling, according as we reckon by the Egyptian or the Alexandrian talent (Harnack *de Ponderibus Antiq.* p. 136).

<sup>134</sup> See the measurement of D'Anville (*Mém. sur l'Égypte*, p. 25, &c.). After some peevish cavils, M. Fawc (Recherches sur les Égyptiens, tom. i. p. 115–121) can only enlarge his reckoning to 2250 square leagues.

<sup>135</sup> Harnack, *op. cit.* II. *Part. Arch. Alexand.* p. 574, who calls the common reading or version of Eutychius, *error* Harnack. His own emendation of 1,700,000 talents, in the seventh century, is maintained by a probable medium between the 2,000,000 which the *Præfix* has copied by the conquest of Egypt (tom. i. p. 136), and the 2,500,000 which the sultan of Constantinople copied on the first century (tom. i. p. 136, tom. i. p. 137). These estimates put in the scale of the Ptolemies, and the Cæsars, have only a fifteen hundred talents and a crown.



authentic lists, of the present and of the twelfth century, are circumscribed within the respectable number of two thousand seven hundred villages and towns.<sup>136</sup> After a long residence at Cairo, a French consul has ventured to assign about four millions of Mahometans, Christians, and Jews, for the ample, though not incredible, scope of the population of Egypt.<sup>137</sup>

IV. The conquest of Africa, from the Nile to the Atlantic Ocean,<sup>138</sup> was first attempted by the arms of the caliph Othman. The pious design was approved by the companions of Mahomet and the chiefs of the tribes; and twenty thousand Arabs marched from Medina with the gifts and the blessing of the commander of the faithful. They were joined in the camp of Memphis by twenty thousand of their countrymen; and the conduct of the war was intrusted to Abdallah,<sup>139</sup> the son of Said and the foster-brother of the caliph, who had lately supplanted the conqueror and lieutenant of Egypt. Yet the favour of the prince, and the merit of his favourite, could not obliterate the guilt of his apostasy. The early conversion of Abdallah, and his skilful pen, had recommended him to the important office of transcribing the sheets of the Koran: he betrayed his trust, corrupted the text, derided the errors which he had made, and fled to Mecca to escape the justice, and expose the ignorance, of the apostle. After the conquest of Mecca, he fell prostrate at the feet of Mahomet: his tears, and the entreaties of Othman, extorted a reluctant pardon; but the prophet declared that he had so long hesitated, to allow time for some zealous disciple to avenge his injury in the blood of the apostate. With apparent fidelity and effective merit, he served the religion which it was no longer his interest to desert: his birth and talents gave him an honourable rank among the Koreish; and, in a nation of cavalry, Abdallah was renowned as the boldest and most dexterous horseman of Arabia. At the head of forty thousand Moslems, he advanced from Egypt into the unknown countries of the West. The sands of Barca might be impervious to a Roman legion; but the Arabs were attended by their faithful camels; and the natives of the desert beheld without terror the familiar aspect of the soil and climate. After a painful march, they pitched their tents before the walls of Tripoli,<sup>140</sup> a maritime city in which the *nume*, the wealth, and the inhabitants, of the province had gradually centered, and which now maintains the third rank among the states of Barbary. A reinforcement of Greeks was surprised and cut

in pieces on the sea-shore; but the fortifications of Tripoli resisted the first assaults; and the Saracens were tempted by the approach of the prefect Gregory<sup>141</sup> to relinquish the labours of the siege for the perils and the hopes of a decisive action. If his standard was followed by one hundred and twenty thousand men, the regular bands of the empire must have been lost in the naked and disorderly crowd of Africans and Moors, who formed the strength, or rather the numbers, of his host. He rejected with indignation the option of the Koran or the tribute; and during several days, the two armies were fiercely engaged from the dawn of light to the hour of noon, when their fatigue and the excessive heat compelled them to seek shelter and refreshment in their respective camps. The daughter of Gregory, a maid of incomparable beauty and spirit, is said to have fought by his side; from her earliest youth she was trained to mount on horseback, to draw the bow, and to wield the cineter; and the richness of her arms and apparel was conspicuous in the foremost ranks of the battle. Her hand, with an hundred thousand pieces of gold, was offered for the head of the Arabian general, and the youths of Africa were excited by the prospect of the glorious prize. At the pressing solicitation of his brethren, Abdallah withdrew his person from the field; but the Saracens were discouraged by the retreat of their leader, and the repetition of these equal or unsuccessful conflicts.

A noble Arabian, who afterwards became the adversary of Ali, and the father of a caliph, had signalled his valour in Egypt, and Zobeir<sup>142</sup> was the first who planted a scaling-ladder against the walls of Babylon. In the African war he was detached from the standard of Abdallah. On the news of the battle, Zobeir, with twelve companions, cut his way through the camp of the Greeks, and pressed forwards, without tasting either food or repose, to partake of the dangers of his brethren. He cast his eyes round the field: "Where," said he, "is our general?" "In his tent." "Is the tent a station for the general of the Moslems?" Abdallah represented with a blush the importance of his own life, and the temptation that was held forth by the Roman prefect. "Retort," said Zobeir, "on the infidels their ungenerous attempt. Proclaim through the ranks, that the head of Gregory shall be repaid with his captive daughter, and the equal sum of one hundred thousand pieces of gold." To the courage and discretion of Zobeir the lieutenant

The prefect Gregory and his daughter.

Victory of the Arabs.

historians who are quoted, narrative of a soldier who

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of the caliph intrusted the execution of his own stratagem, which inclined the long-disputed balance in favour of the Saracens. Supplying by activity and artifice the deficiency of numbers, a part of their forces lay concealed in their tents, while the remainder prolonged an irregular skirmish with the enemy, till the sun was high in the heavens. On both sides they retired with fainting steps: their horses were unbridled, their armour was laid aside, and the hostile nation prepared, or seemed to prepare, for the refreshment of the evening, and the encounter of the ensuing day. On a sudden the charge was sounded; the Arabian camp poured forth a swarm of fresh and intrepid warriors; and the long line of the Greeks and Africans was surprised, assaulted, overturned, by new squadrons of the faithful, who, to the eye of fanaticism, might appear as a band of angels descending from the sky. The prefect himself was slain by the hand of Zobeir: his daughter, who sought revenge and death, was surrounded and made prisoner; and the fugitives involved in their disaster the town of Sufetula, to which they escaped from the sabres and lances of the Arabs. Sufetula was built one hundred and fifty miles to the south of Carthage: a gentle declivity is watered by a running stream, and shaded by a grove of juniper trees; and, in the ruins of a triumphal arch, a portico, and three temples of the Corinthian order, curiosity may yet admire the magnificence of the Romans.<sup>143</sup> After the fall of this opulent city, the provincials and barbarians implored on all sides the mercy of the conqueror. His vanity or his zeal might be flattered by offers of tribute or professions of faith: but his losses, his fatigues, and the progress of an epidemical disease, prevented a solid establishment; and the Saracens, after a campaign of fifteen months, retreated to the confines of Egypt, with the captives and the wealth of their African expedition. The caliph's fifth was granted to a favourite, on the nominal payment of five hundred thousand pieces of gold;<sup>144</sup> but the state was doubly injured by this fallacious transaction, if each foot-soldier had shared one thousand, and each horseman three thousand, pieces, in the real division of the plunder. The author of the death of Gregory was expected to have claimed the most precious reward of the victory: from his silence it might be presumed that he had fallen in the battle, till the tears and exclamations of the prefect's daughter at the sight of Zobeir revealed the valour and modesty of that gallant soldier. The unfortunate virgin was offered, and almost rejected as a slave, by her father's murderer, who coolly declared that his sword was consecrated to the service of religion; and that he laboured for a recompence far above the charms of mortal beauty, or the

riches of this transitory life. A reward congenial to his temper, was the honourable commission of announcing to the caliph Othman the success of his aims. The companions, the chiefs, and the people, were assembled in the mosch of Medina, to hear the interesting narrative of Zobeir;<sup>2</sup> and, as the orator forgot nothing except the merit of his own counsels and actions, the name of Abdallah was joined by the Arabians with the heroic names of Caled and Amrou.<sup>1-3</sup>

The western conquests of the Saracens were suspended near twenty years, till their disensions were composed by the establishment of the house of Ommyyah; and the caliph Moawiyah was invited by the cries of the Africans themselves. The successors of Henuclius had been informed of the tribute which they had been compelled to stipulate with the Arabs; but instead of being moved to pity and relieve their distress, they imposed, as an equivalent or a fine, a second tribute of a similar amount. The ears of the Byzantine ministers were shut against the complaints of their poverty and ruin - their despair was reduced to prefer the dominion of a single master; and the extortions of the patriarch of Carthage, who was invested with civil and military power, provoked the sectaries, and even the Catholics, of the Roman province to abjure the religion as well as the authority of their tyrants. The first lieutenant of Moawiyah acquired a just renown, subdued an important city, defeated an army of thirty thousand Greeks, swept away fourscore thousand captives, and enriched with their spoils the bold adventurers of Syria and Egypt.<sup>146</sup> But the title of Conqueror of Africa is more justly due to his successor Akbah. He marched from Damascus at the head of ten thousand of the bravest Arabs; and the genuine force of the Moslems was enlarged by the doubtful aid and conversion of many thousand barbarians. It would be difficult, nor is it necessary, to trace the accurate line of the progress of Akbah. The interior regions have been peopled by the Orientals with fictitious armies and imaginary citadels. In the warlike province of Zab, or Numidia, four-score thousand of the natives might assemble in arms; but the number of three hundred and sixty towns is incompatible with the ignorance or decay of husbandry;<sup>147</sup> and a circumference of three leagues will not be justified by the ruins of Erbe or Lambesa, the ancient metropolis of that inland country. As we approach the sea-coast, the well-known cities of Bugia<sup>148</sup> and Tangier<sup>149</sup> define the more certain limits of the Saracen victories. A remnant of trade still adheres to the commodious harbour of Bugia, which, in a more prosperous age, is said to have contained about twenty thousand houses; and the plenty of iron

115 Shaw's *Travel*, p. 138, 112

144 *Mimosa emiliae*, says Alcantara, and Lee, of mixed nature, quandoquidam of Othman, and its name seems extremely curious. *latos arario praedicti* (Mimosa) p. 75. The word in the cloudy version, p. 79) seems to report the same sort. When the Arifs besieged the palace of Othman, it stood high in their catalogue of grievances.

11. Η ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ ΤΩ ΑΦΩΝΙ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΜΕΣΙΟΝ ΤΩ  
 ΠΑΡΩΝ ΓΡΗΓΩΡΙΩ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΤΕ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΣΕΙΣΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ  
 ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑΤΕ ΦΩΤΙΣΜΕΝΩΝ ΑΦΩΝΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. Theophr. Chr-  
 nograph. p. 285 edit. Pagn. His chronogr. is based on the 1440  
 116. Theophanes in Chronogr. p. 285 inserts the word *remains*

[illegible][illegible]

118 *Le Africain* (1901), 18. See, for example, Marchal, *loc. cit.* p. 113.  
Shaw, p. 47.

which is dug from the adjacent mountains might have supplied a braver people with the instruments of defence. The remote position and venerable antiquity of Tingi, or Tangier, have been decorated by the Greek and Arabian fables; but the figurative expressions of the latter, that the walls were constructed of brass, and that the roofs were covered with gold and silver, may be interpreted as the emblems of strength and opulence. The province of Mauritania Tingitana,<sup>150</sup> which assumed the name of the capital, had been imperfectly discovered and settled by the Romans; the five colonies were confined to a narrow pale, and the more southern parts were seldom explored except by the agents of luxury, who searched the forests for ivory and the citron-wood,<sup>151</sup> and the shores of the ocean for the purple shell-fish. The fearless Akbah plunged into the heart of the country, traversed the wilderness in which his successors erected the splendid capitals of Fez and Morocco,<sup>152</sup> and at length penetrated to the verge of the Atlantic and the Great Desert. The river Sus descends from the western sides of Mount Atlas, fertilises, like the Nile, the adjacent soil, and falls into the sea at a moderate distance from the Canary, or Fortunæ, islands. Its banks were inhabited by the lust of the Moors, a race of savages, without laws, or discipline, or religion: they were astonished by the strange and irresistible terrors of the Oriental arms; and as they possessed neither gold nor silver, the richest spoil was the beauty of the female captives, some of whom were afterwards sold for a thousand pieces of gold. The career, though not the zeal, of Akbah was checked by the prospect of a boundless ocean. He spurred his horse into the waves, and raising his eyes to heaven, exclaimed with the tone of a fanatic, "Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on, to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than thee."<sup>153</sup> Yet this Mahometan Alexander, who sighed for new worlds, was unable to preserve his recent conquests. By the universal defection of the Greeks and Africans, he was recalled from the shores of the Atlantic, and the surrounding multitudes left him only the resource of an honourable death. The last scene was dignified by an example of national virtue. An ambitious chief, who had disputed the command, and failed in the attempt, was led about as a prisoner in the camp of the Arabian general. The

insurgents had trusted to his discontent and revenge; he disdained their offers, and revealed their designs. In the hour of danger, the grateful Akbah unlocked his fetters, and advised him to retire; he chose to die under the banner of his rival. Embracing as friends and martyrs, they unshathed their cineters, broke their scabbards, and maintained an obstinate combat, till they fell by each other's side on the last of their slaughtered countrymen. The third general or governor of Africa, Zuheir, avenged and encountered the fate of his predecessor. He vanquished the natives in many battles; he was overthrown by a powerful army, which Constantinople had sent to the relief of Carthage.

It had been the frequent practice of the Moorish tribes to join the invaders, to share the plunder, to profess the faith, and to revolt to their savage state of independence and idolatry, on the first retreat or misfortune of the Moslems. The prudence of Akbah had proposed to found an Arabian colony in the heart of Africa; a citadel that might curb the levity of the barbarians, a place of refuge to secure, against the accidents of war, the wealth and the families of the Saracens. With this view, and under the modest title of the station of a caravan, he planted this colony in the fiftieth year of the Hegira. In its present decay, Cairoan<sup>154</sup> still holds the second rank in the kingdom of Tunis, from which it is distant about fifty miles to the south;<sup>155</sup> its inland situation, twelve miles westward of the sea, has protected the city from the Greek and Sicilian fleets. When the wild beasts and serpents were extirpated, when the forest, or rather wilderness, was cleared, the vestiges of a Roman town were discovered in a sandy plain: the vegetable food of Cairoan is brought from afar; and the scarcity of springs constrains the inhabitants to collect in cisterns and reservoirs a precarious supply of rain water. These obstacles were subdued by the industry of Akbah; he traced a circumference of three thousand and six hundred paces, which he encompassed with a brick wall; in the space of five years, the governor's palace was surrounded with a sufficient number of private habitations; a spacious mosque was supported by five hundred columns of granite, porphyry, and Numidian marble; and Cairoan became the seat of learning as well as of empire. But these were the glories of a later age; the new colony was shaken by the successive defeats of Akbah and Zuheir, and the western expeditions were

Founded on  
Cairoan.  
A. D. 670-673.

<sup>150</sup> Regio Ienobilis, et vix quicquam phœne sortitis, parvis opprobriis, parva limina emittit, solusque maris aëre et oceano gentis occurrat. Pomponius Mela, l. v. c. 10. Mela deserves the credit of first geography was, not only at the present violent criticism, one of the first reductions of that country by the emperor Claudius, was not at thirty years afterwards, Pliny (Hist. Nat. v. l.) complains of his nation, too busy to enquire, too proud to confess their ignorance of that wild and remote province.

<sup>151</sup> The foolish fashion of this nation used prevailed at Rome among the men, as it is the case in Persia among the women. A round board or table, four or five feet in diameter, sold for the price of an estate. Attifandi taxabant, eight, ten, or twelve thousand pounds sterling (Plin. Hist. Natur. xii. 24). I confess that I must not confound the tree citrea, with that of the fruit citrea. But I am not botanist enough to define the former (it is like the wild orange) by the vulgar or Linnaean name, nor will I decide whether the citrea be the orange or the lemon. Salmasius appears to exhaust the subject, but he too often involves himself in the web of his disorderly erudition (Plinian. Exercitat. tom. ii. p. 669; see &c.)

<sup>152</sup> Leo Africanus, fol. 16. verso. Marmel, tom. ii. p. 28. This province, the first view of the equatorial and greatest of the earth, is often mentioned in the curious history of that dynasty at the end of the second volume of Marmel, Description de l'Afrique. The mid vol. of the Recherches Historiques sur les Murs lately published at Paris illustrates the history and geography of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco.

<sup>153</sup> Othor (p. 119) has given the strong tone of fanaticism to this exclamation, which Cardanus (p. 57.) has softened to a pious wish of giving law to the Koran. Yet they had both the same text of Novarr before their eyes.

<sup>154</sup> The foundation of Cairoan is mentioned by Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 129, 130.), and the situation, moths, &c. of the city is described by Leo Africanus (fol. 73. v. Marmel tom. ii. p. 532.), and Shaw (p. 115 &c.)

<sup>155</sup> A distance of 120 miles from the coast, at a short way, yet the situation is less valuable as it is connected with a formal and elaborate description of Africa (Historiar. l. vii. c. 2. in tom. i. p. 210. edit. Buckley).

again interrupted by the civil discord of the Arabian monarchy. The son of the valiant Zobeir maintained a war of twelve years, a siege of seven months against the house of Ommyyah. Abdallah was said to unite the fierceness of the lion with the subtlety of the fox ; but if he inherited the courage, he was devoid of the generosity, of his father.<sup>156</sup>

The return of domestic peace allowed the caliph Abdalmalek to resume the conquest of Africa; the standard was delivered to Hassan governor of Egypt, and the revenue of that kingdom, with an army of forty thousand men, was consecrated to the important service. In the vicissitudes of war, the interior provinces had been alternately won and lost by the Saracens. But the sea-coast still remained in the hands of the Greeks; the predecessors of Hassan had respected the name and fortifications of Carthage; and the number of its defenders was recruited by the fugitives of Cubes and Tripoli. The arms of Hassan were bolder and more fortunate: he reduced and pillaged the metropolis of Africa; and the mention of scaling-ladders may justify the suspicion that he anticipated, by a sudden assault, the more tedious operations of a regular siege. But the joy of the conquerors was soon disturbed by the appearance of the Christian succours. The præfect and patrician John, a general of experience and renown, embarked at Constantinople the forces of the Eastern empire;<sup>137</sup> they were joined by the ships and soldiers of Sicily, and a powerful reinforcement of Goths<sup>138</sup> was obtained from the fears and religion of the Spanish monarch. The weight of the confederate navy broke the chain that guarded the entrance of the harbour: the Arabs retired to Cairoan, or Tripoli; the Christians landed; the citizens hailed the ensign of the cross, and the winter was idly wasted in the dream of victory or deliverance. But Africa was irrecoverably lost: the zeal and resentment of the commander of the faithful<sup>139</sup> prepared in the ensuing spring a more numerous armament by sea and land; and the patrician in his turn was compelled to evacuate the post and fortifications of Carthage. A second battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Utica: the Greeks and Goths were again defeated; and their timely embarkation saved them from the

sword of Hassan, who had invested the slight and insufficient rampart of their camp. Whatever yet remained of Carthage was delivered to the flames, and the colony of Dido<sup>160</sup> and Cæsar lay de-colate above two hundred years, till a part, perhaps a twentieth, of the old circumference was re-peopled by the first of the Fatimite caliphs. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the second capital of the West was represented by a mosch, a college without students, twenty-five or thirty shops, and the huts of five hundred peasants, who, in their abject poverty, displayed the arrogance of the Punie senators. Even that paltry village was swept away by the Spaniards whom Charles the Fifth had stationed in the fortress of the Goletta. The ruins of Carthage have perished; and the place might be unknown, if some broken arches of an aqueduct did not guide the footsteps of the inquisitive traveller.<sup>161</sup>

The Greeks were expelled, but the Arabians were not yet masters of the country. In the interior provinces the Moors or *Berbers*,<sup>162</sup> so feeble under the first Cæsars, so formidable to the Byzantine princes, maintained a disorderly resistance to the religion and power of the successors of Mahomet. Under the standard of their queen Cahina the independent tribes acquired some degree of union and discipline; and as the Moors respected in their females the character of a prophetess, they attacked the invaders with an enthusiasm similar to their own. The veteran bands of Hassan were inadequate to the defence of Africa: the conquests of an age were lost in a single day; and the Arabian chief, overwhelmed by the torrent, retired to the confines of Egypt, and expected, five years, the promised succours of the caliph. After the retreat of the Saracens, the victorious prophetess assembled the Moorish chiefs, and recommended a measure of strange and savage policy. "Our cities," said she, "and the gold and silver which they contain, perpetually attract the arms of the Arabs. These vile metals are not the objects of *our* ambition; we content ourselves with the simple productions of the earth. Let us destroy these cities; let us bury in their ruins those pernicious treasures; and when the avarice of our foes shall be destitute of temptation, perhaps they

156 Besides the Arabic chronicles of Abulfeda, Eimarin, and Abulpharagius, under the lxxix year of the Hegira, we may consult D'Herbelot (*Biblioth. Orient.* p. 7) and Ockley (*Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. ii. p. 359-360). The latter has given the last and pathetic dialogue between Abdallah and his mother, but he has forgot, or at a physical effect of her grief for his death, the return, at the age of ninety, and fatal consequences, of her *menstru*

[illegible]

but they forgot that the Omkars were, and only a *hath*, or secret one, and that the office of Vizier was not restored or instituted till the 15th year of the Hegira (D'Herbelot, p. 912).

180 According to Solinus (l. 27, p. 36, edit. Salmas.), the Carthage of India stood either 677 or 737 years; a various reading, which proceeds from the difference of MSS. or editions (Solinus l. 27, Exortation, l. i, p. 225). The former of these amounts to 539 years before Christ, is more consistent with the well-attested testimony of Velius, *Intercalculi*, but the latter is preferred by our chronologist (Marham, *Chron. p.* 394.) as more agreeable to the Hebrew chronology.

In Leo African. fol. 71. verso; 72. recto. Marmoi, tom. ii. p. 445—447. Shaw, p. 581

19. The history of the word *barbar* may be traced under four periods: 1. In the time of Homer, when the Greeks and Asiatics might probably use a common idiom, the imitative sound of *bar-bar* was applied to the ruder tribes, whose pronunciation was most harsh, and who were called *barbaroi* by the Greeks. 2. From the time of Herodotus, it was applied to all the nations who were not of Hellenic origin, in the manner of the word *barbari* of Plautus, the Romans submitted to the insult (L'empire Étrusque, i. c. p. 18, edit. Paccini), and freely gave themselves the name of *Barbarians*. They incessantly clung to an exemption for Italy, and refused to be numbered among the nations who were to be subjected to the savage or ferocious nations beyond the pale of the empire. 3. In every sense, it was due to the Moors, the fourth word was borrowed from the Latin precedents by the Arabians coming along the northern coast of Africa.



their followers were excited by the remembrance of favours and the promise of a revolution; and their uncle Oppas, archbishop of Toledo and Seville, was the first person in the church, and the second in the state. It is probable that Julian was involved in the disgrace of the unsuccessful faction; that he had little to hope and much to fear from the new reign; and that the imprudent king could not forget or forgive the injuries which Roderic and his family had sustained. The merit and influence of the count rendered him an useful or formidable subject: his estates were ample, his followers bold and numerous, and it was too fatally shown that, by his Andalusian and Mauritavian commands, he held in his hand the keys of the Spanish monarchy. Too feeble, however, to meet his sovereign in arms, he sought the aid of a foreign power; and his rash invitation of the Moors and Arabs produced the calamities of eight hundred years. In his epistles, or in a personal interview, he revealed the wealth and nakedness of his country; the weakness of an unpopulous prince; the degeneracy of an effeminate people. The Goths were no longer the victorious barbarians, who had humbled the pride of Rome, despoiled the queen of nations, and penetrated from the Danube to the Atlantic Ocean. Secluded from the world by the Pyrenean mountains, the successors of Alaric had slumbered in a long peace; the walls of the cities were mouldered into dust: the youth had abandoned the exercise of arms; and the presumption of their ancient renown would expose them in a field of battle to the first assault of the invaders. The ambitious Saracen was fired by the ease and importance of the attempt; but the execution was delayed till he had consulted the commander of the faithful; and his messenger returned with the permission of Wahid to annex the unknown kingdoms of the West to the religion and throne of the caliphs. In his residence of Tangier, Musa, with secrecy and caution, continued his correspondence and hastened his preparations. But the remorse of the conspirators was soothed by the fallacious assurance that he should content himself with the glory and spoil, without aspiring to establish the Moslems beyond the sea that separates Africa from Europe. 170

The first descent of the Arabs, A. D. 710, July.

Before Musa would trust an army of the faithful to the traitors and infidels of a foreign land, he made a less dangerous trial of their strength and veracity. One hundred Arabs, and four

170 The Oracles, Flaccus, Manilius, etc., alluded, passes over the compact it spirit in relation, or with a space word. The text of Novari and the other Ar. MSS. are so presented that it is not some foreign idiom, by M. de Cérinthe. But de "Mappin" of the "Esque" and "Dictionnaire des Arts, Paris, 1766, p. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898,

171. A mistake of Bodinot's Table in placing the 'barbarians of the Humber' with the 'Jutons' of the 'Teutons' has determined Barrow, Marston, and eleven other Spanish historians of the first invasion in the year 717, and the 'Jutons' of 'Nantes' in November 714. This is an anachronism of eleven years, and is corrected by the more correct industry of modern chroniclers, above all, of King's French.

hundred Africans, passed over, in four vessels, from Tangier, or Ceuta: the place of their descent on the opposite shore of the strait, is marked by the name of Tarif their chief; and the date of this memorable event<sup>174</sup> is fixed to the month of Ramadan, of the ninety-first year of the Hegira, to the month of July, seven hundred and forty-eight years from the Spanish era of Cæsar,<sup>175</sup> seven hundred and ten after the birth of Christ. From their first station, they marched eighteen miles through an hilly country to the castle and town of Julian;<sup>176</sup> on which (it is still called Algazire) they bestowed the name of the Green Island, from a verdant cape that advances into the sea. Their hospitable entertainment, the Christians who joined their standard, their march into a fertile and unguarded province, the richness of their spoil, and the safety of their return, announced to their brethren the most favorable omens of victory. In the ensuing spring, five thousand veterans and volunteers were embarked under the command of Tarik, a dauntless and skilful soldier, who surpassed the expectation of his chief; and the necessary transports were provided by the industry of their too faithful ally. The Saracens landed<sup>177</sup> at the pillar or point of Europe; the corrupt and familiar appellation of Gibraltar

Their second  
 descent  
 A. D. 711,  
 April 1.

(*Gebel at Tarik*) describes the mountain of Tarik; and the intrenchments of his camp were the first outline of those fortifications, which, in the hands of our countrymen, have resisted the art and power of the house of Bourbon. The adjacent governors informed the court of Toledo of the descent and progress of the Arabs; and the defeat of his lieutenant E'cco, who had been commanded to seize and bind the presumptuous sangers, admonished Roderic of the magnitude of the danger. At the royal summons, the dukes, and counts, the bishops and nobles of the Gothic monarchy, assembled at the head of their followers; and the title of King of the Romans, which is employed by an Arabic historian, may be excused by the close affinity of language, religion, and manners, between the nations of Spain. His army consisted of ninety or an hundred thou and men; a formidable power, if their fidelity and discipline had been adequate to their numbers. The troops of Tarik had been augmented to twelve thou and Sarracens; but the Christian malcontents were attracted by the influence of Julian, and a crowd of Africans most greedily tasted the temporal

form 11: p 169 171-174<sup>3</sup>, who have restored the genuine date of the redaction. At the present time, at least, no scholar has corrected us, who did not see the amount of error (from 11: p 170) is, inexactally, 100 percent, 1000-1200.

191 The *Libro de Caxar*, which in Spain was a legal and popular manual for the 14th century, began to be written before the birth of Chirikov. It is the first of the 28 *Libros de Caballeria* (chivalric books), which formed the main part of the library of the Tsar, and which were written by the most famous Russian authors of the 14th and 15th centuries. It was the work of the Old Russian poet and fairy tale writer, which raised the first Russian knightly epic. Around 1380, when the Russian people probably still did not know

134 The first two columns show the dates of arrival by American ships at the ports of call. The second column shows the dates of departure. The third column shows the dates of arrival by the Japanese ships. The fourth column shows the dates of departure. The fifth column shows the dates of arrival by the British ships. The sixth column shows the dates of departure. The seventh column shows the dates of arrival by the French ships. The eighth column shows the dates of departure. The ninth column shows the dates of arrival by the German ships. The tenth column shows the dates of departure. The eleventh column shows the dates of arrival by the Italian ships. The twelfth column shows the dates of departure. The thirteenth column shows the dates of arrival by the Spanish ships. The fourteenth column shows the dates of departure. The fifteenth column shows the dates of arrival by the Portuguese ships. The sixteenth column shows the dates of departure. The seventeenth column shows the dates of arrival by the Dutch ships. The eighteenth column shows the dates of departure. The nineteenth column shows the dates of arrival by the Swedish ships. The twentieth column shows the dates of departure. The twenty-first column shows the dates of arrival by the Danish ships. The twenty-second column shows the dates of departure. The twenty-third column shows the dates of arrival by the Norwegian ships. The twenty-fourth column shows the dates of departure. The twenty-fifth column shows the dates of arrival by the Russian ships. The twenty-sixth column shows the dates of departure. The twenty-seventh column shows the dates of arrival by the Austrian ships. The twenty-eighth column shows the dates of departure. The twenty-ninth column shows the dates of arrival by the Prussian ships. The thirtieth column shows the dates of departure. The thirty-first column shows the dates of arrival by the Sardinian ships. The thirty-second column shows the dates of departure. The thirty-third column shows the dates of arrival by the Neapolitan ships. The thirty-fourth column shows the dates of departure. The thirty-fifth column shows the dates of arrival by the Sicilian ships. The thirty-sixth column shows the dates of departure. The thirty-seventh column shows the dates of arrival by the Venetian ships. The thirty-eighth column shows the dates of departure. The thirty-ninth column shows the dates of arrival by the Genoese ships. The fortieth column shows the dates of departure. The forty-first column shows the dates of arrival by the Ligurian ships. The forty-second column shows the dates of departure. The forty-third column shows the dates of arrival by the Piedmontese ships. The forty-fourth column shows the dates of departure. The forty-fifth column shows the dates of arrival by the Savoyard ships. The forty-sixth column shows the dates of departure. The forty-seventh column shows the dates of arrival by the French ships. The forty-eighth column shows the dates of departure. The forty-ninth column shows the dates of arrival by the British ships. The fiftieth column shows the dates of departure. The fifty-first column shows the dates of arrival by the German ships. The fifty-second column shows the dates of departure. The fifty-third column shows the dates of arrival by the Italian ships. The fifty-fourth column shows the dates of departure. The fifty-fifth column shows the dates of arrival by the Spanish ships. The fifty-sixth column shows the dates of departure. The fifty-seventh column shows the dates of arrival by the Portuguese ships. The fifty-eighth column shows the dates of departure. The fifty-ninth column shows the dates of arrival by the Dutch ships. The sixtieth column shows the dates of departure. The sixty-first column shows the dates of arrival by the Swedish ships. 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The seventy-seventh column shows the dates of arrival by the Sicilian ships. The seventy-eighth column shows the dates of departure. The seventy-ninth column shows the dates of arrival by the Venetian ships. The eightieth column shows the dates of departure. The eighty-first column shows the dates of arrival by the Genoese ships. The eighty-second column shows the dates of departure. The eighty-third column shows the dates of arrival by the Ligurian ships. The eighty-fourth column shows the dates of departure. The eighty-fifth column shows the dates of arrival by the Piedmontese ships. The eighty-sixth column shows the dates of departure. The eighty-seventh column shows the dates of arrival by the Savoyard ships. The eighty-eighth column shows the dates of departure. The eighty-ninth column shows the dates of arrival by the French ships. The ninetieth column shows the dates of departure. The ninety-first column shows the dates of arrival by the British ships. The ninety-second column shows the dates of departure. The ninety-third column shows the dates of arrival by the German ships. The ninety-fourth column shows the dates of departure. The ninety-fifth column shows the dates of arrival by the Italian ships. The ninety-sixth column shows the dates of departure. The ninety-seventh column shows the dates of arrival by the Spanish ships. The ninety-eighth column shows the dates of departure. The ninety-ninth column shows the dates of arrival by the Portuguese ships. The hundredth column shows the dates of departure.

blessings of the Koran. In the neighbourhood of Cadiz, the town of Xeres<sup>175</sup> has been illustrated by the encounter which determined the fate of the kingdom; the stream of the Guadalete, which falls into the bay, divided the two camps, and marked the advancing and retreating skirmishes of three successive and bloody days. On the fourth day, the two armies joined a more serious and decisive issue; but Alaric would have blushed at the sight of his unworthy successor, sustaining on his head a diadem of pearls, encumbered with a flowing robe of gold and silken embroidery, and reclining on a litter or car of ivory drawn by two white mules. Notwithstanding the valour of the Saracens, they fainted under the weight of multitudes, and the plain of Xeres was overspread with sixteen thousand of their dead bodies. "My brethren," said Tarik to his surviving companions, "the enemy is before you, the sea is behind; whither would ye fly? Follow your general: I am resolved either to lose my life, or to trample on the prostrate king of the Romans." Besides the resource of despair, he confided in the secret correspondence and nocturnal interviews of count Julian with the sons and the brother of Witiza. The two princes and the archbishop of Toledo occupied the most important post: their well-timed defection broke the ranks of the Christians; each warrior was prompted by fear or suspicion to consult his personal safety; and the remains of the Gothic army were scattered or destroyed in the flight and pursuit of the three following days. Amidst the general disorder, Roderic started from his car, and mounted Orelia, the fleetest of his horses; but he escaped from a soldier's death to perish more ignobly in the waters of the Bætis or Guadalquivir. His diadem, his robes, and his coursers, were found on the bank; but as the hody of the Gothic prince was lost in the waves, the pride and ignorance of the caliph must have been gratified with some meaner head, which was exposed in triumph before the palace of Damascus. "And such," continues a valiant historian of the Arabs, "is the fate of those kings who withdraw themselves from a field of battle."<sup>176</sup>

Count Julian had plunged so deep into guilt and infamy, that his only hope was in the ruin of his country. After the battle of Xeres he recommended the most effectual measures to the victorious Saracen. "The king of the Goths is slain; their princes are fled before you, the army is routed, the nation is astonished. Secure with sufficient de-

tachments the cities of Bætica; but in person, and without delay, march to the royal city of Toledo, and allow not the distracted Christians either time or tranquillity for the election of a new monarch." Tarik listened to his advice. A Roman captive and proselyte, who had been enfranchised by the caliph himself, assaulted Cordova with seven hundred horse: he swam the river, surprised the town, and drove the Christians into the great church, where they defended themselves above three months. Another detachment reduced the sea coast of Bætica, which in the last period of the Moorish power has comprised in a narrow space the populous kingdom of Grenada. The march of Tarik from the Bætis to the Tagus,<sup>177</sup> was directed through the Sierra Morena, that separates Andalusia and Castille, till he appeared in arms under the walls of Toledo.<sup>178</sup> The most zealous of the Catholics had escaped with the relics of their saints; and if the gates were shut, it was only till the victor had subscribed a fair and reasonable capitulation. The voluntary exiles were allowed to depart with their effects; seven churches were appropriated to the Christian worship; the archbishop and his clergy were at liberty to exercise their functions, the monks to practise or neglect their penance; and the Goths and Romans were left in all civil and criminal cases to the subordinate jurisdiction of their own laws and magistrates. But if the justice of Tarik protected the Christians, his gratitude and policy rewarded the Jews, to whose secret or open aid he was indebted for his most important acquisitions. Persecuted by the kings and synods of Spain, who had often pressed the alternative of banishment or baptism, that outcast nation embraced the moment of revenge: the comparison of their past and present state was the pledge of their fidelity; and the alliance between the disciples of Moses and of Mahomet was maintained till the final era of their common expulsion. From the royal seat of Toledo, the Arabian leader spread his conquests to the north, over the modern realms of Castille and Leon; but it is needless to enumerate the cities that yielded on his approach, or again to describe the table of emeralds,<sup>179</sup> transported from the East by the Romans, acquired by the Goths among the spoils of Rome, and presented by the Arabs to the throne of Damascus. Beyond the Asturian mountains, the maritime town of Gijon was the term<sup>180</sup> of the lieutenant of Musa, who had performed, with the speed of a traveller, his victorious march, of seven hundred miles, from the rock of Gibraltar to the Bay of Biscay. The failure of land compelled him to retreat;

<sup>175</sup> Xeres (the Roman colony of Asta Regia) is only two leagues from Cadiz. In the sixth century it was a granary of corn, and the wine of Xeres is familiar to the nations of Europe (Lud. Nonii Hispania, c. 17, p. 24). A work of exact and concise knowledge; D'Anville, *Etats de l'Europe*, &c. p. 134.

<sup>176</sup> Id. sane innotuit regibus pedum ex se referentibus, eoque conatibus. Ben Hodi of Grenada, in Ballot. Arabico-Hispania, part. 2, p. 527. "Some credulous Spaniards believe that king Roderic, or Rodrigo, escaped to an hermit's cell; and others, that he was cast alive into a tub full of serpents, from whence he exclaimed with a lamentable voice, 'Thou devour the part which I have so grievously sinned.' (Don Quixote, part ii. l. 10, c. 1.)"

<sup>177</sup> The direct road from Corduba to Toledo was measured by Mr. Swinburn's miles in 72 hours, but a larger computation must be allowed for the slow and desultory marches of an army. The Arabs traversed the province of La Mancha, which the pen of Cervantes has transformed into classic ground to the readers of every nation.

<sup>178</sup> The antiquities of Toledo, *Urbs Parva* in the Punic wars, *Urbs Regia* in the sixth century, are briefly described by Nonius (Hispania, c. 59, p. 181-186). He borrows from Roderic the *fibula palatium* of Moorish portraits; but modestly imitates, it was no

<sup>179</sup> The table of emeralds, or *tabula emeraldina*, was a book of laws and statutes, which the king of the Goths, Theodoric, had transcribed Novara, because he was dead on hundred years before Novara composed his history. This mistake is founded on a still grosser error. M. de Guignes confounds the historian Roderic Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo in the sixth century, with cardinal Ximenes, who governed Spain in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

and he was recalled to Toledo, to excuse his presumption of subduing a kingdom in the absence of his general. Spain, which, in a more savage and disorderly state, had resisted, two hundred years, the arms of the Romans, was over-run in a few months by those of the Saracens; and such was the eagerness of submission and treaty, that the governor of Cordova is recorded as the only chief who fell, without conditions, a prisoner into their hands. The cause of the Goths had been irrevocably judged in the field of Xeres; and, in the national dismay, each part of the monarchy declined a contest with the antagonist who had vanquished the united strength of the whole.<sup>181</sup> That strength had been wasted by two successive seasons of famine and pestilence; and the governors, who were impatient to surrender, might exaggerate the difficulty of collecting the provisions of a siege. To disarm the Christians, superstition likewise contributed her terrors; and the subtle Arab encouraged the report of dreams, omens, and prophecies, and of the portraits of the destined conquerors of Spain, that were discovered on breaking open an apartment of the royal palace. Yet a spark of the vital flame was still alive: some invincible fugitives preferred a life of poverty and freedom in the Asturian valleys; the hardy mountaineers repulsed the slaves of the caliph; and the sword of Pelagius has been transformed into the sceptre of the Catholic kings.<sup>182</sup>

On the intelligence of this rapid success, the applause of Musa degenerated into envy; and he began, not to complain, but to fear, that Tarik would leave him nothing to subdue. At the head of ten thousand Arabs and eight thousand Africans, he passed over in person from Mauritania to Spain: the first of his companions were the noblest of the Koreish; his eldest son was left in the command of Africa; the three younger brethren were of an age and spirit to second the boldest enterprises of their father. At his landing in Algezire, he was respectfully entertained by count Julian, who stifled his inward remorse, and testified, both in words and actions, that the victory of the Arabs had not impaired his attachment to their cause. Some enemies yet remained for the sword of Musa. The tardy repentance of the Gotths had compared their own numbers and those of the invaders; the cities from which the march of Tarik had declined, considered themselves as impregnable; and the bravest patriots defended the fortifications of Seville and Merida. They were successively besieged and reduced by the Labour of Musa, who transported his camp from the Bietis to the Anas, from the Guadalquivir to the Guadiana. When he beheld the works of Roman

181 Such was the argument of the traitor Oppas, and every chief to whom it was addressed did not answer with the sentiment of Pelagius: *Genius Hispania dudum sub iugum non Gallorum, sed nostris exercitus Hispanie in uno congreto his Iberachitarum non valet sustinere impetum.* Chron. Alphonsi Regis, apud Pagi, tom. iii. p. 177.

152 The revival of the Gothic kingdom in the Asturias is distinctly though concisely noticed by D'ANVILLE (États de l'Espagne, p. 154).

153 The honourable relics of the Cantabrian war (Dion Cassius, l. lxxviii. c. 14.) are not mentioned by Tacitus (Hist. i. c. 11. § 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 8

magnificence, the bridge, the aqueducts, the triumphal arches, and the theatre, of the ancient metropolis of Lusitania, "I should imagine," said he to his four companions, "that the human race must have united their art and power in the foundation of this city: happy is the man who shall become its master!" He aspired to that happiness, but the *Emeritans* sustained on this occasion the honour of their descent from the veteran legionaries of Augustus.<sup>153</sup> Disdaining the confinement of their walls, they gave battle to the Arabs on the plain; but an ambuscade rising from the shelter of a quarry, or a ruin, chastised their indiscretion, and intercepted their return. The wooden turrets of assault were rolled forwards to the foot of the rampart; but the defence of Merida was obstinate and long; and the *castle of the martyrs* was a perpetual testimony of the losses of the Moslems. The constancy of the besieged was at length subdued by famine and despair; and the prudent victor disguised his impatience under the names of clemency and esteem. The alternative of exile or tribute was allowed; the churches were divided between the two religions; and the wealth of those who had fallen in the siege, or retired to Galicia, was confiscated as the reward of the faithful. In the midway between Merida and Toledo, the lieutenant of Musa saluted the vicergerent of the caliph, and conducted him to the palace of the Gothic kings. Their first interview was cold and formal: a rigid account was exacted of the treasures of Spain. the character of Tarik was exposed to suspicion and obloquy; and the hero was imprisoned, reviled, and ignominiously scourged by the hand, or the command, of Musa. Yet so strict was the discipline, so pure the zeal, or so tame the spirit of the primitive Moslems, that, after this public indignity, Tarik could serve and be trusted in the reduction of the Taragonese province. A mosch was erected at Saragossa by the liberality of the Koreish: the port of Barcelona was opened to the vessels of Syria; and the Goths were pursued beyond the Pyrenean mountains into their Gallic province of Septimania or Languedoc.<sup>154</sup> In the church of St. Mary at Carcassone, Musa found, but it is improbable that he left, seven equestrian statues of massy silver; and from his *term* or column of Narbonne, he returned on his footsteps to the Gallician and Lusitanian shores of the ocean. During the absence of the father, his son Abdclaziz chastised the insurgents of Seville, and reduced, from Malaga to Valencia, the sea-coast of the Mediterranean: his original treaty with the discreet and valiant Theodemir<sup>155</sup> will represent the manners and policy of the times. "The conditions of peace agreed

[illegible]

157 Four hundred years after Theodemir, his territories of Murcia and Carthago (later on the Sube) were again listed (p. 131-132) as those of a junior nobleman, *Íñigo de Carriaga*, p. 131-132, tr. 131-132. In the present day, I should agree that Mr. Sarmiento's translation is a little too literal, but I think it is a very good one. I have not seen the original, but I think it is a very good one. I have not seen the original, but I think it is a very good one.



"and sworn between Abdelaziz, the son of Musa, the son of Nassir, and Theodemir prince of the Goths. In the name of the most merciful God, Abdelaziz makes peace on these conditions: that Theodemir shall not be disturbed in his principality; nor any injury be offered to the life or property, the wives and children, the religion and temples, of the Christians; that Theodemir shall freely deliver his seven cities, Orihuela, Valentola, Alicant, Mola, Vacasora, Bigorra (now Beja), Oia (or Opta), and Lorca; that he shall not assist or entertain the enemies of the caliph, but shall faithfully communicate his knowledge of their hostile designs; that himself, and each of the Gothic nobles, shall annually pay one piece of gold, four measures of wheat, as many of barley, with a certain proportion of honey, oil, and vinegar; and that each of their vassals shall be taxed at one moiety of the said imposition. Given the fourth of Regeb, in the year of the Hegira ninety-four, and subscribed with the names of four Musulman witnesses."<sup>186</sup> Theodemir and his subjects were treated with uncommon lenity; but the rate of tribute appears to have fluctuated from a tenth to a fifth, according to the submission or obstinacy of the Christians.<sup>187</sup> In this revolution, many partial calamities were inflicted by the carnal or religious passions of the enthusiasts; some churches were profaned by the new worship; some relics or images were confounded with idols; the rebels were put to the sword; and one town (an obscure place between Cordova and Seville) was razed to its foundations. Yet if we compare the invasion of Spain by the Goths, or its recovery by the kings of Castille and Arragon, we must applaud the moderation and discipline of the Arabian conquerors.

The exploits of Musa were performed in the evening of life, though he affected to disguise his age by colouring with a red powder the whiteness of his beard. But in the love of action and glory, his breast was still fired with the ardour of youth; and the possession of Spain was considered only as the first step to the monarchy of Europe. With a powerful armament by sea and land, he was preparing to repass the Pyrenees, to extinguish in Gaul and Italy the declining kingdoms of the Franks and Lombards, and to preach the unity of God on the altar of the Vatican. From thence, subduing the barbarians of Germany, he proposed to follow the course of the Danube from its source to the Euxine Sea, to overthrow the Greek or Roman empire of Constantinople, and returning from Europe to Asia, to unite his new acquisitions with Antioch and the provinces of Syria.<sup>188</sup> But his vast enterprise, perhaps of easy execution, must have seemed extravagant

to vulgar minds; and the visionary conqueror was soon reminded of his dependance and servitude. The friends of Tarik had effectually stated his services and wrongs: at the court of Damascus, the proceedings of Musa were blamed, his intentions were suspected, and his delay in complying with the first invitation was chastised by an harsher and more peremptory summons. An intrepid messenger at the caliph entered his camp at Lugo in Galicia, and in the presence of the Saracens and Christians arrested the bridle of his horse. His own loyalty, or that of his troops, inculcated the duty of obedience; and his disgrace was alleviated by the recall of his rival, and the permission of investing with his two governments his two sons, Abdallah and Abdelaziz. His long triumph from Ceuta to Damascus displayed the spoils of Africa and the treasures of Spain: four hundred Gothic nobles, with gold coronets and girdles, were distinguished in his train; and the number of male and female captives, selected for their birth or beauty, was computed at eighteen, or even at thirty, thousand persons. As soon as he reached Tiberias in Palestine, he was apprised of the sickness and danger of the caliph, by a private message from Soliman, his brother and presumptive heir; who wished to reserve for his own reign the spectacle of victory. Had Walid recovered, the clay of Musa would have been criminal: he pursued his march, and found an enemy on the throne. In his trial before a partial judge, against a popular antagonist, he was convicted of vanity and falsehood; and a fine of two hundred thousand pieces of gold either exhausted his poverty or proved his rapaciousness. The unworthy treatment of Tarik was revenged by a similar indignity; and the veteran commander, after a public whipping, stood a whole day in the sun before the palace gate, till he obtained a decent exile, under the pious name of a pilgrimage to Mecca. The resentment of the caliph might have been satiated with the ruin of Musa; but his fears demanded the extirpation of a potent and injured family. A sentence of death was intimated with secrecy and speed to the trusty servants of the throne both in Africa and Spain; and the forms, if not the substance, of justice were superseded in this bloody execution. In the mosque or palace of Cordova, Abdelaziz was slain by the swords of the conspirators; they accused their governor of claiming the honours of royalty; and his scandalous marriage with Egilona, the widow of Roderic, offended the prejudices both of the Christians and Moslems. By a refinement of cruelty, the head of the son was presented to the father, with an insulting question, whether he acknowledged the features of the rebel? "I know his features," he exclaimed with indignation: "I

<sup>186</sup> See the treaty in Arabic and Latin in the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispanica, tom. i. p. 105, 106. It is dated the 10th of the month of Regeb, A. D. 714, the 10th of April, A. D. 713, a date which seems to prove the resistance of Theodemir, and the government of Musa.

<sup>187</sup> From the history of Abdallah, p. 57. Florus (H. E. i. c. 1. p. 2. l. 1) gives the story of another treaty concluded A. D. C. 582, A. D. 574, between an A. V. chief and the Goths and Romans of that name, &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. The A. V. of the first treaty had twenty-two pieces of gold, of the second, fifty; of the third, thirty; one hundred, of the Christians are judged

by their count, but in capital cases he must consult the alcade. The church doors must be shut, and they must respect the name of Mahomet. I have not the original before me: it would confirm or destroy a dark suspicion, that the pope has been forced to introduce the conformity of an abominable convert.

<sup>188</sup> This design, which is attested by several Arabian historians (Gomara, tom. i. p. 350), may be compared with that of Mahomet, to march by the Euphrates to Rome, or with that of Cesar, to conquer the East, and return borne by the North, and at times, perhaps, surprised by the real and successful enterprise of Hannibal.



a wise policy supplied the obligation of justice; and after some acts of intolerant zeal, the Mahometan conquerors of Hindostan have spared the pagods of that devout and populous country. The disciples of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus, were solemnly invited to accept the more perfect revelation of Mahomet; but if they preferred the payment of a moderate tribute, they were entitled to the freedom of conscience

and religious worship.<sup>197</sup> In a field of battle, the forfeit lives of the prisoners were redeemed by the profession of *Islam*; the females were bound to embrace the religion of their masters, and a race of sincere proselytes was gradually multiplied by the education of the infant captives. But the millions of African and Asiatic converts, who swelled the native band of the faithful Arabs, must have been allured, rather than constrained, to declare their belief in one God and the apostle of God. By the repetition of a sentence and the loss of a foreskin, the subject or the slave, the captive or the criminal, arose in a moment the free and equal companion of the victorious Moslems. Every sin was expiated, every engagement was dissolved: the vow of celibacy was superseded by the indulgence of nature; the active spirits who slept in the cloister were awakened by the trumpet of the Saracens; and in the convulsion of the world, every member of a new society ascended to the natural level of his capacity and courage. The minds of the multitude were tempted by the invisible as well as temporal blessings of the Arabian prophet; and charity will hope that many of his proselytes entertained a serious conviction of the truth and sanctity of his revelation. In the eyes of an inquisitive polytheist, it must appear worthy of the human and the divine nature. More pure than the system of Zoroaster, more liberal than the law of Moses, the religion of Mahomet might seem less inconsistent with reason, than the creed of mystery and superstition, which, in the seventh century, disgraced the simplicity of the Gospel.

In the extensive provinces of Persia and Africa, the national religion has been eradicated by the Mahometan faith. The ambiguous theology of the Magi

<sup>197</sup> The distinction between a proscribed and a tolerated sect, between the *Haram* and the *Halal* of the book, the believers in some divine revelation, is one of the chief characteristics of the religion of Mahomet. See the *History of the Religion of Mahomet*, by Hottinger, Hist. Orient. p. 107, 108.

<sup>198</sup> The *Zend* or *Parv*, the Bible of the Magians, is reckoned by the Jews, or at least by the Mahometans, among the ten books which Abraham received from heaven. And their religion is tolerably styled the religion of Abraham (D'Hérbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 201). Hyde, de Religione veterum Persarum, p. 27, 28, &c. I am full that we do not possess any pure and free description of the system of Zoroaster. Dr. Prædix, *Simoes*, vol. i. p. 300 (p. 200) adopts the opinion, that he had been the slave and scholar of some Jewish prophet in the captivity of Babelion. Perhaps the Persians, who have been the masters of the Jews, would assert the honour, a poor honour, of being their masters.

<sup>199</sup> The *Arabian Nights*, a faithful and amazing picture of the Oriental world, represent in the most odious colours the Magians, or worshippers of fire, to whom they attribute the many sacrifices of a Mussulman. The religion of Zoroaster has not the least affinity with that of the Hindus, yet they are often confounded by the Mahometans, and the sword of Timur was sharpened by this mistake (Huet, *De Vita et Moribus Chosrois*, p. 114, 115).

<sup>200</sup> *Inter Persas*, Magos, *Idem* dicuntur. *Relig. d. antiquæ*, continet. This honourable distinction in favour of the three sects, with the vague and equivocal religion of the Magians, under whose name ancient proselytes of Zoroaster were allowed to shelter their idolatrous worship (Hottinger, Hist. Orient. p. 107, 108).

stood alone among the sects of the East: but the profane writings of Zoroaster<sup>198</sup> might, under the reverend name of Abraham, be dexterously connected with the chain of divine revelation. Their evil principle, the *dæmon* Ahriman, might be represented as the rival, or as the creature, of the God of light. The temples of Persia were devoid of images; but the worship of the sun and of fire might be stigmatised as a gross and criminal idolatry.<sup>199</sup> The milder sentiment was consecrated by the practice of Mahomet<sup>200</sup> and the prudence of the caliphs; the Magians or Ghebers were ranked with the Jews and Christians among the people of the written law;<sup>201</sup> and as late as the third century of the Hégira, the city of Herat will afford a lively contrast of private zeal and public toleration.<sup>202</sup> Under the payment of an annual tribute, the Mahometan law secured to the Ghebers of Herat their civil and religious liberties; but the recent and humble mosch was overshadowed by the antique splendour of the adjoining temple of fire. A fanatic Imam deplored, in his sermons, the scandalous neighbourhood, and accused the weakness or indifference of the faithful. Excited by his voice, the people assembled in tumult; the two houses of prayer were consumed by the flames, but the vacant ground was immediately occupied by the foundations of a new mosch. The injured Magi appealed to the sovereign of Chorasán; he promised justice and relief; when, behold! four thousand citizens of Herat, of a grave character and mature age, unanimously swore that the idolatrous fane had never existed; the inquisition was silenced, and their conscience was satisfied (says the historian Mirchond<sup>203</sup>) with this holy and meritorious perjury.<sup>204</sup> But the greatest part of the temples of Persia were ruined by the insensible and general desertion of their votaries. It was insensible, since it is not accompanied with any memorial of time or place, of persecution or resistance. It was general, since the whole realm, from Shiraz to Samarcand, inbibed the faith of the Koran; and the preservation of the native tongue reveals the descent of the Mahometans of Persia.<sup>205</sup> In the mountains and deserts, an obstinate race of unbelievers adhered to the superstition of their fathers: and a faint tra-

<sup>202</sup> This singular story is related by D'Hérbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 118, 119) on the faith of Khondemir, and by Mirchond himself (Hist. de l'Empire Persan, &c. p. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

<sup>203</sup> Mirchond (Mohammed Emir Khondemir Shah), a native of Herat, composed in the Persian language a general history of the East from the creation to the year of the Hégira 875 (A. D. 1171). In the year 1014 (A. D. 1498) the history obtained the command of a princely library, and his applauded work, in seven or twelve parts, was abridged in three volumes by his son Khondemir, A. H. 927, A. D. 1519. The two writers, most accurately distinguished by Pent de la Cruz (Hist. de Goughian, p. 337, 338, 344, 345) are loosely confounded by D'Hérbelot (p. 338, 110, 991, 995); but his numerous extracts, under the improper name of Khondemir, belong to the father rather than the son. The name of the abridger refers to a Mirchond, which is not the name of the father, but of the son, D'Hérbelot himself. A. H. 927, A. D. 1519, is the year of the death of Mirchond, and not the year of the composition of his history. The year 1519, in this case, notes Bernard de Jencsch, and the editor allows us to hope for a continuation of Mirchond.

<sup>204</sup> Quo testomio boni se quidam præstitisse equalantur. Yet Mirchond has well condemned their zeal, since he approved the legal toleration of the Magi, cui (the fire temple) parato angulus

<sup>205</sup> The power appears to be Mardavice of the xth century, named in the northern provinces of Persia, under the name of Mardavice (D'Hérbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 33). But his soldiers and successors, the *Bonid*, either professed or embraced the Mahometan faith, and under their dynasty (A. H. 355–1120) I should place the fall of the religion of Zoroaster.

dition of the Magian theology is kept alive in the province of Kirman, along the banks of the Indus, among the exiles of Surat, and in the colony which, in the last century, was planted by Shaw Abbas at the gates of Ispahan. The chief pontiff has retired to Mount Elbourz, eighteen leagues from the city of Yezd: the perpetual fire (if it continue to burn) is inaccessible to the profane; but his residence is the school, the oracle, and the pilgrimage, of the Ghebers, whose hard and uniform features attest the unmingled purity of their blood. Under the jurisdiction of their elders, eighty thousand families maintain an innocent and industrious life; their subsistence is derived from some curious manufactures and mechanic trades; and they cultivate the earth with the fervour of a religious duty. Their ignorance withstood the despotism of Shaw Abbas, who demanded with threats and tortures the prophetic books of Zoroaster; and this obscure remnant of the Magians is spared by the moderation or contempt of their present sovereigns.<sup>206</sup>

The northern coast of Africa is the only land in which the light of the Gospel, after a long and perfect establishment, has been totally extinguished. The arts, which had been taught by Carthage and Rome, were involved in a cloud of ignorance: the doctrine of Cyprian and Augustine was no longer studied. Five hundred episcopal churches were overturned by the hostile fury of the Donatists, the Vandals, and the Moors. The zeal and numbers of the clergy declined; and the people, without discipline, or knowledge, or hope, submissively sunk under the yoke of the Arabian prophet. Within

A. D. 749. of the Arabian prophet. Within fifty years after the expulsion of the Greeks, a lieutenant of Africa informed the caliph that the tribute of the infidels was abolished by their conversion;<sup>37</sup> and, though he sought to disguise his fraud and rebellion, his specious pretence was drawn from the rapid and extensive progress of the Mahometan faith.

A. D. 537. In the next age, an extraordinary mission of five bishops was detached from Alexandria to Cairo. They were ordained by the Jacobite patriarch to cherish and revive the dying embers of Christianity;<sup>268</sup> but the interposition of a foreign prelate, a stranger to the Latins, an enemy to the Catholics, supposes the decay and dissolution of the African hierarchy. It was no longer the time when the

successor of St. Cyprian, at the head of a numerous synod, could maintain an equal contest with the ambition of the Roman pontiff.

In the eleventh century, the unfortunate priest who was seated on the ruins of Carthage, implored the alms and the protection of the Vatican; and he bitterly complains that his naked body had been scourged by the Saracens, and that his authority was disputed by the four suffragans, the tottering pillars of his throne. Two epistles of Gregory the Seventh<sup>209</sup> are destined to soothe the distress of the Catholics and the pride of a Moorish prince. The pope assures the sultan that they both worship the same God, and may hope to meet in the bosom of Abraham; but the complaint, that three bishops could no longer be found to consecrate a brother, announces the speedy and inevitable ruin of the episcopal order. The Christians of Africa and Spain had long since submitted to the practice of circumcision and the legal abstinence from wine and pork; and the name of *Mozarabes*<sup>210</sup> (adoptive Arals) was applied to their civil or religious conformity.<sup>211</sup> About the middle of the twelfth century, the worship of Christ and the succession of pastors were abolished along the coast of Barbary, and in the kingdoms of Cordova and Seville, of Valencia and Grenada.<sup>212</sup> The throne of the Almohades, or Unitarians, was founded on the blindest fanaticism, and their extraordinary rigour might be provoked or justified by the recent victories and intolerant zeal of the princes of Sicily and Castile, of Arragon and Portugal. The faith of the Mozarabes was

occasionally revived by the papal missionaries; and, on the landing of Charles the Fifth, some families of Latin Christians were encouraged to rear their heads at Tunis and Algiers. But the seed of the Gospel was quickly eradicated, and the long province from Tripoli to the Atlantic has lost all memory of the language and religion of Rome.<sup>219</sup>

After the revolution of eleven centuries, the Jews and Christians of the Turkish empire enjoy the liberty of conscience which was granted by the Arabian caliphs. During the first age of the conquest, they suspected the loyalty of the Catholics, whose name of Melchites betrayed their secret attachment to the Greek emperor ; while the Nestorians and Jacobites, his inveterate enemies, approved themselves the sincere and voluntary

206 The present state of the Ghebers in Persia is taken from Sir John Chardin, not indeed the most learned, but the most judicious and inquisitive, of our modern travellers (*Voyages en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 109, 179-187, in ito.). His brethren, Pietro della Valle, Olearius, Thavenot, Tavernier, &c., whom I have fruitlessly searched, had neither eyes nor attention for this interesting people.

207 The letter of Abdoulrahman, governor or tyrant of Africa, to

<sup>209</sup> Among the Epistles of the Pope, see Note IX, Foot. 5. Gregor VII's 1st Epist. 22-75 (in Epist. 16, 28-31), and the contents of Pape Formosus' 19-10 No. 11 (Epist. 10). The latter who investigates the name and family of the Moorish prince with whom the proudest of the Rumei pontiffs so politely corresponds.

<sup>210</sup> Mozarabic, or Mozarabic, *antiphona*, i.e. it is interpreted in Latin (Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 37) 40. But as, As de Hispania, tom. II, p. 15. The Mozarabic liturgy, the ancient ritual of the church of Toledo, has been attacked by the popes, and exposed to the doubtful trials of the sword and of fire (Marras, Hist. Hispaniae, lib. I, c. 10, § 10). It was not until the year 1562, when the tongue, yet in the 14th century it was found necessary (A. E. K. 1707,

A. D. 1672) to transcribe an Arabic version of the canon of the councils of Spain (Biblioth. Arab. Christ. tom. 1, p. 517), for the use of the bishops and clergy in the Moorish kingdoms.

211 About the middle of the 4th century, the clergy of Cordova was reproached with this criminal complacency by the intrepid envoy of the emperor (Gothic) Valerian, Count, in Sicily, Benedict V. No. 115. and Euseb. Hist. Eccl. tom. xii. p. 614.

212 f. 22<sup>v</sup> (1499), from *LA* 1419, MS. The first eleven, 212 f. 22<sup>v</sup>–212 f. 23<sup>r</sup>, are in French, and the remainder of the text, 212 f. 23<sup>r</sup>–212 f. 24<sup>v</sup>, were added in the place of the original. No evidence shows that the French text, described by James V. Barrow, *LA* 1418, text II, from 1500 to 1510, in *Les Deux Francs*, are copied from some older book. I shall add, that the date of the Illegit 1577 *LA* 1428, now mostly to the copy, not the composition, of treatises of grammar, in which state the civil rights of the Christians of Canada (Régime de la Nouvelle France, 1713) and the *Journal de la Vieillesse* (1713) could either be discredited or tolerated (from p. 288).

213 Raymond, Hist. Patriarch Alex. p. 288. For Africans would have flattered his Roman mission, could he have discovered any latent relics of the Christianity of Africa.



WHEN the Arabs first issued from the desert, they must have been surprised at the ease and rapidity of their own success. But when they advanced in the career of victory to the banks of the Indus and the summit of the Pyrenees; when they had repeatedly tried the edge of their cimeters and the energy of their faith, they might be equally astonished that any nation could resist their invincible arms, that any boundary should confine the dominion of the successor of the prophet. The confidence of soldiers and fanatics may indeed be excused, since the calm historian of the present hour, who strives to follow the rapid course of the Saracens, must study to explain by what means the church and state were saved from this impending, and, as it should seem, from this inevitable, danger. The deserts of Scythia and Sarmatia might be guarded by their extent, their climate, their poverty, and the courage of the northern shepherds; China was remote and inaccessible; but the greatest part of the temperate zone was subject to the Mahometan conquerors, the Greeks were exhausted by the calamities of war and the loss of their fairest provinces, and the barbarians of Europe might justly tremble at the precipitate fall of the Gothic monarchy. In this enquiry I shall unfold the events that rescued our ancestors of Britain, and our neighbours of Gaul, from the civil and religious yoke of the Koran; that protected the majesty of Rome, and delayed the servitude of Constantinople; that invigorated the defence of the Christians, and scattered among their enemies the seeds of division and decay.

Forty-six years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, his disciples appeared in arms under the walls of Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> They were animated by a genuine or fictitious saying of the prophet, that to the first army which besieged the city of the Cæsars, their sins were forgiven: the long series of Roman triumphs would be meritiously transferred to the conquerors of New Rome; and the wealth of nations was deposited in this well-chosen seat of royalty and commerce. No sooner had the caliph Moawiyah suppressed his rivals and established his throne, than he aspired to expiate the guilt of civil blood, by the success and glory of this holy expedition;<sup>2</sup> his preparations by sea and land were adequate to the importance of the object; his standard was intrusted to Sophian, a veteran warrior, but the troops were encouraged by the example and presence of Yazid, the son and presumptive heir of the commander of the faithful. The Greeks had little to hope, nor had their enemies any reasons of fear, from the courage and vigilance of the reigning emperor, who disgraced the name of Constantine, and imitated only the inglorious years of his grand-

father Heraclius. Without delay or opposition, the naval forces of the Saracens passed through the unguarded channel of the Hellespont, which even now, under the feeble and disorderly government of the Turks, is maintained as the natural bulwark of the capital. The Arabian fleet cast anchor, and the troops were disembarked near the palace of Hebdomon, seven miles from the city. During many days, from the dawn of light to the evening, the line of assault was extended from the golden gate to the eastern promontory, and the foremost warriors were impelled by the weight and effort of the succeeding columns. But the besiegers had formed an insufficient estimate of the strength and resources of Constantinople. The solid and lofty walls were guarded by numbers and discipline: the spirit of the Romans was rekindled by the last danger of their religion and empire: the fugitives from the conquered provinces more successfully renewed the defence of Damascus and Alexandria; and the Saracens were dismayed by the strange and prodigious effects of artificial fire. This firm and effectual resistance diverted their arms to the more easy attempts of plundering the European and Asiatic coasts of the Propontis; and, after keeping the sea from the month of April to that of September, on the approach of winter they retreated fourscore miles from the capital, to the isle of Cyziens, in which they had established their magazine of spoil and provisions. So patient was their perseverance, or so languid were their operations, that they repeated in the six following summers the same attack and retreat, with a gradual abatement of hope and vigour, till the mischances of shipwreck and disease, of the sword and of fire, compelled them to relinquish the fruitless enterprise. They might bewail the loss, or commemorate the martyrdom, of thirty thousand Moslems, who fell in the siege of Constantinople; and the solemn funeral of Abu Ayub, or Job, excited the curiosity of the Christians themselves. That venerable Arab, one of the last of the companions of Mahomet, was numbered among the *ansars*, or auxiliaries, of Medina, who sheltered the head of the flying prophet. In his youth he fought, at Beder and Ohud, under the holy standard: in his mature age he was the friend and follower of Ali; and the last remnant of his strength and life was consumed in a distant and dangerous war against the enemies of the Koran. His memory was revered; but the place of his burial was neglected and unknown, during a period of seven hundred and eighty years, till the conquest of Constantinople by Mahomet the Second. A seasonable vision (for such are the manufacture of every religion) revealed the holy spot at the foot of the walls and the bottom of the harbour; and the mosaic of Ayub has been de-

<sup>1</sup> Theophanes places the first years of the siege of Constantinople in the year one thousand nine hundred and thirty, A. D. 674, and the capture of the city in the year one thousand nine hundred and thirty-five, A. D. 679. Theophanes also mentions the siege of Constantinople by the Arabs, A. D. 674-679.

<sup>2</sup> For this first siege of Constantinople, see Nicetas (Breviar. p. 22), Theophanes (Hist. p. 224), and the Arabic writers, p. 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

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the senate and people ; but, after some months, he sunk into a cloister, and resigned, to the firmer hand of Leo the Isaurian, the urgent defence of the capital and empire. The most formidable of the Saracens, Moslemah the brother of the caliph, was advancing at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand Arabs and Persians, the greater part mounted on horses or camels ; and the successful sieges of Tyana, Amorium, and Pergamus, were of sufficient duration to exercise their skill and to elevate their hopes. At the well-known passage of Abydus, on the Hellespont, the Mahometan arms were transported, for the first time, from Asia to Europe. From thence, wheeling round the Thracian cities of the Propontis, Moslemah invested Constantinople on the land side, surrounded his camp with a ditch and rampart, prepared and planted his engines of assault, and declared, by words and actions, a patient resolution of expecting the return of seed-time and harvest, should the obstinacy of the besieged prove equal to his own. The Greeks would gladly have ransomed their religion and empire, by a fine or assessment of a piece of gold on the head of each inhabitant of the city ; but the liberal offer was rejected with disdain, and the presumption of Moslemah was exalted by the speedy approach and invincible force of the navies of Egypt and Syria. They are said to have amounted to eighteen hundred ships : the number betrays their inconsiderable size ; and of the twenty stout and capacious vessels, whose magnitude impeded their progress, each was manned with no more than one hundred heavy armed soldiers. This huge armada proceeded on a smooth sea, and with a gentle gale, towards the mouth of the Bosphorus ; the surface of the strait was overshadowed, in the language of the Greeks, with a moving forest, and the same fatal night had been fixed by the Saracen chief for a general assault by sea and land. To allure the confidence of the enemy, the emperor had thrown aside the chain that usually guarded the entrance of the harbour ; but while they hesitated whether they should seize the opportunity, or apprehend the snare, the ministers of destruction were at hand. The fireships of the Greeks were launched against them, the Arabs, their arms, and vessels, were involved in the same flames ; the disorderly fugitives were dashed against each other or overwhelmed in the waves ; and I no longer find a vestige of the fleet, that had threatened to extirpate the Roman name. A still more fatal and irreparable loss was that of the caliph Soliman, who died of an indigestion <sup>12</sup> in his camp near Kinnisrin or Chalcis in Syria, as he was preparing to lead against Constantinople the remaining forces of the East. The brother of Moslemah was succeeded by a kinsman and an enemy ; and the throne of an active

and able prince was degraded by the useless and pernicious virtues of a bigot. While he started and satisfied the scruples of a blind conscience, the siege was continued through the winter by the neglect, rather than by the resolution, of the caliph Omar.<sup>13</sup> The winter proved uncommonly rigorous: above an hundred days the ground was covered with deep snow, and the natives of the sultry climes of Egypt and Arabia lay torpid and almost lifeless in their frozen camp. They revived on the return of spring: a second effort had been made in their favour and their distress was relieved by the arrival of two numerous fleets, laden with corn, and arms, and soldiers; the first from Alexandria, of four hundred transports and galleys; the second of three hundred and sixty vessels from the ports of Africa. But the Greek fires were again kindled, and if the destruction was less complete, it was owing to the experience which had taught the Moslems to remain at a safe distance, or to the perfidy of the Egyptian mariners, who deserted with their ships to the emperor of the Christians. The trade and navigation of the capital were restored; and the produce of the fisheries supplied the wants, and even the luxury, of the inhabitants. But the calamities of famine and disease were soon felt by the troops of Moslemah, and as the former was miserably assuaged, so the latter was dreadfully propagated, by the pernicious nutriment which hunger compelled them to extract from the most unclean or unnatural food. The spirit of conquest, and even of enthusiasm, was extinct: the Saracens could no longer straggle beyond their lines, either single or in small parties, without exposing themselves to the merciless retaliation of the Thracian peasants. An army of Bulgarians was attracted from the Danube by the gifts and promises of Leo; and these savage auxiliaries made some atonement for the evils which they had inflicted on the empire, by the defeat and slaughter of twenty-two thousand Asiatics. A report was dexterously scattered, that the Franks, the unknown nations of the Latin world, were arming by sea and land in the defence of the Christian cause, and their formidable aid was expected with far different sensations in the camp and city. At length, after a siege of thirteen months,<sup>14</sup> the hopeless Moslemah received from the caliph the welcome permission of retreat. The march of the Arabian cavalry over the Hellespont and through the provinces of Asia, was executed without delay or molestation; but an army of their brethren had been cut in pieces on the side of Bithynia, and the remains of the fleet were so repeatedly damaged by tempest and fire, that only five galleys entered the port of Alexandria to relate the tale of their various and almost incredible disasters.<sup>15</sup>

### Failure and retreat of the Saracens.

12 The caliph had emptied two baskets of eggs and of fowls, which he swallowed alternately, and the report was circulated with marvel and sugar. In one of his pinnages to Mecca, Sulaiman sat at a single meal, seventy pomegranates, a kid, six fowls, and a huge quantity of the grapes of Tayef. If the Lail of Fate be correct, we must admire the appetite, rather than the luxury, of the sovereign of Asia (Abulfeda, *Annal. Moslem.* p. 126.)

13 See the article of Omar Ben Abdalaziz, in the Bibliothèque Orientale (p. 689, 690), preferring, as Ebraim (p. 61) has remarked, *miim rebus suis mundanis*. He was so desirous of being with God, that he would not have anointed his ear (his own saying) to obtain a

perfect cure of his last malady. The caliph had only one shirt, and in a rage of luxury, his annual expense was no more than two drachms (4000 baragins, p. 111). *Had dai gravibus eo principe tuit orbis* Moslems (Al. 166a, p. 107).

11 Both Nicephorus and Theophanes agree that the siege of Constantinople was raised the 15th of August (A.D. 718), but as the former, our first source, affirms that Constantinople, twelve months, the latter must be made to mean, supposing that it began exactly the day of the preceding year. I do not hold that this is not so, but it is possible.

15 In the second step,  $f(x) = 0$  if  $x = 1^k$ ,  $x \in \mathbb{N}$ ,  $k \geq 1$ . In



In the two sieges, the deliverance of Constantinople may be chiefly ascribed to the novelty, the terrors, and the real efficacy of the *Greek fire*.<sup>16</sup> The important secret of compounding and directing this artificial flame was imparted by Callinicus, a native of Heliopolis in Syria, who deserted from the service of the caliph to that of the emperor.<sup>17</sup> The skill of a chemist and engineer was equivalent to the succour of fleets and armies; and this discovery or improvement of the military art was fortunately reserved for the distressful period, when the degenerate Romans of the East were incapable of contending with the warlike enthusiasm and youthful vigour of the Saracens. The historian who presumes to analyse this extraordinary composition should suspect his own ignorance and that of his Byzantine guides, so prone to the marvellous, so careless, and, in this instance, so jealous of the truth. From their obscure, and perhaps fallacious hints, it should seem that the principal ingredient of the Greek fire was the *naphtha*,<sup>18</sup> or liquid bitumen, a light, tenacious, and inflammable oil,<sup>19</sup> which springs from the earth, and catches fire as soon as it comes in contact with the air. The *naphtha* was mingled, I know not by what methods or in what proportions, with sulphur and with the pitch that is extracted from ever-green firs.<sup>20</sup> From this mixture, which produced a thick smoke and a loud explosion, proceeded a fierce and obstinate flame, which not only rose in perpendicular ascent, but likewise burnt with equal vehemence in descent or lateral progress; instead of being extinguished, it was nourished and quickened, by the element of water; and sand, urine, or vinegar, were the only remedies that could damp the fury of this powerful agent, which was justly denominated by the Greeks, the *liquid*, or the *maritime*, fire. For the annoyance of the enemy, it was employed with equal effect, by sea and land, in battles or in sieges. It was either poured from the rampart in large boilers, or launched in red-hot balls of stone and iron, or darted in arrows and javelins, twisted round with flax and tow, which had deeply imbibed the inflammable oil; sometimes it was deposited in fire-ships, the victims and instruments of a more ample revenge, and was most commonly blown through long tubes of copper, which were planted on the prow

of a galley, and fancifully shaped into the mouths of savage monsters, that seemed to vomit a stream of liquid and consuming fire. This important art was preserved at Constantinople, as the palladium of the state: the galleys and artillery might occasionally be lent to the allies of Rome; but the composition of the Greek fire was concealed with the most jealous scruple, and the terror of the enemies was increased and prolonged by their ignorance and surprise. In the treatise of the administration of the empire, the royal author<sup>21</sup> suggests the answers and excuses that might best elude the indiscreet curiosity and importunate demands of the barbarians. They should be told that the mystery of the Greek fire had been revealed by an angel to the first and greatest of the Constantines, with a sacred injunction, that this gift of heaven, this peculiar blessing of the Romans, should never be communicated to any foreign nation: that the prince and subject were alike bound to religious silence under the temporal and spiritual penalties of treason and sacrilege; and that the impious attempt would provoke the sudden and supernatural vengeance of the God of the Christians. By these precautions, the secret was confined, above four hundred years, to the Romans of the East; and, at the end of the eleventh century, the Pisans, to whom every sea and every art were familiar, suffered the effects, without understanding the composition, of the Greek fire. It was at length either discovered or stolen by the Mahometans; and, in the holy wars of Syria and Egypt, they retorted an invention, contrived against themselves, on the heads of the Christians. A knight, who despised the swords and lances of the Saracens, relates, with heartfelt sincerity, his own fears, and those of his companions, at the sight and sound of the mischievous engine that discharged a torrent of the Greek fire, the *feu Gregois*, as it is styled by the more early of the French writers. It came flying through the air, says Joinville,<sup>22</sup> like a winged long-tailed dragon, about the thickness of an hog'shead, with the report of thunder and the velocity of lightning; and the darkness of the night was dispelled by this deadly illumination. The use of the Greek, or, as it might now be called, of the Saracen fire, was continued to the middle of the fourteenth century,<sup>23</sup> when the scientific or casual compound of nitre, sulphur, and charcoal, effected

phorus (Brev. p. 35–36.), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 524–531), Cedrenus (Compend. p. 149–152), Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 98, 102), Elmecan (Hist. Saracen. p. 88.), Abu-feda (Annal. Moslem. p. 126.), and Abulpharagus (Dynast. p. 130.), the most satisfactory of the Arabs.

<sup>16</sup> Our sure and indefatigable guide in the middle ages and Byzantine

Strabo (Geograph. l. vii. p. 1078.) and Pliny (Hist. Natur. ii. 108, 109.) Huc (*Naphtha*) magna coactum est ignem, et visum, et percussus, et ignis in hac undecunque visum. Of our travellers I am best pleased with Olear (tom. i. p. 157, 158.).

<sup>20</sup> Anna Comnena has partly drawn aside the curtain. Απο της πυλιντης, και αλβας τωτων τουτων διελθων ακαθαρτος συνανταει βακχου ακαθαρτος. Τοις μετα θεου τρωμας μεν ενβαλνται εις, αυλικους εκλεμω και εμφορσας παρα τον πυλιντος; λαβρω και σιτοχει πενταμετα (Alexiad. l. xii. p. 553.). Elsewhere (l. xi. p. 330.) she mentions the property of burning αερας, πυρρας και εφ' αεραται. Leo, in the sixth chapter of his Tactics (Opera Miorum, tom. xi. p. 813, edit. Linn. Florent. 1715), speaks of the new invention of πυρ μετα βροχης και κενων. These are genuine and Imperial testimonies.

<sup>21</sup> Constantin. Porphyrogenit. de Administrat. Imperii, c. xiii. p. 14, 65.

<sup>22</sup> Histoire de St. Louis, p. 59. Paris, 1668, p. 44. Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1761. The former of these editions is precious for

<sup>23</sup> The vanity, or envy, of shaking the established property of Fame, has tempted some moderns to larry gunpowder above the sixth (see Sir William Temple, Dutchess, &c.), and the Greek fire above the sixth century see the Saluste du President des Breuxes, tom. ii. p. 813.). But their evidence, which precedes the vulgar era of the invention, is seldom clear or satisfactory, and subsequent writers may be suspected of fraud or credulity. In the earliest sieges

a new revolution in the art of war and the history of mankind.<sup>24</sup>

Invasion of Constantinople and the Greek fire might exclude the Arabs from the eastern entrance of Europe; but in the West, on the side of the Pyrenees, the provinces of Gaul were threatened and invaded by the conquerors of Spain.<sup>25</sup> The decline of the French monarchy invited the attack of these insatiate fanatics. The descendants of Clovis had lost the inheritance of his martial and ferocious spirit; and their misfortune or demerit has affixed the epithet of *lazy* to the last kings of the Merovingian race.<sup>26</sup> They ascended the throne without power, and sunk into the grave without a name. A country palace, in the neighbourhood of Compiegne,<sup>27</sup> was allotted for their residence or prison: but each year, in the month of March or May, they were conducted in a wagon drawn by oxen to the assembly of the Franks, to give audience to foreign ambassadors, and to ratify the acts of the mayor of the palace. That domestic officer was become the minister of the nation and the master of the prince. A public employment was converted into the patrimony of a private family: the elder Pepin left a king of mature years under the guardianship of his own widow and her child; and these feeble regents were forcibly dispossessed by the most active of his bastards. A government, half savage and half corrupt, was almost dissolved; and the tributary dukes, the provincial counts, and the territorial lords, were tempted to despise the weakness of the monarch, and to initiate the ambition of the mayor. Among these independent chiefs, one of the boldest and most successful was Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, who, in the southern provinces of Gaul, usurped the authority, and even the title, of king. The Goths, the Gascons, and the Franks, assembled under the standard of this Christian hero: he repelled the first invasion of the Saracens; and Zana, lieutenant of the caliph, lost his army and his life under the walls of Thoulouse. The ambition of his successors was stimulated by revenge; they repassed the Pyrenees with the means and the resolution of conquest. The advantageous situation which had recommended Narbonne<sup>28</sup> as the first Roman colony, was again chosen by the Moslems: they claimed the province of Septimania or Languedoc as a just dependence of the Spanish monarchy: the vineyards of Gascony and the city of Bourdeaux were possessed by the sovereign of Damascus and Samarcand; and the south of France, from

the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhône, assumed the manners and religion of Arabia.

But these narrow limits were scorned by the spirit of Abdalrahman, or Abderame, who had been restored by the caliph Hashem to the wishes of the soldiers and people of Spain. That veteran and daring commander adjudged to the obedience of the prophet whatever yet remained of France or of Europe; and prepared to execute the sentence, at the head of a formidable host, in the full confidence of surmounting all opposition either of nature or of man. His first care was to suppress a domestic rebel, who commanded the most important pass<sup>29</sup> of the Pyrenees: Munuza, a Moorish chief, had accepted the alliance of the duke of Aquitain; and Eudes, from a motive of private or public interest, devoted his beauteous daughter to the embraces of the African misbeliever. But the strongest fortresses of Cerdagne were invested by a superior force; the rebel was overtaken and slain in the mountains; and his widow was sent a captive to Damascus, to gratify the desires, or more probably the vanity, of the commander of the faithful. From the Pyrenees, Abderame proceeded without delay to the passage of the Rhône and the siege of Arles. An army of Christians attempted the relief of the city: the tombs of their leaders were yet visible in the thirteenth century; and many thousands of their dead bodies were carried down the rapid stream into the Mediterranean Sea. The arms of Abderame were not less successful on the side of the ocean. He passed without opposition the Garonne and Dordogne, which unite their waters in the Gulf of Bourdeaux; but he found, beyond those rivers, the camp of the intrepid Eudes, who had formed a second army, and sustained a second defeat, so fatal to the Christians, that according to their sad confession, God alone could reckon the number of the slain. The victorious Saracen overran the provinces of Aquitain, whose Gallic names are disguised, rather than lost, in the modern appellations of Perigord, Saintonge, and Poitou: his standards were planted on the walls, or at least before the gates, of Tours and of Sens; and his detachments overspread the kingdom of Burgundy as far as the well-known cities of Lyons and Besançon. The memory of these devastations, for Abderame did not spare the country or the people, was long preserved by tradition; and the invasion of France by the Moors or Mahometans, affords the groundwork of those fables, which have been so wildly disfigured in the

some combustibles of oil and sulphur have been used, and the Greek fire has some affinities with gunpowder both in nature and effect. for the history of the Greek fire, see the account of the invention of it in the history of the empire, vol. i. p. 67, 79.

the ingredients, saltpetre and sulphur, and conceal the third in a sentence of mysterious gibberish, as if he dreaded the consequences of his own discovery (Biog. Brit. vol. i. p. 430. new edition).

<sup>25</sup> For the invasion of France, and the defeat of the Arabs by Charles Martel, see the *Historia Arabum* c. 11. 12. 13. 14. of Roderic Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, who had before him the Christian chronicle of Isidore Pensis, and the Mahometan history of Novair. The Moslems are silent or concise in the account of their losses, but M. Cardonne (tom. i. p. 129, 130, 131.) has given a pure and simple account of all that he could collect from Ibn Haukari, Hulajzi, and an anonymous writer. The texts of the chronicles of France, and lives of saints, are inserted in the collection of Bouquet (tom. iii.) and the Annals of Pagi, who (tom. iii. under the proper years) has restored the chronology, which is anticipated six years

in the Annals of Baronius. The Dictionary of Bayle (*Abderame* and *Munnuza*) has more merit for lively reflection than original research.

<sup>26</sup> Eginhard, de Vita Caroli Magni, c. p. 13. 18. edit Schenck, Utrecht, 1711. Some modern critics accuse the number of Charles' reign of exaggerating the weakness of the Merovingians: but the general outline is just, and that French reader will for ever repeat the beautiful lines of Boileau's *Lutrin*.

<sup>27</sup> *Compiegne*, on the river between Compiegne and Novion, which Eginhard calls *perpari rellus villam* (see the notes, and the map of ancient France in Dom Bouquet's Collection). *Compiegne*, or *Compigne*, was a palace of more dignity (Hadrian, *Valeut Notitia*).

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romances of chivalry, and so elegantly adorned by the Italian muse. In the decline of society and art, the deserted cities could supply a slender booty to the Saracens; their richest spoil was found in the churches and monasteries, which they stripped of their ornaments and delivered to the flames: and the tutelar saints, both Hilary of Poitiers and Martin of Tours, forgot their miraculous powers in the defence of their own sepulchres.<sup>20</sup> A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire; the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland: the Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet.<sup>30</sup>

From such calamities was Christendom delivered by the genius and fortune of one man. Charles, the illegitimate son of the elder Pepin, was content with the titles of mayor or duke of the Franks; but he deserved to become the father of a line of kings. In a laborious administration of twenty-four years, he restored and supported the dignity of the throne, and the rebels of Germany and Gaul were successively crushed by the activity of a warrior, who, in the same campaign, could display his banner on the Elbe, the Rhône, and the shores of the ocean. In the public danger, he was summoned by the voice of his country; and his rival, the duke of Aquitain, was reduced to appear among the fugitives and suppliants. "Alas!" exclaimed the Franks, "what a misfortune! what an indignity! We have long heard of the name and conquests of the Arabs: we were apprehensive of their attack from the East; they have now conquered Spain, and invade our country on the side of the West. Yet their numbers, and (since they have no buckler) their arms, are inferior to our own." "If you follow my advice," replied the prudent mayor of the palace, "you will not interrupt their march, nor precipitate your attack. They are like a torrent, which it is dangerous to stem in its career. The thirst of riches, and the consciousness of success, redouble their valour, and valour is of more avail than arms or numbers. Be patient till they have loaded themselves with the incumbrance of wealth. The possession of wealth will divide their counsels and assure your victory." This subtle policy is perhaps a refinement of the Arabian writers;

and the situation of Charles will suggest a more narrow and selfish motive of procrastination; the secret desire of humbling the pride, and wasting the provinces, of the rebel duke of Aquitain. It is yet more probable, that the delays of Charles were inevitable and reluctant. A standing army was unknown under the first and second race: more than half the kingdom was now in the hands of the Saracens: according to their respective situation, the Franks of Neustria and Austrasia were too conscious or too careless of the impending danger; and the voluntary aids of the Gepidæ and Germans were separated by a long interval from the standard of the Christian general. No sooner had he collected his forces, than he sought and found the enemy in the centre of France, between Tours and Poitiers. His well-conducted march was covered by a range of hills, and Abderame appears to have been surprised by his unexpected presence. The nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe, advanced with equal ardour to an encounter which would change the history of the world. In the six first days of desultory combat, the horsemen and archers of the East maintained their advantage: but in the closer onset of the seventh day, the Orientals were oppressed by the strength and stature of the Germans, who, with stout hearts and iron hands,<sup>31</sup> asserted the civil and religious freedom of their posterity. The epithet of *Martel*, the *Hammer*, which has been added to the name of Charles, is expressive of his weighty and irresistible strokes: the valour of Eudes was excited by resentment and emulation; and their companions, in the eye of history, are the true Peers and Paladins of French chivalry. After a bloody field, in which Abderame was slain, the Saracens, in the close of the evening, retired to their camp. In the disorder and despair of the night, the various tribes of Yemen and Damascus, of Africa and Spain, were provoked to turn their arms against each other: the remains of their host were suddenly dissolved, and each *emir* consulted his safety by an hasty and separate retreat. At the dawn of day, the stillness of an hostile camp was suspected by the victorious Christians: on the report of their spies, they ventured to explore the riches of the vacant tents: but, if we except some celebrated relics, a small portion of the spoil was restored to the innocent and lawful owners. The joyful tidings were soon diffused over the Catholic world, and the monks of Italy could affirm and believe that three hundred and fifty, or three hundred and seventy-five, thousand of the Mahometans had been crushed by the hammer of Charles,<sup>32</sup> while no more than fifteen hundred Christians were slain in the field of Tours. But this incredible tale is sufficiently disproved by the caution of the French general, who apprehended the snares and

<sup>20</sup> With regard to the sanctuaries of St. Martin of Tours, Rod vic Nimesius accuses the saracens of the deed. Turonis civitatem, ecclesiam et palatia vastatione et incendio simul diruit et consumpsit. The continuator of Fredegarus imputes to them no more than the intention. Ad domum beati sancti Martini evertem et destruant. At Carolus, &c. The French annalist was more jealous of the honour of the saint.

<sup>21</sup> Yet I sincerely doubt whether the Oxford monk would have produced a volume of controversy so elegant and ingenious as the sermons lately preached by Mr. White, the Arabic professor, at Mr. Hampton's lecture. His observations on the character and religion of Mahomet, are always adjusted to his argument, and generally founded in truth and reason. He sustains the part of a lively and

eloquent advocate; and sometimes rises to the merit of an historian and philosopher.

<sup>31</sup> Gens Austriæ membrorum pre-eminentia valida, et gens Germani corde et corpore præstantissima, quasi in ipsis oculis, manu armis, et pectore ardunt. Arabes exterminantur (Rodvic. Tolosan. c. xv.).

<sup>32</sup> These numbers are stated by Paul Warnefried, the deacon of Aquilina (de Gestis Langobard. l. vi. p. 921. edit. Brotj.), and Anastasius, the abbot of the Roman church (in Vit. Gregorii II. l. i.), who tell a ridiculous story of three converted sponges, which rendered invulnerable the French soldiers among whom they had been thrust. It should seem, that in his letters to the pope, Eudes enlarged the honour of the victory, for which he is chastised by the French writers, who, with equal falsehood, accuse him of inviting the Saracens.

accidents of a pursuit, and dismissed his German allies to their native forests. The inactivity of a conqueror betrays the loss of strength and blood, and the most cruel execution is inflicted, not in the ranks of battle, but on the backs of a flying

They retreat  
before the  
Franks.

enemy. Yet the victory of the Franks was complete and final; Aquitain was recovered by the arms of Eudes;

the Arabs never resumed the conquest of Gaul, and they were soon driven beyond the Pyrenees by Charles Martel and his valiant race.<sup>33</sup> It might have been expected that the saviour of Christendom would have been canonised, or at least applauded, by the gratitude of the clergy, who are indebted to his sword for their present existence. But in the public distress, the mayor of the palace had been compelled to apply the riches, or at least the revenues, of the bishops and abbots, to the relief of the state and the reward of the soldiers. His merits were forgotten, his sacrilege alone was remembered, and, in an epistle to a Carolingian prince, a Gallic synod presumes to declare that his ancestor was damned; that, on the opening of his tomb, the spectators were affrighted by a smell of fire and the aspect of an horrid dragon; and that a saint of the times was indulged with a pleasant vision of the soul and body of Charles Martel, burning, to all eternity, in the abyss of hell.<sup>34</sup>

Elevation of the  
Abbasides,  
A. D. 746-750.

The loss of an army, or a province, in the Western world, was less painful to the court of Damascus, than the rise and progress of a domestic competitor. Except among the Syrians, the caliphs of the house of Ommyyah had never been the objects of the public favour. The life of Mahomet recorded their perseverance in idolatry and rebellion; their conversion had been reluctant, their elevation irregular and factious, and their throne was cemented with the most holy and noble blood of Arabia. The best of their race, the pious Omar, was dissatisfied with his own title: their personal virtues were insufficient to justify a departure from the order of succession; and the eyes and wishes of the faithful were turned towards the line of Hashem and the kindred of the apostle of God. Of these Fatimites were either rash or pusillanimous; but the descendants of Abbas cherished, with courage and discretion, the hopes of their rising fortunes. From an obscure residence in Syria, they secretly despatched their agents and missionaries, who preached in the Eastern provinces their hereditary indefeasible right; and Mohammed, the son of Ali, the son of Abdallah, the son of Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, gave audience to the deputies of Chorasán, and accepted their free gift of four hundred thousand pieces of gold. After the death of Mohammed, the oath of allegiance was administered in the name of his son Ibrahim to a numerous band of votaries, who expected only a signal and a leader; and

the governor of Chorasán continued to deplore his fruitless admonitions and the deadly slumber of the caliphs of Damascus, till he himself, with all his adherents, was driven from the city and palace of Meru, by the rebellious arms of Abu Moslem.<sup>35</sup> That maker of kings, the author, as he is named, of the *call* of the Abbassides, was at length rewarded for his presumption of merit with the usual gratitude of courts. A mean, perhaps a foreign, extraction could not repress the aspiring energy of Abu Moslem. Jealous of his wives, liberal of his wealth, prodigal of his own blood and of that of others, he could boast with pleasure, and possibly with truth, that he had destroyed six hundred thousand of his enemies; and such was the intrepid gravity of his mind and countenance, that he was never seen to smile except on a day of battle. In the visible separation of parties, the *green* was consecrated to the Fatimites; the Ommyades were distinguished by the *white*; and the *black*, as the most adverse, was naturally adopted by the Abbassides. Their turbans and garments were stained with that gloomy colour: two black standards, on pike staves nine cubits long, were borne aloft in the van of Abu Moslem; and their allegorical names of the *night* and the *shadow* obscurely represented the indissoluble union and perpetual succession of the line of Hashem. From the Indus to the Euphrates, the East was convulsed by the quarrel of the white and the black factions: the Abbassides were most frequently victorious; but their public success was clouded by the personal misfortune of their chief. The court of Damascus, awakening from a long slumber, resolved to prevent the pilgrimage of Mecca, which Ibrahim had undertaken with a splendid retinue, to recommend himself at once to the favour of the prophet and of the people. A detachment of cavalry intercepted his march, and arrested his person; and the unhappy Ibrahim, snatched away from the promise of untasted royalty, expired in iron fetters in the dungeons of Hauran. His two younger brothers, Saffah and Almanzor, eluded the search of the tyrant, and lay concealed at Cufa, till the zeal of the people and the approach of his Eastern friends allowed them to expose their persons to the impatient public. On Friday, in the dress of a caliph, in the colours of the sect, Saffah proceeded with religious and military pomp to the mosch: ascending the pulpit, he prayed and preached as the lawful successor of Mahomet; and, after his departure, his kinsmen bound a willing people by an oath of fidelity. But it was on the banks of the Zab, and not in the mosch of Cufa, that this important controversy was determined. Every advantage appeared to be on the side of the white faction: the authority of established government; an army of an hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, against a sixth part of that number; and the presence and merit of the caliph Mervan, the

33. Narbonne, and the rest of Septimania, was recovered by Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, A. D. 755 (Pagi, Critica, tom. vi. p. 760). Thirty-seven years afterwards it was pulled out by a sudden burst of the Arabs, who employed the captives in the construction of the mosch. Pagi, l. c. p. 761. 34. See the epistle of the Gallic synod, in the collection of the works of the Council of Orange, tom. ii. p. 100. 35. See the history of the Abbassides, in the collection of the works of the Council of Orange, tom. ii. p. 100.

A. D. 751. Florist, Hist. Euboea, tom. x. p. 514-515. Yet Ibrahim himself, and the French critics, reject with contempt this explanation. The word *call* is derived from the Arabic *qall*, to call, and signifies a public declaration of war. Twelve hundred miles of a journey were made in a few days, and the army of the Abbassides, consisting of thirty thousand men, was assembled in the city of Cufa, A. D. 750. See the history of the Abbassides, in the collection of the works of the Council of Orange, tom. ii. p. 100.

fourteenth and last of the house of Omuiyah. Before his accession to the throne, he had deserved, by his Georgian warfare, the honourable epithet of the ass of Mesopotamia;<sup>30</sup> and he might have been ranked among the greatest princes, had not, says Abulfeda, the eternal order decreed that moment for the ruin of his family; a decree against which all human prudence and fortitude must struggle in vain. The orders of Mervan were mistaken, or disobeyed, the return of his horse, from which he had dismounted on a necessary occasion, impressed the belief of his death; and the enthusiasm of the black squadrons was ably conducted by Abdallah, the uncle of his competitor. After an irretrievable defeat, the caliph escaped to Mosul; but the colours of the Abbassides were displayed from the rampart: he suddenly repassed the Tigris, cast a melancholy look on his palace of Haran, crossed the Euphrates, abandoned the fortifications of Damascus, and, without halting in Palestine, pitched his last and fatal camp at Busir on the banks of the Nile.<sup>37</sup> His speed was urged by

Fall of the Om-  
miades.  
A. D. 750.  
Feb. 10.

the incessant diligence of Abdallah, who in every step of the pursuit acquired strength and reputation: the remains of the white faction were finally vanquished in Egypt; and the lance, which terminated the life and anxiety of Mervan, was not less welcome perhaps to the unfortunate than to the victorious chief. The merciless inquisition of the conqueror eradicated the most distant branches of the hostile race: their bones were scattered, their memory was accursed, and the martyrdom of Hussein was abundantly revenged on the posterity of his tyrants. Fourscore of the Ommiades, who had yielded to the faith or clemency of their foes, were invited to a banquet at Damascus. The laws of hospitality were violated by a promiscuous massacre: the board was spread over their fallen bodies; and the festivity of the guests was enlivened by the music of their dying groans. By the event of the civil war the dynasty of the Abbassides was firmly established; but the Christians only could triumph in the mutual hatred and common loss of the disciples of Mahomet.<sup>35</sup>

Yet the thousands who were swept away by the sword of war might have been speedily retrieved in the succeeding generation, if the consequences of the revolution had not tended to dissolve the power and unity of the empire of the Saracens. In the proscription of the Ommiades, a royal youth of the name of Abdalrahman alone escaped the

rage of his enemies, who hunted the wandering exile from the banks of the Euphrates to the valleys of Mount Atlas. His presence in the neighbourhood of Spain revived the zeal of the white faction. The name and cause of the Abbassides had been first vindicated by the Persians; the West had been pure from civil arms; and the servants of the abdicated family still held, by a precarious tenure, the inheritance of their lands and the offices of government. Strongly prompted by gratitude, indignation, and fear, they invited the grandson of the caliph Hashem to ascend the throne of his ancestors; and, in his desperate condition, the extremes of rashness and prudence were almost the same. The acclamations of the people saluted his landing on the coast of Andalusia, and, after a successful struggle, Abdalrahman established the throne of Cordova, and was the father of the Ommiades of Spain, who reigned about two hundred and fifty years from the Atlantic to the Pyrenees.<sup>32</sup> He slew in battle a lieutenant of the Abbassides, who had invaded his dominions with a fleet and army the head of Ala, in salt and camphire, was suspended by a daring messenger before the palace of Mecca; and the caliph Almansor rejoiced in his safety, that he was removed by seas and lands from such a formidable adversary. Their mutual designs or declarations of offensive war evaporated without effect; but instead of opening a door to the conquest of Europe, Spain was discovered from the trunk of the monarchy, engaged in perpetual hostility with the East, and inclined to peace and friendship with the Christian sovereigns of Constantinople and France. The example of the Ommiades was imitated by the real or fictitious progeny of Ali, the Edrissites of Mauritania, and the more powerful Fatimites of Africa and Egypt. In the tenth century, the chair of Mahomet was disputed by three caliphs or commanders of the faithful, who reigned at Bagdad, Cairoan, and Cordova, excommunicated each other, and agreed only in a principle of discord, that a sectary is more odious and criminal than an unbeliever.<sup>33</sup>

Mecca was the patrimony of the line of Hashem, yet the Abbassides were never tempted to reside either in the birth-place or the city of the prophet. Damascus was disgraced by the choice, and polluted with the blood, of the Ommiades; and, after some hesitation, Almansor, the brother and successor of Saffah, laid the foundations

<sup>30</sup> *Ab Hume*. He had been governor of Mesopotamia, and the Arabic proverb gives the contrast of it to war, as *Ab Hume* is from an ass. The surname of Mervan was given to the commander of Humei (Hud 2, 36, 37, and both will show the moderns, who consider the ass as a stupid and foolish animal (Dierfeldt, *Recherches* sur l'âne, p. 78).

<sup>37</sup> Four several places, all in Egypt, bore the name of Busir, or Busras, as *Plinius* in Greek fable. The first, where Mervan was slain, was to the west of the Nile, in the province of Emu, or Arsinoë, the second to the E. in the same name, the third, near the pyramids, the fourth, which was destroyed by Justinian (see above, p. 178), in the Delta. I shall here transcribe a note of the learned and orthodox Michaelis. "Venture in pluribus. *Recepta* superioribus additis. *Busira* Coptice armis suppositis Christianis, *Idiote* tataricis de *busira* ventu dicitur, sed suo nomine quo in bello Coptus et Busiri dicitur, et *ere* i. Enim inquit, dringit illis. *Belum* narrant et *cussam*, bella inquit, scriptore. Byzantio, *Chiqui* Coptum et Busiri non reliquit de terra, sed i. in am. i. *Chiqui* nuntius succensum (Not. 21 p. 100). For the geography of the four Busirs, see Abulfeda (Descript. Egypt. p. 2, vers. Michaelis. Geogr.

tinger, 1776, in 4to, Michaelis (Not. 192, 197, p. 58-63), and D. Anelli (Annot. sur l'Egypte, p. 85, 141, 142).

<sup>32</sup> See Abulfeda (Annot. Mervan, p. 156, 114), Eusebius (Annot. tom. i. p. 702 vers. Pascoli), Eusebius (Hist. Sacra, tom. i. p. 109, 121), Alphonsus (Hist. Sacra, p. 134, 139), Rodon of Toledo (Hist. Aragon, p. 18, p. 37), Hieronymus (Hieronymus, p. 336, 57), who speaks of the Abbassides under the names of *Nasr*, *raica*, and *Mahomeds*, and the Bibliotheca of Dierfeldt, in the articles of *Omniades*, *Abulmader*, *Mervan*, *Idris*, *Idris*, *Idris*, *Idris*, *Idris*.

<sup>33</sup> For the resolution of the names of *Busira*, see Michaelis (Not. 192, 197, p. 58-63), and Dierfeldt (Recherches sur l'âne, tom. i. p. 180-192, 200, 272, 345, &c.).

<sup>34</sup> I shall not stop to refute the strange errors and fancies of Sir William Smith's Works, vol. i. p. 721, 274, 370 (3rd edition) and Vassier (Histoire Générale, xxviii, tom. i. p. 121, 122, édition de Lamsan), concerning the division of the Saracen empire. The last takes of Vol. i. p. 121, 122, from the extent of knowledge or religion, but Sir William was deceived by a Spanish impostor, who is traced an apostate history of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs.

Minutiae  
of the caliph.  
A. D. 750-960.

of Bagdad,<sup>41</sup> the Imperial seat of his posterity during a reign of five hundred years.<sup>42</sup> The chosen spot is on the eastern bank of the Tigris, about fifteen miles above the ruins of Modûn. the double wall was of a circular form; and such was the rapid increase of a capital, now dwindled to a provincial town, that the funeral of a popular saint might be attended by eight hundred thousand men and sixty thousand women of Bagdad and the adjacent villages. In this *city of peace*,<sup>43</sup> amidst the riches of the East, the Abbassides soon disdained the abstinence and frugality of the first caliphs, and aspired to emulate the magnificence of the Persian kings. After his wars and buildings, Almanzor left behind him in gold and silver about thirty millions sterling; <sup>44</sup> and this treasure was exhausted in a few years by the vices or virtues of his children. His son Mahadi, in a single pilgrimage to Mecca, expended six millions of dinars of gold. A pious and charitable motive may sanctify the foundation of cisterns and caravanserais, which he distributed along a measured road of seven hundred miles; but his train of animals, laden with snow, could serve only to astonish the natives of Arabia, and to refresh the fruits and liquors of the royal banquet.<sup>45</sup> The courtiers would surely praise the liberality of his grandson Alnamon, who gave away four fifths of the income of a province, a sum of two millions four hundred thousand gold dinars, before he drew his foot from the stirrup. At the nuptials of the same prince, a thousand pearls of the largest size were showered on the head of the bride,<sup>46</sup> and a lottery of lands and houses displayed the capricious bounty of fortune. The glories of the court were brightened, rather than impaired, in the decline of the empire, and a Greek ambassador might admire, or pity, the magnificence of the feeble Moctader. "The caliph's whole army," says the historian Abulfdâ, "both horse and foot, was under arms, which together made a body of one hundred and sixty thousand men. His state officers, the favourite slaves, stood near him in splendid apparel, their belts glittering with gold and gems. Near them were seven thousand eunuchs, four thousand of them white, the remainder black. The porters or door-keepers were in number seven hundred. Barges and boats, with the most superb decorations, were seen swimming upon the Tigris. Nor was the palace itself

"less splendid, in which were hung up thirty-eight thousand pieces of tapestry, twelve thousand five hundred of which were of silk embroidered with gold. The carpets on the floor were twenty-two thousand. An hundred lions were brought out, with a keeper to each lion.<sup>47</sup> Among the other spectacles of rare and stupendous luxury was a tree of gold and silver spreading into eighteen large branches, on which, and on the lesser boughs, sat a variety of birds made of the same precious metals, as well as the leaves of the tree. While the machinery affected spontaneous motions, the several birds warbled their natural harmony. Through this scene of magnificence, the Greek ambassador was led by the vizir to the foot of the caliph's throne."<sup>48</sup> In the west, the Onniades of Spain supported, with equal pomp, the title of commander of the faithful. Three miles from Cordova, in honour of his favourite sultana, the third and greatest of the Abdalrahmans constructed the city, palace, and gardens of Zehra. Twenty-five years, and above three millions sterling, were employed by the founder. his liberal taste invited the artists of Constantinople, the most skillful sculptors and architects of the age; and the buildings were sustained or adorned by twelve hundred columns of Spanish and African, of Greek and Italian marble. The hall of audience was incrustured with gold and pearls, and a great basin in the centre was surrounded with the curious and costly figures of birds and quadrupeds. In a lofty pavilion of the gardens, one of these basins and fountains, so delightful in a sultry climate, was replenished not with water, but with the purest quicksilver. The seraglio of Abdalrahman, his wives, concubines, and black eunuchs, amounted to six thousand three hundred persons; and he was attended to the field by a guard of twelve thousand horse, whose belts and cineters were studded with gold.<sup>49</sup>

In a private condition, our desires are perpetually repressed by poverty and subordination ; but the lives and labours of millions are devoted to the service of a despotic prince, whose laws are blindly obeyed, and whose wishes are instantly gratified. Our imagination is dazzled by the splendid picture ; and whatever may be the cool dictates of reason, there are few among us who would obstinately refuse a trial of the comforts

41. The geographer D. Anselmi Empirae et le Turc, p. 121-125<sup>3</sup>, and the Orientalist D. Huet de Rillotheorie, p. 167, 168, give evidence for the knowledge of Badakhshan by travellers; Pietro della Valle (Ann. it., p. 292-298), J. Tavernier (tom I, p. 260-278), Thevenot (Hist. p. 391-411), Omer (tom I, p. 162-168), and Sinbad (An. arab. tom II, p. 171-174), have seen him in decay, and the Arab in Arabic (p. 291), and the travelling Jew, Benjamin of Tudela (in German, pp. 111-127), a Constantine Emperor, and Eliezer, 1635, are the only writers of no doubt intimate who have known Badakhshan in the reign of the Afghans.

(5) Medun of Salami, Dair al Salami. This place, or, is it more readily compounded by the Byzantine writers, *Emmora* or *Thronopis*. There is some dispute concerning the toponymy of Raghad, but the latter is allowed to signify a garden in the Persian tongue, the garden of the Christian hunter, whose cell had been the only habitation on the spot.

44. Rejoins in a ratio sex entries, mil'us milks, it enters, it quiter et  
vices milles mille aureus aureus. Flu. viii. Hist. Barren p. 16.  
I have reckoned the gold pieces at eight shillings, and the proportion  
to the silver as twelve to one. But I will never answer for the number.

of Erpenius; and the Latins are scarcely above the savages in the language of arithmetic.

4<sup>th</sup> Differ. ent., p. 570. Abulfeida p. 174. Nixem Meccam appor-  
tavit, rem du aut non quam aut per some vsum.

16. *Almofedz*, p. 184. 180, describes the splendour and liberality of Almamoon. Milton has alluded to this Oriental custom—  
— Or where the generous East, with richest hand,

I have used the modern writers, to express the meaning of the

I have used the maxim which, I express the meaning of the Roman emperors, which entitled to send prize the person who caught them, as they were thrown upon their sword.

47 When Bell of Antwerp, *Travel*, vol. i, p. 101, accompanied the Russian ambassador to the audience of the unfortunate Shah, he was of those who have no stomach to tolerate the presence of

18. *Amphibia*, p. 272. *Illustrat.*, p. 10. This engraving was re-

18. *Amphisba*, p. 277. Differ'et, p. 40. This engraving was received at Basel d. VII. 707, A.D. 1617. In the passage of *Amphisba*, I have used, with some variation, the Engraver's translation of the

I have used with some variation the figures given in the learned and valuable Mr. Harris's *Statistics of the Colonial Fisheries*, p. 267, 268.

550. A. A. Kostikov, *Izv. Akad. Nauk SSSR Tekhn. Fiz.* 1986, No. 1, 133-134 (1986).

habra of Orinada ( $\text{Swainsonia} = \text{Orinada}$ )

3 (b) 1

and the cares of royalty. It may therefore be of some use to borrow the experience of the same Abdalrahman, whose magnificence has perhaps excited our admiration and envy, and to transcribe an authentic memorial which was found in the closet of the deceased caliph. "I have now reigned above fifty years in victory or peace; beloved by my subjects, dreaded by my enemies, and respected by my allies. Riches and honours, power and pleasure, have waited on my call, nor does any earthly blessing appear to have been wanting to my felicity. In this situation, I have diligently numbered the days of pure and genuine happiness which have fallen to my lot: they amount to FOURTEEN: — O man! place not thy confidence in "this present world!"<sup>50</sup> The luxury of the caliphs, so useless to their private happiness, relaxed the nerves, and terminated the progress, of the Arabian empire. Temporal and spiritual conquest had been the sole occupation of the first successors of Mahomet; and after supplying themselves with the necessities of life, the whole revenue was scrupulously devoted to that salutary work. The Abbassides were impoverished by the multitude of their wants, and their contempt of economy. Instead of pursuing the great object of ambition, their leisure, their affections, the powers of their mind, were diverted by pomp and pleasure; the rewards of valour were embezzled by women and eunuchs, and the royal camp was encumbered by the luxury of the palace. A similar temper was diffused among the subjects of the caliph. Their stern enthusiasm was softened by time and prosperity; they sought riches in the occupations of industry, fame in the pursuits of literature, and happiness in the tranquillity of domestic life. War was no longer the passion of the Saracens; and the increase of pay, the repetition of donatives, were insufficient to allure the posterity of those voluntary champions who had crowded to the standard of Abubeker and Omar for the hopes of spoil and of paradise.

Introduction of learning among the Arabians. A. D. 751, &c. 813, &c. Under the reign of the Ommiades, the studies of the Moslems were confined to the interpretation of the Koran, and the eloquence and poetry of their native tongue. A people continually exposed to the dangers of the field must esteem the healing powers of medicine, or rather of surgery: but the starving physicians of Arabia murmured a complaint that exercise and temperance deprived them of the greatest part of their practice.<sup>51</sup> After their civil and domestic wars, the subjects of the Abbassides, awakening from this mental lethargy, found leisure and felt curiosity for the acquisition of profane science. This spirit was first encouraged by the caliph

Almansor, who, besides his knowledge of the Mahometan law, had applied himself with success to the study of astronomy. But when the sceptre devolved to Almamon, the seventh of the Abbassides, he completed the designs of his grandfather, and invited the muses from their ancient seats. His ambassadors at Constantinople, his agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, collected the volumes of Grecian science: at his command they were translated by the most skillful interpreters into the Arabic language: his subjects were exhorted assiduously to peruse these instructive writings; and the successor of Mahomet assisted with pleasure and modesty at the assemblies and disputations of the learned. "He was not ignorant," says Abulpharagius, "that *they* are the elect of God, his best and "most useful servants, whose lives are devoted "to the improvement of their rational faculties. "The mean ambition of the Chinese or the "Turks may glory in the industry of their "hands or the indulgence of their brutal appetites. Yet these dexterous artists must view, "with hopeless emulation, the hexagons and "pyramids of the cells of a bee-hive;<sup>52</sup> these "fortitudinous heroes are awed by the superior "fierceness of the lions and tigers; and in their "amorous enjoyments, they are much inferior "to the vigour of the grossest and most sordid "quadrupeds. The teachers of wisdom are the "true luminaries and legislators of a world, "which, without their aid, would again sink in "ignorance and barbarism."<sup>53</sup> The zeal and curiosity of Almamon were imitated by succeeding princes of the line of Abbas: their rivals, the Fatimites of Africa and the Omniades of Spain, were the patrons of the learned, as well as the commanders of the faithful. The same royal prerogative was claimed by their independent emirs of the provinces; and their emulation diffused the taste and the rewards of science from Samarcand and Bochara to Fez and Cordova. The vizir of a sultan consecrated a sum of two hundred thousand pieces of gold to the foundation of a college at Bagdad, which he endowed with an annual revenue of fifteen thousand dinars. The fruits of instruction were communicated, perhaps at different times, to six thousand disciples of every degree, from the son of the noble to that of the mechanic: a sufficient allowance was provided for the indigent scholars; and the merit or industry of the professors was repaid with adequate stipends. In every city the productions of Arabic literature were copied and collected by the curiosity of the studious and the vanity of the rich. A private doctor refused the invitation of the sultan of Bochara, because the carriage of his books would have required four hundred camels. The royal li-

<sup>50</sup> Cardonne, tom. i. p. 52, 570. This confession, the complaints of Salomon of the vanity of this world (read Prov. xviii. 11) but do not seem to be the same.

<sup>51</sup> I can speak with certainty, my happy hours have far exceeded, and far exceed, the scanty numbers of the caliph of Spain; and I shall not scruple to add, that many of them are due to the pleasing labours of the pen.

<sup>52</sup> I met and saw many of these hexagons and pyramids in the country of the Moslems (see the Voyage de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 321—323) has given an extract of the aphorisms which are extant under his name.

<sup>52</sup> See their curious architecture in Reaumur (Hist. des Insectes, tom. v. Memoire viii). These hexagons are closed by a portion of the angles of the three sides of a similar pyramid, such as would act on push the given end with the smallest quantity of matter.

<sup>53</sup> I met and saw many of these hexagons and pyramids in the country of the Moslems (see the Voyage de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 321—323) has given an extract of the aphorisms which are extant under his name.

library of the Fatimites consisted of one hundred thousand manuscripts, elegantly transcribed and splendidly bound, which were lent, without jealousy or avarice, to the students of Cairo. Yet this collection must appear moderate, if we can believe that the Omniades of Spain had formed a library of six hundred thousand volumes, forty-four of which were employed in the mere catalogue. Their capital, Cordova, with the adjacent towns of Malaga, Almeria, and Murcia, had given birth to more than three hundred writers, and above seventy public libraries were opened in the cities of the Andalusian kingdom. The age of Arabian learning continued about five hundred years, till the great eruption of the Moguls, and was coeval with the darkest and most slothful period of European annals; but since the sun of science has arisen in the West, it should seem that the Oriental studies have languished and declined.<sup>54</sup>

Their real progress in the sciences.

In the libraries of the Arabians, as in those of Europe, the far greater part of the innumerable volumes were possessed only of local value or imaginary merit.<sup>55</sup> The shelves were crowded with orators and poets, whose style was adapted to the taste and manners of their countrymen; with general and partial histories, which each revolving generation supplied with a new harvest of persons and events; with codes and commentaries of jurisprudence, which derived their authority from the law of the prophet; with the interpreters of the Koran, and orthodox tradition; and with the whole theological tribe, polemics, mystics, scholastics, and moralists, the first or the last of writers, according to the different estimates of sceptics or believers. The works of speculation or science may be reduced to the four classes of philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and physics. The sages of Greece were translated and illustrated in the Arabic language, and some treatises, now lost in the original, have been recovered in the versions of the East,<sup>56</sup> which possessed and studied the writings of Aristotle and Plato, of Euclid and Apollonius, of Ptolemy, Hippocrates, and Galen.<sup>57</sup> Among the ideal systems, which have varied with the fashion of the times, the Arabians adopted the philosophy of the Stagirite, alike intelligible or alike obscure for the readers of every age. Plato wrote for the Athenians, and his allegorical genius is too closely blended with the language and religion of Greece.

After the fall of that religion, the Peripatetics, emerging from their obscurity, prevailed in the controversies of the Oriental sects, and their founder was long afterwards restored by the Mahometans of Spain to the Latin schools.<sup>58</sup> The physics, both of the Academy and the Lyceum, as they are built, not on observation, but on argument, have retarded the progress of real knowledge. The metaphysics of infinite, or finite, spirit, have too often been enlisted in the service of superstition. But the human faculties are fortified by the art and practice of dialectics; the ten predicaments of Aristotle collect and methodise our ideas,<sup>59</sup> and his syllogism is the keenest weapon of dispute. It was dexterously wielded in the schools of the Saracens, but as it is more effectual for the detection of error than for the investigation of truth, it is not surprising that new generations of masters and disciples should still revolve in the same circle of logical argument. The mathematics are distinguished by a peculiar privilege, that, in the course of ages, they may always advance, and can never recede. But the ancient geometry, if I am not misinformed, was resumed in the same state by the Italians of the fifteenth century; and whatever may be the origin of the name, the science of algebra is ascribed to the Grecian Diophantus by the modest testimony of the Arabs themselves.<sup>60</sup> They cultivated with more success the sublime science of astronomy, which elevates the mind of man to disdain his diminutive planet and momentary existence. The costly instruments of observation were supplied by the caliph Almamoon, and the land of the Chaldeans still afforded the same spacious level, the same unclouded horizon. In the plains of Sinaar, and a second time in those of Cufa, his mathematicians accurately measured a degree of the great circle of the earth, and determined at twenty-four thousand miles the entire circumference of our globe.<sup>61</sup> From the reign of the Abbassides to that of the grandchildren of Tamerlane, the stars, without the aid of glasses, were diligently observed; and the astronomical tables of Bagdad, Spain, and Samarcand,<sup>62</sup> correct some minute errors, without daring to renounce the hypothesis of Ptolemy, without advancing a step towards the discovery of the solar system. In the Eastern courts, the truths of science could be recommended only by ignorance and folly, and the astronomer would have been disregarded, had

51 These literary anecdotes are borrowed from the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana* (tom ii, p. 78, 71, 201, 202, 1, 140 *Afranius* (de Arab. Medicis et Philosophis), of *Liberi*, *Biblioth. Graec.* tom xiii, p. 259-298, particularly p. 274), and *Reinhold Hist. Patrie v. Alex.* p. 271, 275, 276, 277), besides the chronological remarks of *Al-Buhārā*, etc.

5) The Arabic catalogue of the Ptolemy will give a just idea of the proportion of the classes. In the library of Cairo, the MSS. of astronomy and medicine amounted to 6000, with two catalogues, the one of brass, the other of silver (Biblot. Arab. Hup. tom. i. p. 173.)

516 As, for instance, the fifth, sixth, and seventh books (the eighth is still wanting) of the *Com. Supremi de Agricultura*, which were printed from the Florentine MSS. in the late Barberian tradition (n. p. 559). Yet the fifth book had been previously restored to the mathematical divination of Viviani (see his *Longe in Fontane*, v, tom. v, p. 50, etc.).

of a school or manufacture of transfusions, and the works of his sons and disciples were published under his name. See *Alphabet* (Dynaast. p. 88, 115, 171-174, and *Grand Aseman*. *Extrait* *Cont.*

<sup>58</sup> See Mosheim, *Institut. Hist. Eccles.* p. 181, 211, 256, 267, 315, 328, 336, 338, &c.

1929, pp. 658-68.

571 The most cogent commentary on the Coptic sources for Prebaptismal Anointing is found in the Introduction to *Antiquities* of Mr. James Harris, London 1875, pp. 1-10. Harris also laboured to reveal the studies of Greek literature and philosophy.

572 Vailhargy, *Dictionnaire* p. 81, 42. Balth. Arab. Hist., tom. 1, p. 570, 571. Protopius is the prototype of the Jacobites; his names are Isidorus, oecumenicus hierarchus *Antiochenus*. The time of Isidorus of Alexandria is unknown, but his six books are still extant, and have been illustrated by the Greek Harpocration and the French du Moineau. *Fabry's Balthar* (Paris, 1878), pp. 12-15.

[illegible]



he not debased his wisdom or honesty by the vain predictions of astrology.<sup>63</sup> But in the science of medicine, the Arabians have been deservedly applauded. The names of Mesua and Geber, of Razis and Avicenna, are ranked with the Grecian masters; in the city of Bagdad, eight hundred and sixty physicians were licensed to exercise their lucrative profession:<sup>64</sup> in Spain, the life of the Catholic princes was intrusted to the skill of the Saracens,<sup>65</sup> and the school of Salerno, their legitimate offspring, revived in Italy and Europe the precepts of the healing art.<sup>66</sup> The success of each professor must have been influenced by personal and accidental causes; but we may form a less fanciful estimate of their general knowledge of anatomy,<sup>67</sup> botany,<sup>68</sup> and chemistry,<sup>69</sup> the threefold basis of their theory and practice. A superstitious reverence for the dead confined both the Greeks and the Arabians to the dissection of apes and quadrupeds; the more solid and visible parts were known in the time of Galen, and the finer scrutiny of the human frame was reserved for the microscope and the injections of modern artists. Botany is an active science, and the discoveries of the torrid zone might enrich the herbal of Dioscorides with two thousand plants. Some traditinary knowledge might be secreted in the temples and monasteries of Egypt; much useful experience had been acquired in the practice of arts and manufactures; but the science of chemistry owes its origin and improvement to the industry of the Saracens. They first invented and named the alembic for the purposes of distillation, analysed the substances of the three kingdoms of nature, tried the distinction and affinities of alcalis and acids, and converted the poisonous minerals into soft and salutary medicines. But the most eager search of Arabian chemistry was the transmutation of metals, and the elixir of immortal health: the reason and the fortunes of thousands were evaporated in the crucibles of alchemy, and the consummation of the great work was promoted by the worthy aid of mystery, fable, and superstition.

But the Moslems deprived themselves of the principal benefits of a familiar intercourse with Greece and Rome, the knowledge of antiquity, the purity of taste, and the freedom of thought. Confident in the riches of their native tongue,

the Arabians disdained the study of any foreign idiom. The Greek interpreters were chosen among their Christian subjects; they formed their translations, sometimes on the original text, more frequently perhaps on a Syriac version; and in the crowd of astronomers and physicians, there is no example of a poet, an orator, or even an historian, being taught to speak the language of the Saracens.<sup>70</sup> The mythology of Homer would have provoked the abhorrence of those stern fanatics; they possessed in lazy ignorance the colonies of the Macedonians, and the provinces of Carthage and Rome: the heroes of Plutarch and Livy were buried in oblivion; and the history of the world before Mahomet was reduced to a short legend of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the Persian kings. Our education in the Greek and Latin schools may have fixed in our minds a standard of exclusive taste; and I am not forward to condemn the literature and judgment of nations, of whose language I am ignorant. Yet I know that the classics have much to teach, and I believe that the Orientals have much to learn: the temperate dignity of style, the graceful proportions of art, the forms of visible and intellectual beauty, the just delineation of character and passion, the rhetoric of narrative and argument, the regular fabric of epic and dramatic poetry.<sup>71</sup> The influence of truth and reason is of a less ambiguous complexion. The philosophers of Athens and Rome enjoyed the blessings, and asserted the rights, of civil and religious freedom. Their moral and political writings might have gradually unlocked the fetters of Eastern despotism, diffused a liberal spirit of enquiry and toleration, and encouraged the Arabian sages to suspect that their caliph was a tyrant, and their prophet an impostor.<sup>72</sup> The instinct of superstition was alarmed by the introduction even of the abstract sciences; and the more rigid doctors of the law condemned the rash and pernicious curiosity of Almamon.<sup>73</sup> To the thirst of martyrdom, the vision of paradise, and the belief of predestination, we must ascribe the invincible enthusiasm of the prince and people. And the sword of the Saracens became less formidable, when their youth was drawn away from the camp to the college, when the armies of the faithful presumed to read and to reflect. Yet the foolish vanity of the Greeks was jealous of their studies, and reluctantly

Want of erudition, taste, and freedom.

63 Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. i. p. 438. The original relates a

red by the

Arabian sciences into Italy, are discussed with learning and judgment by Muratori (Antiquitat. Italica Medii Aevi, tom. iii. p. 932-940) and Grunone (Historia Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 119-127).

64 Among the Arabian philosophers, Averroes has been accused of despising the religion of the Jews, the Christians, and the Mahometans (see his article in Bayle's Dictionary). Each of these sets would agree, that in two instances out of three, his contempt was reasonable.

65 D. Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 516.

Mount Lebanon, the end of the xv. I have read some were translated into Turkish for the use of Mahomet the Second.

71 I have perused, with much pleasure, Sir William Jones's Latin Commentary on Asiatic Poetry (London, 1771, in octavo), which was composed in the youth of that wonderful linguist. At present, in the maturity of his taste and judgment, he would perhaps abate of the fervent, and even partial, praise which he has bestowed on the Orientals.

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73 D. Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 516.

imparted the sacred fire to the barbarians of the East.<sup>74</sup>

Wars of Harun al Rashid against the Romans.  
A. D. 781—805.

In the bloody conflict of the Omniades and Abbassides, the Greeks had stolen the opportunity of avenging their wrongs and enlarging their limits. But a severe retribution was exacted by Mohadi, the third caliph of the new dynasty, who seized, in his turn, the favourable opportunity, while a woman and a child, Irene and Constantine, were seated on the Byzantine throne. An army of ninety-five thousand Persians and Arabs was sent from the Tigris to the Thracian Bosphorus, under the command of Harun,<sup>75</sup> or Aaron, the second son of the commander of the faithful. His encampment on the opposite heights of Chrysopolis, or Scutari, informed Irene, in her palace of Constantinople, of the loss of her troops and provinces. With the consent or connivance of their sovereign, her ministers subscribed an ignominious peace; and the exchange of some royal gifts could not disguise the annual tribute of seventy thousand dinars of gold, which was imposed on the Roman empire. The Saracens had too rashly advanced into the midst of a distant and hostile land: their retreat was solicited by the promise of faithful guides and plentiful markets; and not a Greek had courage to whisper, that their weary forces might be surrounded and destroyed in their necessary passage between a slippery mountain and the river Sangarius. Five years after this expedition, Harun ascended the throne of his father and his elder brother; the most powerful and vigorous monarch of his race, illustrious in the West, as the ally of Charlemagne, and familiar to the most childish readers, as the perpetual hero of the Arabian tales. His title to the name of *al Rashid* (the Just) is sullied by the extirpation of the generous, perhaps the innocent, Barnecides; yet he could listen to the complaint of a poor widow who had been pillaged by his troops, and who dared, in a passage of the Koran, to threaten the inattentive despot with the judgment of God and posterity. His court was adorned with luxury and science; but, in a reign of three and twenty years, Harun repeatedly visited his provinces from Chorasán to Egypt; nine times he performed the pilgrimage of Mecca; eight times he invaded the territories of the Romans; and as often as they declined the payment of the tribute, they were taught to feel that a month of depredation was more costly than a year of submission. But when the unnatural mother of Constantine was deposed and banished, her successor, Nicephorus, resolved to obliterate this badge of servitude and disgrace. The epistle of the emperor to the caliph was pointed with an allusion to the game of chess, which had already spread from Persia to Greece.

"The queen (he spoke of Irene) considered you as a rook, and herself as a pawn. That pusillanimous female submitted to pay a tribute, the double of which she ought to have exacted from the barbarians. Restore therefore the fruits of your injustice, or abide the determination of the sword." At these words the ambassadors cast a bundle of swords before the foot of the throne. The caliph smiled at the menace, and drawing his cimeter, *samsamah*, a weapon of historic or fabulous renown, he cut asunder the feeble arms of the Greeks, without turning the edge, or endangering the temper, of his blade. He then dictated an epistle of tremendous brevity: "In the name of the most merciful God, Harun al Rashid, commander of the faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog. I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother. Thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold my reply." It was written in characters of blood and fire on the plains of Phrygia; and the warlike celerity of the Arabs could only be checked by the arts of deceit and the show of repentance. The triumphant caliph retired, after the fatigues of the campaign, to his favourite palace of Racca on the Euphrates;<sup>76</sup> but the distance of five hundred miles, and the inclemency of the season, encouraged his adversary to violate the peace. Nicephorus was astonished by the bold and rapid march of the commander of the faithful, who repassed, in the depth of winter, the snows of Mount Taurus: his stratagems of policy and war were exhausted; and the perfidious Greek escaped with three wounds from a field of battle overspread with forty thousand of his subjects. Yet the emperor was ashamed of submission, and the caliph was resolved on victory. One hundred and thirty-five thousand regular soldiers received pay, and were inscribed in the military roll; and above three hundred thousand persons of every denomination marched under the black standard of the Abbassides. They swept the surface of Asia Minor far beyond Tyana and Ancyra, and invested the Pontic Heraclea,<sup>77</sup> once a flourishing state, now a paltry town; at that time capable of sustaining, in her antique walls, a month's siege against the forces of the East. The ruin was complete, the spoil was ample; but if Harun had been conversant with Grecian story, he would have regretted the statue of Hercules, whose attributes, the club, the bow, the quiver, and the lion's hide, were sculptured in massy gold. The progress of desolation by sea and land, from the Euxine to the isle of Cyprus, compelled the emperor Nicephorus to retract his haughty defiance. In the new treaty, the ruins of Heraclea were left for ever as a lesson and a trophy; and the coin of the tribute was marked with the image and superscription of

74 Θεοφιλος αποστολ κριναι εν τω των οντων γκωστω, δι' ου το βασιλειον ηντος διαμαρτυρεται, εκδοτον πορευει τον εχθρον, &c. Cedrenus, p. 518, who relates how magnificently the emperor refused a representation to the instances and offers of the caliph Almamun. This absurd scruple is expressed almost in the same words by the continuator of Theophanes (scriptures post Theophanem), p. 183.

75 See the reign and character of Harun al Rashid, in the Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 451—453, under his proper title, and in the relative articles to which M. d'Herbelot refers. That learned collector has shown much taste in stripping the Oriental chronicles of their destructive and amusing anecdotes.

76 For the situation of Racca, the old Nicephorum, consult P. Anville d'Euphrat, et le Tigris, p. 241—273. The Arabian Nights represent Harun al Rashid as almost stationary in Bagdad. He respected the residence of the Abbassides, but the views of the inhabitants had driven him from the city (tablist). Anvil, p. 167.

77 M. de Launoy, in his casting voyage from Constantinople to Trabzon, passed a night at Heraclea (see his voyage de la capitale de l'empire, &c. in d'Herbelot's Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 451—453). We have a second story of the sack in the fragments of Memnon, which are preserved by Photius.



dwindled to the primitive isle of Ortygia, had insensibly declined. Yet the relics were still precious; the plate of the cathedral weighed five thousand pounds of silver; the entire spoil was computed at one million of pieces of gold (about four hundred thousand pounds sterling), and the captives must out-number the seventeen thousand Christians, who were transported from the sack of Tauromenium into African servitude. In Sicily, the religion and language of the Greeks were eradicated; and such was the docility of the rising generation, that fifteen thousand boys were circumcised and clothed on the same day with the son of the Fatimite caliph. The Arabian squadrons issued from the harbours of Palermo, Biserta, and Tunis; an hundred and fifty towns of Calabria and Campania were attacked and pillaged; nor could the suburbs of Rome be defended by the name of the Cæsars and Apostles. Had the Mahometans been united, Italy must have fallen an easy and glorious accession to the empire of the prophet. But the caliphs of Bagdad had lost their authority in the West; the Aglabites and Fatimites usurped the provinces of Africa; their emirs of Sicily aspired to independence; and the design of conquest and dominion was degraded to a repetition of predatory inroads.<sup>55</sup>

In the sufferings of prostrate Italy, the name of Rome awakens a solemn and mournful recollection. A fleet of Saracens from the African coast presumed to enter the mouth of the Tyber, and to approach a city which even yet, in her fallen state, was revered as the metropolis of the Christian world. The gates and ramparts were guarded by a trembling people; but the tombs and temples of St. Peter and St. Paul were left exposed in the suburbs of the Vatican and of the Ostian way. Their invisible sanctity had protected them against the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards; but the Arabs disdained both the Gospel and the legend; and their rapacious spirit was approved and animated by the precepts of the Koran. The Christian *idols* were stripped of their costly offerings; a silver altar was torn away from the shrine of St. Peter; and if the bodies or the buildings were left entire, their deliverance must be imputed to the haste, rather than the scruples, of the Saracens. In their course along the Appian way, they pillaged Fundi and besieged Gayeta; but they had turned aside from the walls of Rome, and, by their divisions, the Capitol was saved from the yoke of the prophet of Mecca. The same danger still impended on the heads of the Roman people; and their domestic force was unequal to the assault of an African emir. They claimed the protection of their Latin sovereign; but the Carlovigian standard was overthrown by a detachment of the barbarians:

they meditated the restoration of the Greek emperors; but the attempt was treasonable, and the succour remote and precarious.<sup>66</sup> Their distress appeared to receive some aggravation from the death of their spiritual and temporal chief; but the pressing emergency-superseded the forms and intrigues of an election; and the unanimous choice of pope Leo the Fourth<sup>67</sup> was the safety of the church and city. This pontiff was born a Roman; the courage of the first ages of the republic glowed in his breast; and, amidst the ruins of his country, he stood erect, like one of the firm and lofty columns that rear their heads above the fragments of the Roman forum. The first days of his reign were consecrated to the purification and removal of relics, to prayers and processions, and to all the solemn offices of religion, which served at least to heal the imagination, and restore the hopes, of the multitude. The public defence had been long neglected, not from the presumption of peace, but from the distress and poverty of the times. As far as the scantiness of his means and the shortness of his leisure would allow, the ancient walls were repaired by the command of Leo; fifteen towers, in the most accessible stations, were built or renewed; two of these commanded on either side the Tyber; and an iron chain was drawn across the stream to impede the ascent of an hostile navy. The Romans were assured of a short respite by the welcome news, that the siege of Gayeta had been raised, and that a part of the enemy, with their sacrilegious plunder, had perished in the waves.

But the storm which had been delayed, soon burst upon them with redoubled violence. The Aglabites, who reigned in Africa, had inherited from his father a treasure and an army : a fleet of Arabs and Moors, after a short refreshment in the harbours of Sardinia, cast anchor before the mouth of the Tyber, sixteen miles from the city ; and their discipline and numbers appeared to threaten, not a transient inroad, but a serious design of conquest and dominion. But the vigilance of Leo had formed an alliance with the vassals of the Greek empire, the free and maritime states of Gayeta, Naples, and Amalfi ; and in the hour of danger, their galleys appeared in the port of Ostia, under the command of Casarius, the son of the Neapolitan duke, a noble and valiant youth, who had already vanquished the fleets of the Saracens. With his principal companions, Casarius was invited to the Lateran palace, and the dexterous pontiff affected to enquire their errand, and to accept with joy and surprise their providential succour. The city bands, in arms, attended their father to Ostia, where he reviewed and blessed his generous deliverers. They kissed his feet, received the communion with martial devotion, and listened to the prayer of Leo, that the same God

<sup>55</sup> The extracts from the Arabic histories of Sicily are given in Abulfeda (*Annal. Moslem.* p. 271-275), and in the first volume of Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*. M. de Guignes (*Hist. des*

87. Vulture (H-t. Générale, tom ii c. 75 p. 141) appears to be remarkably struck with the character of pope Innocent IV. I have borrowed from the original.

et  
ni  
ne  
et: fu dus paens componentes, Francorum regem et gentem de nostro  
regno et dominat que capite regu-<sup>2</sup> de basileis de la c. 11. 1. 1.

Arabs, tom. i. p. 21. 22. I observe, and observe with surprise, the uniformity of the writers in the succession of the names.

who had supported St. Peter and St. Paul on the waves of the sea, would strengthen the hands of his champions against the adversaries of his holy name. After a similar prayer, and with equal resolution, the Moslems advanced to the attack of the Christian galleys, which preserved their advantageous station along the coast. The victory inclined to the side of the allies, when it was less gloriously decided in their favour by a sudden tempest, which confounded the skill and courage of the stoutest mariners. The Christians were sheltered in a friendly harbour, while the Africans were scattered and dashed in pieces among the rocks and islands of an hostile shore. Those who escaped from shipwreck and hunger, neither found, nor deserved, mercy at the hands of their implacable pursuers. The sword and the gibbet reduced the dangerous multitude of captives; and the remainder was more usefully employed, to restore the sacred edifices which they had attempted to subvert. The pontiff, at the head of the citizens and allies, paid his grateful devotion at the shrines of the apostles; and, among the spoils of this naval victory, thirteen Arabian bows of pure and massy silver were suspended round the altar of the fisherman of Galilee. The reign of Leo the Fourth was employed in the defence and ornament of the Roman state. The churches were renewed and embellished: near four thousand pounds of silver were consecrated to repair the losses of St. Peter; and his sanctuary was decorated with a plate of gold of the weight of two hundred and sixteen pounds, embossed with the portraits of the pope and emperor, and encircled with a string of pearls. Yet this vain magnificence reflects less glory on the character of Leo, than the paternal care with which he rebuilt the walls of Horta and Ameria, and transported the wandering inhabitants of Centumcellæ to his new foundation of Leopolis, twelve miles from the sea-shore.<sup>89</sup> By his liberality, a colony of Corsicans, with their wives and children, was planted in the station of Porto, at the mouth of the Tyber: the falling city was restored for their use, the fields and vineyards were divided among the new settlers: their first efforts were assisted by a gift of horses and cattle; and the hardy exiles, who breathed revenge against the Saracens, swore to live and die under the standard of St. Peter. The nations of the West and North, who visited the threshold of the apostles, had gradually formed the large and populous suburb of the Vatican, and their various habitations were distinguished, in the language of the times, as the *schools* of the Greeks and Goths, of the Lombards and Saxons. But this venerable spot was still open to sacrilegious insult: the design of enclosing it with walls and towers exhausted all that authority could command, or charity would supply; and the pious labour of four years was animated in every season, and at every hour, by the presence

of the indefatigable pontiff. The love of fame, a generous but worldly passion, may be detected in the name of the *Foundation of the Leoneine city*, which he bestowed on the Vatican; yet the pride of the dedication was tempered with Christian penance and humility. The boundary was trod by the bishop and his clergy, barefoot, in sackcloth and ashes; the songs of triumph were modulated to psalms and litanies; the walls were besprinkled with holy water; and the ceremony was concluded with a prayer, that, under the guardian care of the apostles and the angelic host, both the old and the new Rome might ever be preserved pure, prosperous, and impregnable.<sup>90</sup>

The emperor Theophilus, son of Michael the Stammerer, was one of the most active and high-spirited princes who reigned at Constantinople during the middle age. In offensive or defensive war, he marched in person five times against the Saracens, formidable in his attack, esteemed by the enemy in his losses and defeats. In the last of these expeditions he penetrated into Syria, and besieged the obscure town of Sozopetra; the casual birthplace of the caliph Motassem, whose father Harun was attended in peace or war by the most favoured of his wives and concubines. The revolt of a Persian impostor employed at that moment the arms of the Saracen, and he could only intercede in favour of a place for which he felt and acknowledged some degree of filial affection. These solicitations determined the emperor to wound his pride in so sensible a part. Sozopetra was levelled with the ground, the Syrian prisoners were marked or mutilated with ignominious cruelty, and a thousand female captives were forced away from the adjacent territory. Among these a matron of the house of Abbas invoked, in an agony of despair, the name of Motassem; and the insults of the Greeks engaged the honour of her kinsman to avenge his indignity, and to answer her appeal. Under the reign of the two elder brothers, the inheritance of the youngest had been confined to Anatolia, Armenia, Georgia, and Circassia; this frontier station had exercised his military talents; and among his accidental claims to the name of *Octonary*,<sup>91</sup> the most meritorious are the eight battles which he gained or fought against the enemies of the Koran. In this personal quarrel, the troops of Irak, Syria, and Egypt, were recruited from the tribes of Arabia and the Turkish hordes: his cavalry might be numerous, though we should deduct some myriads from the hundred and thirty thousand horses of the royal stables; and the expense of the armament was computed at four millions sterling, or one hundred thousand pounds of gold. From Tarsus, the place of assembly, the Saracens advanced in three divisions along the high road of Constantinople: Motassem himself

The Amorrian war between Theophilus and Motassem. A. D. 838.

<sup>89</sup> *Medii Ævi*, p. 106 108.) has Civitas Leonina, and the other alike silent concerning the invasion chronicles do not afford authentic and contemporary guide for the popes of the 10th century is Anastasius, librarian of the Roman church. His Life of Leo IV.

contains twenty-four pages (p. 175–199, ed. t. Paris); and if a great part consist of superstitious trile, we must blame or commend his hero, who was much oftener in a church than in a camp.

commanded the centre, and the vanguard was given to his son Abbas, who, in the trial of the first adventures, might succeed with the more glory, or fail with the least reproach. In the revenge of his injury, the caliph prepared to retaliate a similar affront. The father of Theophilus was a native of Amorium<sup>42</sup> in Phrygia: the original seat of the Imperial house had been adorned with privileges and monuments; and whatever might be the indifference of the people, Constantinople itself was scarcely of more value in the eyes of the sovereign and his court. The name of AMORIUM was inscribed on the shields of the Saracens; and their three armies were again united under the walls of the devoted city. It had been proposed by the wisest counsellors, to evacuate Amorium, to remove the inhabitants, and to abandon the empty structures to the vain resentment of the barbarians. The emperor embraced the more generous resolution of defending, in a siege and battle, the country of his ancestors. When the armies drew near, the front of the Mahometan line appeared to a Roman eye more closely planted with spears and javelins; but the event of the action was not glorious on either side to the national troops. The Arabs were broken, but it was by the swords of thirty thousand Persians, who had obtained service and settlement in the Byzantine empire. The Greeks were repulsed and vanquished, but it was by the arrows of the Turkish cavalry; and had not their bowstrings been damped and relaxed by the evening rain, very few of the Christians could have escaped with the emperor from the field of battle. They breathed at Doryæum, at the distance of three days; and Theophilus, reviewing his trembling squadrons, forgave the common flight both of the prince and people. After this discovery of his weakness, he vainly hoped to deprecate the fate of Amorium: the inexorable caliph rejected with contempt his prayers and promises; and detained the Roman ambassadors to be the witnesses of his great revenge. They had nearly been the witnesses of his shame. The vigorous assaults of fifty-five days were encountered by a faithful governor, a veteran garrison, and a desperate people; and the Saracens must have raised the siege, if a domestic traitor had not pointed to the weakest part of the wall, a place which was decorated with the statues of a lion and a bull. The vow of Motassem was accomplished with unrelenting rigour: tired, rather than satiated, with destruction, he returned to his new palace of Samara, in the neighbourhood of Bagdad, while the *unfortunate*<sup>43</sup> Theophilus implored

the tardy and doubtful aid of his Western rival the emperor of the Franks. Yet in the siege of Amorium above seventy thousand Moslems had perished: their loss had been revenged by the slaughter of thirty thousand Christians, and the sufferings of an equal number of captives, who were treated as the most atrocious criminals. Mutual necessity could sometimes extort the exchange or ransom of prisoners;<sup>44</sup> but in the national and religious conflict of the two empires, peace was without confidence, and war without mercy. Quarter was seldom given in the field; those who escaped the edge of the sword were condemned to hopeless servitude, or exquisite torture; and a Catholic emperor relates, with visible satisfaction, the execution of the Saracens of Crete, who were flayed alive, or plunged into caldrons of boiling oil.<sup>95</sup> To a point of honour Motassem had sacrificed a flourishing city, two hundred thousand lives, and the property of millions. The same caliph descended from his horse, and dirtied his robe, to relieve the distress of a decrepit old man, who, with his laden ass, had tumbled into a ditch. On which of these actions did he reflect with the most pleasure, when he was summoned by the angel of death?<sup>2</sup> 6

With Motassem, the eighth of the Abbassides, the glory of his family and nation expired. When the Arabian conquerors had spread themselves over the East, and were mingled with the servile crowds of Persia, Syria, and Egypt, they insensibly lost the freeborn and martial virtues of the desert. The courage of the South is the artificial fruit of discipline and prejudice; the active power of enthusiasm had decayed, and the mercenary forces of the caliphs were recruited in those climates of the North, of which valour is the hasty and spontaneous production. Of the Turks<sup>67</sup> who dwelt beyond the Oxus and Jaxartes, the robust youths, either taken in war, or purchased in trade, were educated in the exercises of the field, and the profession of the Mahometan faith. The Turkish guards stood in arms round the throne of their benefactor, and their chiefs usurped the dominion of the palace and the provinces. Motassem, the first author of this dangerous example, introduced into the capital above fifty thousand Turks: their licentious conduct provoked the public indignation, and the quarrels of the soldiers and people induced the caliph to retire from Bagdad, and establish his own residence and the camp of his barbarian favourites at Samara on the Tigris, about twelve leagues above the city of Peace.<sup>68</sup> His son

among them, but in the same year (A. H. 251.), the most illustrious of the m. the forty-two martyrs, were beheaded by the caliph's order.

95 Constantin Porphyrogenitus, in *Vat. Mus. c. 61*, p. 186. These Saracens were indeed treated with peculiar severity as pirates and renegades.

. . . sometimes attributed to

92 Amorium is seldom mentioned by the old geographers, and totally forgotten in the Roman Itineraries. After the sixth century, it became an important city and at length the metropolis of the new empire. (See *Itin.*, p. 251.) The city was called *Amoria*, not *Anguria*, in

continuator Theophan. l. iii. p. 84.), but such was the ignorance of the West, that his am-

gular transactions on the bridge of the river Larnus in Cilicia, the  
westward of Larnus  
Four thousand  
omen and children,  
in equal number of  
of the bridge, and  
when they reached their respective friends, they shouted *Allah Akbar*,  
and *Kyrie Eleison*. Many of the promoters of Almonium were probably

the dominions of the c  
tom in p 1-53 124-151)

94 He changed the old name of Sumera, or Samarra, into the full title of *Ser-mu-ra*, that which gives pleasure at first sight (H. H. Lebel, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 505. D'Anville, *Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 97, 98.)

Motawakkel was a jealous and cruel tyrant: odious to his subjects, he cast himself on the fidelity of the strangers; and these strangers, ambitious and apprehensive, were tempted by the rich promise of a revolution. At the instigation, or at least in the cause of his son, they burst into his apartment at the hour of supper, and the caliph was cut into seven pieces by the same swords which he had recently distributed among the guards of his life and throne. To this throne, yet streaming with a father's blood, Mostanser was triumphantly led; but in a reign of six months, he found only the pangs of a guilty conscience. If he wept at the sight of an old tapestry which represented the crime and punishment of the son of Chosroes; if his days were abridged by grief and remorse, we may allow some pity to a parricide, who exclaimed in the bitterness of death, that he had lost both this world and the world to come. After this act of treason, the ensigns of royalty, the garment and walking-staff of Mahomet, were given and torn away by the foreign mercenaries, who in four years created, deposed, and murdered, three commanders of the faithful. As often as the Turks were inflamed by fear, or rage, or avarice, these caliphs were dragged by the feet, exposed naked to the scorching sun, beaten with iron clubs, and compelled to purchase, by the abdication of their dignity, a short reprieve of inevitable fate.<sup>99</sup> At length, however, the fury of the tempest was spent or diverted: the Abbassides returned to the less turbulent residence of Bagdad; the insolence of the Turks was curbed with a firmer and more skilful hand, and their numbers were divided and destroyed in foreign warfare. But the nations of the East had been taught to trample on the successors of the prophet; and the blessings of domestic peace were obtained by the relaxation of strength and discipline. So uniform are the mischiefs of military despotism, that I seem to repeat the story of the prætorians of Rome.<sup>100</sup>

While the flame of enthusiasm was damped by the business, the pleasure, and the knowledge of the age, it burnt with concentrated heat in the breasts of the chosen few, the congenial spirits, who were ambitious of reigning either in this world or in the next. How carefully soever the book of prophecy had been sealed by the apostle of Mecca, the wishes, and (if we may profane the word) even the reason, of fanaticism, might believe that, after the successive missions of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet, the same God, in the fullness of time, would reveal a still more perfect and permanent law. In the two hundred and seventy-seventh year of the Hegira, and in the neighbourhood of Cufa, an Arabian preacher, of the name of Carmath, assumed the lofty and incomprehensible style of the Guide, the Director, the Demonstration, the Word, the Holy Ghost,

the Camel, the Herald of the Messiah, who had conversed with him in a human shape, and the representative of Mohammed the son of Ali, of St. John the Baptist, and of the angel Gabriel. In his mystic volume, the precepts of the Koran were refined to a more spiritual sense; he relaxed the duties of ablution, fasting, and pilgrimage; allowed the indiscriminate use of wine and forbidden food; and nourished the fervour of his disciples by the daily repetition of fifty prayers. The idleness and ferment of the rustic crowd awakened the attention of the magistrates of Cufa; a timid persecution assisted the progress of the new sect; and the name of the prophet became more revered after his person had been withdrawn from the world. His twelve apostles dispersed themselves among the Bedouens, "a race of men," says Abulfeda, "equally devoid of reason and of religion;" and the success of their preaching seemed to threaten Arabia with a new revolution. The Carmathians were ripe for rebellion, since they disclaimed the title of the house of Abbas, and abhorred the worldly pomp of the caliphs of Bagdad. They were susceptible of discipline, since they vowed a blind and absolute submission to their imam, who was called to the prophetic office by the voice of God and the people. Instead of the legal tithes, he claimed the fifth of their substance and spoil; the most flagitious sins were no more than the type of disobedience; and the brethren were united and concealed by an oath of secrecy. After a bloody conflict, they prevailed in the province of Bahrein, along the Persian Gulf: far and wide, the tribes of the desert were subject to the sceptre, or rather to the sword, of Abu Said and his son Abu Taher; and these rebellious imams could muster in the field an hundred and seven thousand fanatics. The mercenaries of the caliph were dismayed at the approach of an enemy who neither asked nor accepted quarter; and the difference between them, in fortitude and patience, is expressive of the change which three centuries of prosperity had effected in the character of the Arabians. Such troops were discomfited in every action; the cities of Racca and Baalbec, of Cufa and Bassora, were taken and pillaged; Bagdad was filled with consternation; and the caliph trembled behind the veils of his palace. In a daring inroad beyond the Tigris, Abu Taher advanced to the gates of the capital with no more than five hundred horse. By the special order of Mottader, the bridges had been broken down, and the person or head of the rebel was expected every hour by the commander of the faithful. His lieutenant, from a motive of fear or pity, apprised Abu Taher of his danger, and recommended a speedy escape. "Your master," said the intrepid Carmathian to the messenger, "is at the head of thirty thousand soldiers: three such men as these are wanting in his host;" at the same

Their military exploits.  
A. D. 900, &c.

Rise and progress of the Carmathians.  
A. D. 900-931.

<sup>99</sup> Take a specimen, the death of the caliph Motaz. Corruptum pedibus pertrahunt, et sub his prope permulcant, et spoliatum facies vestibus in sole collocant, nec viis acrimonia pedes alterius attrahat, et demittat. Ad extremum aliquis iussore vel ipso coram imperatore, quoque obiectis, causam avertere studeat. . . . 1000 f. eo traditum, totum fuit totaque induit cibo potaque prohibuit. . . . 2. Aluathus, &c. (Abulfeda, p. 206.) Of the caliph Motaz, he says,

corvæ ipsi perpetuis ictibus contundebant, testiculosque pedibus concutebant (p. 208.)

<sup>100</sup> See under the reigns of Motassem, Motawakkel, Mostanser, Mottader, Motaz, Motasim, and Motamed, in the Bibliothèque of D'Hérbelot, and the new familiar Annals of Elmacin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda.

instant, turning to three of his companions, he commanded the first to plunge a dagger into his breast, the second to leap into the Tigris, and the third to cast himself headlong down a precipice. They obeyed without a murmur. "Re-  
"late," continued the imam, "what you have  
"seen : before the evening your general shall be  
"chained among my dogs." Before the evening,  
the camp was surprised, and the menace  
was executed. The rapine of the Carmathians  
was sanctified by their aversion to the worship of  
Mecca : they robbed a caravan of pilgrims, and  
twenty thousand devout Moslems were abandoned  
on the burning sands to a death of hunger and  
thirst. Another year they suffered the pilgrims  
to proceed without interruption ; but, in the  
festival of devotion, Abu Taher stormed the holy  
city, and trampled on the most venerable relics

They pillage  
Meuca  
A. D. 929.

of the Mahometan faith. Thirty thousand citizens and strangers were put to the sword; the sacred precincts were polluted by the burial of three thousand dead bodies; the well of Zemzem overflowed with blood; the golden spout was forced from its place; the veil of the Caaba was divided among these impious sectaries; and the black stone, the first monument of the nation, was borne away in triumph to their capital. After this deed of sacrilege and cruelty, they continued to infest the confines of Irak, Syria, and Egypt: but the vital principle of enthusiasm had withered at the root. Their scruples, or their avarice, again opened the pilgrimage of Mecca, and restored the black stone of the Caaba; and it is needless to enquire into what factions they were broken, or by whose swords they were finally extirpated. The sect of the Carmathians may be considered as the second visible cause of the decline and fall of the empire of the caliphs.<sup>14</sup>

Revolt of the  
provinces.  
A. D. 800-936

The third and most obvious cause was the weight and magnitude of the empire itself. The caliph Al-mamun might proudly assert, that it was easier for him to rule the East and the West, than to manage a chess-board of two feet square; yet I suspect that in both those games he was guilty of many fatal mistakes; and I perceive, that in the distant provinces the authority of the first and most powerful of the Abbassides was already impaired. The analogy of despotism invests the representative with the full majesty of the prince; the division and balance of powers might relax the habits of obedience, might encourage the passive subject to enquire into the origin and administration of civil government. He who is born in the purple is seldom worthy to reign; but the elevation of a private man, of a peasant perhaps, or a slave,

affords a strong presumption of his courage and capacity. The viceroy of a remote kingdom aspires to secure the property and inheritance of his precarious trust; the nations must rejoice in the presence of their sovereign; and the command of armies and treasures are at once the object and the instrument of his ambition. A change was scarcely visible as long as the lieutenants of the caliph were content with their vicarious title; while they solicited for themselves or their sons a renewal of the Imperial grant, and still maintained on the coin, and in the public prayers, the name and prerogative of the commander of the faithful. But in the long and hereditary exercise of power, they assumed the pride and attributes of royalty; the alternative of peace or war, of reward or punishment, depended solely on their will; and the revenues of their government were reserved for local services or private magnificence. Instead of a regular supply of men and money, the successors of the prophet were flattered with the ostentatious gift of an elephant, or a cast of hawks, a suit of silk hangings, or some pounds of musk and amber.<sup>103</sup>

After the revolt of Spain from the temporal and spiritual suzerainty of the independent dynasties.

the temporal and spiritual supremacy of the Abbassides, the first symptoms of disobedience broke forth in the province of Africa. Ibrahim, the son of Aglab, the lieutenant of the vigilant and rigid Harun, bequeathed to the dynasty of the *Ag-labids* the inheritance of his name The Aglabids.  
A. D. 800-941. and power. The indolence or policy of the

caliph dissembled the injury and loss, and pursued only with poison the founder of the *Edwites* who erected the

The *Edwites*,  
A. D. 529-597.

kingdom and city of Pez on the shores of the Western Ocean.<sup>105</sup> In the East, the first dy-

nasty was that of the *Taherites*,<sup>166</sup> The Taherites.  
the posterity of the valiant Taher, A. D. 815-872.

who, in the civil wars of the sons of Harun, had served with too much zeal and success the cause of Almamun, the younger brother. He was sent into honourable exile, to command on the banks of the Oxus; and the independence of his successors, who reigned in Chorasan till the fourth generation, was palliated by their modest and respectful demeanour, the happiness of their subjects, and the security of their frontier.

They were supplanted by one of those adventurers so frequent in the annals of the East, who left his trade of a brazier (from whence the

name of *Soffarides*) for the profes- The *Soffarides*.  
sion of a robber. In a nocturnal A.D. 572-592.

visit to the treasure of the prince of Sistan, Jacob, the son of Leith, stumbled over a lump of salt, which he unwarily tasted with his tongue.

101 For the sect of the Carmathians, consult Flinacum (Hist. Sacraen. p. 219, 224-229, 251, 258, 241, 245), Abulpharagus (Dynast. p. 179-182), Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 218, 247, &c. 245, 267).

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Cardonne Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes, tom. II, p. 1-65).

105 To escape the reproach of error, I must criticise the inaccuracies of M de Guignes (tom i, p. 379) concerning the Edrisites. I. The dynasty and city of Fez could not be founded in the year of

1 The dynasty and city of Fez could not be founded in the year of the Hegira 173, since the founder was a *posthumous* child of a descendant of Ah, who fled from Mecca in the year 148. 2. This founder, Edris, the son of Edris, instead of leaving to the emperor, had

founder, Edris, the son of Edris, instead of living to the improbable age of 120 years, A. H. 715, died A. H. 214, in the prime of manhood. The dynasty ended A. H. 707, twenty-three years sooner than it

is fixed by the historian of the Huns. See the accurate *Annales* of Abu feda, p. 178, 179, 185, 258.

use of Latin been



Salt, among the Orientals, is the symbol of hospitality, and the pious robber immediately retired without spoil or damage. The discovery of this honourable behaviour recommended Jacob to pardon and trust; he led an army at first for his benefactor, at last for himself, subdued Persia, and threatened the residence of the Abbassides. On his march towards Bagdad, the conqueror was arrested by a fever. He gave audience in bed to the ambassador of the caliph; and beside him on a table were exposed a naked cimeter, a crust of brown bread, and a bunch of onions. "If I die," said he, "your master is delivered from his fears. If I live, this must determine between us. If I am vanquished, I can return without reluctance to the homely fare of my youth." From the height where he stood, the descent would not have been so soft or harmless; a timely death secured his own repose and that of the caliph, who paid with the most lavish concessions the retreat of his brother Amrou to the palaces of Shiraz and Ispahan. The Abbassides were too feeble to contend, too proud to forgive; they invited the powerful dynasty of

The Samanides, the *Samanides*, who passed the Oxus A.D. 874-999

with ten thousand horse, so poor, that their stirrups were of wood; so brave, that they vanquished the Soffarian army, eight times more numerous than their own. The captive Amrou was sent in chains, a grateful offering to the court of Bagdad; and as the victor was content with the inheritance of Transoxiana and Chorasan, the realms of Persia returned for a while to the allegiance of the caliphs. The provinces of Syria and Egypt were twice dismembered by their Turkish slaves of the race of *Toulun* and *Ikshid*.<sup>107</sup> These

The Toulunides, A.D. 868-905, barbarians, in religion and man-

ners the countrymen of Mahomet, A.D. 934-968, emerged from the bloody factions of the palace to a provincial command and an independent throne: their names became famous and formidable in their time; but the founders of these two potent dynasties confessed, either in words or actions, the vanity of ambition. The first on his death-bed implored the mercy of God to a sinner, ignorant of the limits of his own power: the second, in the midst of four hundred thousand soldiers and eight thousand slaves, concealed from every human eye the chamber where he attempted to sleep. Their sons were educated in the vices of kings; and both Egypt and Syria were recovered and possessed by the Abbassides during an interval of thirty years. In the decline of their empire, Mesopotamia, with the important cities of Mosul and Aleppo, was occupied by the Arabian princes

of the tribe of *Hamadan*. The poets of their court could repeat, without a blush, that nature had formed their

countenances for beauty, their tongues for eloquence, and their hands for liberality and valour; but the genuine tale of the elevation and reign of the *Hamadanites* exhibits a scene of treachery, murder, and paricide. At the same fatal period, the Persian kingdom was again usurped by the dynasty of the *Bowides*, by the sword of three brothers, who, under various names, were styled the support and columns of the state, and who, from the Caspian Sea to the Ocean, would suffer no tyrants but themselves. Under their reign, the language and genius of Persia revived, and the Arabs, three hundred and four years after the death of Mahomet, were deprived of the sceptre of the East.

Rahdi, the twentieth of the Abbassides, and the thirty-ninth of the successors of Mahomet, was the last who deserved the title of commander of the faithful;<sup>108</sup> the last (says Abulfeda) who spoke to the people, or conversed with the learned; the last who, in the expense of his household, represented the wealth and magnificence of the ancient caliphs. After him, the lords of the Eastern world were reduced to the most abject misery, and exposed to the blows and insults of a servile condition. The revolt of the provinces circumscribed their dominions within the walls of Bagdad; but that capital still contained an innumerable multitude, vain of their past fortune, discontented with their present state, and oppressed by the demands of a treasury which had formerly been replenished by the spoil and tribute of nations. Their idleness was exercised by faction and controversy. Under the mask of piety, the rigid followers of Hanbal<sup>109</sup> invaded the pleasures of domestic life, burst into the houses of plebeians and princes, spilt the wine, broke the instruments, beat the musicians, and dishonoured, with infamous suspicions, the associates of every handsome youth. In each profession, which allowed room for two persons, the one was a votary, the other an antagonist, of Ali; and the Abbassides were awakened by the clamorous grief of the sectaries, who denied their title, and cursed their progenitors. A turbulent people could only be repressed by a military force; but who could satisfy the avarice or assert the discipline of the mercenaries themselves? The African and the Turkish guards drew their swords against each other, and the chief commanders, the emirs al Omra,<sup>110</sup> imprisoned or deposed their sovereigns, and violated the sanctuary of the mosque and haram. If the caliphs escaped to the camp or court of any neighbouring prince, their deliverance was a change of servitude, till they were prompted by despair to invite the Bowides, the sultans of Persia, who silenced the factions of Bagdad by

Fallen state of the caliphs of Bagdad, A.D. 935, &c.

261-269 235, &c.) has supplied me with the most interesting facts of this paragraph.

<sup>108</sup> Their master, on a similar indulgent and tolerating spirit at the four orthodox sects, &c. there A.D. 211. He fought the creation of the Koran.

<sup>110</sup> The office of *seir* was superseded by the emir al Omra, Imperator Imperatorum, a title first instituted by Rahdi, and which, et tri-  
nis sup-  
restitu-  
255-1.

their irresistible arms. The civil and military powers were assumed by Moezaldowlat, the second of the three brothers, and a stipend of sixty thousand pounds sterling was assigned by his generosity for the private expense of the commander of the faithful. But on the fortieth day, at the audience of the ambassadors of Chorasani, and in the presence of a trembling multitude, the caliph was dragged from his throne to a dungeon, by the command of the stranger, and the rude hands of his Dilemites. His palace was pillaged, his eyes were put out, and the mean ambition of the Abbassides aspired to the vacant station of danger and disgrace. In the school of adversity, the luxurious caliphs resumed the grave and abstemious virtues of the primitive times. Despoiled of their armour and silken robes, they fasted, they prayed, they studied the Koran and the tradition of the Son-nites; they performed, with zeal and knowledge, the functions of their ecclesiastical character. The respect of nations still waited on the successors of the apostle, the oracles of the law and conscience of the faithful; and the weakness or division of their tyrants sometimes restored the Abbassides to the sovereignty of Bagdad. But their misfortunes had been embittered by the triumph of the Fatimites, the real or spurious progeny of Ali. Arising from the extremity of Africa, these successful rivals extinguished, in Egypt and Syria, both the spiritual and temporal authority of the Abbassides; and the monarch of the Nile insulted the humble pontiff on the banks of the Tigris.

In the declining age of the caliphs, in the century which elapsed after the war of Theophilus and Motassem, the hostile transactions of the two nations were confined to some inroads by sea and land, the fruits of their close vicinity and indelible hatred. But when the Eastern world was convulsed and broken, the Greeks were roused from their lethargy by the hopes of conquest and revenge. The Byzantine empire, since the accession of the Basilian race, had reposed in peace and dignity; and they might encounter with their entire strength the front of some petty emir, whose rear was assaulted and threatened by his national foes of the Mahometan faith. The lofty titles of the morning star, and the death of the Saracens,<sup>111</sup> were applied in the public acclamations to Nicephorus Phocas, a prince as renowned in the camp as he was unpopular in the city. In the subordinate station of great domestic, or general of the East, he reduced the island of Crete, and extirpated the nest of pirates who had so long defied, with impunity, the majesty

of the empire.<sup>112</sup> His military genius was displayed in the conduct and success of the enterprise, which had so often failed with loss and dishonour. The Saracens were confounded by the landing of his troops on safe and level bridges, which he cast from the vessels to the shore. Seven months were consumed in the siege of Candia; the despair of the native Cretans was stimulated by the frequent aid of their brethren of Africa and Spain; and, after the masonry wall and double ditch had been stormed by the Greeks, an hopeless conflict was still maintained in the streets and houses of the city. The whole island was subdued in the capital, and a submissive people accepted, without resistance, the baptism of the conqueror.<sup>113</sup> Constantinople applauded the long-forgotten pomp of a triumph; but the Imperial diadem was the sole reward that could repay the services, or satisfy the ambition, of Nicephorus.

After the death of the younger <sup>The Eastern conquests of</sup> Romanus, the fourth in lineal de- <sup>Nicephorus</sup> scent of the Basilian race, his wife <sup>Phocas, and</sup> Theophania successively mar- <sup>John Zimisces.</sup> ried Nicephorus Phocas and his assassin John Zimisces, the two heroes of the age. They reigned as the guardians and colleagues of her infant sons; and the twelve years of their military command form the most splendid period of the Byzantine annals. The subjects and confederates, whom they led to war, appeared, at least in the eyes of an enemy, two hundred thousand strong; and of these about thirty thousand were armed with cuirasses;<sup>114</sup> a train of four thousand mules attended their march; and their evening camp was regularly fortified with an enclosure of iron spikes. A series of bloody and undecisive combats is nothing more than an anticipation of what would have been effected in a few years by the course of nature; but I shall briefly prosecute the conquests of the two emperors from the hills of Cappadocia to the desert of Bagdad. The sieges of <sup>Conquest of</sup> Mopsuestia and Tarsus, in Cilicia, <sup>Cilicia.</sup> first exercised the skill and perseverance of their troops, on whom, at this moment, I shall not hesitate to bestow the name of Romans. In the double city of Mopsuestia, which is divided by the river Sarus, two hundred thousand Moslems were predestined to death or slavery,<sup>115</sup> a surprising degree of population, which must at least include the inhabitants of the dependent districts. They were surrounded and taken by assault; but Tarsus was reduced by the slow progress of famine; and no sooner had the Saracens yielded on honourable terms than they were mortified by the distant and unprofitable view of the naval succours of Egypt. They

<sup>111</sup> Liutprand, whose choleric temper was embittered by his unequal application to the conquest of the island of Sicily, Saracens.

<sup>112</sup> *Ann. Sic. p. 278, 279.* Liutprand was disposed to depreciate the Greek power, yet he owns that Nicephorus led an invincible army of eighty thousand men.

<sup>113</sup> *Dugueti Eccl. p. 251.* of Mopsuestia, or Mada, Mampissa, Madaia, Madaia, it is corrupt, or perhaps more correctly, styled in the middle ages Meseone. *Itinerary p. 501.* Yet I cannot credit it extreme population a few years after the first conquest of the empire by Leo, &c. &c. *Ann. Sic. p. 278, 279.* *Ann. Sic. p. 278, 279.* *Ann. Sic. p. 278, 279.*

vestitus adhuc plenam ac referam . . . but the victorious mission, perhaps, with some carnal and, in baptismum omnes me faceret discipulum populi. *Excessus per totam insulam aditatus, &c.* *Ann. Sic. p. 278.*

<sup>114</sup> *Ann. Sic. p. 278, 279.* Liutprand was disposed to depreciate the Greek power, yet he owns that Nicephorus led an invincible army of eighty thousand men.

<sup>115</sup> *Dugueti Eccl. p. 251.* of Mopsuestia, or Mada, Mampissa, Madaia, Madaia, it is corrupt, or perhaps more correctly, styled in the middle ages Meseone. *Itinerary p. 501.* Yet I cannot credit it extreme population a few years after the first conquest of the empire by Leo, &c. &c. *Ann. Sic. p. 278, 279.* *Ann. Sic. p. 278, 279.* *Ann. Sic. p. 278, 279.*



CHAP. LIII.

*State of the Eastern Empire in the Tenth Century. — Extent and Division. — Wealth and Revenue. — Palace of Constantinople. — Titles and Offices. — Priv. and Power of the Emperors. — Tactics of the Greeks, Arabs, and Franks. — Loss of the Latin Tongue. — Studies and Solitude of the Greeks.*

Memorials  
of the Greek  
empire.

A RAY of historic light seems to beam from the darkness of the tenth century. We open with curiosity

and respect the royal volumes of Constantine Porphyrogenitus,<sup>1</sup> which he composed at a mature age for the instruction of his son, and which promise to unfold the state of the Eastern empire, both in peace and war, both at home and

Works of  
Constantine  
Porphyrogenitus.

ceremonies of the church and palace of Constantine, according to his own practice and that of his predecessors.<sup>2</sup> In the second, he attempts an accurate survey of the provinces, the *themes*, as they were then denominated, both of Europe and Asia.<sup>3</sup> The system of Roman tactics, the discipline and order of the troops, and the military operations by land and sea, are explained in the third of these didactic collections, which may be ascribed to Constantine or his father Leo.<sup>4</sup> In the fourth, of the administration of the empire, he reveals the secrets of the Byzantine policy, in friendly or hostile intercourse with the nations of the earth. The literary labours of the age, the practical systems of law, agriculture, and history, might redound to the benefit of the subject and the honour of the Macedonian princes. The sixty books of the *Basiles*,<sup>5</sup> the code and pandects of civil jurisprudence, were gradually framed in the three first reigns of that prosperous dynasty. The art of agriculture had amused the leisure, and exercised the pen, of the best and wisest of the ancients; and their chosen precepts are comprised in the twenty books of the *Geoponics* <sup>6</sup> of Constantine. At his command, the historical examples of vice and virtue were methodised in fifty-three books,<sup>7</sup> and every citizen might apply, to his contemporaries or himself, the lesson or the warning of past times. From the august

manifold defects are partly supplied by the MS. history of Ico the deacon, which Pagi collated from the Berzabian mss, and has inserted almost entire, in a Latin version (*Critica*, tom. iii. p. 875. tom. iv. p. 373).

1 The epithet of *Porphyrogenitus*, Porphyrogenitus, born in the purple, is elegantly derived by Clamham.

Amica privatos res et fortuna Penatis;  
Et regnare cum in eadem. Collata potestas  
Hæc est. Tunc a conspectu meo, meo

And Ducangé, in his Greek and Latin Glossaries, produces many passages expressing of the same idea.

2. A splendid MS. of Constantine de Carremonis An'a et Ecclesie Byzantine, wandered from Constantinople to Italy, France, etc., and Ionia, where it was published in a splendid edition by Lech and Reske (A D 1774, in form), with such two-h praise - editors never fail to bestow on the worthy or worthless object of their toil!

3 See, in the first volume of Banduri's *Imperium Ottomanicum*, Constantinus de Thematibus, p. 124 de Administratione Imperii, cap. 45, 127 edit. Venet. The text of the oblation of Meursius is corrected.

from a MS. of the royal library of Paris, which is not substantially  
formerly seen (Hist. et Polyg. p. 101), and the same is illustrated  
by two maps of William Deslede, the prince of geographers till the

istintine are published with the addition of the works of Meursius, by

1745), yet the text is still corrupt and mutilated, the version is still obscure and tautologous. The Imperial Library of Vienna would afford

obscure and faulty. The Imperial library of Vienna would afford some valuable materials to a new editor.<sup>1</sup> Fabric. *Bibliot. Græc.* tom. vi. p. 369. 370.

5 On the subject of the *Basilus*, Fabricius (Bibl. Græc. tom. vii. p. 425-511.), and Heineccius (Hist. Juris Romani, p. 396-399.)

character of the legislator, the sovereign of the East descends to the more humble office of a teacher and a scribe: and if his successors and subjects were regardless of his paternal cares, *we* may inherit and enjoy the everlasting legacy.

A closer survey will indeed reduce the value of the gift, and the mat-

the value of the gift, and the gratitude of posterity. In the possession of these Imperial treasures we may still deplore our poverty and ignorance; and the fading glories of their authors will be obliterated by indifference or contempt. The Basilics will sink to a broken copy, a partial and mutilated version in the Greek language, of the laws of Justinian; but the sense of the old civilians is often superseded by the influence of bigotry: and the absolute prohibition of divorce, concubinage, and interest for money, enslaves the freedom of trade, and the happiness of private life. In the historical book, a subject of Constantine might admire the inimitable virtues of Greece and Rome: he might learn to what a pitch of energy and elevation the human character had formerly aspired.

But a contrary effect must have been produced by a new edition of the lives of the saints, which the great logothete, or chancery of the empire, was directed to prepare: and the dark fund of superstition was enriched by the fabulous and florid legends of Simon the *Metaphrast*.<sup>8</sup> The merits and miracles of the whole calendar are of less account in the eyes of a sage, than the toil of a single husbandman, who multiplies the gifts of the Creator, and supplies the food of his brethren. Yet the royal authors of the *Geoponics* were more seriously employed in expounding the precepts of the destroying art, which has been taught since the days of Xenophon,<sup>9</sup> as the art of heroes and kings. But the *Tactics* of Leo and Constantine are mingled with the baser alloy of the age in which they lived. It was desitute of original genius; they implicitly transcribe the rules and maxims which had been confirmed by victories. It was unskilled in the propriety of style and method; they blindly confound the most distant and discordant institutions, the phalanx of Sparta and that of Macedon, the legions of Cato and Trajan, of Augustus and Theodosius. Even the use, or at least the importance, of these military rudiments may be

and Giannone (Istoria civile di Napoli, tom. i, pp. 470-478) as historians, may be especially consulted. Of six books of this kind, the first, by Giovanni Pubblica, the Latin version, by Charles Annibaldi (Florence, 1847), in seven tomes in folio, is either lost, or has been since discovered, and are inserted in *Grand Meirieu's* *Ouvrage*. The *Thesaurus Juris Civ. et Canon. tom. i* of the whole work, the sixty books, John Feinlavus has printed (Basil, 1753) in octavo in six volumes. The four novels, or new laws of Leo, may be found in the *Novae*.

<sup>6</sup> I have used the last and best edition of the *Laopans* by the *Nicholas* *Nicholas*, 1781, 2 vols. in octavo. I read in the preface, that

the same chapter restored the long forgotten segments of rhetoric and philosophy, and his two books of *Hyperdramas* or Horse plays were published at Paris, 1870, in *Généralie Biblot. Græc. tom. vi, p. 187*.—*ibid.*

7. Of these runic books, or tables, only two have been preserved and printed, the *Logodanbus* by Friticus Ursinus, Antwerp, 1525, and *Prophet Thesabeus*, August Vindob. 1607, both de Virginitus et

8. The life and writings of Simon Marius are described by Hook inside scriptum 152v at 118-119. The biography of the saint indulged himself in a more grandiose of the art of not sense

Sumis indulged himself in those paraphrases of the text in order to sense of more ancient texts. His Greek rhetoric is clearly paraphrased in the Latin version of Sumis, and scarcely a thread can be now visible of the original texture.

<sup>29</sup> According to the first book of the *Expanded Life of Alexander*, a small part of the science of war, war, the first standard in history, by which Greece must be understood. A more complete of the *Expanded Life of Alexander* would be the first standard in history.

Stripper. The new word for the old "stripper" is "stripper." His industry might discover some new MBS, and the new MBS might be the first of his best of the new MBS. But the new MBS is not a new MBS, and, alas, the new MBS is not a new MBS.

fairly questioned: their general theory is dictated by reason; but the merit, as well as difficulty, consists in the application. The discipline of a soldier is formed by exercise rather than by study: the talents of a commander are appropriated to those calm, though rapid, minds, which nature produces to decide the fate of armies and nations: the former is the habit of a life, the latter the glance of a moment; and the battles won by lessons of tactics may be numbered with the epic poems created from the rules of criticism. The book of ceremonies is a recital, tedious yet imperfect, of the despicable pageantry which had infected the church and state since the gradual decay of the purity of the one and the power of the other. A review of the themes or provinces might promise such authentic and useful information, as the curiosity of government only can obtain, instead of traditionary fables on the origin of the cities, and malicious epigrams on the vices of their inhabitants.<sup>10</sup> Such information the historian would have been pleased to record: nor should his silence be condemned if the most interesting objects, the population of the capital and provinces, the amount of the taxes and revenues, the numbers of subjects and strangers who served under the Imperial standard, have been unnoticed by Leo the philosopher, and his son Constantine. His treatise of the public administration is stained with the same blemishes; yet it is discriminated by peculiar merit: the antiquities of the nations may be doubtful or fabulous; but the geography and manners of the barbaric world are delineated

with curious accuracy. Of these nations, the Franks alone were qualified to observe in their turn, and to describe, the metropolis of the East. The ambassador of the great Otho, a bishop of Cremona, has painted the state of Constantinople about the middle of the tenth century: his style is glowing, his narrative lively, his observation keen; and even the prejudices and passions of Liutprand are stamped with an original character of freedom and genius.<sup>11</sup> From this scanty fund of foreign and domestic materials, I shall investigate the form and substance of the Byzantine empire; the provinces and wealth, the civil government and military force, the character and literature, of the Greeks in a period of six hundred years, from the reign of Heraclius to the successful invasion of the Franks or Latins.

After the final division between the sons of Theodosius, the swarms of barbarians from Scythia and Germany over-spread the provinces and extinguished the empire of ancient Rome. The weakness of Constantinople was concealed by extent of dominion: her limits were inviolate, or at least entire; and the kingdom of Justinian was enlarged by the splendid acquisition of Africa

and Italy. But the possession of these new conquests was transient and precarious; and almost a moiety of the Eastern empire was torn away by the arms of the Saracens. Syria and Egypt were oppressed by the Arabian caliphs; and, after the reduction of Africa, their lieutenants invaded and subdued the Roman province which had been changed into the Gothic monarchy of Spain. The islands of the Mediterranean were not inaccessible to their naval powers; and it was from their extreme stations, the harbours of Crete and the fortresses of Cilicia, that the faithful or rebel emirs insulted the majesty of the throne and capital. The remaining provinces under the obedience of the emperors were cast into a new mould: and the jurisdiction of the presidents, the consuls, and the counts, was superseded by the institution of the *themes*,<sup>12</sup> or military governments, which prevailed under the successors of Heraclius, and are described by the pen of the royal author. Of the twenty-nine themes, twelve in Europe and seventeen in Asia, the origin is obscure, the etymology doubtful or capricious: the limits were arbitrary and fluctuating; but some particular names that sound the most strangely to our ear were derived from the character and attributes of the troops that were maintained at the expense, and for the guard, of the respective divisions. The vanity of the Greek princes most eagerly grasped the shadow of conquest and the memory of lost dominion. A new Mesopotamia was created on the western side of the Euphrates: the appellation and prætor of Sicily were transferred to a narrow slip of Calabria; and a fragment of the duchy of Beneventum was promoted to the style and title of the theme of Lombardy. In the decline of the Arabian empire, the successors of Constantine might indulge their pride in more solid advantages. The victories of Nicephorus, John Zimisces, and Basil the Second, revived the fame, and enlarged the boundaries, of the Roman name: the province of Cilicia, the metropolis of Antioch, the islands of Crete and Cyprus, were restored to the allegiance of Christ and Cæsar; one third of Italy was annexed to the throne of Constantinople: the kingdom of Bulgaria was destroyed; and the last sovereigns of the Macedonian dynasty extended their sway from the sources of the Tigris to the neighbourhood of Rome. In the eleventh century, the prospect was again clouded by new enemies and new misfortunes: the relics of Italy were swept away by the Norman adventurers; and almost all the Asiatic branches were dissevered from the Roman trunk by the Turkish conquerors. After these losses, the emperors of the Comnenian family continued to reign from the Danube to Peloponnesus, and from Belgrade to Nice, Trebizond, and the winding stream of the Meander. The spacious provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, and

The themes or provinces of the empire, and its limits in every age.

<sup>10</sup> After observing that the desert of the Cappadocians rose in proportion to their rank and riches, he inserts a more pointed epigram, which is ascribed to Demodocus: —  
Κατὰ δόξαν, τὴν ἐξ ἑστέας καὶ βαρεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντὶ  
καρτερῶν, γούρτωνος δόξανος ἐξέλεον  
The sting is precisely the same with the French epigram against Frezon: Un serpent mordit Jean Frezon — Eh bien? Le serpent en mourut. But as the Paris wits are seldom read in the Anthology, I must not be curious to learn through what channel it was conveyed for their imitation (Constantine Porphyrogenet of Themat. c. vii. Brunk. Anaclet. Græc. tom. ii. p. 36. Brodus Anthologia, l. ii. p. 211).

<sup>11</sup> The Legatio Liutprandi Episcopi Cremonensis ad Nicephorum Thærum, is inserted in Muratori, Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars i.

<sup>12</sup> See Constantine de Thematibus, in Banduri, tom. i. p. 1–30, who owns, that the word is ουκ παλαιά. Θέμα is used by Maurice (Strategem. l. ii. c. 2.) for a legion, from whence the name was easily transferred to its post or province (Ducange, Gloss. tom. i. p. 487, 488). Some etymologies are attempted for the Opsarian, Opsathian, Thracian, themes.

Greece, were obedient to their sceptre; the possession of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete, was accompanied by the fifty islands of the Ægean or Holy Sea;<sup>1)</sup> and the remnant of their empire transcends the measure of the largest of the European kingdoms.

The same princes might assert, with dignity and truth, that of all the monarchs of Christendom they possessed the greatest city,<sup>14</sup> the most ample revenue, the most flourishing and populous state. With the decline

General wealth  
and populous-  
ness.

and fall of the empire, the cities of the West had decayed and fallen; nor could the ruins of Rome, or the mud walls, wooden hovels, and narrow precincts, of Paris and London, prepare the Latin stranger to contemplate the situation and extent of Constantinople, her stately palaces and churches, and the arts and luxury of an immense people. Her treasures might attract, but her virgin strength had repelled, and still promised to repel, the audacious invasion of the Persian and Bulgarian, the Arab and the Russian. The provinces were less fortunate and impregnable; and few districts, few cities, could be discovered which had not been violated by some fierce barbarian, impatient to despoil, because he was hopeless to possess. From the age of Justinian the Eastern empire was sinking below its former level: the powers of destruction were more active than those of improvement; and the calamities of war were embittered by the more permanent evils of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. The captive who had escaped from the barbarians was often stripped and imprisoned by the ministers of his sovereign: the Greek superstition relaxed the mind by prayer, and emaciated the body by fasting; and the multitude of convents and festivals diverted many hands and many days from the temporal service of mankind. Yet the subjects of the Byzantine empire were still the most dexterous and diligent of nations; their country was blessed by nature with every advantage of soil, climate, and situation; and, in the support and restoration of the arts, their patient and peaceful temper was more useful than the warlike spirit and feudal anarchy of Europe. The provinces that still adhered to the empire were re-peopled and enriched by the misfortunes of those which were irrecoverably lost. From the yoke of the caliphs, the Catholics of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, retired to the allegiance of their prince, to the society of their brethren, the moveable wealth, which eludes the search of oppression, accompanied and alleviated their exile; and Constantinople received into her bosom the fugitive trade of Alexandria and Tyre. The chiefs of Armenia and Scythia, who fled from hostile or religious persecution, were hospitably entertained: their followers were en-

couraged to build new cities and to cultivate waste lands; and many spots, both in Europe and Asia, preserved the name, the manners, or at least the memory, of these national colonies. Even the tribes of barbarians, who had seated themselves in arms on the territory of the empire, were gradually reclaimed to the laws of the church and state: and as long as they were separated from the Greeks, their posterity supplied a race of faithful and obedient soldiers. Did we possess sufficient materials to survey the twenty-nine themes of the Byzantine monarchy, our curiosity might be satisfied with a chosen example. it is fortunate enough that the clearest light should be thrown on the most interesting province, and the name of ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΣ will awaken the attention of the classic reader.

As early as the eighth century, in the troubled reign of the Iconoclast, George and his Pelopon-  
 Pelagonians

ists, Greece, and even Peloponnesus,<sup>15</sup> were overrun by some Slavonian bands who out-tripped the royal standard of Bulgaria. The strangers of old Cadmus, and Danaus, and Pelops, had planted in that fruitful soil the seeds of policy and learning; but the savages of the north eradicated what yet remained of their sickly and withered roots. In this irruption, the country and the inhabitants were transformed; the Grecian blood was contaminated; and the proudest nobles of Peloponnesus were branded with the names of foreigners and *slaves*. By the diligence of succeeding princes, the land was in some measure purified from the barbarians; and the humble remnant was bound by an oath of obedience, tribute, and military service, which they often renewed and often violated. The siege of Patras was formed by a singular concurrence of the Slavonians of Peloponnesus and the Saracens of Africa. In their list distress, a pious fiction of the approach of the prætor of Corinth revived the courage of the citizens. Their sally was bold and successful; the strangers embarked, the rebels submitted, and the glory of the day was ascribed to a phantom or a stranger, who fought in the foremost ranks under the character of St. Andrew the apostle. The shrine which contained his relics was decorated with the trophies of victory, and the captive race was for ever devoted to the service and vassalage of the metropolitan church of Patras. By the revolt of two Slavonian tribes in the neighbourhood of Melos and Lacedæmon, the peace of the peninsula was often disturbed. They sometimes insulted the weakness, and sometimes resisted the oppression, of the Byzantine government, till at length the approach of their hostile brethren extorted a golden bull to define the rights and obligations of the Ezzerites and Milengi, whose annual tribute was defined at twelve hundred

[illegible]

14 According to the Jewish traveller who had visited Europe and Asia, Constantinople was equaled only by Bagdad, the great city of

the lamchites (Voyage de Benjamin de Tudèle, par Baratrier, tom. i. p. 141.)

[illegible]

pieces of gold. From these strangers the Imperial geographer has accurately distinguished a domestic and perhaps original race, who, in some degree, might derive their blood from the

much-injured Helots. The liberality of the Romans, and especially of Augustus, had enfranchised the maritime cities from the dominion of Sparta; and the continuance of the same benefit ennobled them with the title of *Eleuthero*- or Free-Laconians.<sup>16</sup> In the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, they had acquired the name of *Mainotes*, under which they dishonour the claim of liberty by the inhuman pillage of all that is shipwrecked on their rocky shores. Their territory, barren of corn, but fruitful of olives, extended to the Cape of Malea: they accepted a chief or prince from the Byzantine prætor, and a light tribute of four hundred pieces of gold was the badge of their immunity, rather than of their dependence. The freemen of Laconia assumed the character of Romans, and long adhered to the religion of the Greeks. By the zeal of the emperor Basil, they were baptized in the faith of Christ: but the altars of Venus and Neptune had been crowned by these rustic votaries five hundred years after they were proscribed in the Roman world. In the theme of Pelopon-

nesus,<sup>17</sup> forty cities were still numbered, and the declining state of Sparta, Argos, and Corinth, may be suspended in the tenth century, at an equal distance, perhaps, between their antique splendour and their present desolation. The duty of military service, either in person or by substitute, was imposed on the lands or benefices of the province: a sum of five pieces of gold was assessed on each of the substantial tenants; and the same capitation was shared among several heads of inferior value. On the proclamation of an Italian war, the Peloponnesians excused themselves by a voluntary oblation of one hundred pounds of gold (four thousand pounds sterling), and a thousand horses with their arms and trappings. The churches and monasteries furnished their contingent; a sacrilegious profit was extorted from the sale of ecclesiastical honours; and the indigent bishop of Leucadia<sup>18</sup> was made responsible for a pension of one hundred pieces of gold.<sup>19</sup>

But the wealth of the province, and the trust of the revenue, were founded on the fair and plentiful produce of trade and manufactures; and some symptoms of liberal policy may be traced in a law which exempts from all personal taxes the mariners of Peloponnesus, and the workmen in parchment and purple. This denomination may be fairly applied or extended to the manufactures of linen, woollen, and more especially of silk: the two former of which had flourished in

Greece since the days of Homer; and the last was introduced perhaps as early as the reign of Justinian. These arts, which were exercised at Corinth, Thebes, and Argos, afforded food and occupation to a numerous people: the men, women, and children, were distributed according to their age and strength; and if many of these were domestic slaves, their masters, who directed the work and enjoyed the profit, were of a free and honourable condition. The gifts which a rich and generous matron of Peloponnesus presented to the emperor Basil, her adopted son, were doubtless fabricated in the Grecian looms. Danielis bestowed a carpet of fine wool, of a pattern which imitated the spots of a peacock's tail, of a magnitude to overspread the floor of a new church, erected in the triple name of Christ, of Michael the archangel, and of the prophet Elijah. She gave six hundred pieces of silk and linen, of various use and denomination; the silk was painted with the Tyrian dye, and adorned by the labours of the needle; and the linen was so exquisitely fine, that an entire piece might be rolled in the hollow of a cane.<sup>20</sup> In his description of the Greek manufactures, an historian of Sicily discriminates their price, according to the weight and quality of the silk, the closeness of the texture, the beauty of the colours, and the taste and materials of the embroidery. A single, or even a double or treble thread, was thought sufficient for ordinary sale; but the union of six threads composed a piece of stronger and more costly workmanship. Among the colours, he celebrates, with affectation of eloquence, the fiery blaze of the scarlet, and the softer lustre of the green. The embroidery was raised either in silk or gold: the more simple ornament of stripes or circles was surpassed by the nicer imitation of flowers: the vestments that were fabricated for the palace or the altar often glittered with precious stones; and the figures were delineated in strings of Oriental pearls.<sup>21</sup> Till the twelfth century, Greece alone, of all the countries of Christendom, was possessed of the insect who is taught by nature, and of the workmen who are instructed by art, to prepare this elegant luxury. But the secret had been stolen by the dexterity and diligence of the Arabs: the caliphs of the East and West scorned to borrow from the unbelievers their furniture and apparel; and two cities of Spain, Almeria and Lisbon, were famous for the manufacture, the use, and perhaps the exportation, of silk. It was first introduced into Sicily by the Normans; and this emigration of trade distinguishes the victory of Roger from the uniform and fruitless hostilities of every age. After the sack of Corinth, Athens, and Thebes, his lieutenant embarked with a captive train of weavers and artificers of both sexes, a trophy glorious to their

<sup>16</sup> Strabon, *Geograph.* l. viii. p. 362. *Pædasus*, Græc. *Description*, l. iii. c. 21. p. 264, 265. *Phil. Hist. Natur.* l. vi. c. 8.

<sup>17</sup> *Constantine de Administrando Imperio*, l. i. c. 50, 51, 52.

<sup>18</sup> The rock of Leucate was the southern promontory of his island and diocese. Had he been the exclusive guardian of the *Love's Leap*, so well known to the readers of *Orid* (*Erys Sapho*) and the *Spectator*, he might have been the richest prelate of the Greek church.

<sup>19</sup> *Leucatenus mihi iuravit episcopus, quotannis ecclesiam suam dâre Nicephoro autors centum persolvere, simul et ceteras plus minusve secundum vires suas* (*Leutrand in Legat.* p. 469).

<sup>20</sup> See *Constantine* (*in Vit. Basil.* c. 74, 75, 76. p. 135, 147. in *Script.*

post Theophrastum), who allows himself to use many technical or barbarous words: *barbarous*, says he, *ἐν τῷ πάλαι ἀσπασί, καλὸν γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦτο κοινολογεῖν*. Ducange labours on some; but he was not a weaver.

Falcandus lived about the year 1150.

master, and disgraceful to the Greek emperor.<sup>22</sup> The king of Sicily was not insensible of the value of the present; and, in the restitution of the prisoners, he excepted only the male and female manufacturers of Thebes and Corinth, who labour, says the Byzantine historian, under a barbarous lord, like the old Eretrians in the service of Darius.<sup>23</sup> A stately edifice, in the palace of Palermo, was erected for the use of this industrious colony; and the art was propagated by their children and disciples to satisfy the increasing demand of the western world. The decay of the looms of Sicily may be ascribed to the troubles of the island, and the competition of the Italian cities. In the year thirteen hundred and fourteen, Lucca alone, among her sister republics, enjoyed the lucrative monopoly.<sup>24</sup> A domestic revolution dispersed the manufacturers to Florence, Bologna, Venice, Milan, and even the countries beyond the Alps; and thirteen years after this event, the statutes of Modena enjoin the planting of mulberry trees, and regulate the duties on raw silk.<sup>25</sup> The northern climates are less propitious to the education of the silk-worm; but the industry of France and England<sup>27</sup> is supplied and enriched by the productions of Italy and China.

I must repeat the complaint that the vague and scanty memorials of the times will not afford any just estimate of the taxes, the revenue, and the resources of the Greek empire. From every province of Europe and Asia the rivulets of gold and silver discharged into the Imperial reservoir a copious and perennial stream. The separation of the branches from the trunk increased the relative magnitude of Constantinople; and the maxims of despotism contracted the state to the capital, the capital to the palace, and the palace to the royal person. A Jewish traveller, who visited the East in the twelfth century, is lost in his admiration of the Byzantine riches. "It is here," says Benjamin of Tudela, "in the queen of cities, that the tributes of the Greek empire are annually deposited, and the lofty towers are filled with precious magazines of silk, purple, and gold. It is said, that Constantinople pays each day to her sovereign twenty thousand pieces of gold; which are levied on the shops, taverns, and markets, on the merchants of Persia and Egypt, of Russia and Hungary, of Italy and Spain, who frequent the capital by sea and land."<sup>28</sup> In all pecuniary matters, the authority of a Jew is doubtless respectable; but as the three hundred and sixty-

five days would produce a yearly income exceeding seven millions sterling, I am tempted to retrench at least the numerous festivals of the Greek calendar. The mass of treasure that was saved by Theodora and Basil the Second will suggest a splendid, though indefinite, idea of their supplies and resources. The mother of Michael, before she retired to a cloister, attempted to check or expose the prodigality of her ungrateful son, by a free and faithful account of the wealth which he inherited; one hundred and nine thousand pounds of gold, and three hundred thousand of silver, the fruits of her own economy and that of her deceased husband.<sup>29</sup> The avarice of Basil is not less renowned than his valour and fortune: his victorious armies were paid and rewarded without breaking into the mass of two hundred thousand pounds of gold (about eight millions sterling), which he had buried in the subterraneous vaults of the palace.<sup>30</sup> Such accumulation of treasure is rejected by the theory and practice of modern policy; and we are more apt to compute the national riches by the use and abuse of the public credit. Yet the maxims of antiquity are still embraced by a monarch formidable to his enemies; by a republic respectable to her allies; and both have attained their respective ends, of military power, and domestic tranquillity.

Whatever might be consumed for the present wants, or reserved for the future use, of the state, the first and most sacred demand was for the pomp and pleasure of the emperor; and his discretion only could define the measure of his private expense. The princes of Constantinople were far removed from the simplicity of nature; yet, with the revolving seasons, they were led by taste or fashion to withdraw to a purer air, from the smoke and tumult of the capital. They enjoyed, or affected to enjoy, the rustic festival of the vintage: their leisure was amused by the exercise of the chase and the calmer occupation of fishing, and, in the summer heats, they were shaded from the sun, and refreshed by the cooling breezes from the sea. The coasts and islands of Asia and Europe were covered with their magnificent villas; but, instead of the modest art which secretly strives to hide itself and to decorate the scenery of nature, the marble structure of their gardens served only to expose the riches of the lord, and the labours of the architect. The successive casualties of inheritance and forfeiture had rendered the sovereign proprietor of many stately houses in the city and

Revenue of the Greek empire.

Pomp and luxury of the emperors.

<sup>22</sup> Inde ad interiora Græciæ processit, Corinthum, Thebas, Athenas, antiqui nominata celebres, expauctæ, et maxima ibidem præda diripi, opulentes etiam, qui seruis panno tecti soleant, ob agnitionem

Almeria in sericorum pannorum optico prænotissima in thren. apud Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 415 b.

<sup>23</sup> Nectas in Manili, l. i. c. 8. p. 65. He describes these Greeks as skilled *texturæ officio fabricæ, ut iter præpararet, utraque Græcorum et Christianorum stolis.*

<sup>24</sup> Hugo Falcandus sty. et nobilis officinas. The Arabs had not introduced silk, though they had planted canes and made sugar in the plain of Palermo.

<sup>25</sup> See the Life of Castruccio Castigani, not by Machiavel, but by his more authentic biographer Nicholas Tegrini. Muratori, who has

inserted it in the sixth volume of his *Scriptores*, quotes this curious passage in his *Historia Antiquitates* tom. i. dissert. xxv. p. 378 b.

<sup>26</sup> From the *MS. Venice*, as they are quoted by Muratori in his *Historia Antiquitates* tom. i. dissert. xxv. p. 415 c.

<sup>27</sup> The first silk manufacture was established in England in the year 1204 Anderson's *Chronology of Invention*, vol. ii. p. 41. but it is to the revocation of the edict of Nantes that we owe the *dupions* and *châles*.

<sup>28</sup> Voyage de Benjamin de Tudela, tom. i. c. 5. p. 14-15. The Hebrew text has been translated into French by that ingenious child Harmer, who has added a volume of crude learning. The errors and fictions of the Jewish rabbi are not a sufficient ground to deny the reality of his travels.

<sup>29</sup> See the computation of Theophanes (l. iv. p. 107.) Cedrenus p. 311.) and Zonaras (tom. i. l. xvi. p. 157.)

<sup>30</sup> Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 225.) instead of pounds, uses the more classic appellation of talents, which, in a literal sense and strict computation, would multiply sixty-fold the treasure of Basil.





farms were added to the Imperial domain : and three thousand slaves of Danielis were enfranchised by their new lord, and transplanted as a colony to the Italian coast. From this example of a private matron, we may estimate the wealth and magnificence of the emperors. Yet our enjoyments are confined by a narrow circle ; and, what-soever may be its value, the luxury of life is possessed with more innocence and safety by the master of his own, than by the steward of the public, fortune.

In an absolute government, which levels the distinctions of noble and plebeian birth, the sovereign is the sole fountain of honour; and the rank, both in the palace and the empire, depends on the titles and offices which are bestowed and resumed by his arbitrary will. Above a thousand years, from Vespasian to Alexius Comnenus,<sup>39</sup> the *Cæsar* was the second person, or at least the second degree, after the supreme title of *Augustus* was more freely communicated to the sons and brothers of the reigning monarch. To elude without violating his promise to a powerful associate, the husband of his sister, and, without giving himself an equal, to reward the piety of his brother Isaac, the crafty Alexius interposed a new and supereminent dignity. The happy flexibility of the Greek tongue allowed him to compound the names of Augustus and Emperor (Sebastos and Autocrator), and the union produced the sonorous title of *Sebastocrator*. He was exalted above the *Cæsar* on the first step of the throne: the public acclamations repeated his name; and he was only distinguished from the sovereign by some peculiar ornaments of the head and feet. The emperor alone could assume the purple or red buskins, and the close diadem or tiara, which imitated the fashion of the Persian kings.<sup>40</sup> It was an high pyramidal cap of cloth or silk, almost concealed by a profusion of pearls and jewels: the crown was formed by an horizontal circle and two arches of gold: at the summit, the point of their intersection, was placed a globe or cross, and two strings or lappets of pearl depended on either cheek. Instead of red, the buskins of the Sebastocrator and *Cæsar* were green; and on their open coronets or crowns, the precious gems were more sparingly distributed. Beside and below the *Cæsar*, the fancy of Alexius created the *Panhypers Sebastos* and the *Protosebastos*, whose sound and signification will satisfy a Grecian ear. They imply a superiority and a priority above the simple name of Augustus; and this

sacred and primitive title of the Roman prince was degraded to the kinsmen and servants of the Byzantine court. The daughter of Alexius applauds, with fond complacency, this artful gradation of hopes and honours; but the science of words is accessible to the meanest capacity; and this vain dictionary was easily enriched by the pride of his successors. To their favourite sons or brothers, they imparted the more lofty appellation of Lord or *Despot*, which was illustrated with new ornaments and prerogatives, and placed immediately after the person of the emperor himself. The five titles of, 1. *Despot*; 2. *Sebastocrator*; 3. *Cæsar*; 4. *Panhypersébastos*; and, 5. *Protosébastos*; were usually confined to the princes of his blood: they were the emanations of his majesty, but as they exercised no regular functions, their existence was useless, and their authority precarious.

But in every monarchy the substantial powers of government must be divided and exercised by the ministers of the palace and treasury, the fleet and army. The titles alone can differ; and in the revolution of ages, the counts and præfects, the prætor and quæstor, insensibly descended, while their servants rose above their heads to the first honours of the state. 1. In a monarchy, which refers every object to the person of the prince, the care and ceremonies of the palace form the most respectable department. The *Cæropalata*,<sup>41</sup> so illustrious in the age of Justinian, was supplanted by the *Protovestiare*, whose primitive functions were limited to the custody of the wardrobe. From thence his jurisdiction was extended over the numerous menials of pomp and luxury; and he presided with his silver wand at the public and private audience. 2. In the ancient system of Constantine, the name of *Logothete*, or accountant, was applied to the receivers of the finances: the principal officers were distinguished as the *Logothets* of the domain, of the posts, the army, the private and public treasure; and the great *Logothete*, the supreme guardian of the laws and revenues, is compared with the chancellor of the Latin monarchies.<sup>42</sup> His discerning eye pervaded the civil administration; and he was assisted, in due subordination, by the eparch or præfect of the city, the first secretary, and the keepers of the privy seal, the archives, and the red or purple ink which was reserved for the sacred signature of the emperor alone.<sup>43</sup> The introducer and interpreter of foreign ambassadors were the great *Chæuss*<sup>44</sup> and the *Dragoman*,<sup>45</sup> two names of Turkish origin, and which

<sup>59</sup> See the *Alexandria* p. 75-79 of Anna Comnena, who, except in title party, may be compared to Mademoiselle de Montpensier. In her awful reverence for titles and forms, she styles her father *ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ*, the inventor of this royal art, the *κατασκευαστής*, and *ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ*.

10 *Struamus a obiter, deservat*. See Roscoe and Crummett, p. 11.  
16. Du-rance has given a learned disquisition on the coins of a contemporary, Rome, France, *Revue numismatique*, xxx, p. 286-7, 5-13; and of his thirty-four models, none exactly tally with Amrès description.

42 Nicetas (in Manuel. I. vii. c. 1) defines him ως ἄριστος ἐκαστοῦ.

Εὐαγγελιστὴς, ὃς δ' Ἐλλήνας ἐπορεύετο. Yet the epithet of  $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$  was added by the elder Andronicus (Bucarge, tom. i. p. 52<sup>2</sup>, 527<sup>1</sup>).

23. From Leo I. A.D. 470,) the Imperial ink, which is still visible on some original acts, was a mixture of vermilion and cinnabar, or purple. The emperors' guardians, who shared in this prerogative, always marked in green ink the indiction, and the month. See the *Historique Diplomatique* (tom. i. p. 511—515); a valuable abridgment

41 The sultan sent a *Σάκκ* to Alexius (Anna Comnena, I, vi, p. 170. Douange ad loc.), and Pachymer often speaks of the *σακκ* (I, vi, c. 1, l. xi, c. 70, l. xiii, c. 22). The *σακκ* is now at the head of 700 officers (Rycaut's Ottoman Empire, p. 319, col. 10th).

<sup>1</sup> In *Tuchman* is the Arabic name of an interpreter (D'Herbelot, p. 814, 816;  $\tau\alpha\iota \delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\nu \omicron\iota\kappa \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\phi\acute{\rho}\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ;  $\tau\alpha\iota \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\phi\acute{\rho}\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , ed. voss (edimus.c.v No.70 p.67). See Vilehardouin, No. 10, Introduction Epist. iv p. 359n. and Ducange (Observations sur Vilehardouin, and Gloss. Græc. et Latin).

are still familiar to the Sublime Porte. 3. From the humble style and service of guards, the *Domestics* insensibly rose to the station of generals; the military themes of the East and West, the legions of Europe and Asia, were often divided, till the *great Domestic* was finally invested with the universal and absolute command of the land forces. The *Protostrator*, in his original functions, was the assistant of the emperor when he mounted on horseback: he gradually became the lieutenant of the great Domestic in the field; and his jurisdiction extended over the stables, the cavalry, and the royal train of hunting and hawking. The *Stratopedarch* was the great judge of the camp; the *Protospathaire* commanded the guards; the *Constable*,<sup>46</sup> the *great Eleriarch*, and the *Acolyth*, were the separate chiefs of the Franks, the barbarians, and the Varangi, or English, the mercenary strangers, who, in the decay of the national spirit, formed the nerve of the Byzantine armies. 4. The naval powers were under the command of the *great Duke*; in his absence they obeyed the *great Drungaire* of the fleet: and, in his place, the *Emir*, or *admiral*, a name of Saracen extraction,<sup>47</sup> but which has been naturalised in all the modern languages of Europe. Of these officers, and of many more whom it would be useless to enumerate, the civil and military hierarchy was framed. Their honours and emoluments, their dress and titles, their mutual salutations and respective pre-eminence, were balanced with more exquisite labour than would have fixed the constitution of a free people; and the code was almost perfect when this baseless fabric, the monument of pride and servitude, was for ever buried in the ruins of the empire.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>Adoration of the emperor.</sup> The most lofty titles, and the most humble postures, which devotion has applied to the Supreme Being, have been prostituted by flattery and fear to creatures of the same nature with ourselves. The mode of *adoration*,<sup>49</sup> of falling prostrate on the ground, and kissing the feet of the emperor, was borrowed by Diocletian from Persian servitude; but it was continued and aggravated till the last age of the Greek monarchy. Excepting only on Sundays, when it was waived, from a motive of religious pride, this humiliating reverence was exacted from all who entered the royal presence, from the princes invested with the diadem and purple, and from the ambassadors who represented their independent sovereigns, the caliphs of Asia, Egypt, or Spain, the kings of France and Italy, and the Latin emperors of ancient Rome. In his transactions of business, Liutprand, bishop of Cremona,<sup>50</sup> asserted the

free spirit of a Frank and the dignity of his master Otho. Yet his sincerity cannot disguise the abasement of his first audience. When he approached the throne, the birds of the golden tree began to warble their notes, which were accompanied by the roarings of the two lions of gold. With his two companions Liutprand was compelled to bow and to fall prostrate; and thrice he touched the ground with his forehead. He arose; but in the short interval, the throne had been hoisted by an engine from the floor to the ceiling, the Imperial figure appeared in new and more gorgeous apparel, and the interview was concluded in haughty and majestic silence. In this honest and curious narrative the bishop of Cremona represents the ceremonies of the Byzantine court, which are still practised in the Sublime Porte, and which were preserved in the last age by the dukes of Muscovy or Russia. After a long journey by the sea and land, from Venice to Constantinople, the ambassador halted at the golden gate, till he was conducted by the formal officers to the hospitable palace prepared for his reception; but this palace was a prison, and his jealous keepers prohibited all social intercourse either with strangers or natives. At his first audience, he offered the gifts of his master, slaves, and golden vases, and costly armour. The ostentatious payment of the officers and troops displayed before his eyes the riches of the empire: he was entertained at a royal banquet,<sup>51</sup> in which the ambassadors of the nations were marshalled by the esteem or contempt of the Greeks: from his own table, the emperor, as the most signal favour, sent the plates which he had tasted; and his favourites were dismissed with a robe of honour.<sup>52</sup> In the morning and evening of each day, his civil and military servants attended their duty in the palace; their labour was repaid by the sight, perhaps by the smile, of their lord; his commands were signified by a nod or a sign, but all earthly greatness stood silent and submissive in his presence. In his regular or extraordinary processions through the capital, he unveiled his person to the public view. The rites of policy were connected with those of religion, and his visits to the principal churches were regulated by the festivals of the Greek calendar. On the eve of these processions, the gracious or devout intention of the monarch was proclaimed by the heralds. The streets were cleared and purified; the pavement was strewn with flowers; the most precious furniture, the gold and silver plate, and silken hangings, were displayed from the windows and balconies, and a severe discipline restrained and

<sup>46</sup> *Κουρτολός*, or *κουρτολάς*, a corruption from the Latin *comes*, *steward*, or the French *cometible*. In a military sense, it was used by the Greeks in the sixth century, at least as early as in France.

<sup>47</sup> It was directly borrowed from the Normans. In the ninth century, Guannone reckons the admiral of Sicily among the great officers.

<sup>48</sup> This sketch of honours and officers is drawn from George Codinus Cypriota, who survived the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and who, in his *ecloga de officio*, describes the ceremonies of the court by the notes of Guar, and the three

<sup>49</sup> carrying the hand to the mouth, *ad os*, is the root of the Latin word, *adoro* *adorare*. See our learned Sel-

den (vol. iii. p. 115-116 912), in his *Titles of Honour*. It seems, from the Persian origin.

<sup>50</sup> Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, all that he says of the court of Constantinople, is pleasantly described by him in his *Relatio ad Nicophorum Thracum*.

<sup>51</sup> Among the amusements of the feast, a boy balanced on his forehead, a pike, or pole, twenty-four feet long, with a cross bar of two cubits a little below the top. Two boys, naked, though encircled

silenced the tumult of the populace. The march was opened by the military officers at the head of their troops: they were followed in long order by the magistrates and ministers of the civil government: the person of the emperor was guarded by his eunuchs and domestics, and at the church door he was solemnly received by the patriarch and his clergy. The task of applause was not abandoned to the rude and spontaneous voices of the crowd. The most convenient stations were occupied by the bands of the blue and green factions of the circus; and their furious conflicts, which had shaken the capital, were insensibly sunk to an emulation of servitude. From either side they echoed in responsive melody the praises of the emperor; their poets and musicians directed the choir, and long life<sup>53</sup> and victory were the burden of every song. The same acclamations were performed at the audience, the banquet, and the church; and as an evidence of boundless sway, they were repeated in the Latin,<sup>54</sup> Gothic, Persian, French, and even English language,<sup>55</sup> by the mercenaries who sustained the real or fictitious character of those nations. By the pen of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, this science of form and flattery has been reduced into a pompous and trifling volume,<sup>56</sup> which the vanity of succeeding times might enrich with an ample supplement. Yet the calmer reflection of a prince would surely suggest, that the same acclamations were applied to every character and every reign: and if he had risen from a private rank, he might remember, that his own voice had been the loudest and most eager in applause, at the very moment when he envied the fortune, or conspired against the life, of his predecessor.<sup>57</sup>

The princes of the North, of the nations, says Constantine, without mingling their blood with the blood of the Cæsars, by their marriage with a royal virgin, or by the nuptials of their daughters with a Roman prince.<sup>58</sup> The aged monarch, in his instructions to his son, reveals the secret maxims of policy and pride; and suggests the most decent reasons for refusing these insolent and unreasonable demands. Every animal, says the discreet emperor, is prompted by nature to seek a mate among the animals of his own species; and the human species is divided into various tribes, by the distinction of language, religion, and manners. A just regard to the purity of descent preserves the harmony of public and private life; but the mixture of foreign blood is the fruitful source of disorder and discord. Such had even been the opinion and practice of the sage Romans: their jurisprudence pro-

scribed the marriage of a citizen and a stranger: in the days of freedom and virtue, a senator would have scorned to match his daughter with a king: the glory of Marc Antony was sullied by an Egyptian wife;<sup>59</sup> and the emperor Titus was compelled, by popular censure, to dismis with reluctance the reluctant Berenice.<sup>60</sup> This perpetual interdiction was ratified by the fabulous sanction of the great Constantine. The ambassadors of the nations, more especially of the unbelieving nations, were solemnly admonished, that such strange alliances had been condemned by the founder of the church and city. The irrevocable law was

Imaginary law of Constantine.

inscribed on the altar of St. Sophia; and the impious prince who should stain the majesty of the purple was excluded from the civil and ecclesiastical communion of the Romans. If the ambassadors were instructed by any false biethren in the Byzantine history, they might produce three memorable examples of the violation of this imaginary law: the marriage of Leo, or rather of his father, Constantine the Fourth, with the daughter of the king of the Chozars, the nuptials of the grand-daughter of Romanus with a Bulgarian prince, and the union of Bertha of France or Italy with young Romanus, the son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus himself. To these objections three answers were prepared, which solved the difficulty and established the law. I. The deed and the guilt of Constantine Copronymus were acknowledged.

The first exception. A. D. 753.

The Isaurian heretic, who sullied the baptismal font, and declared war against the holy images, had indeed embraced a barbarian wife. By this impious alliance he accomplished the measure of his crimes, and was devoted to the just censure of the church and of posterity. II.

The second. A. D. 911.

Romanus could not be alleged as a legitimate emperor; he was a plebeian usurper, ignorant of the laws, and regardless of the honour, of the monarchy. His son Christopher, the father of the bride, was the third in rank in the college of princes, at once the subject and the accomplice of a rebellious parent. The Bulgarians were sincere and devout Christians; and the safety of the empire, with the redemption of many thousand captives, depended on this preposterous alliance. Yet no consideration could dispense from the law of Constantine: the clergy, the senate, and the people, disapproved the conduct of Romanus; and he was reproached, both in his life and death, as the author of the public disgrace.

III. For the marriage of his own son with the daughter of Hugo king of Italy, a more honourable defence is

The third. A. D. 915.

<sup>53</sup> Πολυτρονία is explained by εὐφροσύνη (Gloss. c. 7. Ducange. Gloss. Græc. tom. i. p. 1194.)

<sup>54</sup> Κανονισμοὶ Δεσπ. ὑπερὰ τῆς Βιογραφίας — Εὐσεβ. αὐτ. περὶ τῆς — ἱστορίας Δεσπ. ὑπερὰ τῆς ἀντιλήσεως αὐτοῦ (Gloss. c. 7. p. 215.) The want of the Latin V, obliged the Greeks to employ their α, nor do they recard quantity. Till he recollects the true language, these strange sentences might puzzle a professor.

<sup>55</sup> Βασιλεὺς κατὰ τὴν πατριὰν γλῶσσαν καὶ οὐτοί, ὅπως ἔχουσιν τὸν πολυτρονισμὸν (Gloss. p. 261.) I wish he had preserved the words,

mations, passim, not 25, &c.; the factions and Hippodrome, p. 477—

211, not 9, 93, &c.; the Gothic games, p. 221, not 111, vintage, p. 217, not 109. Much more information is scattered over the work.

<sup>57</sup> In private (Othoni) et super eadem dicenti nota adiuncto (I act. lib. 1. c. 2.)

<sup>58</sup> The ninth chapter, de Administratione Imperii, may be explained and rectified by the Fatolus Byzantium of Ducange.

<sup>59</sup> Sequiturque nesci quæpud (omnes) Virg. Aeneid. lib. 684.) Yet this Egyptian wife was the daughter of a long line of kings.

<sup>60</sup> Quod te multat (says Antony in a private letter to Augustus) an quod regnum meo? For meast'stution in August. c. 69. Yet I much question if I cannot stay to enquire, whether the emperor ever dared to celebrate his marriage either with Roman or Egyptian rites.

<sup>61</sup> Berenice vivens primum dicitur, sustulit. c. 5. lib. c. 7. Have I observed elsewhere, that the Jewish laws was at this time above fifty years of age? The ingenious Racine has most discreetly suppressed both her age and her country.

contrived by the wise Porphyrogenitus. Constantine, the great and holy, esteemed the fidelity and valour of the Franks;<sup>61</sup> and his prophetic spirit beheld the vision of their future greatness. They alone were excepted from the general prohibition: Hugo king of France was the lineal descendant of Charlemagne;<sup>62</sup> and his daughter Bertha inherited the prerogatives of her family and nation. The voice of truth and malice insensibly betrayed the fraud or error of the Imperial court. The patrimonial estate of Hugo was reduced from the monarchy of France to the simple county of Arles; though it was not denied, that, in the confusion of the times, he had usurped the sovereignty of Provence, and invaded the kingdom of Italy. His father was a private noble; and if Bertha derived her female descent from the Carolingian line, every step was polluted with illegitimacy or vice. The grandmother of Hugo was the famous Valdrada, the concubine, rather than the wife, of the second Lothair; whose adultery, divorce, and second nuptials, had provoked against him the thunders of the Vatican. His mother, as she was styled, the great Bertha, was successively the wife of the count of Arles and of the marquis of Tuscany: France and Italy were scandalised by her gallantries: and, till the age of threescore, her lovers, of every degree, were the zealous servants of her ambition. The example of maternal incontinence was copied by the king of Italy; and the three favourite concubines of Hugo were decorated with the classic names of Venus, Juno, and Semele.<sup>63</sup> The daughter of Venus was granted to the solicitations of the Byzantine court: her name of Bertha was changed to that of Eudoxia; and she was wedded, or rather betrothed, to young Romanus, the future heir of the empire of the East. The consummation of this foreign alliance was suspended by the tender age of the two parties; and, at the end of five years, the union was dissolved by the death of the virgin spouse. The second wife of the emperor Romanus was a maiden of plebeian, but of Roman, birth: and their two daughters, Theophano and Anne, were given in marriage to the princes of the earth. The eldest was bestowed, as the pledge of peace, on the eldest son of the great Otho, who had solicited this alliance with arms and embassies. It might legally be questioned how far a Saxon was entitled to the privilege of the French nation: but every scruple was silenced by the fame and piety of a hero who had restored the empire of the West.

After the death of her father-in-law and husband, Theophano governed Rome, Italy, and Germany, during the minority of her son, the third Otho; and the Latins have praised the virtues of an empress, who sacrificed to a superior duty the remembrance of her country.<sup>64</sup> In the nuptials of her sister Anne, every prejudice was lost, and every consideration of dignity was superseded, by the stronger argument of necessity and fear. A Pagan of the North, Wolodimir of Russia, aspired to a daughter of the Roman purple; and his claim was enforced by the threats of war, the promise of conversion, and the offer of a powerful succour against a domestic rebel. A victim of her religion and country, the Grecian princess was torn from the palace of her fathers, and condemned to a savage reign and an hopeless exile on the banks of the Borysthenes, or in the neighbourhood of the polar circle.<sup>65</sup> Yet the marriage of Anne was fortunate and fruitful: the daughter of her grandson Jeroslaus was recommended by her Imperial descent; and the king of France, Henry I., sought a wife on the last borders of Europe and Christendom.<sup>66</sup>

In the Byzantine palace, the emperor was the first slave of the ceremonies which he imposed, of the rigid forms which regulated each word and gesture, besieged him in the palace, and violated the leisure of his rural solitude. But the lives and fortunes of millions hung on his arbitrary will: and the firmest minds, superior to the allurements of pomp and luxury, may be seduced by the more active pleasure of commanding their equals. The legislative and executive powers were centered in the person of the monarch, and the last remains of the authority of the senate were finally eradicated by Leo the philosopher.<sup>67</sup> A lethargy of servitude had benumbed the minds of the Greeks: in the wildest tumults of rebellion they never aspired to the idea of a free constitution; and the private character of the prince was the only source and measure of their public happiness. Superstition riveted their chains; in the church of St. Sophia he was solemnly crowned by the patriarch; at the foot of the altar, they pledged their passive and unconditional obedience to his government and family. On his side he engaged to abstain as much as possible from the capital punishments of death and mutilation; his orthodox creed was subscribed with his own hand, and he promised to obey the decrees of the seven

Wolodimir of Russia.  
A. D. 958.

Despotic power.

Coronation oath.

61 Constantine was made to praise the *courage* and *valour* of the Franks, with whom he claimed a private and public alliance. The French writers (Isaac Casaubon in *Dedacat. Polyb.*) are highly delighted with these compliments.

62 Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Administrat. Imp.* c. 26.) exhibits a pedigree and life of the illustrious king Hugo (*μεγαλειότητος Ἡγου Ὀυγουάκη*). A more correct idea may be formed from the *Chronicon* of Pagi, the *Annals* of Muratori, and the *Abridgment* of St. Marc, A. D. 925—946.

63 After the manner of the three goddesses.

optima, &c. is the preamble of an imperial writer, apud Pagi, tom. iv.

principal actions may be found in the proper years.  
see, tom. ii. p. 221. Elmacin,

of the emperor.

Jeroslaus—a name so common in the East.  
(Ἰεροσλαῖος) no senatus-consultum.  
a naked despotism, ἐξ ου το μιν ἔχοντες κρατος την τούτων ἀντιτάτα διοικούντες, καὶ ἀκαρῶν καὶ μάταιον το ἀρχαίων μετα των χρόνων παρεχόμενων συνάπτεσθαι.

synods, and the canons of the holy church.<sup>68</sup> But the assurance of mercy was loose and indefinite : he swore, not to his people, but to an invisible judge, and except in the inextinguishable guilt of heresy, the ministers of heaven were always prepared to preach the indefeasible right, and to absolve the venial transgressions, of their sovereign. The Greek ecclesiastics were themselves the subjects of the civil magistrate : at the nod of a tyrant the bishops were created, or transferred, or deposed, or punished with an ignominious death : whatever might be their wealth or influence, they could never succeed like the Latin clergy in the establishment of an independent republic ; and the patriarch of Constantinople condemned, what he secretly envied, the temporal greatness of his Roman brother. Yet the exercise of boundless despotism is happily checked by the laws of nature and necessity. In proportion to his wisdom and virtue, the master of an empire is confined to the path of his sacred and laborious duty. In proportion to his vice and folly, he drops the sceptre too weighty for his hands ; and the motions of the royal image are ruled by the imperceptible thread of some minister or favourite, who undertakes for his private interest to exercise the task of the public oppression. In some fatal moment, the most absolute monarch may dread the reason or the caprice of a nation of slaves ; and experience has proved, that whatever is gained in the extent, is lost in the safety and solidity, of regal power.

Whatever titles a despot may assume, whatever claims he may assert, it is on the sword that he must ultimately depend to guard him against his foreign and domestic enemies. From the age of Charlemagne to that of the Crusades, the world (for I overlook the remote monarchy of China) was occupied and disputed by the three great empires or nations of the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks. Their military strength may be ascertained by a comparison of their courage, their arts and riches, and their obedience to a supreme head, who might call into action all the energies of the state. The Greeks, far inferior to their rivals in the first, were superior to the Franks, and at least equal to the Saracens, in the second and third of these warlike qualifications.

The wealth of the Greeks enabled them to purchase the service of the poorer nations, and to maintain a naval power for the protection of their coasts and the annoyance of their enemies.<sup>69</sup> A commerce of mutual benefit exchanged the gold of Constantinople

for the blood of the Slavonians and Turks, the Bulgarians and Russians: their valour contributed to the victories of Nicephorus and Zimisces; and if an hostile people pressed too closely on the frontier, they were recalled to the defence of their country, and the desire of peace, by the well-managed attack of a more distant tribe.<sup>70</sup> The command of the Mediterranean, from the mouth of the Tanais to the columns of Hercules, was always claimed, and often possessed, by the successors of Constantine. Their capital was filled with naval stores and dexterous artificers: the situation of Greece and Asia, the long coasts, deep gulfs, and numerous islands, accustomed their subjects to the exercise of navigation; and the trade of Venice and Amali supplied a nursery of seamen to the Imperial fleet.<sup>71</sup> Since the time of the Peloponnesian and Punic wars, the sphere of action had not been enlarged; and the science of naval architecture appears to have declined. The art of constructing those stupendous machines which displayed three, or six, or ten, ranges of oars, rising above, or falling behind, each other, was unknown to the ship-builders of Constantinople, as well as to the mechanicians of modern days.<sup>72</sup> The *Dromones*,<sup>73</sup> or light galleys of the Byzantine empire, were content with two tier of oars; each tier was composed of five and twenty benches; and two rowers were seated on each bench, who plied their oars on either side of the vessel. To these we must add the captain or centurion, who, in time of action, stood erect with his armour-bearer on the poop, two steersmen at the helm, and two officers at the prow, the one to manage the anchor, the other to point and play against the enemy the tube of liquid fire. The whole crew, as in the infancy of the art, performed the double service of mariners and soldiers; they were provided with defensive and offensive arms, with bows and arrows, which they used from the upper deck, with long pikes, which they pushed through the portholes of the lower tier. Sometimes indeed the ships of war were of a larger and more solid construction; and the labours of combat and navigation were more regularly divided between seventy soldiers and two hundred and thirty mariners. But for the most part they were of the light and manageable size; and as the cape of Malea in Peloponnesus was still clothed with its ancient terrors, an Imperial fleet was transported five miles over land across the Isthmus of Corinth.<sup>74</sup> The principles of maritime tactics had not undergone any change since the time of Thucydides: a squadron of galleys still advanced in a crescent, charged to the front, and strove to

68 Codinus (de Officiis, c. xvii p. 120, 121, gives an idea of this oath so strong to the church  $\pi\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\ \tau\epsilon\iota\ \delta\gamma\mu\alpha\iota\ \sigma\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\iota$ , so will to the people  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \phi\epsilon\gamma\omega\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\ \tau\epsilon\iota\ \sigma\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\iota$ .

(b) If we listen to the threats of Nymphorus to the ambassador of

in another place, qui ceteris præstant Venetis sunt et Amulpi itani

et al., 1987; Kato et al., 1986). The authors have also reported that the

p 525-818), which is given more correct from a manuscript of Gu-  
 -719).

Dem-  
Plim-  
Philadelphia were applied to a floating island, whose topage, accord-  
ing to Dr. Airlinnot, Tables of an verticon, &c. p. 251-276 b, is  
considered as 11 to one, with an hour's sailing.

75 The Dramatic use of ears, that I must not  
 wh. pervert the sense  
 of Tragedy. The B.

74 Constantine Porphyrogen in Vit. Basil. c. 14, n. 18. He not only praises the stratagem as a *trick of war* but also as a *trick of the sea*, and Porphyrogen is described by his terrified foe as a *trick of the sea*.

impel their sharp beaks against the feeble sides of their antagonists. A machine for casting stones and darts was built of strong timbers in the midst of the deck; and the operation of boarding was effected by a crane that hoisted baskets of armed men. The language of signals, so clear and copious in the naval grammar of the moderns, was imperfectly expressed by the various positions and colours of a commanding flag. In the darkness of the night the same orders to chase, to attack, to halt, to retreat, to break, to form, were conveyed by the lights of the leading galley. By land, the fire-signals were repeated from one mountain to another; a chain of eight stations commanded a space of five hundred miles; and Constantinople in a few hours was apprised of the hostile motions of the Saracens of Tarsus.<sup>75</sup> Some estimate may be formed of the power of the Greek emperors, by the curious and minute detail of the armament which was prepared for the reduction of Crete. A fleet of one hundred and twelve galleys, and seventy-five vessels of the Pamphylian style, was equipped in the capital, the islands of the Ægean Sea, and the sea-ports of Asia, Macedonia, and Greece. It carried thirty-four thousand mariners, seven thousand three hundred and forty soldiers, seven hundred Russians, and five thousand and eighty-seven Mardaites, whose fathers had been transplanted from the mountains of Libanus. Their pay, most probably of a month, was computed at thirty-four centenaries of gold, about one hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds sterling. Our fancy is bewildered by the endless recapitulation of arms and engines, of clothes and linen, of bread for the men and forage for the horses, and of stores and utensils of every description, inadequate to the conquest of a petty island, but amply sufficient for the establishment of a flourishing colony.<sup>76</sup>

Tactics and character of the Greeks.

The invention of the Greek fire did not, like that of gunpowder, produce a total revolution in the art of war. To these liquid combustibles the city and empire of Constantine owed their deliverance; and they were employed in sieges and sea-fights with terrible effect. But they were either less improved, or less susceptible of improvement: the engines of antiquity, the catapultæ, balistæ, and battering-rams, were still of most frequent and powerful use in the attack and defence of fortifications; nor was the decision of battles reduced to the quick and heavy fire of a line of infantry, whom it were fruitless to protect with armour against a similar fire of their enemies. Steel and iron were still the common instruments of destruction and safety;

and the helmets, cuirasses, and shields, of the tenth century did not, either in form or substance, essentially differ from those which had covered the companions of Alexander or Achilles.<sup>77</sup> But instead of accustoming the modern Greeks, like the legionaries of old, to the constant and easy use of this salutary weight, their armour was laid aside in light chariots, which followed the march, till, on the approach of an enemy, they resumed with haste and reluctance the unusual encumbrance. Their offensive weapons consisted of swords, battle-axes, and spears; but the Macedonian pike was shortened a fourth of its length, and reduced to the more convenient measure of twelve cubits or feet. The sharpness of the Scythian and Arabian arrows had been severely felt; and the emperors lament the decay of archery as a cause of the public misfortunes, and recommend, as an advice, and a command, that the military youth, till the age of forty, should assiduously practise the exercise of the bow.<sup>78</sup> The bands, or regiments, were usually three hundred strong; and, as a medium between the extremes of four and sixteen, the foot-soldiers of Leo and Constantine were formed eight deep; but the cavalry charged in four ranks, from the reasonable consideration, that the weight of the front could not be increased by any pressure of the hindmost horses. If the ranks of the infantry or cavalry were sometimes doubled, this cautious array betrayed a secret distrust of the courage of the troops, whose numbers might swell the appearance of the line, but of whom only a chosen band would dare to encounter the spears and swords of the barbarians. The order of battle must have varied according to the ground, the object, and the adversary; but their ordinary disposition, in two lines and a reserve, presented a succession of hopes and resources most agreeable to the temper as well as the judgment of the Greeks.<sup>79</sup> In case of a repulse, the first line fell back into the intervals of the second; and the reserve, breaking into two divisions, wheeled round the flanks to improve the victory or cover the retreat. Whatever authority could enact was accomplished, at least in theory, by the camps and marches, the exercises and evolutions, the edicts and books, of the Byzantine monarch.<sup>80</sup> Whatever art could produce from the forge, the loom, or the laboratory, was abundantly supplied by the riches of the prince, and the industry of his numerous workmen. But neither authority nor art could frame the most important machine, the soldier himself; and if the ceremonies of Constantine always suppose the safe and triumphal return of the emperor,<sup>81</sup> his tactics seldom soar above the means of escaping a

<sup>75</sup> The continuator of Theophanes (l. iv. p. 122, 123) names the successive stations, the castle of Libanus near Tarsus, Mount Argæus, Isamus, Ægulus, the hill of Mamay, Lynus, Moolus, the hill of Auxentius, the sundial of the Pharos, of the great palace. He affirms, that the news were transmitted *ex æthere*, in an indivisible moment of time. A miserable amplification, which, by saying too much, says nothing. How much more forcible and instructive would have been the denotation of three, or six, or twelve hours.

<sup>76</sup> See the Ceremoniale of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, l. ii. c. 44. p. 176–192. A critical reader will discern some inconsistencies in different parts of this account; but they are not more obscure or more stubborn than the establishment and effectives, the present and fit for duty, the rank and file and the private, of a modern regiment, which return in proper hands the knowledge of these profitable mysteries.

<sup>77</sup> See the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters, *περὶ ὅπλων*, *περὶ*

*ὀπλισίας*, and *περὶ γυναικείας*, in the Tactics of Leo, with the corresponding passages in those of Constantine.

<sup>78</sup> They observe, *τις γὰρ τῶν αἰώνων ἀνελθόντων . . . ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ταὐτὰ πάλιν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐβλήματι γενέσθαι* (Leo, *Tactic.* p. 581. Constantine, p. 1216.). Yet such were not the maxims of the Greeks and Romans, who despised the loose and distant practice of archery.

<sup>79</sup> Compare the passages of the Tactics, p. 669. and 721. and the sixth with the seventh chapter.

<sup>80</sup> In the preface to his Tactics, Leo very freely deplores the loss of discipline and the calamities of the times, and repeats, without scruple (Proem. p. 537.), the reproaches of *αἰσλὴν*, *ἀσέβειαν*, *ἀνιστορίαν*, *ῥαίαν*, &c.; nor does it appear that the same censures were less deserved in the next generation by the disciples of Constantine.

<sup>81</sup> See in the Ceremonial (l. ii. c. 19. p. 353.) the form of the emperor's trampling on the necks of the captive Saracens, while the singers chanted "Thou hast made my enemies, my footstool!" and the people shouted forty times the *kyrie eleison*.

defeat, and procrastinating the war.<sup>53</sup> Notwithstanding some transient success, the Greeks were sunk in their own esteem and that of their neighbours. A cold hand and a loquacious tongue was the vulgar description of the nation; the author of the tactics was besieged in his capital; and the last of the barbarians, who trembled at the name of the Saracens, or Franks, could proudly exhibit the medals of gold and silver which they had extorted from the feeble sovereign of Constantinople. What spirit their government and character denied, might have been inspired in some degree by the influence of religion; but the religion of the Greeks could only teach them to suffer and to yield. The emperor Nicephorus, who restored for a moment the discipline and glory of the Roman name, was desirous of bestowing the honours of martyrdom on the Christians who lost their lives in a holy war against the infidels. But this political law was defeated by the opposition of the patriarch, the bi-shops, and the principal senators; and they strenuously urged the canons of St. Basil, that all who were polluted by the bloody trade of a soldier, should be separated, during three years, from the communion of the faithful.<sup>53</sup>

These scruples of the Greeks have been compared with the tears of the primitive Moslems when they were held back from battle ; and this contrast of base superstition and high-spirited enthusiasm unfolds to a philosophic eye the history of the rival nations. The subjects of the last caliphs<sup>64</sup> had undoubtedly degenerated from the zeal and faith of the companions of the prophet. Yet their martial creed still represented the Deity as the author of war :<sup>65</sup> the vital though latent spark of fanaticism still glowed in the heart of their religion, and among the Saracens who dwelt on the Christian borders it was frequently rekindled to a lively and active flame. Their regular force was formed of the valiant slaves who had been educated to guard the person and accompany the standard of their lord : but the Musulman people of Syria and Cilicia, of Africa and Spain, was awakened by the trumpet which proclaimed an holy war against the infidels. The rich were ambitious of death or victory in the cause of God ; the poor were allured by the hopes of plunder ; and the old, the infirm, and the women, assumed their share of meritorious service by sending their substitutes, with arms and horses, into the field. These offensive and defensive arms were similar in strength and temper to those of the Romans, whom they far excelled in the management of the horse and the bow : the massy silver of their belts, their

bridles, and their swords, displayed the magnificence of a prosperous nation, and, except some black archers of the South, the Arabs disdained the naked bravery of their ancestors. Instead of wagons, they were attended by a long train of camels, mules, and asses; the multitude of these animals, whom they bedecked with flags and streamers, appeared to swell the pomp and magnitude of their host; and the horses of the enemy were often disordered by the uncomely figure and odious smell of the camels of the East. Invincible by their patience of thirst and heat, their spirits were frozen by a winter's cold, and the consciousness of their propensity to sleep exacted the most rigorous precautions against the surprises of the night. Their order of battle was a long square of two deep and solid lines; the first of archers, the second of cavalry. In their engagements by sea and land, they sustained with patient firmness the fury of the attack, and seldom advanced to the charge till they could discern and oppress the lassitude of their foes. But if they were repulsed and broken, they knew not how to rally or renew the combat; and their dismay was heightened by the superstitious prejudice, that God had declared himself on the side of their enemies. The decline and fall of the caliphs countenanced this fearful opinion; nor were there wanting, among the Mahometans and Christians, some obscure prophecies<sup>86</sup> which prognosticated their alternate defeats. The unity of the Arabian empire was dissolved, but the independent fragments were equal to populous and powerful kingdoms; and in their naval and military armaments, an emir of Aleppo or Tunis might command no despicable fund of skill and industry and treasure. In their transactions of peace and war with the Saracens, the princes of Constantinople too often felt that these barbarians had nothing barbarous in their discipline; and that if they were destitute of original genius, they had been endowed with a quick spirit of curiosity and imitation. The model was indeed more perfect than the copy: their ships, and engines, and fortifications, were of a less skillful construction; and they confess, without shame, that the same God who has given a tongue to the Arabians, had more nicely fashioned the hands of the Chinese, and the heads of the Greeks.<sup>87</sup>

A name of some German tribes between the Rhine and the Weser had spread its victorious influence over the greatest part of Gaul, Germany, and Italy; and the common appellation of FRANKS was applied by the Greeks and Arabians to the Christians of the Latin church, the nations of the West, who stretched beyond *their* know-

82 Leo observes (Tact. p. 688) that a fair open battle is not any nation whatsoever is *enotatē*; and *enotatē* the words are strong, and the remark is true, yet if so I had been the opinion of the old Romans, Leo had never ranged on the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus.

85 Zonaras (com. in l. xv. p. 22, 265) and Cedrenus (comp. p. 668.), who relate the descent of Nephritis, most unfortunately apply

atoms, is the  
The man-  
a fragment  
ma of Meur-  
sist) the Roman emperor was too fragment's called upon to study.

56. Inaugural in 1841, the first volume of the *Journal*, the cradles of the Greeks and Romans, is a history of the nation of geography, the past, the present and the future, the first of the *Journal*, and the *Journal*. From this boundary of the first of the *Journal*, an imperialistic may come, the *Journal* of the first of the *Journal*.

87 The sense of the determiner is captured by Abulbarague (D +  $\text{rat } p/2 \text{ of } 2 \text{ of } 2$ ), but does not reflect the passage in which it is conveyed by this locative adpositional.

88 Ex Francis, qui necne tim Latinos quam Teutones compr-  
hendi, ludum habuit Chytrard in Leg. ad Imp. Nicephoru,  
p. 183, 184. This extension of the name may be confirmed fr. a  
Constantine de Admarstardo Imperio, l. i. c. 27, 28; and Eu-  
tychius Annales, l. i. p. 35, 36, who both, like the other writers







losophy; nor could the masters of this rich and perfect idiom be tempted to envy the borrowed learning and imitative taste of their Roman disciples. After the fall of Paganism, the loss of Syria and Egypt, and the extinction of the schools of Alexandria and Athens, the studies of the Greeks insensibly retired to some regular monasteries, and above all, to the royal college of Constantinople, which was burnt in the reign of Leo the Isaurian.<sup>103</sup> In the pompous style of the age, the president of that foundation was named the Sun of Science: his twelve associates, the professors in the different arts and faculties, were the twelve signs of the zodiac; a library of thirty-six thousand five hundred volumes was open to their enquiries; and they could show an ancient manuscript of Homer, on a roll of parchment one hundred and twenty feet in length, the intestines, as it was fabled, of a prodigious serpent.<sup>104</sup> But the seventh and eighth centuries were a period of discord and darkness; the library was burnt, the college was abolished, the Iconoclasts are represented as the foes of antiquity, and a savage ignorance and contempt of letters has disgraced the princes of the Heracian and Isaurian dynasties.<sup>105</sup>

In the ninth century we trace the first dawnings of the restoration of science.<sup>106</sup> After the fanaticism of the Arabs had subsided, the caliphs aspired to conquer the arts, rather than the provinces, of the empire: their liberal curiosity rekindled the emulation of the Greeks, brushed away the dust from their ancient libraries, and taught them to know and reward the philosophers, whose labours had been hitherto repaid by the pleasure of study and the pursuit of truth. The Cæsar Bardas, the uncle of Michael the Third, was the generous protector of letters, a title which alone has preserved his memory and excused his ambition. A particle of the treasures of his nephew was sometimes diverted from the indulgence of vice and folly; a school was opened in the palace of Magnaura; and the presence of Bardas excited the emulation of the masters and students. At their head was the philosopher Leo, archbishop of Thessalonica; his profound skill in astronomy and the mathematics was admired by the strangers of the East; and this occult science was magnified by vulgar credulity, which modestly supposes that all knowledge superior to its own must be the effect of inspiration or magic. At the pressing entreaty of the Cæsar, his friend, the celebrated Photius,<sup>107</sup> renounced the freedom of a secular and studious life, ascended the patriarchal throne, and was alternately excommuni-

cated and absolved by the synods of the East and West. By the confession even of priestly hatred, no art or science, except poetry, was foreign to this universal scholar, who was deep in thought, indefatigable in reading, and eloquent in diction. Whilst he exercised the office of protospathaire, or captain of the guards, Photius was sent ambassador to the caliph of Bagdad.<sup>108</sup> The tedious hours of exile, perhaps of confinement, were beguiled by the hasty composition of his *Library*, a living monument of erudition and criticism. Two hundred and four-score writers, historians, orators, philosophers, theologians, are reviewed without any regular method: he abridges their narrative or doctrine, appreciates their style and character, and judges even the fathers of the church with a discreet freedom, which often breaks through the superstition of the times. The emperor Basil, who lamented the defects of his own education, intrusted to the care of Photius his son and successor Leo the philosopher; and the reign of that prince and of his son Constantine Porphyrogenitus forms one of the most prosperous æras of the Byzantine literature. By their munificence the treasures of antiquity were deposited in the Imperial library; by their pens, or those of their associates, they were imparted in such extracts and abridgments as might amuse the curiosity, without oppressing the indolence, of the public. Besides the *Basiles*, or code of laws, the arts of husbandry and war, of feeding or destroying the human species, were propagated with equal diligence; and the history of Greece and Rome was digested into fifty-three heads or titles, of which two only (of embassies, and of virtues and vices) have escaped the injuries of time. In every station, the reader might contemplate the image of the past world, apply the lesson or warning of each page, and learn to admire, perhaps to imitate, the examples of a brighter period. I shall not expatiate on the works of the Byzantine Greeks, who, by the assiduous study of the ancients, have deserved, in some measure, the remembrance and gratitude of the moderns. The scholars of the present age may still enjoy the benefit of the philosophical common-place book of Stobæus, the grammatical and historical lexicon of Suidas, the *Chiliads* of Tzetzes, which comprise six hundred narratives in twelve thousand verses, and the commentaries on Homer of Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, who, from his horn of plenty, has poured the names and authorities of four hundred writers. From these originals, and from the numerous tribe of scholiasts and critics,<sup>109</sup> some estimate

<sup>103</sup> See DuRoi de P. Chron. l. i. p. 150, 151, who collects the testimonies, not of Theodorus but of Leo the Isaurian, l. i. p. 104, 105, and of Leo the Isaurian, l. i. p. 281, 282, in the Constantinian Manuscripts (p. 57). After relating the absurd charge against the emperor, Spauricus (Hist. Imaginam, p. 292-311), he, a true advocate, proceeds to don't deny the reality of the fire, and almost of the library.

<sup>104</sup> See according to Malchus (apud Zonar. l. xiv. p. 55), this Homer was burnt in the time of Basiliscus. The MS. might be renewed. But on a serious view, it is most strange and incredible.

<sup>105</sup> The Alexia of Zonaras, the *apocrypha* of Alexandria, are strange works, perhaps not all suited to these times.

<sup>106</sup> See Zonaras (l. xiv. p. 104, 105) and Ecdonius (p. 549, 550). Leo the Isaurian, the philosopher Leo, l. i. p. 281, 282, is transformed by the Isaurian into a saint, yet not so far from reality, if he be the author of the oracles more commonly ascribed to the emperor of the same name. The physics of Leo in MS. are in the library of the Vatican (Fabrius, Biblioth. Græc. tom. vi. p. 376, tom. xii. p. 751).

<sup>107</sup> The ecclesiastical and literary character of Photius is copiously

discussed by Hamkus (de Scriptoribus Byzant. p. 269-296.) and Fabricius.

<sup>108</sup> For *Assad-nagar* can only mean Bagdad, the seat of the caliph; a curious and ultramarine library so numerous with his baggage, over incredible, seems to be a mistake. Hamkus (l. i. p. 271-272) gives a good account of the Myriobiblia.

<sup>109</sup> Of the modern Greeks, see the respective articles in the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius; a library work, yet susceptible of a better method and many improvements. Of Eustathius (tom. i. p. 296-297, 306, 329), of the Pselli (a disciple of Leo Allatius, and a friend of Photius), of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (tom. vi. p. 350-351), of John Stobæus (tom. vi. p. 663-729), of Suidas (tom. ix. p. 60-827), John Tzetzes (tom. xii. p. 245-253). Mr. Harris, in his *Photius ad Arrangementis*, opusculum, has given a sketch of this Byzantine learning (p. 297-306).

may be formed of the literary wealth of the twelfth century: Constantinople was enlightened by the genius of Homer and Demosthenes, of Aristotle and Plato; and in the enjoyment or neglect of our present riches, we must envy the generation that could still peruse the history of Theopompus, the orations of Hyperides, the comedies of Menander,<sup>110</sup> and the odes of Alcæus and Sappho. The frequent labour of illustration attests not only the existence, but the popularity, of the Grecian classics: the general knowledge of the age may be deduced from the example of two learned females, the empress Eudocia, and the princess Anna Comnena, who cultivated, in the purple, the arts of rhetoric and philosophy.<sup>111</sup> The vulgar dialect of the city was gross and barbarous: a more correct and elaborate style distinguished the discourse, or at least the compositions, of the church and palace, which sometimes affected to copy the purity of the Attic models.

Deeds of taste and genius. In our modern education, the painful though necessary attainment of two languages, which are no longer living, may consume the time and damp the ardour of the youthful student. The poets and orators were long imprisoned in the barbarous dialects of our western ancestors, devoid of harmony or grace; and their genius, without precept or example, was abandoned to the rude and native powers of their judgment and fancy. But the Greeks of Constantinople, after purging away the impurities of their vulgar speech, acquired the free use of their ancient language, the most happy composition of human art, and a familiar knowledge of the sublime masters who had pleased or instructed the first of nations. But these advantages only tend to aggravate the reproach and shame of a degenerate people. They held in their lifeless hands the riches of their fathers, without inheriting the spirit which had created and improved that sacred patrimony: they read, they praised, they compiled, but their languid souls seemed alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution of ten centuries, not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity or promote the happiness of mankind. Not a single idea has been added to the speculative systems of antiquity, and a succession of patient disciples became in their turn the dogmatic teachers of the next servile generation. Not a single composition of history, philosophy, or literature, has been saved from oblivion by the intrinsic beauties of style or sentiment, of original fancy, or even of successful imitation. In prose, the least offensive of the Byzantine writers are absolved from censure by their naked and unpresuming simplicity; but the orators, most eloquent<sup>112</sup> in their own conceit, are the

farthest removed from the models whom they affect to emulate. In every page our taste and reason are wounded by the choice of gigantic and obsolete words, a stiff and intricate phraseology, the discord of images, the childish play of false or unseasonable ornament, and the painful attempt to elevate themselves, to astonish the reader, and to involve a trivial meaning in the smoke of obscurity and exaggeration. Their prose is soaring to the vicious affectation of poetry; their poetry is sinking below the flatness and insipidity of prose. The tragic, epic, and lyric muses, were silent and inglorious: the bards of Constantinople seldom rose above a riddle or epigram, a panegyric or tale; they forgot even the rules of prosody; and with the melody of Homer yet sounding in their ears, they confound all measure of feet and syllables in the impotent strains which have received the name of *political* or city verses.<sup>113</sup> The minds of the Greeks were bound in the fetters of a base and imperious superstition, which extends her dominion round the circle of profane science. Their understandings were bewildered in metaphysical controversy, in the belief of visions and miracles, they had lost all principles of moral evidence, and their taste was vitiated by the homilies of the monks, an absurd medley of declamation and Scripture. Even these contemptible studies were no longer dignified by the abuse of superior talents: the leaders of the Greek church were humbly content to admire and copy the oracles of antiquity, nor did the school or pulpit produce any rivals of the fame of Athanasius and Chrysostom.<sup>114</sup>

In all the pursuits of active and speculative life, the emulation of states and individuals is the most powerful spring of the efforts and improvements of mankind. The cities of ancient Greece were cast in the happy mixture of union and independence, which is repeated on a larger scale, but in a looser form, by the nations of modern Europe: the union of language, religion, and manners, which renders them the spectators and judges of each other's merit;<sup>115</sup> the independence of government and interest, which asserts their separate freedom, and excites them to strive for pre-eminence in the career of glory. The situation of the Romans was less favourable; yet in the early ages of the republic, which fixed the national character, a similar emulation was kindled among the states of Latium and Italy; and, in the arts and sciences, they aspired to equal or surpass their Grecian masters. The empire of the Cæsars undoubtedly checked the activity and progress of the human mind; its magnitude might indeed allow some scope for domestic competition; but when it was gradually reduced,

110 From obscure and heavily censored Central Vietnamese folk arts, Grieco, Choi and DeGruy, *Blindness and Deafness*, p. 53. Grieco, a contemporary of Michael Banton, is a gay Korean-American, but, in contrast to Michael, is a conventionalist. His studies, especially his book on the gay and lesbian history of the United States, which opened over a dozen years ago, p. 21, Michael has probably been contaminated with the virus of the 'gay liberationists' to the extent of his *Blindness*. In the old days, he is quoted as saying, but he often translates the old as last of the old phones.

[illegible]arithmetic, and music (see her preface to the *Alexiad*, with *Im-*  
*itation* 151-152).[illegible]

115 The very capital of the country is a style of, from their  
excess, they are called by the Americans, usually, a most common  
style. They are now in the hands of the Americans, and the  
Americans, from the fact that the Americans, from the fact that the  
Americans, from the fact that the Americans, from the fact that the

114 As St. Ferrard of the *Formosa* St. Ilija Dalmatian, is the  
 the settlement, with the following description:

[illegible]

at first to the East and at last to Greece and Constantinople, the Byzantine subjects were degraded to an abject and languid temper, the natural effect of their solitary and insulated state. From the North they were oppressed by nameless tribes of barbarians, to whom they scarcely imparted the appellation of men. The language and religion of the more polished Arabs were an insurmountable bar to all social intercourse. The conquerors of Europe were their brethren in the Christian faith; but the speech of the Franks or Latins was unknown, their manners were rude, and they were rarely connected, in peace or war, with the successors of Heraclius. Alone in the universe, the self-satisfied pride of the Greeks was not disturbed by the comparison of foreign merit; and it is no wonder if they flattered in the race, since they had neither competitors to urge their speed, nor judges to crown their victory. The nations of Europe and Asia were mingled by the expeditions to the Holy Land; and it is under the Comnenian dynasty that a faint emulation of knowledge and military virtue was kindled in the Byzantine empire.

#### CHAP. LIV.

*Origin and Doctrine of the Paulicians. — Their Persecution by the Greek Emperors. — Revolt in Armenia, &c. — Transplantation into Thrace. — Propagation in the West. — The Seeds, Character, and Consequence of the Reformation.*

Singular superstition of the Greek church. In the profession of Christianity, the variety of national characters may be clearly distinguished. The natives of Syria and Egypt abandoned their lives to lazy and contemplative devotion: Rome again aspired to the dominion of the world; and the wit of the lively and legacious Greeks was consumed in the disputes of metaphysical theology. The incomprehensible mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, instead of commanding rich silent submission, were agitated in vehement and subtle controversies, which enlarged their faith at the expense, perhaps, of their clarity and reason. From the council of Nice to the end of the seventh century, the peace and unity of the church was invaded by these spiritual wars; and so deeply did they affect the decline and fall of the empire, that the historian has too often been compelled to attend the synods, to explore the creeds, and to enumerate the sects, of this busy period of ecclesiastical annals. From the beginning of the eighth century to the last ages of the Byzantine empire, the sound of controversy was seldom heard. Enthusiasm was exhausted, zeal was fatigued, and, in the decrees of six councils, the articles of the Catholic faith had been irrevocably defined. The spirit of dispute, however vain and pernicious, requires

some energy and exercise of the mental faculties; and the prostrate Greeks were content to fast, to pray, and to believe, in blind obedience to the patriarch and his clergy. During a long dream of superstition, the Virgin and the Saints, their visions and miracles, their relics and images, were preached by the monks, and worshipped by the people; and the appellation of people might be extended, without injustice, to the first ranks of civil society. At an unseasonable moment, the Isaurian emperors attempted somewhat rudely to awaken their subjects, under their influence, reason might obtain some proselytes, a far greater number was swayed by interest or fear; but the Eastern world embraced or deplored their visible deities, and the restoration of images was celebrated as the feast of orthodoxy. In this passive and unanimous state, the ecclesiastical rulers were relieved from the toil, or deprived of the pleasure, of persecution. The Pagans had disappeared; the Jews were silent and obscure; the disputes with the Latins were rare and remote hostilities against a national enemy; and the sects of Egypt and Syria enjoyed a free toleration under the shadow of the Arabian caliphs. About the middle of the seventh century, a branch of Manichæans was selected as the victims of spiritual tyranny: their patience was at length exasperated to despair and rebellion; and their exile has scattered over the West the seeds of reformation. These important events will justify some enquiry into the doctrine and story of the PAULICIANS; and, as they cannot plead for themselves, our candid criticism will magnify the good, and abate or suspect the evil, that is reported by their adversaries.

The Gnostics, who had distracted the infancy, were oppressed by the greatness and authority, of the church. Instead of emulating or surpassing the wealth, learning, and numbers, of the Catholics, their obscure remnant was driven from the capitals of the East and West, and confined to the villages and mountains along the borders of the Euphrates. Some vestige of the Manichæans may be detected in the fifth century;<sup>2</sup> but the numerous sects were finally lost in the obscure name of the Manichæans; and these heretics, who pretended to reconcile the doctrines of Zoroaster and Christ, were pursued by the two religions with equal and unrelenting hatred. Under the grandson of Heraclius, in the neighbourhood of Samosata, more famous for the birth of Lucian than for the title of a Syrian kingdom, a reformer arose, esteemed by the *Paulicans* as the chosen messenger of truth. In his humble dwelling of Mananalis, Constantine entertained a deacon, who returned from Syrian captivity, and received the inestimable gift of the New Testament, which was already concealed from the vulgar by the prudence of the Greek, and perhaps of the Gnostic, clergy.<sup>3</sup>

Orig. in the  
Theophrastus  
of the  
A. D. 604, &c.

<sup>1</sup> The errors and virtues of the Paulicans are described, with his usual judgment and candour, by the learned Mosheim, in the *History of Christianity*, p. 714, &c. He gives his own intelligence from Photius, Isidore, Nicephorus, and other sources, and from the *Chronicon* of the *Manichæans*. The first of these is our best and most authentic source. The second, which Mosheim traces, I have seen in a Latin translation inserted in the *Maximianus* (Paganus) of the *Chronicon* of the *Manichæans*, from the edition of the *Desert Fathers*, at Paris, 1743, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> In the time of Theophrastus, the diocese of Cyrrhus, in Syria, contained about hundred villages. Of these two were inhabited by Christians, and the rest by Pagans. Theophrastus, when the Emperor Justinian ordered the destruction of the Pagan temples, was obliged to flee to the same church (Synod, *Enchiridion*, Ecclesiastical, p. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 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994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

These books became the measure of his studies and the rule of his faith; and the Catholics, who dispute his interpretation, acknowledge that his text was genuine and sincere. But he attached himself with peculiar devotion to the writings and character of St. Paul: the name of the Paulicians is derived by their enemies from some unknown and domestic teacher; but I am confident that they gloried in their affinity to the apostle of the Gentiles. His disciples, Titus, Timothy, Sylvanus, Tychicus, were represented by Constantine and his fellow-labourers, the names of the apostolic churches were applied to the congregations which they assembled in Armenia and Cappadocia; and this innocent allegory revived

the example and memory of the first ages. In the Gospel and the Epistles of St. Paul, his faithful follower investigated the creed of primitive Christianity; and, of every might by the success, a Protestant reader will applaud the spirit of the enquiry. But if the Sentences of the Paulicians were pure, they were not perfect. Their founders repeated the two Epistles of St. Peter, the apostle of the circumcision, who a dispute with their favourite for the observance of the law could not easily be forgiven.<sup>7</sup> They agreed with their Gnostic brethren in the universal contempt for the Old Testament, the books of Moses and the prophets, which have been consecrated by the decrees of the Catholic church. With equal boldness, and doubtless with more reason, Constantine, the new Sylvanus, declined the visions, which, in so many bulky and splendid volumes, had been published by the Oriental sects;<sup>8</sup> the fabulous productions of the Hebrew patriarchs and the sages of the East; the spurious Gospels, Epistles, and Acts, which in the first age had overclouded the orthodox code, the theology of Manes, and the attributes of the kindred heresies; and the trifling generations, or atoms, which had been created by the fruitless fancy of Valentine. The Paulicians sincerely condemned the memory and opinions of the Manichean sect, and complained of the injustice which impressed that invidious name on the simple votaries of St. Paul and of Christ.

Of the ecclesiastical chain, many links had been broken by the Paulician reformers; and their liberty was enlarged, as they reduced the number of masters, at whose voice profane reason must bow to mystery and miracle. The early separation of the Gnostics had preceded the establishment of the Catholic worship; and against the gradual innovations of discipline and doctrine, they were as strongly guarded by habit and aversion, as by the silence of St. Paul and the evangelists. The objects which had been transfigured by the magic of superstition, appeared to the eyes of the Pauli-

cians in their genuine and naked colours. An image made without hands, was the common workmanship of a mortal artist, to whose skill alone the wood and canvas must be indebted for their merit or value. The miraculous relics were an heap of bones and ashes, destitute of life or virtue, or of any relation, perhaps, with the person to whom they were ascribed. The true and vivifying cross was a piece of sound or rotten timber; the body and blood of Christ, a loaf of bread and a cup of wine, the gifts of nature and the symbols of grace. The mother of God was degraded from her celestial honours and immaculate virginity; and the saints and angels were no longer solicited to exercise the glorious office of mediation in heaven, and ministry upon earth. In the practice, or at least in the theory, of the sacraments, the Paulicians were inclined to abolish all visible objects of worship; and the words of the Gospel were, in their judgment, the baptism and communion of the faithful. They indulged a convenient latitude for the interpretation of Scripture; and as often as they were pressed by the literal sense, they could escape to the intricate mazes of figure and allegory. Their utmost diligence must have been employed to dissolve the connection between the Old and the New Testament; since they adored the latter as the oracles of God, and abhorred the former as the fabulous and absurd invention of men or devils. We cannot be surprised, that they should have found in the Gospel the orthodox mystery of the Trinity; but instead of confessing the human nature and substantial sufferings of Christ, they amused their fancy with a celestial body that passed through the virgin like water through a pipe; with a phantastic crucifixion, that eluded the vain and impotent malice of the Jews. A creed thus simple and spiritual was not

adapted to the genius of the times;<sup>9</sup> the two principles of the Manicheans and the rational Christian, who might have been contented with the light yoke and easy burthen of Jesus and his apostles, was justly offended that the Paulicians should dare to violate the unity of God, the first article of natural and revealed religion. Their belief and their trust was in the Father, of Christ, of the human soul, and of the invisible world. But they likewise held the eternity of matter; a stubborn and rebellious substance, the origin of a second principle, of an active being, who has created this visible world, and exercises his temporal reign till the final consummation of death and sin.<sup>10</sup> The appearances of moral and physical evil had established the two principles in the ancient philosophy and religion of the East; from whence this doctrine was transfused to the various swarms of the Gnostics. A thousand shades may be devised in the nature and charac-

They found the two principles of the Manicheans and the rational Christian, who might have been contented with the light

<sup>7</sup> The apostle of the circumcision, who a dispute with their favourite for the observance of the law could not easily be forgiven.

<sup>8</sup> The fabulous productions of the Hebrew patriarchs and the sages of the East; the spurious Gospels, Epistles, and Acts, which in the first age had overclouded the orthodox code.

<sup>9</sup> The two principles of the Manicheans and the rational Christian, who might have been contented with the light yoke and easy burthen of Jesus and his apostles, was justly offended that the Paulicians should dare to violate the unity of God, the first article of natural and revealed religion.

<sup>10</sup> The appearances of moral and physical evil had established the two principles in the ancient philosophy and religion of the East; from whence this doctrine was transfused to the various swarms of the Gnostics.



measure of truth: but if the account be allowed, it must be presumed that many simple Iconoclasts were punished under a more odious name; and that some who were driven from the church, unwillingly took refuge in the bosom of heresy.

The most furious and desperate of rebels are the sectaries of a religion long persecuted, and at length provoked. In an holy cause they are no longer susceptible of fear or remorse: the justice of their arms hardens them against the feelings of humanity: and they revenge their fathers' wrongs on the children of their tyrants. Such have been the Hussites of Bohemia and the Calvinists of France, and such, in the ninth century, were the Paulicians of Armenia and the adjacent provinces.<sup>17</sup> They were first awakened to the massacre of a governor and bishop, who exercised the Imperial mandate of converting or destroying the heretics; and the deepest recesses of Mount Argæus protected their independence and revenge. A more dangerous and consuming flame was kindled by the persecution of Theodora, and the revolt of Carbeas, a valiant Paulician, who commanded the guards of the general of the East. His father had been impaled by the Catholic inquisitors; and religion, or at least nature, might justify his desertion and revenge. Five thousand of his brethren were united by the same motives; they renounced the allegiance of anti-christian Rome; a Saracen emir introduced Carbeas to the caliph; and the commander of the faithful extended his sceptre to the implacable enemy of the Greeks. In the mountains between Siwas and Trebizond he founded or fortified the city of Tephricé,<sup>18</sup>

which is still occupied by a fierce and licentious people, and the neighbouring hills were covered with the Paulician fugitives, who now reconciled the use of the Bible and the sword. During more than thirty years, Asia was afflicted by the calamities of foreign and domestic war: in their hostile inroads the disciples of St. Paul were joined with those of Mahomet; and the peaceful Christians, the aged parent and tender virgin, who were delivered into barbarous servitude, might justly accuse the intolerant spirit of their sovereign. So urgent was the mischief, so intolerable the shame, that even the dissolute Michael, the son of Theodora, was compelled to march in person against the Paulicians: he was defeated under the walls of Sinosata; and the Roman emperor fled before the heretics whom his mother had condemned to the flames. The Saracens fought under the same banners, but the victory was ascribed to Carbeas; and the captive generals, with more than an hundred tribunes, were either released by his avarice, or tortured by his fanaticism. The valour and ambition of Chrysocheir,<sup>19</sup> his successor, embraced a wider circle of rapine and revenge. In alliance with his faithful Moslems, he boldly penetrated into

the heart of Asia; the troops of the frontier and the palace were repeatedly overthrown; the edicts of persecution were answered by the pillage of Nice and Nicomedia, of Ancyra and Ephesus; nor could the apostle St. John protect from violation his city and sepulchre. The cathedral of Ephesus was turned into a stable for mules and horses; and the Paulicians vied with the Saracens in their contempt and abhorrence of images and relics. It is not displeasing to observe the triumph of rebellion over the same despotism which has disdained the prayers of an injured people. The emperor Basil, the Macedonian, was reduced to sue for peace, to offer a ransom for the captives, and to request, in the language of moderation and charity, that Chrysocheir would spare his fellow-Christians, and content himself with a royal donative of gold and silver and silk garments. "If the emperor," replied the insolent fanatic, "be desirous of peace, let him abdicate the East, and reign without molestation in the West. If he refuse, the servants of the Lord will precipitate him from the throne." The reluctant Basil suspended the treaty, accepted the defiance, and led his army into the land of heresy, which he wasted with fire and sword. The open country of the Paulicians was exposed to the same calamities which they had inflicted; but when he had explored the strength of Tephricé, the multitude of the barbarians, and the ample magazines of arms and provisions, he desisted with a sigh from the hopeless siege. On his return to Constantinople he laboured, by the foundation of convents and churches, to secure the aid of his ecclesiastical patrons, of Michael the archangel and the prophet Elijah; and it was his daily prayer that he might live to transpire, with three arrows, the head of his impious adversary. Beyond his expectations, the wish was accomplished: after a successful inroad, Chrysocheir was surprised and slain in his retreat; and the rebel's head was triumphantly presented at the foot of the throne. On the reception of this welcome trophy, Basil instantly called for his bow, discharged three arrows with unerring aim, and accepted the applause of the court, who hailed the victory of the royal archer. With Chrysocheir, the glory of the Paulicians faded and withered;<sup>20</sup>

on the second expedition of the emperor, the impregnable Tephricé was deserted by the heretics, who sued for mercy or escaped to the borders. The city was ruined, but the spirit of independence survived in the mountains: the Paulicians defended, above a century, their religion and liberty, infested the Roman limits, and maintained their perpetual alliance with the enemies of the empire and the Gospel.

About the middle of the eighth century, Constantine, surnamed Copronymus by the worshippers of images, had made an expedition into Armenia. In the last of Chrysocheir's reigns (chron. p. 67-70) edict. Basil had expelled the Paulicians from the empire. Constantine P. was a sectary of the same sect. (Chron. p. 72-75) p. 66. Chrysocheir, the glory of his sect, died (Chron. p. 69-72) p. 67. He is not out of the pale of our knowledge.

See the account of the Paulicians in the text, and in the notes. If we consult the Greek writers, even in the mouth of Constantine,

<sup>17</sup> Petrus Sardinus (p. 767, 774), the contemporary of Theophanes, describes the Paulicians (p. 541, 542, 543, and 544) as a sect of heretics, who were first awakened to the massacre of a governor and bishop, who exercised the Imperial mandate of converting or destroying the heretics; and the deepest recesses of Mount Argæus protected their independence and revenge.

<sup>18</sup> After (voyage en Turquie en 1764, tom. i. p. 135) p. 135, the only Frank who has visited the mountains of Tephricé, a Bulgarian, from whom he fortunately escaped in the train of a Turkish officer.



nia, and found, in the cities of Melitene and Theodosiopolis, a great number of Paulicians, his kindred heretics. As a favour, or punishment, he transplanted them from the banks of the Euphrates to Constantinople and Thrace; and by this emigration their doctrine was introduced and diffused in Europe.<sup>21</sup> If the sectaries of the metropolis were soon mingled with the promiscuous mass, those of the country struck a deep root in a foreign soil. The Paulicians of Thrace resisted the storms of persecution, maintained a secret correspondence with their Armenian brethren, and gave aid and comfort to their preachers, who solicited, not without success, the infant faith of the Bulgarians.<sup>22</sup> In the tenth century, they were restored and multiplied by a more powerful colony, which John Zimisces<sup>23</sup> transported from the Chalybian hills to the valleys of Mount Hæmus. The Oriental clergy, who would have preferred the destruction, impatiently sighed for the absence, of the Manicheans: the weak emperor had felt and esteemed their valour: their attachment to the Saracens was pregnant with mischief; but, on the side of the Danube, against the barbarians of Scythia, their service might be useful, and their loss would be desirable. Their exile in a distant land was softened by a free toleration: the Paulicians held the city of Philippopolis, and the keys of Thrace; the Catholics were their subjects; the Jacobite emigrants their associates: they occupied a line of villages and castles in Macedonia and Epirus; and many native Bulgarians were associated to the communion of arms and heresy. As long as they were awed by power and treated with moderation, their voluntary bands were distinguished in the armies of the empire; and the courage of these dogs, ever greedy of war, ever thirsty of human blood, is noticed with astonishment, and almost with reproach, by the pusillanimous Greeks. The same spirit rendered them arrogant and contumacious: they were easily provoked by caprice or injury; and their privileges were often violated by the foolish hostility of the government and clergy. In the midst of the Norman war, two thousand five hundred Manicheans deserted the standard of Alexius Comnenus, but returned to their native homes. He dissolved till the moment of revenge; he led the chiefs to a friendly conference, and punished the innocent and guilty by imprisonment, confiscation, and baptism. In an interval of peace, the emperor undertook the pious office of reconciling them to the church and state: his winter-quarters were fixed at Philippopolis; and the thirteenth apostle, as he is styled by his pious daughter, consumed whole days and nights in theological controversy. His arguments were fortified, their obstinacy was melted, by the honours and

rewards which he bestowed on the most eminent proselytes; and a new city, surrounded with gardens, enriched with immunities, and dignified with his own name, was founded by Alexius, for the residence of his vulgar converts. The important station of Philippopolis was wrested from their hands; the contumacious leaders were secured in a dungeon, or banished from their country; and their lives were spared by the prudence, rather than the mercy, of an emperor, at whose command a poor and solitary heretic was burnt alive before the church of St Sophia.<sup>25</sup> But the proud hope of eradicating the prejudices of a nation was speedily overturned by the invincible zeal of the Paulicians, who ceased to dissemble or refused to obey. After the departure and death of Alexius, they soon resumed their civil and religious laws. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, their pope or primate (a manifest corruption) resided on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and governed, by his vicars, the filial congregations of Italy and France.<sup>26</sup> From that era, a minute serenity might prolong and perpetuate the chain of tradition. At the end of the last age, the sect or colony still inhabited the valleys of Mount Hæmus, where their ignorance and poverty were more frequently tormented by the Greek clergy than by the Turkish government. The modern Paulicians have lost all memory of their origin; and their religion is disgraced by the worship of the cross, and the practice of bloody sacrifice, which some captives have imported from the wilds of Tartary.<sup>27</sup>

In the West, the first teachers of the Manichean theology had been repulsed by the people, or suppressed by the prince. The favour and success of the Paulicians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries must be imputed to the strong, though secret, discontent which armed the most pious Christians against the church of Rome. Her avarice was oppressive, her despotism odious; less degenerate perhaps than the Greeks in the worship of saints and images, her innovations were more rapid and scandalous: she had rigorously defined and imposed the doctrine of transubstantiation: the lives of the Latin clergy were more corrupt, and the Eastern bishops might pass for the successors of the apostles, if they were compared with the lordly prelates, who wielded by turns the crosier, the sceptre, and the sword. Three different roads might introduce the Paulicians into the heart of Europe. After the conversion of Hungary, the pilgrims who visited Jerusalem might safely follow the course of the Danube: in their journey and return they passed through Philippopolis; and the sectaries, disguising their name and heresy, might accompany the French

Thou intro-  
duced into  
Italy and  
France.

<sup>21</sup> Compennes transported his converts, and he sent them to the cities of Melitene and Theodosiopolis, where they were settled in the year 961.

<sup>22</sup> Porphyrius, who resided nine months in Ephesus, A.D. 961, by the favour of the emperor, was allowed to visit the Paulicians, and addressed his preaching to the Bulgarians, who were then in the act of being converted to the new religion.

<sup>23</sup> The colony of Paulicians who were transported by John Zimisces, A.D. 969, from Armenia to Thrace, is mentioned by Zonaras, (l. ix. c. 20) and Anna Comnena, (l. ix. c. 10, p. 190, A.).

<sup>24</sup> The Alexiad of Anna Comnena, l. ix. c. 12, p. 134, 135.

<sup>25</sup> See p. 191, 192, where the Annals of Basil records the trial of a monk, who was accused of being a Paulician, and was executed by the emperor.

<sup>26</sup> Basil, a monk, and the author of the *Ecumenical*, a set of *Canons*, who was banished (Anna Comnena, Alexiad, l. ix. c. 10, p. 190-191).

<sup>27</sup> See *Montesquieu*, *Esprit des Loix*, p. 120.

<sup>28</sup> See *Montesquieu*, *Esprit des Loix*, p. 120.

or German emigrants to their respective countries. The trade and dominion of Venice pervaded the coast of the Adriatic, and the hospitable republic opened her bosom to foreigners of every climate and religion. Under the Byzantine standard, the Paulicians were often transported to the Greek provinces of Italy and Sicily, in peace and war they freely conversed with strangers and natives, and their opinions were silently propagated in Rome, Milan, and the kingdoms beyond the Alps.<sup>28</sup> It was soon discovered that many thousand Catholics of every rank, and of either sex, had embraced the Manichean heresy; and the flames which consumed twelve canons of Orleans, was the first act and signal of persecution. The Bulgarians,<sup>29</sup> a name so innocent in its origin, so odious in its application, spread their branches over the face of Europe. United in common hatred of idolatry and Rome, they were connected by a form of episcopal and presbyterian government; their various sects were discriminated by some fainter or darker shades of theology; but they generally agreed in the two principles, the contempt of the Old Testament, and the denial of the body of Christ, either on the cross or in the Eucharist. A confession of simple worship and blameless manners is extorted from their enemies; and so high was their standard of perfection, that the increasing congregations were divided into two classes of disciples, of those who practised, and of those who aspired.

It was in the country of the Albigeois,<sup>80</sup> in the southern provinces of France, that the Paulicians were most deeply implanted; and the same victims of martyrdom and revenge which had been displayed in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, were repeated in the thirteenth century on the banks of the Rhone. The laws of the Eastern emperors, were revived by Frederick the Second. The insurgents of Tephlice were represented by the barons and cities of Languedoc: pope Innocent the Third surpassed the sanguinary fame of Theodora. It was in cruelty alone that her soldiers could equal the heroes of the Crusades, and the cruelty of her priests was far excelled by the founders of the inquisition;<sup>81</sup> an office more adapted to confirm, than to refute, the belief of an evil principle. The visible assemblies of the Paulicians, or Albigeois, were extirpated by fire and sword; and the bleeding remnant escaped by flight, concealment, or Catholic conformity. But the invincible spirit which they had kindled still lived and breathed in the Western

world. In the state, in the church, and even in the cloister, a latent succession was preserved of the disciples of St. Paul; who protested against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the Bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the visions of the Gnostic theology. The struggles of Wickliff in England, of Huss in Bohemia, were premature and imperfect; but the names of Zuinglius, Luther, and Calvin, are pronounced with gratitude as the deliverers of nations.

A philosopher, who calculates the degree of their merit and the value of their reformation, will prudently ask from what articles of faith, *above or against* our reason, they have enfranchised the Christians; for such enfranchisement is doubtless a benefit so far as it may be compatible with truth and piety. After a fair discussion we shall rather be surprised by the timidity, than scandalised by the freedom, of our first reformers. With the Jews, they adopted the belief and defence of all the Hebrew Scriptures, with all their prodigies, from the garden of Eden to the visions of the prophet Daniel; and they were bound, like the Catholics, to justify against the Jews the abolition of a divine law. In the great mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation the reformers were severely orthodox; they freely adopted the theology of the four, or the six first councils; and with the Athanasian Creed, they pronounced the eternal damnation of all who did not believe the Catholic faith. Transubstantiation, the invisible change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is a tenet that may defy the power of argument and pleasantry; but instead of considering the evidence of their senses, of their sight, their feelings, and their taste, the first reformers were troubled in their own scruples, and awed by the words of Jesus in the institution of the sacrament. Luther maintained a *special*, and Calvin a *real*, presence of Christ in the eucharist; and the opinion of Zuinglius, that it is no more than a spiritual communion, a simple memorial, has slowly prevailed in the reformed churches.<sup>33</sup> But the loss of one mystery was amply compensated by the stupendous doctrines of original sin, redemption, faith, grace, and predestination, which have been strained from the Epistles of St. Paul. These subtle questions had most assuredly been prepared by the fathers and schoolmen; but the final improvement and popular use may be attributed to the first reformers, who enforced them as the absolute and essential terms of sal-

modern Catholics and Protestants; and among these Fleury is the most impartial and moderate.

28. The introduction of the Paulinians into Italy and France, is amply discussed by Muratori, *Antiquitat. Ital.* (Mile. lxxxviii. v. de script. p. 81. 1754), and Mosheim, p. 579-72. 411. 422. Yet both have overlooked a curious passage of Wulfstan, the Anglo-Saxon, who describes them in a battle between the Vikings and Normans, *A. D.* 1000, in *Monast. Sancti Remigii*, l. c. 1. 2. 3. 4.

But he is so ignorant of their attributes to make them a kind of Sabelians or Patibulators.

[illegible]

of the lives, energies, and perceptions of the American people, though general ideas suggested by Madison's "Letter to the Deaf" may be found in the occasional statements, scattered

74. The *Acridothera tristis* (seriata) of the Tropic of Thailand (1907-1927) have been recorded by Hancock (1928) and by the present author (1934). The *Acridothera tristis* (seriata) of the Tropic of Thailand (1907-1927) have been recorded by Hancock (1928) and by the present author (1934). The *Acridothera tristis* (seriata) of the Tropic of Thailand (1907-1927) have been recorded by Hancock (1928) and by the present author (1934).

The other two categories of people are the non-Indians who are employed in the plant and part of the community of Mexico. In the latter group, we included both the white and the colored population, and mostly men, but a few women. The non-Indians are the majority in the community.

the  $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -invariant of the corresponding action. For the  $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -invariant of the action (2.1) to be non-zero, the  $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -invariant of the action of Eq. (2.1) must be non-zero. The condition for the  $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -invariant of the action to be non-zero is that the  $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -invariant of the action must be non-zero. (But this is not the case for the  $\mathbb{Z}_2$ -invariant of the action.)

1.  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the total population.



caliphs, their unknown and accidental auxiliaries; the Roman legions were occupied in Asia; and after the loss of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the Caesars were twice reduced to the danger and disgrace of defending their capital against the Saracens. If, in the account of this interesting people, I have deviated from the strict and original line of my undertaking, the merit of the subject will hide my transgression, or solicit my excuse. In the East, in the West, in war, in religion, in science, in their prosperity, and in their decay, the Arabians press themselves on our curiosity: the first overthrow of the church and empire of the Greeks may be imputed to their arms; and the disciples of Mahomet still hold the civil and religious sceptre of the Oriental world. But the same labour would be unworthily bestowed on the swarms of savages, who, between the seventh and the twelfth century, descended from the plains of Scythia, in transient inroad, or perpetual emigration. Their names are uncouth, their origins doubtful, their actions obscure, their superstition was blind, their valour brutal, and the uniformity of their public and private lives was neither softened by innocence, nor refined by policy. The majesty of the Byzantine throne repelled and survived their disorderly attacks; the greater part of these barbarians has disappeared without leaving any memorial of their existence, and the despicable remnant continues, and may long continue, to groan under the dominion of a foreign tyrant. From the antiquities of, I. *Bulgarians*, II. *Hungarians*, and, III. *Russians*, I shall content myself with selecting such facts as yet deserve to be remembered. The conquests of the, IV. *NORMANS*, and the monarchy of the, V. *TURKS*, will naturally terminate in the memorable Crusades to the Holy Land, and the double fall of the city and empire of Constantine.

1. In his march to Italy, Theodor<sup>2</sup> the Ostrogoth had trampled on the arms of the Bulgarians. After this defeat, the name and the nation are lost during a century and a half; and it may be suspected that the same or a similar appellation was revived by strange colonies from the Borysthenes, the Tanais, or the Volga. A king of the ancient Bulgaria<sup>3</sup> bequeathed to his five sons a last lesson of moderation and concord. It was re-

1 All the passages of the Byzantine history which relate to the barbarians, are compiled, rectified, and translated by a Latin version, by the famous John de Siger in his "Memoria Ploumiorum, ad Davidem, Pontem in Karamis, Patriarcham Mactarem, Constantinensem, Archiepiscopum, et de 1629 ad 1639, et de 1639 ad 1649, Petropoli, 1774-1779, in four toms, or six volumes, in the. But the fashion has not obtained, the price of these raw materials

3 Theophanes, p. 296-299; Anastasius, p. 117; Nardelli, C P p. 22, 25. Theophanes puts the old Baghdad on the banks of the Tigris or Volga; but he proves himself all too glibly to be taken literally, designating that river as the Euphrates.

<sup>1</sup> Paul Dixon de Certeau, *Language and Culture* (Berkeley, 1984), p. 21. The apparent difference between the French and Italian, and the consequent unnoted Greekness, is also recognised by Francis Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago, 1964), p. 186, 187, and Barotti's biography, *Il vero Bruno* (Livorno, 1977), see 1. This Hungarian colony was planted in a very distinct district of Samnium, and learned the Latin, without forgetting their native language.

6. The situation and royalty of Irbidius, or Achimis, are clearly expressed in Celerius (p. 713). The removal of an archbishop or patriarch from Justiniana prima to Irbidius, and at length to Irbidius, has produced some perplexity in the ideas or language of the Greeks (Nicomachus-Gregory, l. ii. c. 25, p. 1115). The massini, from theophile de l'Eglise, tome ii. l. i. c. 25, and a Frenchman (Du An-

ceived as youth has ever received the counsels of age and experience: the five princes buried their father; divided his subjects and cattle; forgot his advice; separated from each other; and wandered in quest of fortune, till we find the most adventurous in the heart of Italy, under the protection of the exarch of Ravenna.<sup>4</sup> But the stream of emigration was directed or impelled towards the capital. The modern Bulgaria, along the southern banks of the Danube, was stamped with the name and image which it has retained to the present hour: the new conquerors successively acquired, by war or treaty, the Roman provinces of Dardania, Thessaly, and the two Epirus;<sup>5</sup> the ecclesiastical supremacy was translated from the native city of Justinian; and, in their prosperous age, the obscure town of Lychnidus, or Achrida, was honoured with the throne of a king and a patriarch.<sup>6</sup> The unquestionable evidence of language attests the descent of the Bulgarians from the original stock of the Slavonian, or more properly Slavonian, race;<sup>7</sup> and the kindred bands of Servians, Loshians, Rascians, Croations, Wallachians,<sup>8</sup> &c. followed either the standard or the example of the leading tribe. From the Euxine to the Adriatic, in the state of captives, or subjects, or allies, or enemies, of the Greek empire, they overspread the land; and the national appellation of the slaves<sup>9</sup> has been degraded by chance or malice from the signification of glory to that of servitude.<sup>10</sup> Among these colonies, the Chrolatians,<sup>11</sup> or Croats, who now attend the motions of an Austrian army, are the descendants of a mighty people, the conquerors and sovereigns of Dalmatia. The maritime cities, and of these the infant republic of Ragusa, implored the aid and instructions of the Byzantine court; they were advised by the magnanimous Basil to reserve a small acknowledgment of their fidelity to the Roman empire, and to appease, by an annual tribute, the wrath of these irresistible barbarians. The kingdom of Croatia was shared by eleven *Zouzans*, or feudatory lords; and their united forces were numbered at sixty thousand horse and one hundred thousand foot. A long sea-coast, indented with capacious harbours, covered with a string of islands, and almost in sight of the Italian shores, disposed

Croats or Slavonians of Dalmatia, &c. &c. 2001, &c.

ville) is more accurately skilled in the languages of their own country (H. de L. ib. no. des Inscriptions, tom. xxx).

The author notes, as a complete outside claim, the identity of the language of the Tamil nation, in Sanskrit, Sauraseni, Bhoja, etc., Pāṇini's *Pelina*, *Turgha*, i.e., p. 287, n. 1, and elsewhere of the Kēḥṇa tribe (ib. p. 38). The same author has noticed the separate idiom of the Illyrians.

Since the work of John Christopher de Jordan, de Oregón has suffered a bad reputation. In four parts, *Crónicas de Oregón*. His calculations and descriptions are based on his visit to the antiquities of Beberm and the other ancient cities. His calculations are narrow, his descriptions are not as accurate as the American ones, and the American ones are not free from the promises of a legend.

to the propriety of a Latin name for Jordan's genus, to the well known and probable derivation from *Shard, hard*, a word of Saxon or use in the different dialects and parts of speech, and which forms the termination of the most monstrous names (see Originius Sclavin s. p. 40. pars iv. l. 101. 102.)

10. This conversion to have place in the printers and bishops were, on textualism, the word was extended to general use, to the modern languages, and even

with which we should not be concerned (and which is not relevant to the study of the last Byzantine times) (see the Greek and Latin Glossaries of De Goeje). The formation of the Zoroastrian scriptures, with the Latin, Sanskrit, and Chinese borrowings and transliterations (about Porphyry, de Aldrich, *op. cit.*, p. 72-73).

If the end of the Conversion of Porphyry is the most accurate of the last Zoroastrian period (the last pre-Islamic), describes the Suda, the end of the last Zoroastrian period (see De Goeje).



thousand captives who had been guilty of the defence of their country. They were deprived of sight; but to one of each hundred a single eye was left, that he might conduct his blind country to the presence of their king. Their king is said to have expired of grief and horror; the nation was awed by this terrible example; the Bulgarians were swept away from their settlements, and circumscribed within a narrow province; the surviving chiefs bequeathed to their children the advice of patience and the duty of revenge.

II. When the black swarm of Hungarians first hung over Europe, about nine hundred years after the Christian era, they were mistaken by fear and superstition for the Gog and Magog of the Scriptures, the signs and forerunners of the end of the world.<sup>17</sup> Since the introduction of letters, they have explored their own antiquities with a strong and laudable impulse of patriotic curiosity.<sup>18</sup> Their rational criticism can no longer be amused with a vain pedigree of Attila and the Huns; but they complain that their primitive records have perished in the Tartar war; that the truth or fiction of their rustic songs is long since forgotten; and that the fragments of a rude chronicle<sup>19</sup> must be painfully reconciled with the contemporary though foreign intelligence of the Imperial geographer.<sup>20</sup> *Magyar* is the national and Oriental denomination of the Hungarians; but, among the tribes of Scythia, they are distinguished by the Greeks under the proper and peculiar name of *Turks*, as the descendants of that mighty people who had conquered and reigned from China to the Volga. The Pannonian colony preserved a correspondence of trade and amity with the eastern Turks on the confines of Persia; and after a separation of three hundred and fifty years, the missionaries of the king of Hungary discovered and visited their ancient country near the banks of the Volga. They were hospitably entertained by a people of Pagans and savages who still bore the name of Hungarians; conversed in their native tongue, recollected a tradition of their long-lost brethren, and listened with amazement to the marvellous tale of their new kingdom and religion. The zeal of conversion was animated by the interest of consanguinity; and one of the greatest of their princes had formed the generous, though fruitless, design of repopulating the whole of Pannonia by this domestic colony from the

heart of Turkey.<sup>21</sup> From this primitive country they were driven to the West by the tide of war and emigration; by the weight of the more distant travels to which at the same time were fugitives and captives. Reason or fortune directed their course towards the frontiers of the Roman empire; they halted in the usual stations along the banks of the great rivers; and in the territories of Moscow, Kiow, and Moldavia, some vestiges have been discovered of their temporary residence. In this long and various peregrination, they could not always escape the dominion of the stronger; and the purity of their blood was improved or sullied by the mixture of a foreign race: from a motive of compulsion, or choice, several tribes of the Chazars were associated to the standard of their ancient vassals; introduced the use of a second language; and obtained by their superior renown the most honourable place in the front of battle. The military force of the Turks and their allies marched in seven equal and artificial divisions; each division was formed of thirty thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven warriors, and the proportion of women, children, and servants, supposes and requires at least a million of emigrants. Their public counsels were directed by seven *rayvods*, or hereditary chiefs; but the experience of discord and weakness recommended the more simple and vigorous administration of a single person. The sceptre which had been declined by the modest Lebedias, was granted to the birth or merit of Almus and his son Arpad, and the authority of the supreme khan of the Chazars confirmed the engagement of the prince and people; of the people to obey his commands, of the prince to consult their happiness and glory.

With this proviso we might be reasonably content, if the picture of modern learning had not opened a new and larger prospect of the antiquities of nations. The Hun-Chin language stands alone, and as it were isolated, among the Slavonian dialects; but it bears a close and clear affinity to the idioms of the Fennic race,<sup>22</sup> of an obsolete and savage race, which formerly occupied the northern regions of Asia and Europe. The genuine appellation of *Turi* or *Touars* is found on the western confines of China;<sup>23</sup> their migration to the banks of the Irtish is attested by Tartar evidence;<sup>24</sup> a similar name and language are detected in the southern parts of Siberia;<sup>25</sup> and the remains of the Fennic tribes

[illegible]

20 See *Constitutione de Administration de Impens*, c. 3, § 17-25. 13

[illegible]

are widely, though thinly, scattered from the sources of the Oby to the shores of Lapland.<sup>26</sup> The consanguinity of the Hungarians and Laplanders would display the powerful energy of climate on the children of a common parent; the lively contrast between the bold adventurers, who are intoxicated with the wines of the Danube, and the wretched fugitives who are immersed beneath the snows of the polar circle. Arms and freedom have ever been the ruling, though too often the unsuccessful, passion of the Hungarians, who are endowed by nature with a vigorous constitution of soul and body.<sup>27</sup> Extreme cold has diminished the stature and congealed the faculties of the Laplanders; and the Arctic tribes, alone among the sons of men, are ignorant of war, and unconscious of human blood. an happy ignorance, if reason and virtue were the guardians of their peace!<sup>28</sup>

It is the observation of the Imperial author of the *Tactics*,<sup>29</sup> that all the Scythian hordes resembled each other in their pastoral and military life, that they all practised the same means of subsistence, and employed the same instruments of destruction. But he adds, that the two nations of Bulgarians and Hungarians were superior to their brethren, and similar to each other, in the improvements, however rude, of their discipline and government; their visible likeness determines Leo to confound his friends and enemies in one common description; and the picture may be lightened by some strokes from their contemporaries of the tenth century. Except the merit and fame of military prowess, all that is valued by mankind appeared vile and contemptible to these barbarians, whose native fierceness was stimulated by the consciousness of numbers and freedom. The tents of the Hungarians were of leather, their garments of fur; they shaved their hair, and scarified their faces: in speech they were slow, in action prompt, in treaty perfidious; and they shared the common reproach of barbarians, too ignorant to conceive the importance of truth, too proud to deny or palliate the breach of their most solemn engagements. Their simplicity has been praised; yet they abstained only from the luxury they had never known; whatever they saw, they coveted; their desires were insatiate, and their sole industry was the hand of violence and rapine. By the definition of a pastoral nation, I have recalled a long description of the economy, the warfare, and the government that prevail in that stage of society; I may add, that to fishing, as well as to the chase, the Hungarians were indebted for a part of their subsistence; and since they *scilicet* cultivated the ground, they must, at least in their

new settlements, have sometimes practised a slight and unskilful husbandry. In their emigrations, perhaps in their expeditions, the host was accompanied by thousands of sheep and oxen, who increased the cloud of formidable dust, and afforded a constant and wholesome supply of milk and animal food. A plentiful command of forage was the first care of the general, and if the flocks and herds were secure of their pastures, the hardy warrior was alike insensible of danger and fatigue. The confusion of men and cattle that overspread the country exposed their camp to a nocturnal surprise, had not a still wider circuit been occupied by their light cavalry, perpetually in motion to discover and delay the approach of the enemy. After some experience of the Roman tactics, they adopted the use of the sword and spear, the helmet of the soldier, and the iron breastplate of his steed; but their native and deadly weapon was the Tartar bow: from the earliest infancy, their children and servants were exercised in the double science of archery and horsemanship; their arm was strong; their aim was sure; and in the most rapid career, they were taught to throw themselves backwards, and to shoot a volley of arrows into the air. In open combat, in secret ambush, in flight, or pursuit, they were equally formidable. an appearance of order was maintained in the foremost ranks, but their charge was driven forwards by the impatient pressure of succeeding crowds. They pursued, headlong and rash, with loosened reins and horrific outcries; but if they fled, with real or dissembled fear, the ardour of a pursuing foe was checked and chastised by the same habits of irregular speed and sudden evolution. In the abuse of victory, they astonished Europe, yet smarting from the wounds of the Saracen and the Dane: mercy they rarely asked, and more rarely bestowed: both sexes were accused as equally inaccessible to pity, and their appetite for raw flesh might countenance the popular tale, that they drank the blood and feasted on the hearts of the slain. Yet the Hungarians were not devoid of those principles of justice and humanity, which nature has implanted in every bosom. The licence of public and private injuries was restrained by laws and punishments; and in the security of an open camp, theft is the most tempting and most dangerous offence. Among the barbarians, there were many, whose spontaneous virtue supplied their laws and corrected their manners, who performed the duties, and sympathised with the affections, of social life.

After a long pilgrimage of flight or victory, the Turkish hordes approached the common limits of the

Establishment and inroads of the Hungarians. A. D. 889.

p. 174.) found the Vogulitz in the neighbourhood of Tobolsky. By the tortures, of the ethnological art, *Ugri* and *Ugri* are reduced to the same name; the circumlocution *mountains*, really is in the appellations of *Fergan*, and of all the *Ugri* dialects, the *Vogulitz* is the nearest to the Hungarian (*Ugri*, Dissert. i. p. 29–50. *Frax*, *De*, *serg*, ii. p. 31–34).

<sup>26</sup> The eight tribes of the *Fennic* race are described in the curious work of M. L. *Les Peuples soumis à la Domination de la*

Grotius says of these Arctic tribes, *arma arcus et phœretra, sed ad usus feris* (Ann. l. i. c. p. 276.), and attempts, after the manner of Tacitus, to warm with philosophy their brutal ignorance.

<sup>29</sup> Leo has observed, that the government of the Turks was monarchical, and that their punishments were rigorous. (*Tactice*, p. 596. *ἀρχαὶ καὶ τιμωρίαι*.) *Ugri* (in Chron. A. D. 889.) mentions theft as a capital crime, and his jurisprudence is confirmed by the original code of St. Stephen (A. D. 1040). If a slave were guilty, he was chastised, for the first time, with the loss of his nose, or a fine of five horses; for the second, with the loss of his ears, or a similar fine; for the third, with death, which the freeman did not incur till the fourth offence, as his first penalty was the loss of liberty (*Katonai*, Hist. *Kegum Hungar.* tom. i. p. 251, 252.).

French and Byzantine empires. Their first conquests and final settlements extended on either side of the Danube above Vienna, below Belgrade, and beyond the measure of the Roman province of Pannonia, or the modern kingdom of Hungary.<sup>30</sup> That ample and fertile land was loosely occupied by the Moravians, a Slavonian name and tribe, which were driven by the invaders into the compass of a narrow province. Charlemagne had stretched a vague and nominal empire as far as the edge of Transylvania; but, after the failure of his legitimate line, the dukes of Moravia forgot their obedience and tribute to the monarchs of Oriental France. The bastard Arnulph was provoked to invite the arms of the Turks: they rushed through the real or figurative wall, which his indiscretion had thrown open; and the king of Germany has been justly reproached as a traitor to the civil and ecclesiastical society of the Christians.

A. D. 900, &c. During the life of Arnulph, the Hungarians were checked by gratitude or fear; but in the infancy of his son Lewis they discovered and invaded Bavaria; and such was their Scythian speed, that in a single day a circuit of fifty miles was stripped and consumed. In the battle of Augsburg the Christians maintained their advantage till the seventh hour of the day: they were deceived and vanquished by the flying stratagems of the Turkish cavalry. The conflagration spread over the provinces of Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia; and the Hungarians<sup>31</sup> promoted the reign of anarchy, by forcing the stoutest barons to discipline their vassals and fortify their castles. The origin of walled towns is ascribed to this calamitous period; nor could any distance be secure against an enemy, who, almost at the same instant, laid in ashes the Helvetic monastery of St. Gall, and the city of Bremen, on the shores of the northern ocean. Above thirty years the Germanic empire, or kingdom, was subject to the ignominy of tribute; and resistance was disarmed by the menace, the serious and effectual menace, of dragging the women and children into captivity, and of slaughtering the males above the age of ten years. I have neither power nor inclination to follow the Hungarians beyond the Rhine; but I must observe with surprise, that the southern provinces of France were blasted by the tempest, and that Spain, behind her Pyrenees, was astonished at the approach of these formidable strangers.<sup>32</sup>

A. D. 900. The vicinity of Italy had tempted their early inroads; but, from their camp on the Brenta, they beheld with some terror the apparent strength and populousness

of the new-discovered country. They requested leave to retire; their request was proudly rejected by the Italian king; and the lives of twenty thousand Christians paid the forfeit of his obstinacy and rashness. Among the cities of the West, the royal Pavia was conspicuous in fame and splendour; and the pre-eminence of Rome itself was only derived from the relics of the apostles. The Hungarians

appeared; Pavia was in flames; A. D. 924. forty-three churches were consumed; and, after the massacre of the people, they spared almost two hundred wretches, who had gathered some bushels of gold and silver (a vague exaggeration) from the smoking ruins of their country.

In these annual excursions from the Alps to the neighbourhood of Rome and Capua, the churches, that yet escaped, resounded with a fearful litany: "O save and deliver us from the arrows of the Hungarians!" But the saints were deaf or inexorable; and the torrent rolled forwards, till it was stopped by the extreme land of Calabria.<sup>33</sup> A composition was offered and accepted for the head of each Italian subject; and ten bushels of silver were poured forth in the Turkish camp. But falsehood is the natural antagonist of violence; and the robbers were defrauded both in the numbers of the assessment and the standard of the metal. On the side of the East the Hungarians were opposed in doubtful conflict by the equal arms of the Bulgarians, whose faith forbade an alliance with the Pagans, and whose situation formed the barrier of the Byzantine empire. The barrier was overturned; the

A. D. 924. emperor of Constantinople beheld the waving banners of the Turks; and one of their boldest warriors presumed to strike a battle-axe into the golden gate. The arts and treasures of the Greeks diverted the assault; but the Hungarians might boast, in their retreat, that they had imposed a tribute on the spirit of Bulgaria and the majesty of the Cæsars.<sup>34</sup> The remote and rapid operations of the same campaign appear to magnify the power and numbers of the Turks; but their courage is most deserving of praise, since a light troop of three or four hundred horse would often attempt and execute the most daring inroads to the gates of Thessalonica and Constantinople. At this disastrous era of the ninth and tenth centuries, Europe was afflicted by a triple scourge, from the North, the East, and the South: the Norman, the Hungarian, and the Saracen, sometimes trod the same ground of desolation; and these savage foes might have been compared by Homer to the

<sup>30</sup> See Katona, Hist. Ducum Hungar. p. 321-372.

<sup>31</sup> Louis, are criticised by the historians, who set to the deeds of Arnulph. In danger and resources of Modena. The citizens besought the Germanians, their patron, to avert, by his intercession, the *calamitas, flagellum, &c.* Nunc te rogamus, licet servi penam. Ab Ungororum nos defendas jaculis.

The bishop erected walls for the public defence, not contra dominos serenos (Antiquitat. Ital. Med. Ævi tom. i. dissertat. i. p. 21, 22), and the song of the nightly watch is not without elegance or use (tom. iii. diss. d. p. 799). The Italian annalist has accurately traced the series of their inroads (Annai d'Italia, tom. vii. p. 367, 367, 393, 401, 437, 440, tom. viii. p. 19, 41, 52, &c.).  
<sup>32</sup> Both the Hungarian and Russian annals suppose, that they besieged, or attacked, or assailed, Constantinople, and that they were repulsed (Katona, Hist. Ducum, p. 54, 200), and the first *diocesis* possessed by the Byzantine historians (Theodor. Simocatta, p. 506, Cedrenus, tom. i. p. 629) which were glorious in the tradition, it is considered, and by the Russian historians, who say that the victory of Basileus. Their supposition is not correct, they could not enter the city, or believe the Russian tale. The Russian annals have given due attention to the names of the lands and the cities, but not to the names of the persons, and the names of the cities.





the East, to the emperor of the West, Lewis, the son of Charlemagne. The Greeks were accompanied by the envoys of the great duke, or emperor, of the Bulgarians, and the king of the Serbs.

A D 557.

A D 590. gan, or ear, of the Russians. In their journey to Constantinople, they had traversed many hostile nations; and they hoped to escape the dangers of their return, by requesting the French monarch to transport them by sea to their native country. A closer examination detected their origin: they were the brethren of the Swedes and Normans, whose name was already odious and formidable in France; and it might justly be apprehended, that these Russian strangers were not the messengers of peace, but the emissaries of war. They were detained, while the Greeks were dismissed; and Lewis expected a more satisfactory account, that he might obey the laws of hospitality or prudence, according to the interest of both empires.<sup>41</sup> This Scandinavian origin of the people, or at least the princes, of Russia, may be confirmed and illustrated by the national annals;<sup>42</sup> and the general history of the North. The Normans, who had so long been concealed by a veil of impenetrable darkness, suddenly burst forth in the spirit of naval and military enterprise. The vast, and, as it is said, the populous, regions of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, were crowded with independent chieftains and desperate adventurers, who sighed in the laziness of peace, and smiled in the agonies of death. Piracy was the exercise, the trade, the glory, and the virtue, of the Scandinavian youth. Impatient of a bleak climate and narrow limits, they started from the banquet, grasped their arms, sounded their horn, ascended their vessels, and explored every coast that promised either spoil or settlement. The Baltic was the first scene of their naval achievements; they visited the eastern shores, the silent residence of Fennic and Slavonian tribes, and the primitive Russians of the lake Ladoga paid a tribute, the skins of white squirrels, to these strangers, whom they saluted with the title of *Varangians*, or Corsairs. Their superiority in arms, discipline, and renown, commanded the fear and reverence of the natives. In their wars against the more inland savages, the Varangians condescended to serve as friends and auxiliaries, and gradually, by choice or conquest, obtained the dominion of a people whom they were qualified to protect.

A 10, 562.

A. D. 562. Their tyranny was expelled, their valour was again recalled, till at length Ruric, a Scandinavian chief, became the father of a dynasty which reigned above seven hundred years. His brothers extended his influence: the example of service and usurpation was imitated by his companions in the southern

44 See the entire passage (figure 10, cava Bayer) at the cartabulis figurat in the *Annales* (Bertin, op. cit., p. 10, fig. 10). Merovingian, torn in parts, it is a D.S. figure, two years before the era of Rur. In the 15th century, the figure of the 15th century of the Russian and European, by the 15th century, it is a red complex in

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47. At the time the above information was furnished to the Bureau, the Bureau was advised that it was not possible to determine the exact date of the above information being furnished to the Bureau. It was, however, stated that the information was furnished to the Bureau in the month of May, 1947.

provinces of Russia; and their establishments, by the usual methods of war and assassination, were cemented into the fabric of a powerful monarchy.

As long as the descendants of Ruric were considered as aliens and conquerors, they ruled by the sword of the Varangians, distributed estates and subjects to their faithful captains, and supplied their numbers with fresh streams of adventurers from the Baltic coast.<sup>47</sup> But when the Scandinavian chiefs had struck a deep and permanent root into the soil, they mingled with the Russians in blood, religion, and language, and the first Waladimir had the merit of delivering his country from these foreign mercenaries. They had seated him on the throne; his riches were insufficient to satisfy their demands; but they listened to his pleasing advice, that they should seek, not a more grateful, but a more wealthy, master; that they should embark for Greece, where, instead of the skins of squirrels, silk and gold would be the recompense of their service. At the same time the Russian prince admonished his Byzantine ally to disperse and employ, to recompense and restrain, these impetuous children of the North. Contemporary writers have recorded the introduction, name, and character, of the *Varangians*: each day they rose in confidence and esteem; the whole body was assembled at Constantinople to perform the duty of guards; and their strength was recruited by a numerous band of their countrymen from the island of Thule. On this occasion, the vague appellation of Thule is applied to England; and the new Varangians were a colony of English and Danes who fled from the yoke of the Norman conqueror. The habits of pilgrimage and piety had approximated the countries of the earth; their exiles were entertained in the Byzantine court; and they preserved, till the last age of the empire, the inheritance of spotless loyalty, and the use of the Danish or English tongue. With their broad and double-edged battle-axes on their shoulders, they attended the Greek emperor to the temple, the senate, and the hippodrome; he slept and feasted under their trusty guard; and the keys of the palace, the treasury, and the capital, were held by the firm and faithful hands of the Varangians.<sup>48</sup>

In the tenth century, the geography of Scythia was extended far beyond the limits of ancient knowledge; and the monarchy of the Russians obtains a vast and conspicuous place in the map of Constantine.<sup>49</sup> The sons of Ruric were masters of the spacious province of Wolodomer, or Moscow;

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and, if they were confined on that side by the hordes of the East, their western frontier in those early days was enlarged to the Baltic Sea and the country of the Prussians. Their northern reign ascended above the sixtieth degree of latitude, over the Hyperborean regions, which fancy had peopled with monsters, or clouded with eternal darkness. To the south they followed the course of the Borysthenes, and approached with that river the neighbourhood of the Euxine Sea. The tribes that dwelt, or wandered, in this ample circuit were obedient to the same conqueror, and insensibly blended into the same nation. The language of Russia is a dialect of the Slavonian; but, in the tenth century, these two modes of speech were different from each other; and, as the Slavonian prevailed in the South, it may be presumed that the original Russians of the North, the primitive subjects of the Varangian chief, were a portion of the Fenic race. With the emigration, union, or dissolution, of the wandering tribes, the loose and indefinite picture of the Scythian desert has continually shifted. But the most ancient map of Russia affords some places which still retain their name and position; and the two capitals, Novogorod<sup>50</sup> and Kiow,<sup>51</sup> are coeval with the first age of the monarchy. Novogorod had not yet deserved the epithet of Great, nor the alliance of the Hanseatic league, which diffused the streams of opulence and the principles of freedom. Kiow could not yet boast of three hundred churches, an innumerable people, and a degree of greatness and splendour, which was compared with Constantinople by those who had never seen the residence of the Cæsars. In their origin, the two cities were no more than camps or fairs, the most convenient stations in which the barbarians might assemble for the occasional business of war or trade. Yet even these assemblies announce some progress in the arts of society; a new breed of cattle was imported from the southern provinces; and the spirit of commercial enterprise pervaded the sea and land from the Baltic to the Euxine, from the mouth of the Oder to the port of Constantinople. In the days of idolatry and barbarism, the Slavonic city of Julin was frequented and enriched by the Normans, who had prudently secured a free mart of purchase and exchange.<sup>52</sup> From this harbour, at the entrance of the Oder, the corsair, or merchant, sailed in forty-three days to the eastern shores of the Baltic; the most distant nations

were intermingled, and the holy groves of Cur-land *are said* to have been decorated with *Grunum* and Spanish gold.<sup>53</sup> Between the sea and Novogorod an easy intercourse was discovered; in the summer, through a gulf, a lake, and a navigable river; in the winter season, over the hard and level surface of boundless snows. From the neighbourhood of that city, the Russians descended the streams that fall into the Borysthenes; their canoes, of a single tree, were laden with slaves of every age, furs of every species, the spoil of their bee-hives, and the hides of their cattle; and the whole produce of the North was collected and discharged in the magazines of Kiow. The month of June was the ordinary season of the departure of the fleet: the timber of the canoes was framed into the oars and benches of more solid and capacious boats; and they proceeded without obstacle down the Borysthenes, as far as the seven or thirteen ridges of rocks, which traverse the bed, and precipitate the waters, of the river. At the more shallow falls it was sufficient to lighten the vessels; but the deeper cataracts were impassable; and the mariners, who dragged their vessels and their slaves six miles over-land, were exposed in this toilsome journey to the robbers of the desert.<sup>54</sup> At the first island below the falls, the Russians celebrated the festival of their escape; at a second, near the mouth of the river, they repaired their shattered vessels for the longer and more perilous voyage of the Black Sea. If they steered along the coast, the Danube was accessible; with a fair wind, they could reach in thirty-six or forty hours the opposite shores of Anatolia; and Constantinople admitted the annual visit of the strangers of the North. They returned at the stated season with a rich cargo of corn, wine, and oil, the manufactures of Greece, and the spices of India. Some of their countrymen resided in the capital and provinces; and the national treaties protected the person, effects, and privileges, of the Russian merchant.<sup>55</sup>

But the same communication which had been opened for the benefit, was soon abused for the injury, of mankind. In a period of one hundred and ninety years, the Russians made four attempts to plunder the treasures of Constantinople. The event was various, but the motive, the means, and the object, were the same in these naval expeditions.<sup>56</sup> The Russian traders had

<sup>50</sup> The heughty proverb, "Who can resist God and the great Novogorod?" is applied by M. Lescoupe (*Hist. de Russie*, tom. i. p. 50) even to the times that preceded the reign of Rurik. In the course of his history he frequently celebrates this republic, which was suppressed A. D. 1475 (tom. ii. p. 222-226). That accurate traveller, Adam Olearius, describes (in 1655) the remains of Novogorod, and the route by sea and land of the Russian ambassadors, tom. i. p. 125-129.

<sup>51</sup> In *hæc magna civitate*, quæ est caput regni, plus trecentis ecclesiis, habentur et mundicie octo, populæ etiam ignota minus (Ecclesiis, &c. A. D. 1018, apud Rurik, tom. i. p. 412). He likewise quotes (tom. i. p. 397) the words of the Saxon annalist, Cujus (Russie) metropolis est Chive, annalis scriptor Constantinopolitanus, quæ est clarissima decus Græciæ. The fame of Kiow, especially in the tenth century, had reached the German and the Arabian geographers.

<sup>52</sup> In Odore ostio quæ Scythiæ aluit paludes, noliisima civitas Julinum, celeberrima; barbari et Græci qui sunt in circuitu, præstant stationem, est sane maxima omnium quæ Europæ claudat civitatem (Adam Bremensis, *Hist. Eccl.*, p. 19). A stronger description even in the sixth century. The trade of the Baltic, and the Hanseatic league, are carefully treated in Anderson's *Historical Pe-*

tena, lurescu (p. 68. A. D. 1786). Mémel is defined as the common fr. of *arct. Russia*, a *ur* land, and *Memel*, *Aurum* (or *platinum* says Adam) *divinus*, *augustinus*, *atque* *neomundus* *est* *omnes*, *domus* *sunt* *perme* . . . a *totius* *ibi* *re* *posita* *petuntur*, *maxime* *ibi* *habitant* *ibi* *in* *Zapadni*, *ad* *est* *regalis* *Levante* *et* *Græciæ*. The name of Græci was applied to the Russians even before their conversion; and may their conversion, if it is still consulted the words of Olearius (*Itiner.*, tom. i. p. 258. 102, 300. *Groen.*, *Prælegomena* ad *Hist. Goth.*, p. 100).

<sup>53</sup> Constantinople only reckons seven cataracts, of which he gives the Russian and Slavonic names; but thirteen are enumerated by the Sieur de Beuplan, a French engineer, who had survey, and made a map, of a navigat. in the of the Dnieper or Borysthenes (*Descript. d'Ukraine*, Rouen, 1661, a third quarto), but the map is unluckily wanting in my copy. Nestor, apud Lescoupe, *Hist. de Russie*, tom. i. p. 78-80. From the Dnieper or Borysthenes, the Russians went to Black Bulgaria, Chazaria, and Syria. To Syria, how? where? when? May we not, instead of *Zapadni*, read *Zavania* (de Administrat. Imp. c. 42. p. 115)? The alteration is slight; the position of *Suana*, between Charma and Lazica, is perfectly suitable; and the name was still

nd rich  
house of  
in the  
Russia in Turkey, *Journal de p. 309-1044.*

seen the magnificence and tasted the luxury of the city of the Cæsars. A marvellous tale, and a scanty supply, excited the desires of their savage countrymen; they envied the gifts of nature which their climate denied; they coveted the works of art which they were too lazy to imitate and too indigent to purchase: the Varangian princes unfurled the banners of piratical adventure, and their bravest soldiers were drawn from the nations that dwelt in the northern isles of the ocean.<sup>57</sup> The image of their naval armaments was revived in the last century, in the fleets of the Cosacks, which issued from the Borysthenes, to navigate the same seas, for a similar purpose.<sup>58</sup> The Greek appellation of *monaxyla*, or single canoes, might be justly applied to the bottom of their vessels. It was scooped out of the long stem of a beech or willow, but the slight and narrow foundation was raised and continued on either side with planks, till it attained the length of sixty, and the height of about twelve, feet. These boats were built without a deck, but with two rudders and a mast; to move with sails and oars; and to contain from forty to seventy men, with their arms, and provisions of fresh water and salt fish. The first trial of the Russians was made with two hundred boats; but when the national force was exerted, they might arm against Constantinople a thousand or twelve hundred vessels. Their fleet was not much inferior to the royal navy of Agamemnon, but it was magnified in the eyes of fear to ten or fifteen times the real proportion of its strength and numbers. Had the Greek emperors been endowed with foresight to discern, and vigour to prevent, perhaps they might have sealed with a maritime force the mouth of the Borysthenes. Their indolence abandoned the coast of Anatolia to the calamities of a piratical war, which, after an interval of six hundred years, again infested the Euxine; but as long as the capital was respected, the sufferings of a distant province excited the notice both of the prince and the historian. The storm which had swept along from the Phasis and Trebizond, at length burst on the Bosphorus of Thrace; a strait of fifteen miles, in which the rude vessels of the Russian might have been stopped and destroyed by a more skilful ad-

The first.  
A.D. 905.

sary. In their first enterprise<sup>59</sup> under the princes of Kiow, they passed without opposition, and occupied the port of Constantinople in the absence of the emperor Michael, the son of Theophilus. Through a crowd of perils, he landed at the palace stairs, and immediately repaired to a church of the Virgin Mary.<sup>60</sup> By the advice of the patriarch, her garment, a precious relic, was drawn from the sanctuary and dipped in the sea; and a seasonable tempest,

which determined the retreat of the Russians was devoutly ascribed to the mother of God.<sup>61</sup> The silence of the Greeks may inspire The second.  
some doubt of the truth, or at least of A.D. 904.  
the importance, of the second attempt by Oleg, the guardian of the sons of Ruric.<sup>62</sup> A strong barrier of arms and fortifications defended the Bosphorus: they were eluded by the usual expedient of drawing the boats over the isthmus; and this simple operation is described in the national chronicles, as if the Russian fleet had sailed over dry land with a brisk and favourable gale. The leader of the third arma- The third.  
ment, Igor, the son of Ruric, had A.D. 941.  
chosen a moment of weakness and decay, when the naval powers of the empire were employed against the Saracens. But if courage be not wanting, the instruments of defence are seldom deficient. Fifteen broken and decayed galleys were boldly launched against the enemy; but instead of the single tube of Greek fire usually planted on the prow, the sides and stern of each vessel were abundantly supplied with that liquid combustible. The engineers were dexterous; the weather was propitious; many thousand Russians, who chose rather to be drowned than burnt, leaped into the sea, and those who escaped to the Thracian shore were inhumanly slaughtered by the peasants and soldiers. Yet one third of the canoes escaped into shallow water; and the next spring Igor was again prepared to retrieve his disgrace and claim his revenge.<sup>63</sup> After a long peace, Jaroslans, the great-grandson of Igor, resumed the same project of a naval invasion. A fleet, under the command The fourth.  
of his son, was repulsed at the en- A.D. 1043.  
trance of the Bosphorus by the same artificial flames. But in the rashness of pursuit, the vanguard of the Greeks was encompassed by an irresistible multitude of boats and men; their provision of fire was probably exhausted; and twenty-four galleys were either taken, sunk, or destroyed.<sup>64</sup>

Yet the threats or calamities of a Negotiations  
Russian war were more frequently and prophecy.  
diverted by treaty than by arms. In these naval hostilities, every disadvantage was on the side of the Greeks; their savage enemy afforded no mercy; his poverty promised no spoil; his impenetrable retreat deprived the conqueror of the hopes of revenge; and the pride or weakness of empire indulged an opinion, that no honour could be gained or lost in the intercourse with barbarians. At first their demands were high and inadmissible, three pounds of gold for each soldier or mariner of the fleet. the Russian youth adhered to the design of conquest and glory; but the counsels of moderation were re-

<sup>57</sup> Н. В. Голубинский, *Славянская археология*, т. I, стр. 122. См. также: *Историческое описание древностей Российских*, т. I, стр. 122. См. также: *Историческое описание древностей Российских*, т. I, стр. 122.

<sup>58</sup> См. также: *Историческое описание древностей Российских*, т. I, стр. 122. См. также: *Историческое описание древностей Российских*, т. I, стр. 122.

<sup>59</sup> См. также: *Историческое описание древностей Российских*, т. I, стр. 122. См. также: *Историческое описание древностей Российских*, т. I, стр. 122.

<sup>60</sup> См. также: *Историческое описание древностей Российских*, т. I, стр. 122. См. также: *Историческое описание древностей Российских*, т. I, стр. 122.

Sept. post Theophanem, p. 141, 122. Simon Logothet. p. 445, 446. Georg. Morch. p. 75, 76. Cedrenus, tom. u. p. 501. Zonaras, tom. u. p. 12.

<sup>62</sup> См. также: *Историческое описание древностей Российских*, т. I, стр. 122. См. также: *Историческое описание древностей Российских*, т. I, стр. 122.

<sup>63</sup> См. также: *Историческое описание древностей Российских*, т. I, стр. 122. См. также: *Историческое описание древностей Российских*, т. I, стр. 122.

<sup>64</sup> См. также: *Историческое описание древностей Российских*, т. I, стр. 122. См. также: *Историческое описание древностей Российских*, т. I, стр. 122.

commended by the hoary sages. "Be content," they said, "with the liberal offers of Cæsar; is it not far better to obtain without a combat, the possession of gold, silver, silks, and all the objects of our desires? Are we sure of victory? Can we conclude a treaty with the sea? We do not tread on the land; we float on the abyss of water, and a common death hangs over our heads."<sup>65</sup> The memory of these Arctic fleets that seemed to descend from the polar circle, left a deep impression of terror on the Imperial city. By the vulgar of every rank, it was asserted and believed, that an equestrian statue in the square of Taurus, was secretly inscribed with a prophecy, how the Russians, in the last days, should become masters of Constantinople.<sup>66</sup> In our own time, a Russian armament, instead of sailing from the Borysthènes, has circumnavigated the continent of Europe; and the Turkish capital has been threatened by a squadron of strong and lofty ships of war, each of which, with its naval science and thundering artillery, could have sunk or scattered an hundred canoes, such as those of their ancestors. Perhaps the present generation may yet behold the accomplishment of the prediction, of a rare prediction, of which the style is unambiguous and the date unquestionable.

By land the Russians were less formidable than by sea; and as they fought for the most part on foot, their irregular legions must often have been broken and overthrown by the cavalry of the Scythian hordes. Yet their growing towns, however slight and imperfect, presented a shelter to the subject, and a barrier to the enemy: the monarchy of Kiow, till a fatal partition, assumed the dominion of the North; and the nations from the Volga to the Danube were subdued or repelled by the arms of Swatoslaus,<sup>67</sup> the son of Igor, the son of Oleg, the son of Ruric. The vigour of his mind and body was fortified by the hardships of a military and savage life. Wrapt in a bear-skin, Swatoslaus usually slept on the ground, his head reclining on a saddle; his diet was coarse and frugal, and, like the heroes of Homer,<sup>68</sup> his meat (it was often horse-flesh) was broiled or roasted on the coals. The exercise of war gave stability and discipline to his army; and it may be presumed, that no soldier was permitted to transcend the luxury of his chief. By an embassy from Nicéphorus, the Greek emperor, he was moved to undertake the conquest of Bulgaria, and a gift of fifteen hundred pounds of gold was laid at his feet to defray the expense, or reward the toils, of the expedition. An army of sixty thousand men was assembled and embarked; they sailed from the Borysthènes to the Danube; their landing was

effected on the Mæsan shore; and, after a sharp encounter, the swords of the Russians prevailed against the arrows of the Bulgarian horse. The vanquished king sunk into the grave; his children were made captive; and his dominions, as far as Mount Hæmus, were subdued or ravaged by the northern invaders. But instead of relinquishing his prey, and performing his engagements, the Varangian prince was more disposed to advance than to retire; and, had his ambition been crowned with success, the seat of empire in that early period might have been transferred to a more temperate and fruitful climate. Swatoslaus enjoyed and acknowledged the advantages of his new position, in which he could unite, by exchange or rapine, the various productions of the earth. By an easy navigation he might draw from Russia the native commodities of furs, wax, and hydromel: Hungary supplied him with a breed of horses and the spoils of the West; and Greece abounded with gold, silver, and the foreign luxuries, which his poverty had affected to disdain. The bands of Patzinacites, Chozars, and Turks, repaired to the standard of victory; and the ambassador of Nicéphorus betrayed his trust, assumed the purple, and promised to share with his new allies the treasures of the Eastern world. From the banks of the Danube the Russian prince pursued his march as far as Adrianople; a formal summons to evacuate the Roman province was dismissed with contempt; and Swatoslaus fiercely replied, that Constantinople might soon expect the presence of an enemy and a master.

Nicéphorus could no longer expel the mischief which he had introduced; but his throne and wife were inherited by John Zimisces,<sup>69</sup> who, in a diminutive body, possessed the spirit and abilities of an hero. The first victory of his lieutenants deprived the Russians of their foreign allies, twenty thousand of whom were either destroyed by the sword, or provoked to revolt, or tempted to desert. Thrace was delivered, but seventy thousand barbarians were still in arms: and the legions that had been recalled from the new conquests of Syria, prepared, with the return of the spring, to march under the banners of a wakeful prince, who declared himself the friend and avenger of the injured Bulgaria. The passes of Mount Hæmus had been left unguarded; they were instantly occupied; the Roman vanguard was formed of the *immortals* (a proud imitation of the Persian style); the emperor led the main body of ten thousand five hundred foot; and the rest of his forces followed in slow and cautious array, with the baggage and military engines. The first exploit

Return of Swatoslaus, A. D. 955-973.

His defeat by John Zimisces, A. D. 970-973.

<sup>65</sup> Nestor, apud Levesque, Hist. de Russie, tom. i. p. 57.

<sup>66</sup> This broken statue, which had been brought from Antioch, and was melted down by the Tartars, has supposed to represent either Julius or Augustus, an old German. See Nicetas Chonates in 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>67</sup> The life of Swatoslaus, or Swatosl, or Swatoslath, is extracted from the Russian chronicles by M. Levesque, Hist. de Russie, tom. i. p. 94-107 &c.

<sup>68</sup> This resemblance may be clearly seen in the ninth book of the

P. at 205-221.) in the minute detail of the cookery of Achilles. By such a pretence, a modern epic poet would disgrace his work, and distract his reader, but the Greek verses are heroic, not a dead language on solemn apparatus of funereal, and at the distance of two thousand years, a hundred years, are almost as the primitive images of humanity.

<sup>69</sup> This epithet is rather derived from the Armenian language, and is so interpreted in Greek by the word *κατακτατής*. As I prefer to use a word, which signifies a conqueror, I am induced in the question to the phrase. This, which is not a word, is the conqueror. From the context it is clear, that it is the conqueror (Lao Diacot, l'ave-Mes, apud Balgare, glossa, Græc. p. 1576).

of Zimiscees was the reduction of Marciopolis, or Peristhlaba,<sup>70</sup> in two days: the trumpets sounded; the walls were scaled; eight thousand five hundred Russians were put to the sword; and the sons of the Bulgarian king were rescued from an ignominious prison, and invested with a nominal diadem. After these repeated losses, Swatoslaus retired to the strong post of Dristra, on the banks of the Danube, and was pursued by an enemy who alternately employed the arms of celerity and delay. The Byzantine galleys ascended the river; the legions completed a line of circumvallation; and the Russian prince was encompassed, assaulted, and famished, in the fortifications of the camp and city. Many deeds of valour were performed; several desperate sallies were attempted; nor was it till after a siege of sixty-five days that Swatoslaus yielded to his adverse fortune. The liberal terms which he obtained announce the prudence of the victor, who respected the valour, and apprehended the despair, of an unconquered mind. The great duke of Russia bound himself, by solemn imprecations, to relinquish all hostile designs; a safe passage was opened for his return; the liberty of trade and navigation was restored; a measure of corn was distributed to each of his soldiers; and the allowance of twenty-two thousand measures attests the loss and the remnant of the barbarians. After a painful voyage, they again reached the mouth of the Borysthenes; but their provisions were exhausted, the season was unfavourable; they passed the winter on the ice; and, before they could prosecute their march, Swatoslaus was surprised and oppressed by the neighbouring tribes, with whom the Greeks entertained a perpetual and useful correspondence.<sup>71</sup> Far different was the return of Zimiscees, who was received in his capital like Camillus or Marius, the saviours of ancient Rome. But the merit of the victory was attributed by the pious emperor to the mother of God; and the image of the Virgin Mary, with the divine infant in her arms, was placed on a triumphal car, adorned with the spoils of war, and the ensigns of Bulgarian royalty. Zimiscees made his public entry on horseback; the diadem on his head, a crown of laurel in his hand; and Constantinople was astonished to applaud the martial virtues of her sovereign.<sup>72</sup>

Photius of Constantinople, a patriarch whose ambition was equal to his curiosity, congratulates himself and the Greek church on the conversion of the Russians.<sup>73</sup> Those fierce and bloody barbarians had been persuaded by the voice of reason and religion, to acknowledge Jesus for their God, the Christian missionaries for their teachers, and

the Romans for their friends and brethren. His triumph was transient and premature. In the various fortune of their piratical adventures, some Russian chiefs might allow themselves to be sprinkled with the waters of baptism; and a Greek bishop, with the name of metropolitan, might administer the sacraments in the church of Kiow, to a congregation of slaves and natives. But the seed of the Gospel was sown on a barren soil: many were the apostates, the converts were few; and the baptism of Olga may be fixed at the era of Russian Christianity.<sup>74</sup> A female, perhaps of the basest origin, who could revenge the death, and assume the sceptre, of her husband Igor, must have been endowed with those active virtues which command the fear and obedience of barbarians. In a moment of foreign and domestic peace, she sailed from Kiow to Constantinople; and the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus has described, with minute diligence, the ceremonial of her reception in his capital and palace. The steps, the titles, the salutations, the banquet, the presents, were exquisitely adjusted, to gratify the vanity of the stranger, with due reverence to the superior majesty of the purple.<sup>75</sup> In the sacrament of baptism, she received the venerable name of the empress Helena; and her conversion might be preceded or followed by her uncle, two interpreters, sixteen damsels of an higher, and eighteen of a lower rank, twenty-two domestics or ministers, and forty-four Russian merchants, who composed the retinue of the great princess Olga. After her return to Kiow and Novogorod, she firmly persisted in her new religion; but her labours in the propagation of the Gospel were not crowned with success; and both her family and nation adhered with obstinacy or indifference to the gods of their fathers. Her son Swatoslaw was apprehensive of the scorn and ridicule of his companions; and her grandson Wolodomir devoted his youthful zeal to multiply and decorate the monuments of ancient worship. The savage deities of the North were still propitiated with human sacrifices: in the choice of the victim, a citizen was preferred to a stranger, a Christian to an idolater; and the father, who defended his son from the sacerdotal knife, was involved in the same doom by the rage of a fanatic tumult. Yet the lessons and example of the pious Olga had made a deep, though secret, impression on the minds of the prince and people: the Greek missionaries continued to preach, to dispute, and to baptize; and the ambassadors or merchants of Russia compared the idolatry of the woods with the elegant superstition of Constantinople. They had gazed with admiration on

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the dome of St. Sophia; the lively pictures of saints and martyrs, the riches of the altar, the number and vestments of the priests, the pomp and order of the ceremonies; they were edified by the alternate succession of devout silence and harmonious song; nor was it difficult to persuade them, that a choir of angels descended each day from heaven to join in the devotion of the

Christians.<sup>76</sup> But the conversion of Wolodomir, A. D. 988. Wolodomir was determined, or hastened, by his desire of a Roman bride. At the same time, and in the city of Cherson, the rites of baptism and marriage were celebrated by the Christian pontiff: the city he restored to the emperor Basil, the brother of his spouse; but the brazen gates were transported, as it is said, to Novogorod, and erected before the first church as a trophy of his victory and faith.<sup>77</sup> At his despotic command, Peroun, the god of thunder, whom he had so long adored, was dragged through the streets of Kiow; and twelve sturdy barbarians battered with clubs the misshapen image, which was indignantly cast into the waters of the Borysthenes. The edict of Wolodomir had proclaimed, that all who should refuse the rites of baptism would be treated as the enemies of God and their prince; and the rivers were instantly filled with many thousands of obedient Russians, who acquiesced in the truth and excellence of a doctrine which had been embraced by the great duke and his boyars. In the next generation, the relics of Paganism were finally extirpated; but as the two brothers of Wolodomir had died without baptism, their bones were taken from the grave, and sanctified by an irregular and posthumous sacrament.

In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries of the Christian æra, the reign of the Gospel and of the church was extended over Bulgaria, Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Russia.<sup>78</sup> The triumphs of apostolic zeal were repeated in the iron age of Christianity; and the northern and eastern regions of Europe submitted to a religion, more different in theory than in practice, from the worship of their native idols. A humble ambition excited the monks, both of Germany and Greece, to visit the tents and huts of the barbarians: poverty, hardships, and dangers, were the lot of the first missionaries: their courage was active and patient; their motive pure and meritorious: their present reward consisted in the testimony of their conscience and the respect of a grateful people; but the fruitful harvest of their toils was inherited and enjoyed by the proud and wealthy prelates of

succeeding times. The first conversions were free and spontaneous: an holy life and an eloquent tongue were the only arms of the missionaries; but the domestic fables of the Pagans were silenced by the miracles and visions of the strangers; and the favourable temper of the chiefs was accelerated by the dictates of vanity and interest. The leaders of nations, who were saluted with the titles of kings and saints,<sup>79</sup> held it lawful and pious to impose the Catholic faith on their subjects and neighbours: the coast of the Baltic, from Holstein to the Gulf of Finland, was invaded under the standard of the cross; and the reign of idolatry was closed by the conversion of Lithuania in the fourteenth century. Yet truth and candour must acknowledge, that the conversion of the North imparted many temporal benefits both to the old and the new Christians. The rage of war, inherent to the human species, could not be healed by the evangelic precepts of charity and peace; and the ambition of Catholic princes has renewed in every age the calamities of hostile contention. But the admission of the barbarians into the pale of civil and ecclesiastical society delivered Europe from the depredations, by sea and land, of the Normans, the Hungarians, and the Russians, who learned to spare their brethren and cultivate their possessions.<sup>80</sup> The establishment of law and order was promoted by the influence of the clergy; and the rudiments of art and science were introduced into the savage countries of the globe. The liberal piety of the Russian princes engaged in their service the most skilful of the Greeks, to decorate the cities and instruct the inhabitants: the dome and the paintings of St. Sophia were rudely copied in the churches of Kiow and Novogorod: the writings of the fathers were translated into the Slavonic idiom; and three hundred noble youths were invited or compelled to attend the lessons of the college of Jaroslaus. It should appear that Russia might have derived an early and rapid improvement from her peculiar connection with the church and state of Constantinople, which in that age so justly despised the ignorance of the Latins. But the Byzantine nation was servile, solitary, and verging to an hasty decline: after the fall of Kiow, the navigation of the Borysthenes was forgotten; the great princes of Wolodomir and Moscov were separated from the sea and Christendom; and the divided monarchy was oppressed by the ignominy and blindness of Tartar servitude.<sup>81</sup> The Slavonic and Scandinavian kingdoms, which had been converted by the Latin missionaries, were exposed, it is

<sup>76</sup> See an anonymous fragment published by Rindler (Imperium Orientale, tom. ii. p. 113, 114), de Convers. in Rusviam.

<sup>77</sup> Cherson, or Korsun, is mentioned to Herberstein (Spud Pagu, tom. ii. p. 36) as the place of Wolodomir's baptism and marriage; and both the tradition and the letters are still preserved at Novogorod.

<sup>78</sup> An observing traveller tran. pers. the brazen gates from Metzgerbach in Germany (Cox's Travels into Russia, &c. vol. i. p. 132); and quotes an inscription, which seems to justify his opinion. The German reader must not confound this with the fable of the Four or Russian peninsula, with a view of the place name, which has arisen near the mouth of the Borysthenes, and was lately honoured by the memorable interview of the emperor of Russia with the emperor of the West.

<sup>79</sup> Consult the Latin text, or Lit. History, of Moscov's excellent history of the church, under the first head or section of each of these centuries.

<sup>80</sup> In the year 1600, the emperor of Russia, St. Stephen, received from pope Sylvester the title of king of the Romans, with a grant of Greek

workmanship. It had been designed for the duke of Poland; but the Pope, to their own confusion, was set too barbarous to deserve an angelic and apostolic crown (Katon's Hist. Critic. Regum Stirps Angulana, tom. i. p. 120).

<sup>81</sup> Listen to the exultations of Adam of Bremen (A. D. 1080), of which the substance is agreeable to truth. *Pro illa ferocissima Danorum, &c. ratio . . . pmdum merit in Dei laudibus Alleluia resonare . . . Ecce populus ille piraticus . . . suis mure bulis contentis est. Ecce pars barbaris semper innoxia propter cultum adorum . . . per creatores veritatis ubique cunctis aditit. &c.* (de Scythia, p. 10, 11, and before a curious and original prospect of the north of Europe, and the introduction of Christianity).

<sup>82</sup> The archbishops removed in 1156 from Kiow, which was ruined by the Tartars in 1240. Moscow has since the said of its rise in the 13th century. See the Lit. and 2d volumes of Levesque's History, and Mr. Cox's Travels into the North, tom. i. p. 213, &c.

true, to the spiritual jurisdiction and temporal claims of the popes;<sup>82</sup> but they were united, in language and religious worship, with each other, and with Rome; they imbibed the free and generous spirit of the European republic, and gradually shared the light of knowledge which arose on the Western world.

## CHAP. LVI.

*The Saracens, Franks, and Greeks, in Italy. — First Adventures and Settlement of the Normans. — Character and Conquests of Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia. — Deliverance of Sicily by his Brother Roger. — Victories of Robert over the Emperors of the East and West. — Roger, King of Sicily, invades Africa and Greece. — The Emperor Manuel Comnenus. — Wars of the Greeks and Normans. — Extinction of the Normans.*

THE three great nations of the world, the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks, encountered each other on the theatre of Italy.<sup>1</sup> The southern provinces, which now compose the kingdom of Naples, were subject, for the most part, to the Lombard dukes and princes of Beneventum;<sup>2</sup> so powerful in war, that they checked for a moment the genius of Charlemagne; so liberal in peace, that they maintained in their capital an academy of thirty-two philosophers and grammarians. The division of this flourishing state produced the rival principalities of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua; and the thoughtless ambition or revenge of the competitors invited the Saracens to the ruin of their common inheritance. During a calamitous period of two hundred years, Italy was exposed to a repetition of wounds, which the invaders were not capable of healing by the union and tranquillity of a perfect conquest. Their frequent and almost annual squadrons issued from the port of Palermo, and were entertained with too much indulgence by the Christians of Naples: the more formidable fleets were prepared on the African coast; and even the Arabs of Andalusia were sometimes tempted to assist or oppose the Moslems of an adverse sect. In the revolution of human events, a new ambuscade was concealed in the Cauline forks, the fields of Cannæ were bedewed a second time with the blood of the Africans, and the sovereign of Rome again attacked or defended the walls of Capua and Tarentum. A colony of Saracens had been planted at Bari, which commands the entrance of the Adriatic Gulf; and their impartial depreciations provoked the resentment, and conciliated

the union, of the two emperors. An offensive alliance was concluded between Basil the Macedonian, the first of his race, and Lewis the great-grandson of Charlemagne;<sup>3</sup> and each party supplied the deficiencies of his associate. It would have been imprudent in the Byzantine monarch to transport his stationary troops of Asia to an Italian campaign; and the Latin arms would have been insufficient if his superior navy had not occupied the mouth of the Gulf. The fortress of Bari was invested by the infantry of the Franks, and by the cavalry and galleys of the Greeks: and, after a defence of four years, the Arabian emir submitted to the clemency of Lewis, who commanded in person the operations of the siege. This important conquest had been achieved by the concord of the East and West; but their recent amity was soon embittered by the mutual complaints of jealousy and pride. The Greeks assumed as their own the merit of the conquest and the pomp of the triumph; extolled the greatness of their powers, and affected to deride the intemperance and sloth of the haughty barbarians who appeared under the banners of the Carlovingian prince. His reply is expressed with the eloquence of indignation and truth: "We confess the magnitude of your preparations," says the great-grandson of Charlemagne. "Your armies were indeed as numerous as a cloud of summer locusts, who darken the day, flap their wings, and, after a short flight, tumble weary and breathless to the ground. Like them, ye sunk after a feeble effort; ye were vanquished by your own cowardice; and withdrew from the scene of action to injure and despoil our Christian subjects of the Selavolian coast. We were few in number, and why were we few? because, after a tedious expectation of your arrival, I had dismissed my host, and retained only a chosen band of warriors to continue the blockade of the city. If they indulged their hospitable feasts in the face of danger and death, did these feasts abate the vigour of their enterprise? Is it by your fasting that the walls of Bari have been overturned? Did not these valiant Franks, diminished as they were by languor and fatigue, intercept and vanquish the three most powerful emirs of the Saracens? and did not their defeat precipitate the fall of the city? Bari is now fallen; Tarentum trembles; Calabria will be delivered; and, if we command the sea, the island of Sicily may be rescued from the hands of the infidels. My brother (a name most offensive to the vanity of the Greek), accelerate your naval succours, respect your allies, and distrust your flatterers."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>82</sup> The ambassadors of St Stephen had used the expression, *regni additum, ubi non debet additum*, which was afterwards interpreted by Gregory VII. and the Hungarian Catholics as divided between the saints of the East and the universal lord of the crown (Katona, Hist. Critica, tom. i. p. 202, tom. ii. p. 701, tom. iii. p. 324).

<sup>1</sup> For the general history of Italy in the sixth and seventh centuries, I must properly refer to the sixth, sixth, and seventh books of St. Isidore's *Reces Historiarum* in the second volume of his works, Milan, 1777; the *Annals of Baronius*, with the continuation, the sixth and seventh books of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Bede, the *Chronicon* of Bede, and the sixth and seventh volumes of the *Annales* of Gregory of Tours, a work which, under a variety of circumstances, has been the source learning and industry. But no book is so generally read

as the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Bede, which I myself have resorted to the many times. It is not to be read as a whole, but rather as a series of books, each of which has its own merits and defects.

<sup>2</sup> The *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Bede, which I myself have resorted to the many times. It is not to be read as a whole, but rather as a series of books, each of which has its own merits and defects.

<sup>3</sup> The *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Bede, which I myself have resorted to the many times. It is not to be read as a whole, but rather as a series of books, each of which has its own merits and defects.



New province  
of the Greeks  
in Italy.  
A. D. 890.

These lofty hopes were soon extinguished by the death of Lewis, and the decay of the Carolingian house; and whoever might deserve the honour, the Greek emperors, Basil, and his son Leo, secured the advantage, of the reduction of Bari. The Italians of Apulia and Calabria were persuaded or compelled to acknowledge their supremacy, and an ideal line from Mount Garganus to the Bay of Salerno leaves the far greater part of the kingdom of Naples under the dominion of the Eastern empire. Beyond that line, the dukes or republics of Amalfi<sup>5</sup> and Naples, who had never forfeited their voluntary allegiance, rejoiced in the neighbourhood of their lawful sovereign; and Amalfi was enriched by supplying Europe with the produce and manufactures of Asia. But the Lombard princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua,<sup>6</sup> were reluctantly torn from the communion of the Latin world, and too often violated their oaths of servitude and tribute. The city of Bari rose to dignity and wealth, as the metropolis of the new theme or province of Lombardy; the title of patrician, and afterwards the singular name of *Catapan*,<sup>7</sup> was assigned to the supreme governor; and the policy both of the church and state was modelled in exact subordination to the throne of Constantinople. As long as the sceptre was disputed by the princes of Italy, their efforts were feeble and adverse; and the Greeks resisted or eluded the forces of Germany, which descended from the Alps under the Imperial standard of the Othos. The first and greatest of those Saxon princes was compelled to relinquish the siege of Bari: the second, after the loss of his stoutest bishops and barons, escaped with honour from the bloody field of Crotona.

On that day the scale of war was turned against the Franks by the valour of the Saracens.<sup>8</sup> These corsairs had indeed been driven by the Byzantine fleets from the fortresses and coasts of Italy; but a sense of interest was more prevalent than superstition or resentment, and the caliph of Egypt had transported forty thousand Moslems to the aid of his Christian ally. The successors of Basil amused themselves with the belief, that the conquest of Lombardy had been achieved, and was still preserved, by the justice of their laws, the virtues of their ministers, and the gratitude of a people whom they had rescued from anarchy and oppression. A series of rebellions might dart a ray of truth into the palace of Constantinople; and the illusions of flattery

were dispelled by the easy and rapid success of the Norman adventurers.

The revolution of human affairs had produced in Apulia and Calabria, a melancholy contrast between the age of Pythagoras and the tenth century of the Christian era. At the former period, the coast of Great Greece (as it was then styled) was planted with free and opulent cities: these cities were peopled with soldiers, artists, and philosophers; and the military strength of Tarentum, Sybaris, or Crotona, was not inferior to that of a powerful kingdom. At the second era, these once flourishing provinces were clouded with ignorance, impoverished by tyranny, and depopulated by barbarian war; nor can we severely accuse the exaggeration of a contemporary, that a fair and ample district was reduced to the same desolation which had covered the earth after the general deluge.<sup>9</sup> Among the hostilities of the Arabs, the Franks, and the Greeks, in the southern Italy, I shall select two or three anecdotes expressive of their national manners. 1. It was the amusement

of the Saracens to profane, as well as to pillage, the monasteries and churches. At the siege of Salerno, a Musulman chief spread his couch on the communion-table, and on that altar sacrificed each night the virginity of a Christian nun. As he wrestled with a reluctant maid, a beam in the roof was accidentally or dexterously thrown down on his head; and the death of the lustful emir was imputed to the wrath of Christ, which was at length awakened to the defence of his faithful spouse.<sup>10</sup> 2. The Saracens besieged the cities of Beneventum and Capua: after a vain appeal to the successors of Charlemagne, the Lombards implored the clemency and aid of the Greek emperor.<sup>11</sup> A fearless citizen dropped from the walls, passed the intrenchments, accomplished his commission, and fell into the hands of the barbarians, as he was returning with the welcome news. They commanded him to assist their enterprise, and deceive his countrymen, with the assurance that wealth and honours should be the reward of his falsehood, and that his sincerity would be punished with immediate death. He affected to yield, but as soon as he was conducted within hearing of the Christians on the rampart, "Friends and brethren," he cried with a loud voice, "be bold and patient, maintain the city; your sovereign is informed of your distress, and your deliverers are at hand. I know my doom, and commit my wife and children to your

<sup>5</sup> See an excellent Dissertation by Ponsard, *Ac. d'hist.* vi. l. 1. p. 112, of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Historical and Literary Review) for 1817, p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> The *Ymagines* of Leo VI. and the *Historia* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, c. 31, p. 112, give a list of the cities of the kingdom of Naples, and the names of the dukes and princes who were subject to the Greek emperor. The *Ymagines* also give a list of the cities of the kingdom of Salerno, and the names of the dukes and princes who were subject to the Greek emperor. The *Ymagines* also give a list of the cities of the kingdom of Benevento, and the names of the dukes and princes who were subject to the Greek emperor. The *Ymagines* also give a list of the cities of the kingdom of Capua, and the names of the dukes and princes who were subject to the Greek emperor.

<sup>7</sup> The *Ymagines* of Leo VI. and the *Historia* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, c. 31, p. 112, give a list of the cities of the kingdom of Naples, and the names of the dukes and princes who were subject to the Greek emperor.

<sup>8</sup> The *Ymagines* of Leo VI. and the *Historia* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, c. 31, p. 112, give a list of the cities of the kingdom of Naples, and the names of the dukes and princes who were subject to the Greek emperor.

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<sup>10</sup> The *Ymagines* of Leo VI. and the *Historia* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, c. 31, p. 112, give a list of the cities of the kingdom of Naples, and the names of the dukes and princes who were subject to the Greek emperor.

<sup>11</sup> The *Ymagines* of Leo VI. and the *Historia* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, c. 31, p. 112, give a list of the cities of the kingdom of Naples, and the names of the dukes and princes who were subject to the Greek emperor.

“gratitude.” The rage of the Arabs confirmed his evidence; and the self-devoted patriot was transpierced with an hundred spears. He deserves to live in the memory of the virtuous, but the repetition of the same story in ancient and modern times, may sprinkle some doubts on the reality of this generous deed.<sup>12</sup>

A. D. 930.

A D. 950. 3. The recital of a third incident may provoke a smile amidst the horrors of war. Theobald, marquis of Camerino and Spoleto,<sup>13</sup> supported the rebels of Beneventum; and his wanton cruelty was not incompatible in that age with the character of an hero. His captives of the Greek nation or party were castrated without mercy, and the outrage was aggravated by a cruel jest, that he wished to present the emperor with a supply of eunuchs, the most precious ornaments of the Byzantine court. The garrison of a castle had been defeated in a sally, and the prisoners were sentenced to the customary operation. But the sacrifice was disturbed by the intrusion of a frantic female, who, with bleeding cheeks, dishevelled hair, and importunate clamours, compelled the marquis to listen to her complaint. "Is it thus," she cried, "ye magnanimous heroes, that ye wage war against women, against women who have never injured ye, and whose only arms are the distaff and the loom?" Theobald denied the charge, and protested, that, since the Amazons, he had never heard of a female war. "And how," she furiously exclaimed, "can you attack us more directly, how can you wound us in a more vital part, than by robbing our husbands of what we most dearly cherish, the source of our joys, and the hope of our posterity? The plunder of our flocks and herds I have endured without a murmur, but this fatal injury, this irreparable loss, subdues my patience, and calls aloud on the justice of heaven and earth." A general laugh applauded her eloquence; the savage Franks, inaccessible to pity, were moved by her ridiculous, yet rational, despair; and with the deliverance of the captives, she obtained the restitution of her effects. As she returned in triumph to the castle, she was overtaken by a messenger, to enquire, in the name of Theobald, what punishment should be inflicted on her husband, were he again taken in arms? "Should such," she answered without hesitation, "be his guilt and misfortune, he has eyes, and a nose, and hands, and feet. These are his own, and these he may deserve to forfeit by his per-

“sonal offences. But let my lord be pleased  
“to spare what his little handmaid presumes to  
“claim as her peculiar and lawful property.”<sup>14</sup>

The establishment of the Normans in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily,<sup>15</sup> is an event most romantic in its origin, and in its consequences most important both to Italy and the Eastern empire. The broken provinces of the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, were exposed to every invader, and every sea and land were invaded by the adventurous spirit of Scandinavian pirates. After a long indulgence of rapine and slaughter, a fair and ample territory was accepted, occupied, and named, by the Normans of France; they renounced their gods for the God of the Christians;<sup>16</sup> and the dukes of Normandy acknowledged themselves the vassals of the successors of Charlemagne and Capet. The savage fierceness which they had brought from the snowy mountains of Norway, was refined, without being corrupted, in a warmer climate; the companions of Rollo insensibly mingled with the natives; they imbibed the manners, language,<sup>17</sup> and gallantry, of the French nation; and, in a martial age, the Normans might claim the palm of valour and glorious achievements. Of the fashionable superstitions, they embraced with ardour the pilgrimages of Rome, Italy, and the Holy Land. In this active devotion, their minds and bodies were invigorated by exercise; danger was the incentive, novelty the recompence; and the prospect of the world was decorated by wonder, credulity, and ambitious hope. They confederated for their mutual defence: and the robbers of the Alps, who had been allured by the gaud of a pilgrim, were often chastised by the arm of a warrior. In one of these pious visits to the cavern of Mount Garganus in Apulia, which had been sanctified by the apparition of the archangel Michael,<sup>18</sup> they were accosted by a stranger in the Greek habit, but who soon revealed himself as a rebel, a fugitive, and a mortal foe of the Greek empire. His name was Melo; a noble citizen of Bari, who, after an unsuccessful revolt, was compelled to seek new allies and avengers of his country. The bold appearance of the Normans revived his hopes and solicited his confidence: they listened to the complaints, and still more to the promises, of the patriot. The assurance of wealth demonstrated the justice of his cause; and they viewed, as the inheritance of the brave,

12 In the year 663, the same tragedy is described by Pindar the Dorian (see *Tragic Fragments*, p. 178, p. 579, n. 2). But the Greek is different, and the guilt is imparted to the Greek, to those who, when the Byzantine edition is depicted in the S. 100, are taken to the west in Germany. Most of these, a French officer of the regiment of Artillery, is the more heroic, is more someone was captured by the enemy who had made him prisoner (Ymitar). See the *Tragic Fragments*, p. 178, p. 579, n. 2.

15 Theobald, who is styled *Henric* by Lampadius, was perhaps Duke of the Franks and margrave of the Marches, the exact date of his life is not known, but he is mentioned in the French chronicles (Mabillon, *Annales de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis*, p. 157, 72, 8).

but they wrote on the spot, in the age of the first rough wars before A. B. Hall, and with the perfect ignorance of the codes to regulate the compilers in the case of Italy and France, Sigismund, Barnaby, Pico, Graymore, Murdett, St. Marc, &c. whom I have always considered the most ignorant.

[illegible]

In September 1991, the Department of Education (DoE) published a report, *Adopting New Technologies in the Classroom*, which set out a number of principles for the use of technology in schools. Some of the key points were:

- The use of technology should be seen as a means of enhancing the quality of teaching and learning, rather than as an end in itself.
- The use of technology should be based on sound pedagogical principles.
- The use of technology should be based on the needs of the individual teacher and the individual school.
- The use of technology should be based on the needs of the individual pupil.
- The use of technology should be based on the needs of the individual subject.
- The use of technology should be based on the needs of the individual curriculum.
- The use of technology should be based on the needs of the individual school.
- The use of technology should be based on the needs of the individual region.
- The use of technology should be based on the needs of the individual country.
- The use of technology should be based on the needs of the individual world.



stoutest warriors, with a stroke of his fist, felled to the ground the horse of the Greek messenger. He was dismissed with a fresh horse; the insult was concealed from the Imperial troops; but in two successive battles they were more fatally instructed of the prowess of their adversaries. In the plains of Cannæ, the Asiatics fled before the adventurers of France; the duke of Lombardy was made prisoner; the Apulians acquiesced in a new dominion; and the four places of Bari, Otranto, Brundisium, and Tarentum, were alone saved in the shipwreck of the Grecian fortunes. From this era we may date the establishment of the Norman power, which soon eclipsed the infant colony of Aversa. Twelve counts<sup>24</sup> were chosen by the popular suffrage; and age, birth, and merit, were the motives of their choice. The tributes of their peculiar districts were appropriated to their use; and each count erected a fortress in the midst of his lands, and at the head of his vassals. In the centre of the province, the common habitation of Melphi was reserved as the metropolis and citadel of the republic; an house and separate quarter was allotted to each of the twelve counts; and the national concerns were regulated by this military senate. The first of his peers, their president and general, was entitled count of Apulia; and this dignity was conferred on William of the iron arm, who, in the language of the age, is styled a lion in battle, a lamb in society, and an angel in council.<sup>25</sup> The manners of his countrymen are fairly delineated by a contemporary and national historian.<sup>26</sup> "The Normans,"

Character of the Normans. says Malaterra, "are a cunning and revengeful people; eloquence and dissimulation appear to be their hereditary qualities: they can stoop to flatter; but unless they are curbed by the restraint of law, they indulge the licentiousness of nature and passion. Their princes affect the praise of popular munificence; the people observe the medium, or rather blend the extremes, of avarice and prodigality; and, in their eager thirst of wealth and dominion, they despise whatever they possess, and hope whatever they desire. Arms and horses, the luxury of dress, the exercises of hunting and hawking,<sup>27</sup> are the delight of the Normans; but, on pressing occasions, they can endure with incredible patience the inclemency of every climate, and the toil and abstinence of a military life."<sup>28</sup>

21 Omnes conveniunt, et in sex seduliores, Quos genus et gravitas morum decorabat et ætas, Elicere duces. Proverbia ad comitum. His aut parentis. Comitiis morum honores. Quo donantur erat. In totas undique terras Divisere sibi, in sex minime relinquunt.

Apulian

The Normans of Apulia were seated on the verge of the two empires; and, according to the policy of the hour, they accepted the investiture of their lands from the sovereigns of Germany or Constantinople. But the finest title of these adventurers was the right of conquest: they neither loved nor trusted; they were neither trusted nor beloved: the contempt of the princes was mixed with fear, and the fear of the natives was mingled with hatred and resentment. Every object of desire, an horse, a woman, a garden, tempted and gratified the rapaciousness of the strangers;<sup>29</sup> and the avarice of their chiefs was only coloured by the more specious names of ambition and glory. The twelve counts were sometimes joined in a league of injustice: in their domestic quarrels they disputed the spoils of the people: the virtues of William were buried in his grave; and Drogo, his brother and successor, was better qualified to lead the valour, than to restrain the violence, of his peers. Under the reign of Constantine Monomachus, the policy, rather than benevolence, of the Byzantine court, attempted to relieve Italy from this adherent mischief, more grievous than a flight of barbarians;<sup>30</sup> and Argyrus, the son of Melo, was invested for this purpose with the most lofty titles<sup>31</sup> and the most ample commission. The memory of his father might recommend him to the Normans; and he had already engaged their voluntary service to quell the revolt of Maniaces, and to avenge their own and the public injury. It was the design of Constantine to transplant this warlike colony from the Italian provinces to the Persian war; and the son of Melo distributed among the chiefs the gold and manufactures of Greece, as the first fruits of the Imperial bounty. But his arts were baffled by the sense and spirit of the conquerors of Apulia: his gifts, or at least his proposals, were rejected; and they unanimously refused to relinquish their possessions and their hopes for the distant prospect of Asiatic fortune. After the means of persuasion had failed, Argyrus resolved to compel or to destroy: the Latin powers A.D. 1049-1051. were solicited against the common enemy; and an offensive alliance was formed of the pope and the two emperors of the East and West. The throne of St. Peter was occupied by Leo the Ninth, a simple saint,<sup>32</sup> of a temper most

Oppression of Apulia. A.D. 1049, &c.

League of the pope and the two emperors. A.D. 1049-1051.

and the Norwegian sailors; though they might import from Norway and Iceland the finest casts of horses.

22 We may compare this portrait only that of William of Malmesbury, who says, "The Normans were a people of great strength and courage, and of great industry and industry."

23 The Normans were a people of great strength and courage, and of great industry and industry."

24 The Normans were a people of great strength and courage, and of great industry and industry."

25 The Normans were a people of great strength and courage, and of great industry and industry."

26 The Normans were a people of great strength and courage, and of great industry and industry."

27 The Normans were a people of great strength and courage, and of great industry and industry."

28 The Normans were a people of great strength and courage, and of great industry and industry."

29 The Normans were a people of great strength and courage, and of great industry and industry."

30 The Normans were a people of great strength and courage, and of great industry and industry."

npt to deceive himself and the world, and whose venerable character would consecrate with the name of piety the measures least compatible with the practice of religion. His humanity was affected by the complaints, perhaps the calumnies, of an injured people the impious Normans had interrupted the payment of tithes: and the temporal sword might be lawfully unheathed against the sacrilegious robbers, who were deaf to the censures of the church. As a German of noble birth and royal kindred, Leo had free access to the court and confidence of the emperor Henry the Third; and in search of arms and allies, his ardent zeal transported him from Apulia to Saxony, from the Elbe to the Tyber. During these hostile preparations, Argyrus indulged himself in the use of secret and guilty weapons: a crowd of Normans became the victims of public or private

revenge; and the valiant Drogo  
A. D. 1051.

was murdered in a church. But his spirit survived in his brother Humphrey, the third count of Apulia. The assassins were chastised; and the son of Melo, overthrown and wounded, was driven from the field to hide his shame behind the walls of Bari, and to await the tardy succour of his allies.

But the power of Constantine was distracted by a Turkish war; the mind of Henry was feeble and irresolute; and the pope, instead of repassing the Alps with a German army, was accompanied only by a guard of seven hundred Swabians and some volunteers of Lorraine. In his long progress from Mantua to Beneventum, a vile and promiscuous multitude of Italians was enlisted under the holy standard: <sup>33</sup> the priest and the robber slept in the same tent; the pikes and crosses were intermingled in the front; and the martial saint repeated the lessons of his youth in the order of march, of encampment, and of combat. The Normans of Apulia could muster in the field no more than three thousand horse, with an handful of infantry; the defection of the natives intercepted their provisions and retreat; and their spirit, incapable of fear, was chilled for a moment by superstitious awe. On the hostile approach of Leo, they knelt, without disgrace or reluctance, before their spiritual father. But the pope was inexorable; his lofty Germans affected to deride the diminutive stature of their adversaries; and the Normans were informed that death or exile was their only alternative. Flight they disdained, and, as many of them had been three days without tasting food, they embraced the

assurance of a more easy and honourable death. They climbed the hill of Civitella, descended into the plain, and charged in three divisions the army of the pope. On the left, and in the centre, Richard count of Aversa, and Robert the famous Guiscard, attacked, broke, routed, and pursued the Italian multitude, who fought without discipline, and fled without shame. A harder trial was reserved for the valour of count Humphrey, who led the cavalry of the right wing. The Germans <sup>34</sup> have been described as unskilful in the management of the horse and lance: but on foot they formed a strong and impenetrable phalanx; and neither man, nor steed, nor armour, could resist the weight of their long and two-handed swords. After a severe conflict, they were encompassed by the squadrons returning from the pursuit; and died in their ranks, with the esteem of their foes, and the satisfaction of revenge. The gates of Civitella were shut against the flying pope, and he was overtaken by the pious conquerors, who kissed his feet, to implore his blessing and the absolution of their sinful victory. The soldiers beheld in their enemy and captive the vicar of Christ; and, though we may suppose the policy of the chiefs, it is probable that they were infected by the popular superstition. In the calm of retirement, the well-meaning pope deplored the effusion of Christian blood, which must be imputed to his account: he felt that he had been the author of sin and scandal; and as his undertaking had failed, the indecency of his military character was universally condemned. <sup>35</sup> With these dispositions, he listened to the offers of a beneficial treaty; deserted an alliance which he had preached as the cause of God; and ratified the past and future conquests of the Normans. By whatever hands they had been usurped, the provinces of Apulia and Calabria were a part of the donation of Constantine and the patrimony of St. Peter. the grant and the acceptance confirmed the mutual claims of the pontiff and the adventurers. They promised to support each other with spiritual and temporal arms; a tribute or quit-rent of twelve-pence was afterwards stipulated for every plough-land: and since this memorable transaction, the kingdom of Naples has remained above seven hundred years a fief of the Holy See. <sup>36</sup>

The pedigree of Robert Guiscard <sup>37</sup> is variously deduced from the peasants and the dukes of Normandy; from the peasants, by the

His defeat and captivity.  
June 18.

Origin of the papal investitures to the Normans.

Birth and character of Robert Guiscard.  
A. D. 1020  
—1085.

judices of the age, has been composed by Wibert, printed at Paris, 1615, in octavo, and since inserted in the collection of the *Holl. vol. 10* of Mabillon, and of Muratori. The public and private history of that period is the subject of the *Annals of the Empire*, by the same author.

The verses of the Apulian are commonly in this strain, though he heads himself a little in the battle. Two of his similes from hawking and sorcery are descriptive of manners.

<sup>33</sup> Several respectable censures, or complaints are produced by M. de St. Marc (tom. ii. p. 200—204). As Peter Damianus, the oracle

of the clergy, had been of the opinion that the war, the heretic, and Baronius, slyly asserts the

<sup>34</sup> The origin and nature of the papal investitures are ably discussed by Gaimore (*Historia civile d'Napoli*, tom. ii. p. 27—19 57—66.) as a lawyer and antiquarian. Yet he vainly strives to reconcile the duties of patriot and Catholic, adopts an empty distinction of "Ecclesia Romana non dedit sed accepit," and shrinks from an ho-

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French and Latin Chronicles for supplemental intelligence.

pride and ignorance of a Grecian princess; <sup>38</sup> from the dukes, by the ignorance and flattery of the Italian subjects. <sup>39</sup> His genuine descent may be ascribed to the second or middle order of private nobility. <sup>40</sup> He sprang from a race of *ravassors* or *bannets*, of the diocese of Coutances, in the Lower Normandy: the castle of Hauteville was their honourable seat. His father Tancred was conspicuous in the court and army of the duke; and his military service was furnished by ten soldiers or knights. Two marriages, of a rank not unworthy of his own, made him the father of twelve sons, who were educated at home by the impartial tenderness of his second wife. But a narrow patrimony was insufficient for this numerous and daring progeny; they saw around the neighbourhood the mischiefs of poverty and discord, and resolved to seek in foreign wars a more glorious inheritance. Two only remained to perpetuate the race, and cherish their father's age: their ten brothers, as they successively attained the vigour of manhood, departed from the castle, passed the Alps, and joined the Apulian camp of the Normans. The elder were prompted by native spirit; their success encouraged their younger brethren, and the three first in seniority, William, Drogo, and Humphrey, deserved to be the chiefs of their nation, and the founders of the new republic. Robert was the eldest of the seven sons of the second marriage; and even the reluctant praise of his foes has endowed him with the heroic qualities of a soldier and a statesman. His lofty stature surpassed the tallest of his army: his limbs were cast in the true proportion of strength and gracefulness; and to the decline of life, he maintained the patient vigour of health and the commanding dignity of his form. His complexion was ruddy, his shoulders were broad, his hair and beard were long and of a flaxen colour, his eyes sparkled with fire, and his voice, like that of Achilles, could impress obedience and terror amidst the tumult of battle. In the ruder ages of chivalry, such qualifications are not below the notice of the poet or historian: they may observe that Robert, at once, and with equal dexterity, could wield in the right hand his sword, his lance in the left: that in the battle of Civitella, he was thrice unhorsed; and that in the close of that memorable day he was adjudged to have borne away the prize of valour from the warriors of the two armies. <sup>41</sup> His boundless ambition was founded on the consciousness of superior worth: in the pursuit of greatness, he was never arrested by the scruples of justice, and seldom moved by the feelings of

humanity : though not insensible of fame, the choice of open or clandestine means was determined only by his present advantage. The surname of *Guiscard*<sup>42</sup> was applied to this master of political wisdom, which is too often confounded with the practice of dissimulation and deceit ; and Robert is praised by the Apulian poet for excelling the cunning of Ulysses and the eloquence of Cicero. Yet these arts were disguised by an appearance of military frankness. In his highest fortune, he was accessible and courteous to his fellow-soldiers ; and while he indulged the prejudices of his new subjects, he affected in his dress and manners to maintain the ancient fashion of his country. He grasped with a rapacious, that he might distribute with a liberal, hand. his primitive indigence had taught the habits of frugality ; the gain of a merchant was not below his attention ; and his prisoners were tortured with slow and unfeeling cruelty, to force a discovery of their secret treasure. According to the Greeks, he departed from Normandy with only five followers on horseback and thirty on foot ; yet even this allowance appears too bountiful : the sixth son of Tancred of Hauteville passed the Alps as a pilgrim ; and his first military band was levied among the adventurers of Italy. His brothers and countrymen had divided the fertile lands of Apulia : but they guarded their shares with the jealousy of avarice ; the aspiring youth was driven forwards to the mountains of Calabria, and in his first exploits against the Greeks and the natives, it is not easy to discriminate the hero from the robber. To surprise a castle or a convent, to ensnare a wealthy citizen, to plunder the adjacent villages for necessary food, were the obscure labours which formed and exercised the powers of his mind and body. The volunteers of Normandy adhered to his standard ; and, under his command, the peasants of Calabria assumed the name and character of Normans.

As the genius of Robert expanded with his fortune, he awakened the jealousy of his elder brother, by whom, in a transient quarrel, his life was threatened and his liberty restrained. After the death of Humphrey, the tender age of his sons excluded them from the command; they were reduced to a private estate by the ambition of their guardian and uncle; and Guiscard was exalted on a buckler, and saluted count of Apulia and general of the republic. With an increase of authority and of force, he resumed the conquest of Calabria, and soon aspired to a rank that should raise him for ever

His ambition  
and excess,  
A. D. 1051-1050.

38 Ο δὲ Ῥομπέρτος (a Greek corruption) εἶπός τῃ Ναρμάντος τοῦ γενοῦ, τὴν τυχὴν ἀσπίδος . . . Again, εἰς ἀφ᾽ οὗτος πῶς τυχὴν περι-  
φαντος. And elsewhere (l. iv. p. 51), ἀπὸ εὐχῆς τῆς πατρὸς καὶ τυχῆς  
ἀφ᾽ οὗτος. Anna Comnena was born in the purple; yet her father was  
no more than a private though illustrious subject, who raised himself  
to the throne.

Giannone (om. ii. p. 2) forgets all his original authors, and rests on a princely descendant on the credit of Inveges, an Augustinian monk of Palermo in the last century. They contain the successes of dukes from Rollo to the Emperor of Constantinople whom they held (communelemente si tiene) to be the father of Tancred of Hauteville – a most strange and stupendous blunder! The sons of Tancred fought in Apulia, before William II was three years old (A. D. 1057).

40 The judgment of Ducange is just and moderate. Certe humilis fuit ac tenuis Roberti familia, si ducalem et regium spectemus antea, ad quem postea pervenit : quae honesta tamen et praefer nobilium <sup>et</sup> <sup>regum</sup> statum et conditionem illustris habita est. "cum res huius"

reperet nec altum quid timeret" (Wilhelm, Malmshur. de Gestis Anglorum, l. vi. p. 107. Not. ad Alexiad. p. 230).

41 I shall quote with pleasure some of the best lines of the Apulian (l. u. p. 270)

Pugnal utrâque manû, nec lances cassa, nec ensis  
Cassus erat, quocunque manû deducere vellet.  
Ter dejectus equo, ter viribus ipse resumptis  
Major in arma redit. stimulus furor ipse ministrat.  
Ite cum frendens, &c.

71192, 27071706, is no bad translation of the surname and character of <sup>him</sup> Robert.

above the heads of his equals. By some acts of rapine or sacrifice, he had incurred a papal excommunication: but Nicholas the Second was easily persuaded, that the divisions of friends could terminate only in their mutual prejudice; that the Normans were the faithful champions of the Holy See; and it was safer to trust the alliance of a prince than the caprice of an aristocracy. A synod of one hundred bishops was convened at Melphi: and the count interrupted an important enterprise to guard the person and execute the decrees of the Roman pontiff. His gratitude and policy conferred on Robert and his posterity the ducal title,<sup>43</sup> with the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and all the lands, both in Italy and Sicily, which his sword could rescue from the schismatic Greeks and the unbelieving Saracens.<sup>44</sup> This apostolic sanction might justify his arms: but the obedience of a free and victorious people could not be transferred without their consent; and Guiscard dissembled his elevation till the ensuing campaign had been illustrated by the conquest of Consenza and Reggio. In the hour of triumph, he assembled his troops, and solicited the Normans to confirm by their suffrage the judgment of the vicar of Christ: the soldiers hailed with joyful acclamations their valiant duke; and the counts, his former equals, pronounced the oath of fidelity, with hollow smiles

Duke of  
Apulia,  
A. D. 1059.

and secret indignation. After this inauguration, Robert styled himself, "by the grace of God and St. Peter, duke of Apulia, Calabria, and hereafter of Sicily;" and it was the labour of twenty years to deserve and realise these lofty appellations. Such tardy progress, in a narrow space, may seem unworthy of the abilities of the chief and the spirit of the nation: but the Normans were few in number; their resources were scanty; their service was voluntary and precarious. The bravest designs of the duke were sometimes opposed by the free voice of his parliament of barons: the twelve counts of popular election conspired against his authority; and against their perfidious uncle the sons of Humphrey demanded justice and revenge. By his policy and vigour, Guiscard discovered their plots, suppressed their rebellions, and punished the guilty with death or exile: but in these domestic feuds, his years and the national strength were unprofitably consumed. After the defeat of his foreign enemies, the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, their broken forces retreated to the strong and populous cities of the sea-coast. They excelled in the arts of fortification and defence; the Normans were accustomed to serve on horseback in the field,

and their rude attempts could only succeed by the efforts of persevering courage. The resistance of Salerno was maintained above eight months: the siege or blockade of Bari lasted near four years. In these actions the Norman duke was the foremost in every danger; in every fatigue the last and most patient. As he pressed the citadel of Salerno, an huge stone from the rampart shattered one of his military engines; and by a splinter he was wounded in the breast. Before the gates of Bari, he lodged in a miserable hut or barrack, composed of dry branches, and thatched with straw; a perilous station, on all sides open to the inclemency of the winter and the spears of the enemy.<sup>45</sup>

The Italian conquests of Robert correspond with the limits of the present kingdom of Naples; and the countries united by his arms have not been discovered by the revolutions of seven hundred years.<sup>46</sup> The monarchy has been composed of the Greek provinces of Calabria and Apulia, of the Lombard principality of Salerno, the republic of Amalphi, and the inland dependencies of the large and ancient duchy of Beneventum. Three districts only were exempted from the common law of subjection; the first for ever, and the two last till the middle of the succeeding century. The city and immediate territory of Benevento had been transferred, by gift or exchange, from the German emperor to the Roman pontiff; and although this holy land was sometimes invaded, the name of St. Peter was finally more potent than the sword of the Normans. Their first colony of Aversa subdued and held the state of Capua; and her princes were reduced to beg their bread before the palace of their fathers. The dukes of Naples, the present metropolis, maintained the popular freedom, under the shadow of the Byzantine empire. Among the new acquisitions of Guiscard, the science of Salerno,<sup>47</sup> and the trade of Amalphi,<sup>48</sup> may detain for a moment the curiosity of the reader.

I. Of the learned faculties, jurisprudence implies the previous establishment of laws and property; and theology may perhaps be superseded by the full light of religion and reason. But the savage and the sage must alike implore the assistance of physic; and, if our diseases are inflamed by luxury, the mischiefs of blows and wounds would be more frequent in the ruder ages of society. The treasures of Grecian medicine had been communicated to the Arabian colonies of Africa, Spain, and Sicily; and in the intercourse of peace and war, a spark of knowledge had been kindled and cherished at Salerno, an illustrious city, in which the men were honest and the women beautiful.<sup>49</sup> A

<sup>43</sup> The acquisition of the ducal title by Robert Guiscard is a nice and obscure business. With the good advice of (Gianone, Muratori, and St. Marc), I have endeavoured to form a consistent and probable narrative.

<sup>44</sup> Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 1059, No. 69) has published the original act. He professes to have copied it from the *Liber Communi*, a Vatican MS. Yet a *Liber Census* of the sixth century has been printed by Muratori (Antiquit. Medii Ævi, tom. v. p. 571-508), and the names of Vatican and Consenza awaken the suspicions of a Protestant, and even of a philosopher.

<sup>45</sup> Read the Life of Guiscard in the second and third books of the *Annales*.

<sup>46</sup> I, the exempt on om, the fourth ex. ora, fide, l. 1. x. was not established before the time of Frederic II.

His Italian  
conquests.

School of  
Salerno.

<sup>47</sup> Giannone (tom. ii. p. 139-127), Muratori (Antiquit. Medii Ævi, tom. ii. dissert. xlv. p. 355, 370), and Tiraboschi (Storia della Letteratura Italiana), have given an historical account of these physicians, their medical knowledge and practice must be left to our physicians.

<sup>48</sup> At the present time, the city of Amalphi is a deserted town.

<sup>49</sup> A Pisani dire and forty writers. Yet he has forgotten two most important passages of the embassy of Luitprand (A. D. 1007), which compare the trade

non non poma, nices, non puchit palata deunt,  
Non species nullebris alie probatius vromum.  
(Gualterius Appulus, l. iii. p. 467)

school, the first that arose in the darkness of Europe, was consecrated to the healing art : the conscience of monks and bishops was reconciled to that salutary and lucrative profession ; and a crowd of patients, of the most eminent rank, and most distant climates, invited or visited the physicians of Salerno. They were protected by the Norman conquerors ; and Guiscard, though bred in arms, could discern the merit and value of a philosopher. After a pilgrimage of thirty-nine years, Constantine, an African Christian, returned from Bagdad, a master of the language and learning of the Arabians ; and Salerno was enriched by the practice, the lessons, and the writings, of the pupil of Avicenna. The school of medicine has long slept in the name of an university ; but her precepts are abridged in a string of aphorisms, bound together in the Leonine verses, or Latin rhymes, of the twelfth century.<sup>50</sup>

Trade of Amalphi. II. Seven miles to the west of Salerno, and thirty to the south of Naples, the obscure town of Amalphi displayed the power and rewards of industry. The land, however fertile, was of narrow extent ; but the sea was accessible and open : the inhabitants first assumed the office of supplying the Western world with the manufactures and productions of the East ; and this useful traffic was the source of their opulence and freedom. The government was popular, under the administration of a duke and the supremacy of the Greek emperor. Fifty thousand citizens were numbered in the walls of Amalphi ; nor was any city more abundantly provided with gold, silver, and the objects of precious luxury. The mariners who swarmed in her port excelled in the theory and practice of navigation and astronomy ; and the discovery of the compass, which has opened the globe, is due to their ingenuity or good fortune. Their trade was extended to the coast, or at least to the commodities, of Africa, Arabia, and India ; and their settlements in Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, acquired the privileges of independent colonies.<sup>51</sup> After three hundred years of prosperity, Amalphi was oppressed by the arms of the Normans, and sacked by the jealousy of Pisa ; but the poverty of one thousand fishermen is yet dignified by the remains of an arsenal, a cathedral, and the palaces of royal merchants.

Roger, the twelfth and last of Sicily by count Roger the sons of Tancred, had been A.D. 1060-1090. long detained in Normandy by his own and his father's age. He accepted the welcome summons ; hastened to the Apulian camp ; and deserved at first the esteem, and afterwards the envy, of his elder brother. Their

valour and ambition were equal ; but the youth, the beauty, the elegant manners, of Roger, engaged the disinterested love of the soldiers and people. So scanty was his allowance, for himself and forty followers, that he descended from conquest to robbery, and from robbery to domestic theft ; and so loose were the notions of property, that, by his own historian, at his special command, he is accused of stealing horses from a stable at Melfi.<sup>52</sup> His spirit emerged from poverty and disgrace, from these base practices he rose to the merit and glory of a holy war ; and the invasion of Sicily was seconded by the zeal and policy of his brother Guiscard. After the retreat of the Greeks, the idolaters, a most audacious reproach of the Catholics, had retrieved their losses and possessions ; but the deliverance of the island, so vainly undertaken by the forces of the Eastern empire, was achieved by a small and private band of adventurers.<sup>53</sup> In the first attempt, Roger braved, in an open boat, the real and fabulous dangers of Scylla and Charybdis ; landed with only sixty soldiers on a hostile shore ; drove the Saracens to the gates of Messina ; and safely returned with the spoils of the adjacent country. In the fortress of Trani, his active and patient courage were equally conspicuous. In his old age he related with pleasure, that by the distress of the siege, himself, and the countess his wife, had been reduced to a single cloak or mantle, which they wore alternately ; that in a sally his horse had been slain, and he was dragged away by the Saracens ; but that he owed his rescue to his good sword, and had retreated with his saddle on his back, lest the meanest trophy might be left in the hands of the miscreants. In the siege of Trani, three hundred Normans withstood and repulsed the forces of the island. In the field of Ceramio, fifty thousand horse and foot were overthrown by one hundred and thirty-six Christian soldiers, without reckoning St. George, who fought on horseback in the foremost ranks. The captive banners, with four camels, were reserved for the successor of St. Peter ; and had these barbaric spoils been exposed, not in the Vatican, but in the Capitol, they might have revived the memory of the Punic triumphs. These insufficient numbers of the Normans most probably denote their knights, the soldiers of honourable and equestrian rank, each of whom was attended by five or six followers in the field ;<sup>54</sup> yet, with the aid of this interpretation, and after every fair allowance on the side of valour, arms, and reputation, the discomfiture of so many myriads will reduce the prudent reader to the alternative of a miracle or a fable. The Arabs of Sicily derived a frequent

<sup>50</sup> Muratori carries their antiquity above the year (1066) of the death of Edward the Confessor, the *rex Anglorum* to whom they are addressed. Nor of Pasquer (Re (Glossar. Latini) A.D. 1060-1090. long detained in Normandy by his own and his father's age. He accepted the welcome summons ; hastened to the Apulian camp ; and deserved at first the esteem, and afterwards the envy, of his elder brother. Their

<sup>51</sup> The description of Amalphi, by William the Apulian (l. iii. p. 967) is, *composita sunt in mari et circa mare, et in terra* the third line

*Nauta maris calique una aperire portus.  
Huc et Alexandri diversa feruntur ab urbe  
Reges, et Antiochia. Gens hac freta plurima transit.  
His Arabes, Indi, Siculi nascuntur et Afri.*

*Hæc gens est totum prope nobilitata per orbem,  
Et mercando ferens, et amans mercata referre.*

<sup>52</sup> *Latrocinio armigerorum aorum in multis sustentabatur, quod quidem ad epi non omnium non dicitur, sed ipso ita patiens adque vltima et reprehensibilia dicitur, ut plures patesset, quam laborio et cum quanta angustia et profunda paupertate ad summum culmen divitiarum vel honoris attigunt.* Such is the pre-

<sup>54</sup> See the word *milites*, in the Latin Glossary of Ducange.





men, the horses, the arms, the engines, the wooden towers covered with raw hides, were embarked on board one hundred and fifty vessels. the transports had been built in the ports of Italy, and the galleys were supplied by the alliance of the republic of Ragusa.

Stacy on Im-  
pizzo  
A D 1081,  
June 17.

At the mouth of the Adriatic Gulf, the shores of Italy and Epirus incline towards each other. The space between Brundisium and Durazzo, the Roman passage, is no more than one hundred miles;<sup>64</sup> at the last station of Otranto, it is contracted to fifty,<sup>65</sup> and this narrow distance had suggested to Pyrrhus and Pompey the sublime or extravagant idea of a bridge. Before the general embarkation, the Norman duke despatched Bohemond with fifteen galleys to seize or threaten the Isle of Corfu, to survey the opposite coast, and to secure an harbour in the neighbourhood of Vallona for the landing of the troops. They passed and lauded without perceiving an enemy; and this successful experiment displayed the neglect and decay of the naval power of the Greeks. The islands of Epirus and the maritime towns were subdued by the arms or the name of Robert, who led his fleet and army from Corfu (I use the modern appellation) to the siege of Durazzo. That city, the western key of the empire, was guarded by ancient renown, and recent fortifications, by George Palæologus, a patrician, victorious in the Oriental wars, and a numerous garrison of Albanians and Macedonians, who, in every age, have maintained the character of soldiers. In the prosecution of his enterprise, the courage of Guiscard was assailed by every form of danger and mischance. In the most propitious season of the year, as his fleet paced along the coast, a storm of wind and snow unexpectedly arose; the Adriatic was swelled by the raging blast of the south, and a new shipwreck confirmed the old adage of the Actæonian rocks.<sup>67</sup> The sails, the masts, and the oars, were shattered or torn away; the sea and shore were covered with the fragments of vessels, with arms and dead bodies; and the greatest part of the provisions were either drowned or damaged. The ducal galley was laboriously rescued from the waves, and Robert halted seven days on the adjacent cape, to collect the relics of his loss, and revive the drooping spirits of his soldiers. The Normans were no longer the bold and experienced mariners who had explored the ocean from Greenland to Mount Atlas, and who smiled at the petty dangers of the Mediterranean. They had wept during the tempest; they were alarmed by the hostile approach of the Venetians, who had

been solicited by the prayers and promises of the Byzantine court. The first day's action was not disadvantageous to Bohemond, a beardless youth,<sup>23</sup> who led the naval powers of his father. All night the galleys of the republic lay on their anchors in the form of a crescent; and the victory of the second day was decided by the dexterity of their evolutions, the station of their archers, the weight of their javelins, and the borrowed aid of the Greek fire. The Apulian and Ragusan vessels fled to the shore, several were cut from their cables, and dragged away by the conqueror; and a sally from the town carried slaughter and dismay to the tents of the Norman duke. A seasonable relief was poured into Durazzo, and as soon as the besiegers had lost the command of the sea, the islands and maritime towns withdrew from the camp the supply of tribute and provision. That camp was soon afflicted with a pestilential disease; five hundred knights perished by an inglorious death; and the list of burials (if all could obtain a decent burial) amounted to ten thousand persons. Under these calamities, the mind of Guiscard alone was firm and invincible: and while he collected new forces from Apulia and Sicily, he battered, or scaled, or sapped, the walls of Durazzo. But his industry and valour were encountered by equal valour and more perfect industry. A moveable turret, of a size and capacity to contain five hundred soldiers, had been rolled forwards to the foot of the rampart: but the descent of the door or drawbridge was checked by an enormous beam, and the wooden structure was instantly consumed by artificial flames.

While the Roman empire was attacked by the Turks in the East, and the Normans in the West, the aged successor of Michael surrendered the sceptre to the hands of Alexius, an illustrious captain, and the founder of the Comnenian dynasty. The princess Anne, his daughter and historian, observes, in her affected style, that even Hercules was unequal to double combat; and, on this principle, she approves an hasty peace with the Turks, which allowed her father to undertake in person the relief of Durazzo. On his accession, Alexius found the camp without soldiers, and the treasury without money; yet such were the vigour and activity of his measures, that in six months he assembled an army of seventy thousand men,<sup>69</sup> and performed a march of five hundred miles. His troops were levied in Europe and Asia, from Peloponnesus to the Black Sea; his majesty was displayed in the silver arms and rich trappings of the companies of horse-guards.

63 The *Itinerary of Antonine* (p. 609, edit. Wesseling) gives a true and reliable statement of a Roman student or architect of the school, which is strongly doubted by Strabo (I, vi, p. 175) and Ptolemy (Hist. Nat. viii, 10).

<sup>60</sup> Pliny (Hist. Nat. iii. 6. 16.) allows *permyadenda* mulla for the brevispina curata, and agrees with the real distinction from Otrinto to L'Esclapart, or Apollon (cf. Anacle, Analyse du système de Cates de la France, etc. p. 7.) Herodotus Barbarus, who substitutes *calam* (H. rebout. Not. bot. in 1909. L. m.) might have been corrected by every Venetian pilot who had sailed out of the gulf.

67. *Infans sequens Aeronaui, Horat. carm. 1.5* The praetorian *Afrum* decernentes *Aquilonibus* et *raui* in *Noti*, and the praetorian units of the *Adriatic*, are somewhat enlarged, i.e., *Horat.* is travelling for the life of Virgil, is an interesting moment in the history of poetry and friendship.

69 Τὰν δὲ εἰς τὴν παλαιὰ αὐτοῦ ἐκ Σοφιστικῆς (Alexias, I. iv. p. 106.1. Yet the Normans shaved, and the Venetians wore, their beards: they must have derided the no-beard of Bohemond, an harsh interpretation! (Ducange, Not. ad Alexias, p. 255).

60) Mutation (Annali d'Italia, tom. iv, p. 136, 137) observes, that some authors (Petrus Davon Chron Cassiner I. m. c. 19.) compose the Greek word of *ἑὸς*, *Davon*, men; but that the *heutius* may be struck off, and it will be found to be the original word, which means a man, as we observe to *Fabius adules* in the Chronicle of Titus Livius (Script. Ital. tom. v, p. 15.). Maffertius (iv. c. 27.) speaks in high, but inaccurate, terms of the emp' rom, cum copus innumera- bilibus. like the Apian poet (iv. p. 272.)

More locustarum montes et plana tegantur

and the emperor was attended by a train of nobles and princes, some of whom, in rapid succession, had been clothed with the purple, and were indulged by the lenity of the times in a life of affluence and dignity. Their youthful ardour might animate the multitude; but their love of pleasure and contempt of subordination were pregnant with disorder and mischief; and their importunate clamours for speedy and decisive action disconcerted the prudence of Alexius, who might have surrounded and starved the besieging army. The enumeration of provinces recalls a sad comparison of the past and present limits of the Roman world: the raw levies were drawn together in haste and terror; and the garrisons of Anatolia, or Asia Minor, had been purchased by the evacuation of the cities which were immediately occupied by the Turks. The strength of the Greek army consisted in the Varangians, the Scandinavian guards, whose numbers were recently augmented by a colony of exiles and volunteers from the British island of Thule. Under the yoke of the Norman conqueror, the Danes and English were oppressed and united: a band of adventurous youths resolved to desert a land of slavery; the sea was open to their escape; and, in their long pilgrimage, they visited every coast that afforded any hope of liberty and revenge. They were entertained in the service of the Greek emperor; and their first station was in a new city on the Asiatic shore: but Alexius soon recalled them to the defence of his person and palace; and bequeathed to his successors the inheritance of their faith and valour.<sup>70</sup> The name of a Norman invader revived the memory of their wrongs: they marched with alacrity against the national foe, and panted to regain in Epirus, the glory which they had lost in the battle of Hastings. The Varangians were supported by some companies of Franks or Latins; and the rebels, who had fled to Constantinople from the tyranny of Guiscard, were eager to signalise their zeal and gratify their revenge. In this emergency, the emperor had not disdained the impure aid of the Paulicians or Manichæans of Thrace and Bulgaria; and these heretics united with the patience of martyrdom, the spirit and discipline of active valour.<sup>71</sup> The treaty with the sultan had procured a supply of some thousand Turks; and the arrows of the Scythian horse were opposed to the lances of the Norman cavalry. On the report and distant prospect of these formidable numbers, Robert assembled a council of his principal officers. "You behold," said he, "your danger: it is urgent and inevitable. The hills are covered with arms and standards; and the emperor of the Greeks is ac-

customed to wars and triumphs. Obedience and union are our only safety; and I am ready to yield the command to a more worthy leader." The vote and acclamation, even of his secret enemies, assured him, in that perilous moment, of their esteem and confidence; and the duke thus continued: "Let us trust in the rewards of victory, and deprive cowardice of the means of escape. Let us burn our vessels and our baggage, and give battle on this spot, as if it were the place of our nativity and our burial." The resolution was unanimously approved, and without confining himself to his lines, Guiscard awaited in battle-array the nearer approach of the enemy. His rear was covered by a small river; his right wing extended to the sea; his left to the hills: nor was he conscious, perhaps, that on the same ground Cæsar and Pompey had formerly disputed the empire of the world.<sup>72</sup>

Against the advice of his wisest captains, Alexius resolved to risk the event of a general action, and exhorted the garrison of Durazzo to assist their own deliverance by a well-timed sally from the town. He marched in two columns to surprise the Normans before daybreak on two different sides: his light cavalry was scattered over the plain; the archers formed the second line; and the Varangians claimed the honours of the vanguard. In the first onset, the battle-axes of the strangers made a deep and bloody impression on the army of Guiscard, which was now reduced to fifteen thousand men. The Lombards and Calabrians ignominiously turned their backs; they fled towards the river and the sea; but the bridge had been broken down to check the sally of the garrison, and the coast was lined with the Venetian galleys, who played their engines among the disorderly throng. On the verge of ruin, they were saved by the spirit and conduct of their chiefs. Gaita, the wife of Robert, is painted by the Greeks as a warlike Amazon, a second Pallas; less skilful in arts, but not less terrible in arms, than the Athenian goddess:<sup>73</sup> though wounded by an arrow, she stood her ground, and strove, by her exhortation and example, to rally the flying troops.<sup>74</sup> Her female voice was seconded by the more powerful voice and arm of the Norman duke, as calm in action as he was magnanimous in council: "Whither," he cried aloud, "whither do ye fly? Your enemy is implacable; and death is less grievous than servitude." The moment was decisive: as the Varangians advanced before the line, they discovered the nakedness of their flanks: the main battle of the duke, of eight hundred knights, stood firm and entire; they couched their lances, and the

<sup>70</sup> See William of Malm-bury de Gestis Anglorum, l. i. p. 92. Alexius fides Anglorum successus præcipuis familiaritibus suis. . . . (111.) relates their emigration from . . .

The character and story of these

<sup>72</sup> See the simple and masterly narrative of Cæsar himself (Comment. de Bell. Civil. iii. 11-75.) It is a pity that Quintus Julius (M. Guiscard) did not live to analyse these operations, as he has done the campaigns of Africa and Spain.

<sup>73</sup> Παλας ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ ἄνθρωπος, which is very properly translated by the president Cousin (Hist. de Constantinople, tom. iv. p. 151. in

12mo.), qui combattit comme . . . savante que celle d'Athènes. . . . two discordant characters, of a . . . and of a virgin Amazon of the . . .

. . . admires, with some degree of . . . were more familiar to the La . . . mentions her presence

Greeks deplore the furious and irresistible shock of the French cavalry.<sup>75</sup> Alexius was not deficient in the duties of a soldier or a general; but he no sooner beheld the slaughter of the Varangians, and the flight of the Turks, than he despaired his subjects, and despaired of his fortune. The princess Anne, who drops a tear on this melancholy event, is reduced to praise the strength and swiftness of her father's horse, and his vigorous struggle, when he was almost overthrown by the stroke of a lance, which had shivered the Imperial helmet. His desperate valour broke through a squadron of Franks who opposed his flight; and, after wandering two days and as many nights in the mountains, he found some repose, of body, though not of mind, in the walls of Lychmidus. The victorious Robert reproached the tardy and feeble pursuit which had suffered the escape of so illustrious a prize; but he consoled his disappointment by the trophies and standards of the field, the wealth and luxury of the Byzantine camp, and the glory of defeating an army five times more numerous than his own. A multitude of Italians had been the victims of their own fears; but only thirty of his knights were slain in this memorable day. In the Roman host, the loss of Greeks, Turks, and English, amounted to five or six thousand:<sup>76</sup> the plain of Durazzo was stained with noble and royal blood; and the end of the inopostor Michael was more honourable than his life.

It is more than probable that Durazzo taken A. D. 1082, Feb. 5. Guiscard was not afflicted by the loss of a costly puegant, which had merited only the contempt and derision of the Greeks. After their defeat, they still persevered in the defence of Durazzo; and a Venetian commander supplied the place of George Palæologus, who had been imprudently called away from his station. The tents of the besiegers were converted into barracks, to sustain the inclemency of the winter; and in answer to the defiance of the garrison, Robert insinuated, that his patience was at least equal to their obstinacy.<sup>77</sup> Perhaps he already trusted to his secret correspondence with a Venetian noble, who sold the city for a rich and honourable marriage. At the dead of night several rope-ladders were dropped from the walls; the light Calabrians ascended in silence; and the Greeks were awakened by the name and trumpets of the conqueror. Yet they defended the streets three days against an enemy already master of the rampart; and near seven months elapsed between the first investment and the final surrender of the place. From Durazzo, the Norman duke advanced into the heart of Epirus or Albania; traversed the first mountains of Thesaly; sur-

prised three hundred English in the city of Castoria; approached Thessalonica; and made Constantinople tremble. A more pressing duty suspended the prosecution of his ambitious designs. By shipwreck, pestilence, and the sword, his army was reduced to a third of the original numbers; and instead of being recruited from Italy, he was informed, by plaintive epistles, of the mischief and dangers which had been produced by his absence—the revolt of the cities and barons of Apulia; the distress of the pope; and the approach or invasion of Henry king of Germany. Highly presuming that his person was sufficient for the public safety, he repassed the sea in a single brigantine, and left the remains of the army under the command of his son and the Norman counts, exhorting Bohemond to respect the freedom of his peers, and the counts to obey the authority of their leader. The son of Guiscard trod in the footsteps of his father; and the two destroyers are compared, by the Greeks, to the caterpillar and the locust, the last of whom devours whatever has escaped the teeth of the former.<sup>78</sup> After winning two battles against the emperor, he descended into the plain of Thessaly, and besieged Larissa, the fabulous realm of Achilles,<sup>79</sup> which contained the treasure and magazines of the Byzantine camp. Yet a just praise must not be refused to the fortitude and prudence of Alexius, who bravely struggled with the calamities of the times. In the poverty of the state, he presumed to borrow the superfluous ornaments of the churches, the desertion of the Manichæans was supplied by some tribes of Moldavia, a reinforcement of seven thousand Turks replaced and revenged the loss of their brethren; and the Greek soldiers were exercised to ride, to draw the bow, and to the daily practice of ambuscades and evolutions. Alexius had been taught by experience, that the formidable cavalry of the Franks on foot was unfit for action, and almost incapable of motion;<sup>80</sup> his archers were directed to aim their arrows at the horse rather than the man; and a variety of spikes and snares was scattered over the ground on which he might expect an attack. In the neighbourhood of Larissa the events of war were protracted and balanced. The courage of Bohemond was always conspicuous, and often successful; but his camp was pillaged by a stratagem of the Greeks; the city was impregnable; and the venal or discontented counts deserted his standard, betrayed their trusts, and enlisted in the service of the emperor. Alexius returned to Constantinople with the advantage, rather than the honour, of victory. After evacuating the conquests which he could no longer defend, the son of Guiscard embarked for Italy, and was

<sup>75</sup> Ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ταχὺ ῥομφαίων ἡ ἀντιπαρισταμένη αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰνδου τοῦ ἑλλήως ἀντιπάλου Ἀνδρᾶ.

<sup>78</sup> Βοημόνους καὶ ἀνδρᾶς; ὅμοιοι αἱ τοῖς ἀνέροισιν, παρὰ τοῦ Ἀνδρᾶ, ἢ τοῦ Ἰνδου. By these similes, so different from those of Homer, the

and laudable they might with so little trouble have slain two of

his p. 110. b. Guiscard has explained the true source of the error, and inconvenient figure, which has been traced from the sixth to the eighth century. These spears, in the form of a scorpion, were sometimes two feet, and fastened to the knee with a silver chain.



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The deliverer and scourge of Rome might have indulged himself in a season of repose; but in the same year of the flight of the German emperor, the indefatigable Robert resumed the design of his eastern conquests. The zeal or gratitude of Gregory had promised to his valour the kingdoms of Greece and Asia;<sup>78</sup> his troops were assembled in arms, flushed with success, and eager for action. Their numbers, in the language of Homer, are compared by Anna to a swarm of bees;<sup>79</sup> yet the utmost and moderate limits of the powers of Guiscard have been already defined; they were contained on this second occasion in one hundred and twenty vessels; and as the season was far advanced, the harbour of Brundisium<sup>80</sup> was preferred to the open road of Otranto. Alexius, apprehensive of a second attack, had assiduously laboured to restore the naval forces of the empire; and obtained from the republic of Venice an important succour of thirty-six transports, fourteen galleys, and nine galleots or ships of extraordinary strength and magnitude. Their services were liberally paid by the licence or monopoly of trade, a profitable gift of many shops and houses in the port of Constantinople, and a tribute to St. Mark, the more acceptable, as it was the produce of a tax on their rivals of Anaplhi. By the union of the Greeks and Venetians, the Adriatic was covered with an hostile fleet; but their own neglect, or the vigilance of Robert, the change of a wind, or the shelter of a mist, opened a free passage; and the Norman troops were safely disembarked on the coast of Ephesus. With twenty strong and well-appointed galleys, their intrepid duke immediately sought the enemy, and though more accustomed to fight on horseback, he trusted his own life, and the lives of his brother and two sons, to the event of a naval combat. The dominion of the sea was disputed in three engagements, in sight of the isle of Corfu: in the two former, the skill and numbers of the allies were superior; but in the third, the Normans obtained a final and complete victory.<sup>81</sup> The light brigantines of the Greeks were scattered in ignominious flight: the nine castles of the Venetians maintained a more obstinate conflict; seven were sunk, two were taken; two thousand five hundred captives implored in vain the mercy of the victor; and the daughter of

Alexius depllores the loss of thirteen thousand of his subjects or allies. The want of experience had been supplied by the genius of Guiscard; and each evening, when he had sounded a retreat, he calmly explored the causes of his repulse, and invented new methods how to remedy his own defects, and to baffle the advantages of the enemy. The winter season suspended his progress; with the return of spring he again aspired to the conquest of Constantinople, but, instead of traversing the hills of Ipirus, he turned his arms against Greece and the islands, where the spoils would repay the labour, and where the land and sea forces might pursue their joint operations with vigour and effect. But, in the isle of Cephalonia, his projects were fatally blasted by an epidemical disease: Robert himself, in the seventieth year of his age, expired in his tent; and a H. & G. do not, A. D. 1085, July 17. suspicion of poison was imputed, by public rumour, to his wife, or to the Greek emperor.<sup>2</sup> This premature death might allow a boundless scope for the imagination of his future exploits; and the event sufficiently declares, that the Norman greatness was founded on his life.<sup>3</sup> Without the appearance of an enemy, a victorious army dispersed or retreated in disorder and consternation; and Alexius, who had trembled for his empire, rejoiced in his deliverance. The galley which transported the remains of Guiscard was shipwrecked on the Italian shore; but the duke's body was recovered from the sea, and deposited in the sepulchre of Venusia;<sup>4</sup> a place more illustrious for the birth of Horace,<sup>5</sup> than for the burial of the Norman heroes. Roger, his second son and successor, immediately sunk to the humble station of a duke of Apulia: the esteem or partiality of his father left the valiant Bohemond to the inheritance of his sword. The national tranquillity was disturbed by his claims, till the first crusade against the infidels of the East opened a more splendid field of glory and conquest.<sup>6</sup>

Of human life, the most glorious  
or humble prospects are alike  
soon bounded by the sepulchre.  
The male line of Robert Guiscard  
was extinguished, both in Apulia and at Antioch, in the second generation; but his younger brother became the father of a line of kings; and the son of the great count was endowed with the name, the conquests, and the spirit, of the first Roger.<sup>17</sup> The heir of that Norman

88. The royalty of Robert, either promised or bestowed by the pope (Ann. alt. p. 52) is sufficiently confirmed by the *Adrian* p. 13 p. 271b.

Romani regni sibi promississe coronam.  
F' p' fe clarior

Nor can I understand why Gretser, and the other papal advocates, should be displeased with the few instances of ignorance and error.

St. See Homer, *Ibid.* P. (I hate this pedantic mode of quotation by the letters of the Greek alphabet, &c.) His reason for the disorderly crowd, their discipline and public works seem to be the turn of a later age (Vergil, *Æneid* 11.)

[illegible][illegible]

(l. 10, p. 167) and Roger de Hoveden (p. 710 in Script post Bedam), and the latter can be taken the just Aexus post med. renewed, and buried also. His female accomplice. The English historian is indeed so found at the rank Robert Guiscard, or Wiscard, among the knights of Henry I., who ascended the throne fifteen years after the duke of Arundel's death.

The popular Arctonomenus enters some 10 works over the grave of monarchy. Alexiad., l. v. p. 172-166 and his best praise is the eternal and envy of Wlad the conqueror, the scourge of his family. Grammatyky's Western barbarism: *necidentium libera beta* quod ut Apulia tot esse et Italia turbitur.

94. Erbs Venusiana interitus decedat sepulchre  
is one of the titles of the *Aphrodite* poem (l. v. p. 278). With it  
of *Madrigals* (l. v. p. 107) inserts an epigraph on friendship, which is  
not without reason.

<sup>93</sup> Yet Horace had few obligations to Verusia: he was carried to Rome in his childhood (Serm. 1.1.1), and his repeated allusions to the doubtful merit of *Alphona* and *Lucretia* (Serm. 1.1.1, Serm. 1.1.1) are unworthy of his age and genius.

97. The reign of Roger, and the Norman kings of Sicily, is a subject which the Italian Cicerone of the twelfth century, *op. cit.* pp. 117-150, and is more than ever the subject of a series of the *Historia Antiqua* of Muratori, pp. 11-12. The *Præsentation* of the *Historia Antiqua* of Muratori, pp. 11-12, is a useful abstract of the *Historia Antiqua* of Muratori, pp. 11-12, which is a history of his country from Roger I. to Frederick II. inclusively.

adventurer was born in Sicily; and, at the age of only four years, he succeeded to the sovereignty of the island, a lot which reason might envy, could she indulge for a moment the visionary, though virtuous, wish of dominion. Had Roger been content with his fruitful patrimony, an happy and grateful people might have blessed their benefactor; and, if a wise administration could have restored the prosperous times of the Greek colonies,<sup>8</sup> the opulence and power of Sicily alone might have equalled the widest scope that could be acquired and desolated by the sword of war. But the ambition of the great count was ignorant of these noble pursuits; it was gratified by the vulgar means of violence and artifice. He sought to obtain the undivided possession of Palermo, of which one moiety had been ceded to the elder branch; struggled to enlarge his Calabrian limits beyond the measure of former treaties; and impatiently watched the declining health of his cousin William of Apulia, the grandson of Robert. On the

Duke of Apulia.

A. D. 1127. first intelligence of his premature death, Roger sailed from Palermo with seven galleys, cast anchor in the Bay of Salerno, received, after ten days' negotiation, an oath of fidelity from the Norman capital, commanded the submission of the barons, and extorted a legal investiture from the reluctant popes, who could not long endure either the friendship or enmity of a powerful vassal. The sacred spot of Benevento was respectfully spared, as the patrimony of St. Peter; but the reduction of Capua and Naples completed the design of his uncle Guiscard; and the sole inheritance of the Norman conquests was possessed by the victorious Roger. A conscious superiority of power and merit prompted him to disdain the titles of duke and of count; and the isle of Sicily, with a third perhaps of the continent of Italy, might form the basis of a kingdom<sup>9</sup> which would only yield to the monarchies of France and England. The chiefs of the nation who attended his coronation at Palermo, might doubtless pronounce under what name he should reign over them; but the example of a Greek tyrant or a Saracen emir were insufficient to justify his regal character; and the nine kings of the Latin world<sup>101</sup> might disclaim their new associate, unless he were consecrated by the authority of the supreme pontiff. The pride of Anacletus was pleased to confer a title, which the pride of the Norman had stooped to solicit;<sup>102</sup> but his own legitimacy

was attacked by the adverse election of Innocent the Second; and while Anacletus sat in the Vatican, the successful fugitive was acknowledged by the nations of Europe. The infant

the tyrant  
Duchy of Sicily.  
101/2  
4750  
The ruins of Agrigento are the theme of every traveller, D'Orcville, *Revue*, *Numismatique*, &c.  
102 Roger conveyed the second person of Lothaire's army, who, soothed, or rather cired, a retreat, for the Germans say, (inimatus, 1 in c. p. 51) are ignorant of the use of trumpets. Most ignorant himself.

103 See De Guignes, *Hist. Générale des Huns*, tom. i. p. 361—373 and *Carlonne*, *Hist. de l'Afrique*, &c. sous la Domination des Arabes. tom. i. p. 70—114. Their common original appears to be Svanar.

104 Tripoli (says the Nubian geographer, or more properly the Sheriff al Edrisi) *urbis fortis, saxo muro vallata, sita prope litus maris. Hanc expugnavit Rogerius, qui multibus captivis ductis, viros peremit.*

monarchy of Roger was shaken, and almost overthrown, by the unlucky choice of an ecclesiastical patron; and the sword of Lothaire the Second of Germany, the excommunications of Innocent, the fleets of Pisa, and the zeal of St. Bernard, were united for the ruin of the Sicilian robber. After a gallant resistance, the Norman prince was driven from the continent of Italy: a new duke of Apulia was invested by the pope and the emperor, each of whom held one end of the *gonfalon*, or flag-staff, as a token that they asserted their right, and suspended their quarrel. But such jealous friendship was of short and precarious duration: the German armies soon vanished in disease and desertion: the Apulian duke, with all his adherents, was exterminated by a conqueror, who seldom forgave either the dead or the living; like his predecessor Leo the Ninth, the feeble though haughty pontiff became the captive and friend of the Normans; and their reconciliation was celebrated by the eloquence of Bernard, who now revered the title and virtues of the king of Sicily.

As a penance for his impious war against the successor of St. Peter, that monarch might have

His conquests in Africa.  
A. D. 1122—1152.

promised to display the banner of the cross, and he accomplished with ardour a vow so propitious to his interest and revenge. The recent injuries of Sicily might provoke a just retaliation on the heads of the Saracens: the Normans, whose blood had been mingled with so many subject streams, were encouraged to remember and emulate the naval trophies of their fathers, and in the maturity of their strength they contended with the decline of an African power. When the Fatimite caliph departed for the conquest of Egypt, he rewarded the real merit and apparent fidelity of his servant Joseph, with a gift of his royal mantle, and forty Arabian horses, his palace, with its sumptuous furniture, and the government of the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers. The Zeirides, the descendants of Joseph, forgot their allegiance and gratitude to a distant benefactor; grasped and abused the fruits of prosperity; and after running the little course of an Oriental dynasty, were now fainting in their own weakness. On the side of the land, they were oppressed by the Almohades, the fanatic princes of Morocco, while the sea-coast was open to the enterprises of the Greeks and Franks, who, before the close of the eleventh century, had extorted a ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. By the first arms of Roger, the island or rock of Malta, which has been since ennobled by a military and religious colony, was inseparably annexed to the crown of Sicily. Tripoli,<sup>104</sup> a strong and

and independent coronation (A. D. 1150, May 1), which Giamone unwillingly rejects (tom. ii. p. 177—111). This fiction is disproved by the silence of contemporaries, nor can it be restored by a spurious charter of Mesina (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. ix. p. 346. Fagn, *Critica*, tom. iv. p. 167, 468).

102 Roger conveyed the second person of Lothaire's army, who, soothed, or rather cired, a retreat, for the Germans say, (inimatus, 1 in c. p. 51) are ignorant of the use of trumpets. Most ignorant himself.

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maritime city, was the next object of his attack; and the slaughter of the males, the captivity of the females, might be justified by the frequent practice of the Moslems themselves. The capital of the Zeirides was named Africa from the country, and Mahadia<sup>105</sup> from the Arabian founder: it is strongly built on a neck of land, but the imperfection of the harbour is not compensated by the fertility of the adjacent plain. Mahadia was besieged by George the Sicilian admiral, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty galleys, amply provided with men and the instruments of mischief: the sovereign had fled, the Moorish governor refused to capitulate, declined the last and irresistible assault, and secretly escaping with the Moslem inhabitants, abandoned the place and its treasures to the rapacious Franks. In successive expeditions, the king of Sicily or his lieutenants reduced the cities of Tunis, Safax, Capsia, Bona, and a long tract of the sea-coast; <sup>106</sup> the fortresses were garrisoned, the country was tributary; and a boast, that it held Africa in subjection, might be inscribed with some flattery on the sword of Roger.<sup>107</sup> After his death, that sword was broken; and these transmarine possessions were neglected, evacuated, or lost, under the troubled reign of his successor.<sup>108</sup> The triumphs of Scipio and Belisarius have proved, that the African continent is neither inaccessible nor invincible; yet the great princes and powers of Christendom have repeatedly failed in their armaments against the Moors, who may still glory in the easy conquest and long servitude of Spain.

His invasion of Greece, A. D. 1146.  
Since the decease of Robert Guiscard, the Normans had relinquished, above sixty years, their hostile designs against the empire of the East. The policy of Roger solicited a public and private union with the Greek princes, whose alliance would dignify his regal character; he demanded in marriage a daughter of the Comnenian family, and the first steps of the treaty seemed to promise a favourable event. But the contemptuous treatment of his ambassadors exasperated the vanity of the new monarch; and the insolence of the Byzantine court was exalted, according to the laws of nations, by the sufferings of a guiltless people.<sup>109</sup> With a fleet of seventy galleys, George the admiral of Sicily appeared before Corfu; and both the island and city were delivered into his hands by the disaffected inhabitants, who had yet to learn that a siege is still more calamitous than a tribute. In this invasion, of some moment in the annals of commerce, the Normans spread themselves by sea, and over the provinces of

Greece; and the venerable age of Athens, Thebes, and Corinth, was violated by rapine and cruelty. Of the wrongs of Athens no memorial remains. The ancient walls, which encompassed, without guarding, the opulence of Thebes, were scaled by the Latin Christians; but their sole use of the Gospel was to sanctify an oath, that the lawful owners had not secreted any relic of their inheritance or industry. On the approach of the Normans the lower town of Corinth was evacuated: the Greeks retired to the citadel, which was seated on a lofty eminence abundantly watered by the classic fountain of Pirene; an impregnable fortress, if the want of courage could be balanced by any advantages of art or nature. As soon as the besiegers had surmounted the labour (their sole labour) of climbing the hill, their general, from the commanding eminence, admired his own victory, and testified his gratitude to Heaven, by tearing from the altar the precious image of Theodore the tutelary saint. The silk weavers of both sexes, whom George transported to Sicily, composed the most valuable part of the spoil; and in comparing the skilful industry of the mechanic with the sloth and cowardice of the soldier, he was heard to exclaim, that the distaff and loom were the only weapons which the Greeks were capable of using. The progress of this naval armament was marked by two conspicuous events, the rescue of the king of France, and the insult of the Byzantine capital. In his return by sea from an unfortunate crusade, Louis the Seventh was intercepted by the Greeks, who basely violated the laws of honour and religion. The fortunate encounter of the Norman fleet delivered the royal captive; and, after a free and honourable entertainment in the court of Sicily, Louis continued his journey to Rome and Paris.<sup>110</sup> In the absence of the emperor, Constantinople and the Hellespont <sup>insults Constantinople.</sup> were left without defence and without the suspicion of danger. The clergy and people, for the soldiers had followed the standard of Manuel, were astonished and dismayed at the hostile appearance of a line of galleys, which boldly cast anchor in the front of the Imperial city. The forces of the Sicilian admiral were inadequate to the siege or assault of an immense and populous metropolis: but George enjoyed the glory of humbling the Greek arrogance, and of marking the path of conquest to the navies of the West. He landed some soldiers to rife the fruits of the royal gardens, and pointed with silver, or most probably with fire, the arrows which he discharged against the palace of the Cæsars.<sup>111</sup>

Georg. Frederici I. l. i. c. 53 in Muratori, Script. tom. vi. p. 668, the Venerian Andrew Dandolo Hist. tom. xii. p. 282, 283, and the Greek writers Cinnamus (l. iii. c. 2-5) and Nicetas (in Manuel. l. iii. c. 1-6).

<sup>110</sup> To this imperfect capture and speedy rescue, I apply the words ἀπολαύω τοῦ ἀνδραγαθίου of Cinnamus, l. iii. c. 19, p. 49. Muratori, on tolerable evidence Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 420, 421, is puzzled at the delicacy of the French, *un homme, unarque, melle, n'ont nite pericula ad regnum proprium revertunt esse*. yet I observe that their advocate, Durandus, is less positive as the commentator on Cinnamus, than as the author of Geneva.

<sup>111</sup> In palatium regium sagittas igneis misit, says Dandolo; but Nicetas, l. iii. c. 8, p. 66, transforms them into *βολὴν ἀνεστρέψαντα ἐν τῷ ἀνακτορίῳ*, and adds, that Manuel styled this insult — *αἱ σφαῖραι*, and γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνεστρέψαντα. These arrows, by the conj. *αἱ*, Vincent or Beauvais, are again transmuted into gold.

<sup>105</sup> See the geography of Leo Africanus (in Ramusio, tom. i. fol. 71 verso, fol. 75, recto), and Shaw's Travels, p. 110, the sixth book of Thuanus, and the sixth of the Abbe de Verot. The possession and defense of the place was offered by Charles V. and wisely declined by the knights of Malta.

<sup>106</sup> Pagan has accurately marked the African conquests of Roger; and the Abbe de Longueville, l. i. 26, 27, A. D. 1118, 1119.

<sup>107</sup> *Norman conquerors* were still discriminated from their Christian and Moslem subjects.

<sup>108</sup> Hugo Falcandus (Hist. Sicula, in Muratori Script. tom. vi. p. 270, 271) describes these losses to the neglect or treachery of the admiral Majo.

<sup>109</sup> The silence of the Sicilian historians, who end too soon or begin too late, must be supplied by Otto of Frisingen, a German, die



The emperor  
Manuel re-  
pulses the  
Germans.  
A. D. 1148, 1149.

This playful outrage of the pirates of Sicily, who had surprised an unguarded moment, Manuel affected to despise, while his martial spirit, and the forces of the empire, were awakened to revenge. The Archipelago and Ionian Sea were covered with his squadrons and those of Venice; but I know not by what favourable allowance of transports, victuallers, and pinnaces, our reason or even our fancy can be reconciled to the stupendous account of fifteen hundred vessels, which is proposed by a Byzantine historian. These operations were directed with prudence and energy: in his homeward voyage George lost nineteen of his galleys, which were separated and taken: after an obstinate defence, Corfu implored the clemency of her lawful sovereign; nor could a ship, a soldier of the Norman prince, be found, unless as a captive, within the limits of the Eastern empire. The prosperity and the health of Roger were already in a declining state: while he listened in his palace of Palermo to the messengers of victory or defeat, the invincible Manuel, the foremost in every assault, was celebrated by the Greeks and Latins as the Alexander or the Hercules of the age.

A prince of such a temper could not be satisfied with having repelled the insolence of a barbarian. It was the right and duty, it might be the interest and glory, of Manuel to restore the ancient majesty of the empire, to recover the provinces of Italy and Sicily, and to chastise this pretended king, the grandson of a Norman vassal.<sup>112</sup> The natives of Calabria were still attached to the Greek language and worship, which had been inexorably proscribed by the Latin clergy: after the loss of her dukes, Apulia was chained as a servile appendage to the crown of Sicily: the founder of the monarchy had ruled by the sword; and his death had abated the fear, without healing the discontent, of his subjects: the feudal government was always pregnant with the seeds of rebellion; and a nephew of Roger himself invited the enemies of his family and nation. The majesty of the purple, and a series of Hungarian and Turkish wars, prevented Manuel from embarking his person in the Italian expedition. To the brave and noble Palæologus, his lieutenant, the Greek monarch intrusted a fleet and army: the siege of Bari was his first exploit; and, in every operation, gold as well as steel was the instrument of victory. Salerno, and some places along the western coast, maintained their fidelity to the Norman king; but he lost in two campaigns the greater part of his continental possessions; and the modest emperor, disdainful all

flattery and falsehood, was content with the reduction of three hundred cities or villages of Apulia and Calabria, whose names and titles were inscribed on all the walls of the palace. The prejudices of the Latins were gratified by a genuine or fictitious donation, under the seal of the German Cæsars;<sup>113</sup> but the successor of Constantine soon renounced this ignominious pretence, claimed the indefeasible dominion of Italy, and professed his design of chasing the barbarians beyond the Alps. By the artful speeches, liberal gifts, and unbounded promises, of their Eastern ally, the free cities were encouraged to persevere in their generous struggle against the despotism of Frederic Barbarossa. the walls of Milan were rebuilt by the contributions of Manuel; and he poured, says the historian, a river of gold into the bosom of Ancona, whose attachment to the Greeks was fortified by the jealous enmity of the Venetians.<sup>114</sup> The situation and trade of Ancona rendered it an important garrison in the heart of Italy: it was twice besieged by the arms of Frederic; the Imperial forces were twice repulsed by the spirit of freedom; that spirit was animated by the ambassador of Constantinople; and the most intrepid patriots, the most faithful servants, were rewarded by the wealth and honours of the Byzantine court.<sup>115</sup> The pride of Manuel disdained and rejected a barbarian colleague; his ambition was excited by the hope of stripping the purple from the German usurpers, and of establishing, in the West, as in the East, his lawful title of sole emperor of the Romans. With this view, he solicited the alliance of the people and the bishop of Rome. Several of the nobles embraced the cause of the Greek monarch; the splendid nuptials of his niece with Odo Frangipani secured the support of that powerful family,<sup>116</sup> and his royal standard or image was entertained with due reverence in the ancient metropolis.<sup>117</sup> During the quarrel between Frederic and Alexander the Third, the pope twice received in the Vatican the ambassadors of Constantinople. They flattered his piety by the long-promised union of the two churches, tempted the avarice of his venal court, and exhorted the Roman pontiff to seize the just provocation, the favourable moment, to humble the savage insolence of the Alemanni, and to acknowledge the true representative of Constantine and Augustus.<sup>118</sup>

But these Italian conquests, this universal reign, soon escaped from the hand of the Greek emperor. His first demands were eluded by the prudence of Alexander the Third, who paused on this deep and momentous revolution; <sup>119</sup> nor could the pope be

Failure of his designs.

second siege that we possess an original narrative, which he has published in his great collection (tom. vi. p. 321-336).

<sup>112</sup> We derive this anecdote from an anonymous chronicle of Fossa Nova, published by Muratori (Script. Ital. tom. vi. p. 871).

<sup>113</sup> The *basilicous stylos* of Constantine (l. i. c. 14 p. 99.) is susceptible of this double sense. A standard is more Latin, an image more Greek.

<sup>114</sup> *Nihilominus quoque petatit, ut quia occasio justa et tempus opportunum et acceptabile se ostendebat, Romanorum coronam imperii a sacro apostolice sibi reddideretur, quoniam non ad Fredericum Alemanni, sed ad suum asserunt pertinere* (Vit. Alexandri III. a Cardinali Arragonensi, in Script. Rerum Ital. tom. vi. p. 478). His words and embassy was accompanied cum immensa multitudine pecuniarum.

<sup>115</sup> *Serius alta et perplexa sunt* (Vit. Alexandri III. p. 460, 461.) says the cautious pope.

<sup>112</sup> For the invasion of Italy, which is almost overlooked by Muratori, see the *private* history of Constantine (l. i. c. 1. l. p. 78.) [101] who introduced a *de novo* narrative by a lofty profession, *τοιοῦτο συνέλαβε, ὅτι, καὶ τὰς ἰταλίας ἐκείνητος χρόνου, ἀπὸ καὶ ταύτης* (p. 102, 103).

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seduced by a personal dispute to renounce the perpetual inheritance of the Latin name. After his reunion with Frederic, he spoke a more peremptory language, confirmed the acts of his predecessors, excommunicated the adherents of Manuel, and pronounced the final separation of the churches, or at least the empires, of Constantinople and Rome.<sup>110</sup> The free cities of Lombardy no longer remembered their foreign benefactor; and without preserving the friendship of Ancona, he soon incurred the enmity of Venice.<sup>121</sup> By his own avarice, or the complaints of his subjects, the Greek emperor was provoked to arrest the persons, and confiscate the effects, of the Venetian merchants. This violation of the public faith exasperated a free and commercial people: one hundred galleys were launched and armed in as many days; they swept the coasts of Dalmatia and Greece; but after some mutual wounds, the war was terminated by an agreement, inglorious to the empire, insufficient for the republic; and a complete vengeance of these and of fresh injuries, was reserved for the succeeding generation. The lieutenant of Manuel had informed his sovereign that he was strong enough to quell any domestic revolt of Apulia and Calabria; but that his forces were inadequate to resist the impending attack of the king of Sicily. His prophecy was soon verified: the death of Palæologus devolved the command on several chiefs, alike eminent in rank, alike defective in military talents; the Greeks were oppressed by land and sea; and a captive remnant that escaped the swords of the Normans and Saracens, abjured all future hostility against the person or dominions of their conqueror.<sup>122</sup> Yet the king of Sicily esteemed the courage and constancy of Manuel, who had landed a second army on the Italian shore: he respectfully addressed the new Justinian; solicited a peace or truce of thirty years; accepted, as a gift, the regal title; and acknowledged himself the military vassal of the Roman empire.<sup>123</sup> The Byzantine

Peace with the  
Normans.  
A. D. 1136.

Cæsars acquiesced in this shadow of dominion, without expecting, perhaps without desiring, the service of a Norman army; and the truce of thirty years was not disturbed by any hostilities between Sicily and Constantinople. About the end of that period the throne of Manuel was usurped by an inhuman tyrant, who had deserved the abhorrence of his country and mankind: the sword of William the Second, the grandson of Roger, was drawn by a fugitive of the Comnenian race; and the subjects of Andronicus might salute the stran-

gers as friends, since they detested their sovereign as the worst of enemies. The Latin historians<sup>124</sup> expatiate on the rapid progress of the four counts who invaded Romania with a fleet and army, and reduced many castles and cities to the obedience of the king of Sicily. The Greeks<sup>125</sup> accuse and magnify the wanton and sacrilegious cruelties that were perpetrated in the sack of Thessalonica, the second city of the empire. The former deplore the fate of those invincible but unsuspecting warriors who were destroyed by the arts of a vanquished foe. The latter applaud, in songs of triumph, the repeated victories of their countrymen on the Sea of Marmora or Propontis, on the banks of the Strymon, and under the walls of Durazzo. A revolution which punished the crimes of Andronicus, had united against the Franks the zeal and courage of the successful insurgents: ten thousand were slain in battle; and Isaac Angelus, the new emperor, might indulge his vanity or vengeance in the treatment of four thousand captives. Such was the event of the last contest between the Greeks and Normans: before the expiration of twenty years, the rival nations were lost or degraded in foreign servitude; and the successors of Constantine did not long survive to insult the fall of the Sicilian monarchy.

The sceptre of Roger successively devolved to his son and grandson: they might be confounded under the name of William; they are strongly discriminated by the epithets of the *bad* and the *good*: but these epithets, which appear to describe the perfection of vice and virtue, cannot strictly be applied to either of the Norman princes. When he was roused to arms by danger and shame, the first William did not degenerate from the valour of his race; but his temper was slothful; his manners were dissolute; his passions headstrong and mischievous; and the monarch is responsible, not only for his personal vices, but for those of Major, the great admiral, who abused the confidence, and conspired against the life, of his benefactor. From the Arabian conquest, Sicily had imbibed a deep tincture of Oriental manners; the despotism, the pomp, and even the harem, of a sultan; and a Christian people was oppressed and insulted by the ascendant of the eunuchs, who openly professed, or secretly cherished, the religion of Mahomet. An eloquent historian of the times<sup>126</sup> has delineated the misfortunes of his country: the ambition and fall of the ungrateful Major; the revolt and

William I.  
the Bad, king  
of Sicily.  
A. D. 1135,  
Feb. 29th.  
A. D. 1166,  
May 7.

<sup>120</sup> Μανὸς ἡγεμονίας Ἀνδρονίκου. Περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀπορίας καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας ἀπορίας καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας ἀπορίας. (A. D. 1136.)

<sup>121</sup> In his sixth book, Comnenus describes the Venetian navy, which Nicolas has not thought worthy of his attention. The Italian accounts, which by no means satisfy our curiosity, are reported by the first Muratori, under the years 1171, &c.

<sup>122</sup> This victory is mentioned by Renaldus de Sideribus Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. vi. p. 308. It is obvious that such a truce to the prince of the king of Sicily, Comnenus (A. D. 1136, p. 302, 303) is a man warmer and more generous than I find him (p. 265, 270). The Greek is fond of deceptions, and the Latin for as an is not fond of William the Bad.

<sup>123</sup> For the justice of William I. see Comnenus (l. iv. c. 13, p. 101, 102), and Nicolas (l. ii. c. 8). It is difficult to affirm, of either these authors, in these flattering portraits

evidence, the poor character of Frederick. The king of Sicily sent his troops contra nequitiam Andronicum. . . . ad nequitiam.

genial emperor, C. P. They were captives to confound . . . decepti capti, p. 101, 102.

<sup>124</sup> The history of Comnenus, which is now reduced to . . . Andronicus. . . . Isaac Angelus, l. c. 11, who has become a popular abbreviation. As he survived the emperor, and the emperor does not flatter him, but the fall of Constantinople, and his personal vices, and the Latin. For the honor of the king, a skill of a few, that flowers great antiquarian, Andronicus at Thessalonica, a relic of the old world.

<sup>125</sup> The History of Sicily, l. c. 10, which properly extends from 1134 to 1166, is written in the sixth volume of Muratori's collection, tom. vi. p. 314, and preceded by an eloquent preface, or epistle, p. 21, 22. De Constantinianis. . . . Eusebius has been saved the pains of Sicily, and, after a just, but immense, platonic, from the rest to the sixth century, from a senator to a monk, I would not strip him of his title. His narrative is rapid and full of interest, and, in the end, and again, his observation. He had a talent to speak in such a manner. I can only repeat the name and the name of the king, his subjects have been lost.

<sup>127</sup> The famous Benedictines (l'Art de vérifier les Dates, p. 202



which the Vatican has so often been praised or arraigned, was on this occasion blind and inactive; and if it were true that Celestine the Third had kicked away the Imperial crown from the head of the prostrate Henry,<sup>17</sup> such an act of impotent pride could serve only to cancel an obligation and provoke an enemy. The Genoese, who enjoyed a beneficial trade and establishment in Sicily, listened to the promise of his boundless gratitude and speedy departure.<sup>18</sup> Their fleet commanded the Straits of Messina, and opened the harbour of Palermo; and the first act of his government was to abolish the privileges, and to seize the property, of these imprudent allies. The last hope of Falcandus was defeated by the discord of the Christians and Mahometans: they fought in the capital; several thousands of the latter were slain; but their surviving brethren fortified the mountains, and disturbed above thirty years the peace of the island. By the policy of Frederic the Second, sixty thousand Saracens were transplanted to Nocera in Apulia. In their wars against the Roman church, the emperor and his son Mainfroy were strengthened and disgraced by the service of the enemies of Christ; and this national colony maintained their religion and manners in the heart of Italy, till they were extirpated, at the end of the thirteenth century, by the zeal and revenge of the house of Anjou.<sup>19</sup> All the calamities which the prophetic orator had deplored, were surpassed by the cruelty and avarice of the German conqueror. He violated the royal sepulchres, and explored the secret treasures of the palace, Palermo, and the whole kingdom: the pearls and jewels, however precious, might be easily removed; but one hundred and sixty horses were laden with the gold and silver of Sicily.<sup>20</sup> The young king, his mother and sisters, and the nobles of both sexes, were separately confined in the fortresses of the Alps; and, on the slightest rumour of rebellion, the captives were deprived of life, of their eyes, or of the hope of posterity. Constantia herself was touched with sympathy for the miseries of her country; and the heiress of the Norman line might struggle to check her despotic husband, and to save the patrimony of her new-born son, of an emperor so famous in the next age under the name of Frederic the Second.

Final extinction of the Normans. A. D. 1201. Ten years after this revolution, the French monarchs annexed to their crown the duchy of Normandy. the sceptre of her ancient dukes had been transmitted, by a grand-daughter of William the Conqueror, to the house of Plantagenet; and the adventurous

Normans, who had raised so many trophies in France, England, and Ireland, in Apulia, Sicily, and the East, were lost, either in victory or servitude, among the vanquished nations.

## CHAP. LVII.

*The Turks of the House of Seljuk. — Their Revolt against Mahmud Conqueror of Hindustan. — Togrul subdues Persia, and protects the Caliphs. — Defeat and Captivity of the Emperor Romanus Diogenes by Alp Arslan. — Power and Magnificence of Malek Shah. — Conquest of Asia Minor and Syria. — State and Oppression of Jerusalem. — Pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre.*

FROM the isle of Sicily, the reader must transport himself beyond the Caspian Sea, to the original seat of the Turks or Turkmans, against whom the first crusade was principally directed.<sup>THE TURKS.</sup> Their Scythian empire of the sixth century was long since dissolved; but the name was still famous among the Greeks and Orientals; and the fragments of the nation, each a powerful and independent people, were scattered over the desert from China to the Oxus and the Danube: the colony of Hungarians was admitted into the republic of Europe, and the thrones of Asia were occupied by slaves and soldiers of Turkish extraction. While Apulia and Sicily were subdued by the Norman lance, a swarm of these Northern shepherds overspread the kingdoms of Persia: their princes of the race of Seljuk erected a splendid and solid empire from Samarcand to the confines of Greece and Egypt; and the Turks have maintained their dominion in Asia Minor, till the victorious crescent has been planted on the dome of St. Sophia.

One of the greatest of the Turkish princes was Mahmood or Mahmud,<sup>1</sup> the Gaznevide, who reigned in the eastern provinces of Persia, one thousand years after the birth of Christ. His father Sebestagi was the slave of the slave of the slave of the commander of the faithful. But in this descent of servitude, the first degree was merely titular, since it was filled by the sovereign of Transoxiana and Chorasán, who still paid a nominal allegiance to the caliph of Bagdad. The second rank was that of a minister of state, a lieutenant of the Samanides,<sup>2</sup> who broke, by his revolt, the bonds of political slavery. But the third step was a state of real and domestic servitude in the

Mahmud, the Gaznevide, A. D. 997–1028.

17. The testimony of an Englishman, of Roger de Hoveden (p. 559), will highly weigh against the silence of German and Italian history (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. x. p. 146). The priests and pilgrims, who returned from Rome, exalted, by every tale, the omnipotence of the holy father.

18. Ego enim in eorum Tentoribus in quere non debui. Caffari, Arabi, Genuenses, in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italianarum*, tom. vi. p. 567, 568.

19. For the Saracens of Sicily and Nocera, see the *Annals* of Muratori (tom. x. p. 149), and A. D. 1223, 1217, G. annone (tom. ii. p. 385), and of the originals, in Muratori's Collection, Richard de St. German (tom. vi. p. 696), Matteo Spinelli de Gualazzo (tom. vi. p. 1064), Nichola de Janina (tom. x. p. 103), and Matteo Villani (tom. i. lib. i. p. 107). The first of these circumstances, that in reducing the Saracens of Nocera, Charles II. of Anjou employed repented artifice than violence.

20. Muratori quotes a passage from Arnold of Tuben (l. iv. c. 20), Repent thesaurus abundanter, et omnium lapidum pretiosorum et gemmarum gloriam, ita ut operaretur 100 somnium, gloriose ad terram

curam redierat. Roger de Hoveden, who mentions the violation of the royal tombs and crosses, computes the spoil of Salerno at 200,000 ounces of gold (p. 716 c). On these occasions, I am almost tempted to exclaim with the learned maid in *La Fontaine*, "Je voudrais bien s'avoir ce qu'il mangent."

I am indebted for his character and history to D'Herbelot (*Bibliothèque Orientale*, *Mahmud*, p. 555, 573). M. de Guignes (*Histoire des Huns*, tom. iii. p. 175, 173, and our countryman Colonel Alexander Burnes (l. i. p. 25, 27). In the two first volumes of his *History of Hindostan*, he styles himself the translator of the Persian *Ferdosta*. But in his old text, it is not easy to distinguish the version and the original.

2. The details of the Samanids continued 12 years, A. D. 974–999, under ten princes. See the same seen and run, in the *Tablet* of M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 304–396). They were followed by the Gaznevids, A. D. 999–1155 (see tom. i. p. 229, 230). His division of nations often disturbs the series of time and place.



press his astonishment and curiosity; and the courteous monarch condescended to explain the motives of this singular behaviour. "I had reason to suspect that none except one of my sons could dare to perpetrate such an outrage; and I extinguished the lights, that my justice might be blind and inexorable. My prayer was a thanksgiving on the discovery of the offender; and so painful was my anxiety, that I had passed three days without food since the first moment of your complaint." II. The sultan of Gazna had declared war against the dynasty of the Bowides, the sovereigns of the western Persia; he was disarmed by an epistle of the sultana mother, and delayed his invasion till the manhood of her son.<sup>8</sup> "During the life of my husband," said the artful regent, "I was ever apprehensive of your ambition: he was a prince and a soldier worthy of your arms. He is now no more: his sceptre has passed to a woman and a child, and you dare not attack their infancy and weakness. How inglorious would be your conquest, how shameful your defeat! and yet the event of war is in the hand of the Almighty." Avarice was the only defect that tarnished the illustrious character of Mahmud; and never has that passion been more richly satiated. The Orientals exceed the measure of credibility in the account of millions of gold and silver, such as the avidity of man has never accumulated; in the magnitude of pearls, diamonds, and rubies, such as have never been produced by the workmanship of nature.<sup>9</sup> Yet the soil of Hindostan is impregnated with precious minerals: her trade, in every age, has attracted the gold and silver of the world; and her virgin spoils were rifled by the first of the Mahomedan conquerors. His behaviour, in the last days of his life, evinces the vanity of these possessions, so laboriously won, so dangerously held, and so inevitably lost. He surveyed the vast and various chambers of the treasury of Gazna; burst into tears; and again closed the doors, without bestowing any portion of the wealth which he could no longer hope to preserve. The following day he reviewed the state of his military force; one hundred thousand foot, fifty-five thousand horse, and thirteen hundred elephants of battle.<sup>10</sup> He again wept the instability of human greatness; and his grief was embittered by the hostile progress of the Turks, whom he had introduced into the heart of his Persian kingdom.

Mothers and  
the young of  
the Turks, or  
Turkians,  
A.D. 1800-1028.

considerable branches extend on either side of the Caspian Sea: the western colony can muster forty thousand soldiers; the eastern, less obvious to the traveller, but more strong and populous, has increased to the number of one hundred thousand families. In the midst of civilised nations, they preserve the manners of the Scythian desert, remove their encampments with the change of seasons, and feed their cattle among the ruins of palaces and temples. Their flocks and herds are their only riches; their tents, either black or white, according to the colour of the banner, are covered with felt, and of a circular form; their winter apparel is a sheepskin; a robe of cloth or cotton their summer garment; the features of the men are harsh and ferocious; the countenance of their women is soft and pleasing. Their wandering life maintains the spirit and exercise of arms; they fight on horseback; and their courage is displayed in frequent contests with each other and with their neighbours. For the licence of pasture they pay a slight tribute to the sovereign of the land; but the domestic jurisdiction is in the hands of the chiefs and elders. The first emigration of the Eastern Turkmans, the most ancient of their race, may be ascribed to the tenth century of the Christian era.<sup>12</sup> In the decline of the caliphs, and the weakness of their lieutenants, the barrier of the Jaxartes was often violated: in each invasion, after the victory or retreat of their countrymen, some wandering tribe, embracing the Mahometan faith, obtained a free encampment in the spacious plains and pleasant climate of Transoxiana and Carizme. The Turkish slaves who aspired to the throne encouraged these emigrations, which recruited their armies, won their subjects and rivals, and protected the frontier against the wilder natives of Turkestan; and this policy was abused by Mahmud the Gaznevide beyond the example of former times. He was admonished of his error by a chief of the race of Seljuk, who dwelt in the territory of Bochara. The sultan had enquired what supply of men he could furnish for military service. "If you send," replied Ismael, "one of these arrows into our camp, fifty thousand of your servants will mount on horseback." "And if that number," continued Mahmud, "should not be sufficient?" "Send this second arrow to the horde of Balik, and you will find fifty thousand more." "But," said the Gaznevide, dissembling his anxiety, "if I should stand in need of the whole force of your kindred tribes?" "Despatch my bow," was the last reply of Ismael, "and as it is circulated around, the summons will be obeyed by two hundred thousand horse." The apprehension of such formidable fellowship induced Mahmud to transport the most

S. D. Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 27. Yet these letters, and the zims, &c. are rarely the language of the heart, or the motives of noble action.

of noble armor. For instance, a ruby of four hundred and fifty marks is bought for 100 or 110 pounds three ounces. The least of the treasure of the French was of seven marks. It varies de 100 or 110 marks, part of the value. It is true, that in the East all colored stones are valued according to the weight, and that I have seen some three larger and more precious than the best of the French, and of the price of 1000, 1200, 1500, 2000, 3000, 4000, 5000, 6000, 7000, 8000, 9000, 10000, 11000, 12000, 13000, 14000, 15000, 16000, 17000, 18000, 19000, 20000, 21000, 22000, 23000, 24000, 25000, 26000, 27000, 28000, 29000, 30000, 31000, 32000, 33000, 34000, 35000, 36000, 37000, 38000, 39000, 40000, 41000, 42000, 43000, 44000, 45000, 46000, 47000, 48000, 49000, 50000, 51000, 52000, 53000, 54000, 55000, 56000, 57000, 58000, 59000, 60000, 61000, 62000, 63000, 64000, 65000, 66000, 67000, 68000, 69000, 70000, 71000, 72000, 73000, 74000, 75000, 76000, 77000, 78000, 79000, 80000, 81000, 82000, 83000, 84000, 85000, 86000, 87000, 88000, 89000, 90000, 91000, 92000, 93000, 94000, 95000, 96000, 97000, 98000, 99000, 100000, 101000, 102000, 103000, 104000, 105000, 106000, 107000, 108000, 109000, 110000, 111000, 112000, 113000, 114000, 115000, 116000, 117000, 118000, 119000, 120000, 121000, 122000, 123000, 124000, 125000, 126000, 127000, 128000, 129000, 130000, 131000, 132000, 133000, 134000, 135000, 136000, 137000, 138000, 139000, 140000, 141000, 142000, 143000, 144000, 145000, 146000, 147000, 148000, 149000, 150000, 151000, 152000, 153000, 154000, 155000, 156000, 157000, 158000, 159000, 160000, 161000, 162000, 163000, 164000, 165000, 166000, 167000, 168000, 169000, 170000, 171000, 172000, 173000, 174000, 175000, 176000, 177000, 178000, 179000, 180000, 181000, 182000, 183000, 184000, 185000, 186000, 187000, 188000, 189000, 190000, 191000, 192000, 193000, 194000, 195000, 196000, 197000, 198000, 199000, 200000, 201000, 202000, 203000, 204000, 205000, 206000, 207000, 208000, 209000, 210000, 211000, 212000, 213000, 214000, 215000, 216000, 217000, 218000, 219000, 220000, 221000, 222000, 223000, 224000, 225000, 226000, 227000, 228000, 229000, 230000, 231000, 232000, 233000, 234000, 235000, 236000, 237000, 238000, 239000, 240000, 241000, 242000, 243000, 244000, 245000, 246000, 247000, 248000, 249000, 250000, 251000, 252000, 253000, 254000, 255000, 256000, 257000, 258000, 259000, 260000, 261000, 262000, 263000, 264000, 265000, 266000, 267000, 268000, 269000, 270000, 271000, 272000, 273000, 274000, 275000, 276000, 277000, 278000, 279000, 280000, 281000, 282000, 283000, 284000, 285000, 286000, 287000, 288000, 289000, 290000, 291000, 292000, 293000, 294000, 295000, 296000, 297000, 298000, 299000, 300000, 301000, 302000, 303000, 304000, 305000, 306000, 307000, 308000, 309000, 310000, 311000, 312000, 313000, 314000, 315000, 316000, 317000, 318000, 319000, 320000, 321000, 322000, 323000, 324000, 325000, 326000, 327000, 328000, 329000, 330000, 331000, 332000, 333000, 334000, 335000, 336000, 337000, 338000, 339000, 340000, 341000, 342000, 343000, 344000, 345000, 346000, 347000, 348000, 349000, 350000, 351000, 352000, 353000, 354000, 355000, 356000, 357000, 358000, 359000, 360000, 361000, 362000, 363000, 364000, 365000, 366000, 367000, 368000, 369000, 370000, 371000, 372000, 373000, 374000, 375000, 376000, 377000, 378000, 379000, 380000, 381000, 382000, 383000, 384000, 385000, 386000, 387000, 388000, 389000, 390000, 391000, 392000, 393000, 394000, 395000, 396000, 397000, 398000, 399000, 400000, 401000, 402000, 403000, 404000, 405000, 406000, 407000, 408000, 409000, 410000, 411000, 412000, 413000, 414000, 415000, 416000, 417000, 418000, 419000, 420000, 421000, 422000, 423000, 424000, 425000, 426000, 427000, 428000, 429000, 430000, 431000, 432000, 433000, 434000, 435000, 436000, 437000, 438000, 439000, 440000, 441000, 442000, 443000, 444000, 445000, 446000, 447000, 448000, 449000, 450000, 451000, 452000, 453000, 454000, 455000, 456000, 457000, 458000, 459000, 460000, 461000, 462000, 463000, 464000, 465000, 466000, 467000, 468000, 469000, 470000, 471000, 472000, 473000, 474000, 475000, 476000, 477000, 478000, 479000, 480000, 481000, 482000, 483000, 484000, 485000, 486000, 487000, 488000, 489000, 490000, 491000, 492000, 493000, 494000, 495000, 496000, 497000, 498000, 499000, 500000, 501000, 502000, 503000, 504000, 505000, 506000, 507000, 508000, 509000, 510000, 51100

these Indian stories, the reader may correct a role on p. 76, or from the reader may correct these stories.

11 See a historical picture of the capital on the title  
 page of *Walt Whitman's Boston* (1961), available at <http://www.boston.gov>  
 per <http://www.boston.gov>, p. 77, 87, and a photograph of the corner of the  
 building at 100 North Street.

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obnoxious tribes into the heart of Chorasán, where they would be separated from their brethren by the river Oxus, and enclosed on all sides by the walls of obedient cities. But the face of the country was an object of temptation rather than terror; and the vigour of government was relaxed by the absence and death of the sultan of Gazna. The shepherds were converted into robbers; the bands of robbers were collected into an army of conquerors: as far as Ispahan and the Tigris, Persia was afflicted by their predatory inroads; and the Turkmans were not ashamed or afraid to measure their courage and numbers with the proudest sovereigns of Asia. Masoud, the son and successor of Mahmud, had too long neglected the advice of his wisest Omrahs. "Your enemies," they repeatedly urged, "were in their origin a swarm of ants; they are now little snakes; and, unless they be instantly crushed, they will acquire the venom and magnitude of serpents." After some alternatives of truce and hostility, after the repulse or partial success of his lieutenants, the sultan marched in person against the Turkmans, who attacked him on all sides with barbarous shouts and irregular onset. "Masoud," says the Persian historian,<sup>13</sup> "plunged singly to oppose the torrent of gleaming arms, exhibiting such acts of gigantic force and valour as never

They defeat the Gaznevites, and subdue Persia. A.D. 1058.

"a king had before displayed. A few of his friends, roused by his words and actions, and that innate honour which inspires the brave, seconded their lord so well, that whosoever he turned his fatal sword, the enemies were mowed down, or retreated before him. But now, when victory seemed to blow on his standard, misfortune was active behind it; for when he looked round, he beheld almost his whole army, excepting that body he commanded in person, devouring the paths of flight." The Gaznevite was abandoned by the cowardice or treachery of some generals of Turkish race; and this memorable day of Zendeen<sup>14</sup> founded in Persia the dynasty of the shepherd kings.<sup>15</sup>

The victorious Turkmans immediately proceeded to the election of a king; and if the probable tale of a Latin historian<sup>16</sup> deserves any credit, they determined by lot the choice of their new master. A number of arrows were successively inscribed with the name of a tribe, a family, and a candidate; they were drawn from the bundle by the hand of a child; and the important prize was obtained by Togrul Beg, the son of Mi-

chael, the son of Seljuk, whose surname was immortalised in the greatness of his posterity. The sultan Mahmud, who valued himself on his skill in national genealogy, professed his ignorance of the family of Seljuk; yet the father of that race appears to have been a chief of power and renown.<sup>17</sup> For a daring intrusion into the harem of his prince, Seljuk was banished from Turkestan: with a numerous tribe of his friends and vassals, he passed the Jaxartes, encamped in the neighbourhood of Samarcand, embraced the religion of Mahomet, and acquired the crown of martyrdom in a war against the infidels. His age, of an hundred and seven years, surpassed the life of his son, and Seljuk adopted the care of his two grandsons, Togrul and Jaafar; the eldest of whom, at the age of forty-five, was invested with the title of sultan, in the royal city of Nishapur.

The blind determination of chance was justified by the virtues of the successful candidate. It would be superfluous to praise the valour of a Turk; and the ambition of Togrul<sup>18</sup> was equal to his valour. By his arms the Gaznevites were expelled from the eastern kingdoms of Persia, and gradually driven to the banks of the Indus, in search of a softer and more wealthy conquest. In the West he annihilated the dynasty of the Bowides; and the sceptre of Irak passed from the Persian to the Turkish nation. The princes who had felt, or who feared, the Seljukian arrows, bowed their heads in the dust; by the conquest of Aderbijan, or Media, he approached the Roman confines; and the shepherd presumed to despatch an ambassador, or herald, to demand the tribute and obedience of the emperor of Constantinople.<sup>19</sup> In his own dominions, Togrul was the father of his soldiers and people; by a firm and equal administration, Persia was relieved from the evils of anarchy; and the same hands which had been imbrued in blood became the guardians of justice and the public peace. The more rustic, perhaps the wisest, portion of the Turkmans<sup>20</sup> continued to dwell in the tents of their ancestors; and, from the Oxus to the Euphrates, these military colonies were protected and propagated by their native princes. But the Turks of the court and city were refined by business and softened by pleasure: they imitated the dress, language, and manners, of Persia; and the royal palaces of Nishapur and Rei displayed the order and magnificence of a great monarchy. The most deserving of the Arabians and Persians were promoted to the

Reign and character of Togrul Beg. A.D. 1058-1063

<sup>13</sup> Dour, Hist. of Hindostan, vol. i. p. 81, 95, 98. I have copied this passage, to confirm in the Persian history, the account of Togrul Beg, by an independent testimony, the story of Ferdowsi has been improved by that of Ousein.

<sup>14</sup> The Zendeen of D'Hérédote (p. 1028) are the Bandak of Dow (vol. ii. p. 57), as printed; the Bandak of Ambeda (topograph. p. 51). But Ambeda is a small town of Chorasán, two days' journey from Masud, and removed through the East for the production and manufacture of cotton.

<sup>15</sup> The Byzantine historians (O. d'Acres, tom. i. p. 764, 767. Zonaras, tom. i. p. 275. Nicephorus Bryennius, &c.) have unforgotten, in the report of the truth of time and place, of names and persons, of times and events. The ignorance and errors of these Greeks (which I shall not stop to narrate) may mislead to some distrust of the story of Cyrus and Cyrus, as it is told by their most eloquent predecessors.

<sup>16</sup> W. Kiepert, Trav. i. c. 7. p. 635. The divination by arrows is ancient and firm in the East.

<sup>17</sup> D'Hérédote, p. 801. Yet after the fortune of his posterity, Seljuk became the thirty-fourth in lineal descent from the great Afrasiab, emperor of Touran (p. 800.). The Tartar pedigree of the house of Zingis

is also adulated as to fiction and fable, and the history in Mirchond derives the Sakaekes from Anahitavah, the virgin mother (p. 801. c. 2.). It thence to the same is the Zende of Ambedak, the Bandak of Ambedak (p. 118.). We quote in their favour the most solid evidence of a Tartar prince, himself the descendant of Zingis, Alukishah, or Alpau, and Ghuz Khan.

<sup>18</sup> By a slight corruption, Togrul Beg is the Tangrol-pix of the Greeks. His reign and character are faithfully exhibited by D'Hérédote (R. d'Herodote Oriental, p. 1027, 1028) and De Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 199-204).

<sup>19</sup> O. d'Acres, tom. i. p. 774, 775. Zonaras, tom. i. p. 277. With their usual knowledge of Orient it is difficult to describe the ambassador as a Turk, who, like the synecdoche of the patriarch, was the vicar and successor of the empire.

<sup>20</sup> From William of Tyre, I have borrowed this distinction of Turks and Turkmans, which at least is popular and convenient. The names are the same, and the addition of *man* is of the same import in the Persian and European idioms. Few critics will adopt the etymology of James de Vitry (Hist. Hierosol. i. c. 11. p. 161.) of Turcomanni, quam Turci et Comani, a mixed people.







who were themselves of the Turkish race;<sup>51</sup> and, above all, the mercenary and adventurous bands of French and Normans. Their lances were commanded by the valiant Uziel of Balioi, the kinsman or father of the Scottish kings,<sup>52</sup> and were allowed to excel in the exercise of arms, or, according to the Greek style, in the practice of the Pyrrhic dance.

On the report of this bold invasion, which threatened his hereditary dominions, Alp Arslan flew to the scene of action at the head of forty thousand horse.<sup>53</sup> His rapid and skilful evolutions distressed and dismayed the superior numbers of the Greeks; and in the defeat of Basilacius, one of their principal generals, he displayed the first example of his valour and clemency. The imprudence of the emperor had separated his forces after the reduction of Malazkerd. It was in vain that he attempted to recal the mercenary Franks: they refused to obey his summons; he disdained to await their return; the desertion of the Uzi filled his mind with anxiety and suspicion; and against the most salutary advice he rushed forwards to speedy and decisive action. Had he listened to the fair proposals of the sultan, Romanus might have secured a retreat, perhaps a peace; but in these overtures he supposed the fear or weakness of the enemy, and his answer was conceived in the tone of insult and defiance. "If the barbarian wishes for peace, let him evacuate the ground which he occupies for the encampment of the Romans, and surrender his city and palace of Rei as a pledge of his sincerity." Alp Arslan smiled at the vanity of the demand, but he wept the death of so many faithful Moslems; and, after a devout prayer, proclaimed a free permission to all who were desirous of retreating from the field. With his own hands he tied up his horse's tail, exchanged his bow and arrows for a mace and cincher, clothed himself in a white garment, perfumed his body with musk, and declared that if he were vanquished, that spot should be the place of his burial.<sup>54</sup> The sultan himself had affected to cast away his missile weapons; but his hopes of victory were placed in the arrows of the Turkish cavalry, whose squadrons were loosely distributed in the form of a crescent. Instead of the successive lines and reserves of the Grecian tactics, Romanus led his army in a single and solid phalanx, and pressed with vigour and impatience the artful and yielding resistance of the barbarians. In this desultory and fruitless combat he wasted the greater part of a summer's day, till prudence and fatigue compelled him to return to his camp. But a retreat is always perilous in the face of an active foe;

and no sooner had the standard been turned to the rear than the phalanx was broken by the base cowardice, or the baser jealousy, of Andronicus, a rival prince, who disgraced his birth and the purple of the Cæsars.<sup>55</sup> The Turkish squadrons poured a cloud of arrows on this moment of confusion and lassitude; and the horns of their formidable crescent were closed in the rear of the Greeks. In the destruction of the army and pillage of the camp, it would be needless to mention the number of the slain or captives. The Byzantine writers deplore the loss of an inestimable pearl: they forget to mention that in this fatal day the Asiatic provinces of Rome were irretrievably sacrificed.

As long as a hope survived, Romanus attempted to rally and save the relics of his army. When the centre, the Imperial station, was left naked on all sides, and encompassed by the victorious Turks, he still, with desperate courage, maintained the fight till the close of day, at the head of the brave and faithful subjects who adhered to his standard. They fell around him; his horse was slain; the emperor was wounded; yet he stood alone and intrepid, till he was oppressed and bound by the strength of multitudes. The glory of this illustrious prize was disputed by a slave and a soldier; a slave who had seen him on the throne of Constantinople, and a soldier whose extreme deformity had been excused on the promise of some signal service. Despoiled of his arms, his jewels, and his purple, Romanus spent a dreary and perilous night on the field of battle, amidst a disorderly crowd of the meaner barbarians. In the morning the royal captive was presented to Alp Arslan, who doubted of his fortune, till the identity of the person was ascertained by the report of his ambassadors, and by the more pathetic evidence of Basilacius, who embraced with tears the feet of his unhappy sovereign. The successor of Constantine, in a plebeian habit, was led into the Turkish divan, and commanded to kiss the ground before the lord of Asia. He reluctantly obeyed; and Alp Arslan, starting from his throne, is said to have planted his foot on the neck of the Roman emperor.<sup>56</sup> But the fact is doubtful; and if, in this moment of insolence, the sultan complied with a national custom, the rest of his conduct has extorted the praise of his bigoted foes, and may afford a lesson to the most civilised ages. He instantly raised the royal captive from the ground; and thrice clasping his hand with tender sympathy, assured him, that his life and dignity should be inviolate in the hands of a prince who had learned to respect the majesty of his equals and the vicissitudes of

<sup>51</sup> The Uzi of the Greeks (Straber, *Memor. Byzant.* tom. iv. p. 105, 106) are the Gog of the Orientals. Hist. de France, tom. vi. p. 12, tom. vii. p. 175, &c. They were the Franks and the Vikings of Armenia, Syria, and Choras, and the name seems to have been extended to the whole Turkoman race.

<sup>52</sup> Uzielus (the Ruschus of Zonaras) is distinguished by Jeffrey Malherbe (l. i. c. 5) among the Norman conquerors of Sicily, and with the surname of Balioi, and his own historians who tell how the Balioi came from Normandy to Durham, that Bernard, lord of the Tower, married an heiress of Scotland, &c. Duhaugue (Not. du Cæsar, Brevenius, l. ii. No. 4) has observed the name of Uziel of the president de Balioi, whose father had exchanged the sword for the gown.

<sup>53</sup> The number (p. 514, 514) assign, this probable number, which is reduced by Alupharasus to 15,000 (p. 227), and by Eutropius (p. 102) to 12,000 horse. But the same Eutropius gives 70,000 (p. 102).

to the emperor, of whom Alp Arslan says, *can canan honurum* (p. 105), to dispute to the Turks the possession of the empire. The rocks at Malazkerd are still called *malazkerd*.

<sup>54</sup> The Byzantine writers of the Turkish empire, in the presence of the sultan, he was bound to kiss the ground, and had retired to a distance, &c. *Byzantine writers of the Turkish empire*.

<sup>55</sup> He was the son of the Cæsar, he was the brother of the emperor Constantine (Duhaugue, l. ii. c. 5). *Byzantine writers of the Turkish empire* (Duhaugue, l. ii. c. 5). Yet he owes his enmity to Romanus, &c. (p. 105, 106). *Byzantine writers of the Turkish empire* (Duhaugue, l. ii. c. 5).

<sup>56</sup> This circumstance, which we read and doubt in Strabo and Constantine Malherbe, is more prudently omitted by Nicetas and Zonaras.



During the life of Alp Arslan, his eldest son had been acknowledged as the future sultan of the Turks. On his father's death, the inheritance was disputed by an uncle, a cousin, and a brother: they drew their cimeters, and assembled their followers; and the triple victory of Malek Shah established his own reputation and the right of primogeniture. In every age, and more especially in Asia, the thirst of power has inspired the same passions, and occasioned the same disorders; but, from the long series of civil war, it would not be easy to extract a sentiment more pure and magnanimous than is contained in a saying of the Turkish prince. On the eve of the battle, he performed his devotions at Thous, before the tomb of the Imam Riza. As the sultan rose from the ground, he asked his vizir Nizam, who had knelt beside him, what had been the object of his secret petition. "That your arms may be crowned with victory," was the prudent and, most probably, the sincere answer of the minister. "For my part," replied the generous Malek, "I implored the Lord of Hosts, that he would take from me my life and crown, if my brother be more worthy than myself to reign over the Moslems." The favourable judgment of Heaven was ratified by the caliph; and for the first time the sacred title of commander of the faithful was communicated to a barbarian. But this barbarian, by his personal merit, and the extent of his empire, was the greatest prince of his age. After the settlement of Persia and Syria, he marched at the head of innumerable armies to achieve the conquest of Turkistan, which had been undertaken by his father. In his passage of the Oxus, the footmen, who had been employed in transporting some troops, complained, that their payment was assigned on the revenues of Antioch. The sultan frowned at this preposterous choice; but he smiled at the artful flattery of his vizir. "It was not to postpone their reward, that I select those remote places, but to leave a memorial to posterity, that, under your reign, Antioch and the Oxus were subject to the same sovereign." But this description of his limits was unjust and parsimonious: beyond the Oxus, he reduced to his obedience the cities of Bactana, Gaznae, and Samarcand, and erected each rebellious slave, or independent savage, who dared to resist. Malek passed the Gihon or Jaxartes, the last boundary of Persian civilization: the borders of Turkistan yielded to his supremacy. His name was inscribed on the coins and in the prayers of Cashghar, a Tartar kingdom on the extreme borders of China. From the Chinese frontier, he stretched his menac'd jurisdiction or feudatory sway to the West and South, as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neigh-

bourhood of Constantinople, the holy city of Jerusalem, and the spicy groves of Arabia Felix. Instead of regarding himself to the luxury of his harem, the shepherd king, both in peace and war, was in action and in the field. By the perpetual motion of the royal camp, each province was successively blessed with his presence; and he is said to have perambulated twelve times the wide extent of his dominions, which surpassed the Asiatic reign of Cyrus and the caliphs. Of these expeditious, the most pious and splendid was the pilgrimage of Mecca: the freedom and safety of the caravans were protected by his arms; the citizens and pilgrims were enriched by the profusion of his alms; and the desert was cheered by the places of relief and refreshment, which he instituted for the use of his brethren. Hunting was the pleasure, and even the passion, of the sultan, and his train consisted of forty-seven thousand horses; but after the mastery of a Turkish chase, for each piece of game, he bestowed a piece of gold on the poor, a slight atonement, at the expense of the people, for the cost and mischief of the amusement of kings. In the peaceful prosperity of his reign, the cities of Asia were adorned with palaces and hospitals, with moschs and colleges; few departed from his divan without reward, and none without justice. The language and literature of Persia revived under the house of Seljuk;<sup>41</sup> and if Malek emulated the liberality of a Turk less potent than himself,<sup>42</sup> his palace might resound with the songs of an hundred poets. The sultan bestowed a more serious and learned care on the reformation of the calendar, which was ordered by a general assembly of the astronomers of the East. By a law of the prophet, the Moslems are confined to the irregular course of the lunar months; in Persia, since the age of Zoroaster, the revolution of the sun has been known and celebrated as an annual festival;<sup>43</sup> but after the fall of the Magian empire, the intercalation had been neglected: the fractions of minutes and hours were multiplied into days; and the date of the spring was removed from the sign of Aries to that of Pisces. The reign of Malek was illustrated by the *Golden Age*; and all errors, either past or future, were corrected by a computation of time, which surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Grecian style.<sup>44</sup>

In a period which Europe was plunged in the deepest barbarism, the splendour of Asia may be ascribed to the vicinity rather than the knowledge of the Turkish conquerors. An ample share of their wisdom and virtue is due to a Persian vizir, who ruled the empire under the reigns of Alp Arslan and his son. Nor is one of the most illustrious ministers of the East, was honoured

41 The Persians, who, in the history of the reign of Malek Shah, p. 224, 225, are called the Seljuks, are the same as the Seljuks, who, in the history of the reign of Alp Arslan, p. 214, 215, are called the Seljuks. The Seljuks, who, in the history of the reign of Alp Arslan, p. 214, 215, are called the Seljuks, are the same as the Seljuks, who, in the history of the reign of Alp Arslan, p. 214, 215, are called the Seljuks.

42 The Seljuks, who, in the history of the reign of Alp Arslan, p. 214, 215, are called the Seljuks, are the same as the Seljuks, who, in the history of the reign of Alp Arslan, p. 214, 215, are called the Seljuks. The Seljuks, who, in the history of the reign of Alp Arslan, p. 214, 215, are called the Seljuks, are the same as the Seljuks, who, in the history of the reign of Alp Arslan, p. 214, 215, are called the Seljuks.

by the caliph as an oracle of religion and science; he was trusted by the sultan as the faithful viceregent of his power and justice. After an administration of thirty years, the fame of the vizir, his wealth, and even his services, were transformed into crimes. He was overthrown by the insidious arts of a woman and a rival; and his fall was hastened by a rash declaration, that his cap and ink-horn, the badges of his office, were connected by the divine decree with the throne and diadem of the sultan. At the age of ninety-three years, the venerable statesman was dismissed by his master, accused by his enemies, and murdered by a fanatic: the last words of Nizam attested his innocence, and the remainder of Malek's life was short and inglorious. From Ispahan, the scene of this disgraceful transaction, the sultan moved to Bagdad, with the design of transplanting the caliph, and of fixing his own residence in the capital of the Moslem world. The feeble successor of Mahomet obtained a respite of ten days; and before the expiration of the term, the barbarian was summoned by the angel of death. His ambassadors at Constantinople had asked in marriage a Roman princess; but the proposal was decently eluded; and the daughter of Alexius, who might herself have been the victim, expresses her abhorrence of this unnatural conjunction.<sup>45</sup> The daughter of the sultan was bestowed on the caliph Moctadi, with the imperious condition, that, renouncing the society of his wives and concubines, he should for ever confine himself to this honourable alliance.

The greatness and unity of the Turkish empire expired in the person of Malek Shah. His vacant throne was disputed by his brother and his four sons; and, after a series of civil wars, the treaty which reconciled the surviving candidates confirmed a lasting separation in the Persian dynasty, the eldest and principal branch of the house of Seljuk. The three younger dynasties were those of *Kerman*, of *Spiri*, and of *Roum*: the first of these commanded an extensive, though obscure,<sup>46</sup> dominion on the shores of the Indian Ocean;<sup>47</sup> the second expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo and Damascus; and the third, our peculiar care, invaded the Roman provinces of Asia Minor. The generous policy of Malek contributed to their elevation: he allowed the princes of his blood, even those whom he had vanquished in the field, to seek new kingdoms worthy of their ambition; nor was he displeased that they should draw away the more ardent spirits, who might have disturbed the tranquillity of his reign. As the supreme head of his family and nation, the great sultan of Persia commanded the obedience

and tribute of his royal brethren: the thrones of Kerman and Nice, of Aleppo and Damascus; the Atabeks, and emirs of Syria and Mesopotamia, erected their standards under the shadow of his sceptre;<sup>48</sup> and the hordes of Tuikmans overspread the plains of the Western Asia. After the death of Malek, the bands of union and subordination were relaxed and finally dissolved: the indulgence of the house of Seljuk invested their slaves with the inheritance of kingdoms; and, in the Oriental style, a crowd of princes arose from the dust of their feet.<sup>50</sup>

A prince of the royal line, Cutilmish, the son of Izrail, the son of Seljuk, had fallen in a battle against Alp Arslan; and the humane victor had dropt a tear over his grave. His five sons, strong in arms, ambitious of power, and eager for revenge, unsheathed their cimeters against the son of Alp Arslan. The two armies expected the signal, when the caliph, forgetful of the majesty which secluded him from vulgar eyes, interposed his venerable mediation. "Instead of shedding the blood of your brethren, your brethren both in descent and faith, unite your forces in an holy war against the Greeks, the enemies of God and his apostle." They listened to his voice; the sultan embraced his rebellious kinsmen; and the eldest, the valiant Soliman, accepted the royal standard, which gave him the free conquest and hereditary command of the provinces of the Roman empire, from Arzeroum to Constantinople, and the unknown regions of the West.<sup>51</sup> Accompanied by his four brothers, he passed the Euphrates; the Turkish camp was soon seated in the neighbourhood of Kutaieh in Phrygia; and his flying cavalry laid waste the country as far as the Hellespont and the Black Sea. Since the decline of the empire, the peninsula of Asia Minor had been exposed to the transient, though destructive, inroads of the Persians and Saracens; but the fruits of a lasting conquest were reserved for the Turkish sultan; and his arms were introduced by the Greeks, who aspired to reign on the ruins of their country. Since the captivity of Romanus, six years the feeble son of Eudocia had trembled under the weight of the Imperial crown, till the provinces of the East and West were lost in the same month by a double rebellion: of either chief Nicephorus was the common name; but the surnames of Bryennius and Botoniates distinguish the European and Asiatic candidates. Their reasons, or rather their promises, were weighed in the divan; and, after some hesitation, Soliman declared himself in favour of Botoniates, opened a free passage to his troops in their march from Antioch to Nice, and joined the banner of the crescent to that of the cross. After his ally had

45. See sneaks of this Persian prince as *sereno* and *pacifice* in *Commena* (A. D. 1092), and when she speaks of his accession, she confounds the sultan with the vizir (Alexius, l. vi. p. 177-178).

46. So obscure, that the industry of M. de Guignes could only copy (tom. i. p. 241) some part p. 269, &c.) the history, or ruler list, of the Selukids of Kerman, in *Belochistan* (Orientalis). They were extinguished before the end of the sixth century.

47. Taxemner, perhaps, the only traveller who has visited Kerman, describes the capital as a great ruinous place, twenty-five miles from Ispahan, and twenty-seven from Shiraz, in the midst of a fertile country (*Voyages en Turquie et en Perse*, p. 107, 110).

48. It appears from Anna Comnena, that the Turks of Asia Minor obeyed the signal and chains of the great sultan (Alexius, l. vi. p. 179), and that the two sons of Soliman were detained in his court (p. 180).

49. This expression is quoted by Petit de la Croix (*Vie de Gengis kan*, p. 161), from a source

50. On the conquest assistance from the naked list of the

51. We must exert some hints from *Schirraz* in vol. 562, Nicephorus Bryennius (p. 88, 91, 92, &c. 103, 104), and Anna Comnena (Alexius, p. 91, 92, &c. 103, &c.).

ascended the throne of Constantinople, the sultan was hospitably entertained in the suburb of Chrysopolis or Scutari; and a body of two thousand Turks was transported into Europe, to whose dexterity and courage the new emperor was indebted for the defeat and captivity of his rival, Bryennius. But the conquest of Europe was dearly purchased by the sacrifice of Asia: Constantinople was deprived of the obedience and revenue of the provinces beyond the Bosphorus and Hellespont; and the regular progress of the Turks, who fortified the passes of the rivers and mountains, left not a hope of their retreat or expulsion. Another candidate implored the aid of the sultan: Melissenus, in his purple robes and red buskins, attended the motions of the Turkish camp; and the desponding cities were tempted by the summons of a Roman prince, who immediately surrendered them into the hands of the barbarians. These acquisitions were confirmed by a treaty of peace with the emperor Alexius: his fear of Robert compelled him to seek the friendship of Soliman; and it was not till after the sultan's death that he extended as far as Nicomedia, about sixty miles from Constantinople, the eastern boundary of the Roman world. Trebizond alone, defended on either side by the sea and mountains, preserved at the extremity of the Euxine the ancient character of a Greek colony, and the future destiny of a Christian empire.

Since the first conquests of the caliphs, the establishment of the Turks in Anatolia or Asia Minor was the most deplorable loss which the church and empire had sustained. By the propagation of the Moslem faith, Soliman deserved the name of *Gazi*, a holy champion; and his new kingdom, of the Romans, or of *Roum*, was added to the tables of Oriental geography. It is described as extending from the Euphrates to Constantinople, from the Black Sea to the confines of Syria; pregnant with mines of silver and iron, of alum and copper, fruitful in corn and wine, and productive of cattle and excellent horses.<sup>22</sup> The wealth of Lydia, the arts of the Greeks, the splendour of the Augustan age, existed only in books and ruins, which were equally obscure in the eyes of the Scythian conquerors. Yet, in the present decay, Anatolia still contains *some* wealthy and populous cities; and, under the Byzantine empire, they were far more flourishing in numbers, size, and opulence. By the choice of the sultan, Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, was preferred for his palace and fortress: the seat of the Selinkian

dynasty of Roum was planted one hundred miles from Constantinople; and the divinity of Christ was denied and derided in the same temple in which it had been pronounced by the first general synod of the Catholics. The unity of God, and the mission of Mahomet, were preached in the moschs; the Arabian learning was taught in the schools; the Cadhis judged according to the law of the Koran; the Turkish manners and language prevailed in the cities; and Turkman camps were scattered over the plains and mountains of Anatolia. On the hard conditions of tribute and servitude, the Greek Christians might enjoy the exercise of their religion; but their most holy churches were profaned; their priests and bishops were insulted;<sup>53</sup> they were compelled to suffer the triumph of the *Pagans*, and the apostasy of their brethren; many thousand children were marked by the knife of circumcision; and many thousand captives were devoted to the service or the pleasures of their masters.<sup>54</sup> After the loss of Asia, Antioch still maintained her primitive allegiance to Christ and Cæsar; but the solitary province was separated from all Roman aid, and surrounded on all sides by the Mahometan powers. The despair of Philaretus the governor prepared the sacrifice of his religion and loyalty, had not his guilt been prevented by his son, who hastened to the Nicene palace, and offered to deliver this valuable prize into the hands of Soliman. The ambitious sultan mounted on horseback, and in twelve nights (for he reposed in the day) performed a march of six hundred miles. Antioch was oppressed by the speed and secrecy of his enterprise; and the dependent cities, as far as Laodicea and the confines of Aleppo, obeyed the example of the metropolis. From Laodicea to the Thracian Paphlagon, or arm of St. George, the conquests and reign of Soliman extended thirty days' journey in length, and in breadth about ten or fifteen, between the rocks of Lycia and the Black Sea.<sup>56</sup> The Turkish ignorance of navigation protected, for a while, the inglorious safety of the emperor; but no sooner had a fleet of two hundred ships been constructed by the hands of the captive Greeks, than Alexius trembled behind the walls of his capital. His plaintive epistles were dispersed over Europe, to excite the compassion of the Latins, and to paint the danger, the weakness, and the riches of the city of Constantine.<sup>57</sup>

But the most interesting conquest of the Seljukian Turks was that of Jerusalem,<sup>58</sup> which soon became the theatre of nations. In their capitulation with Omar, the inhabitants had stipulated

52 Such is the description of Roum by Hæton the Armenian, whose 7<sup>th</sup> century history may be found in the collections of Karaman and Hæton (see *Stavridis, Geographia*, ed. J. V. Gouras, 1911, p. 100).

[illegible]

11 The emperor, or abbot, desire the same of a Turkish camp as it they had been present. *Mares de regere* is a corruption with a multiplex repetition diversorum eorum in textu, etc. is it the true reading? cum eadem assensum carum praecent. nulla de coe-gentur. *Mox eadem passio ad nias, &c.*

<sup>66</sup> W. *Mon. of Tyre* (1889), I, p. 175, gives the most authentic and detailed account of these Turkish accounts.

[illegible]

the assurance of their religion and property; but the articles were interpreted by a master, against whom it was dangerous to dispute; and in the four hundred years of the reign of the caliphs, the political climate of Jerusalem was exposed to the vicissitudes of storms and sunshine.<sup>59</sup> By the increase of proselytes and population, the Mahometans might excuse their usurpation of three fourths of the city: but a peculiar quarter was reserved for the patriarch with his clergy and people; a tribute of two pieces of gold was the price of protection; and the sepulchre of Christ, with the church of the Resurrection, was still left in the hands of his votaries. Of these votaries, the most numerous and respectable portion were strangers to Jerusalem: the pilgrimages to the Holy Land had been stimulated, rather than suppressed, by the conquest of the Arabs; and the enthusiasm which had always prompted these perilous journeys, was nourished by the congenial passions of grief and indignation. A crowd of pilgrims from the East and West continued to visit the holy sepulchre, and the adjacent sanctuaries, more especially at the festival of Easter: and the Greeks and Latins, the Nestorians and Jacobites, the Copts and Abyssinians, the Armenians and Georgians, maintained the chapels, the clergy, and the poor of their respective communions. The harmony of prayer in so many various tongues, the worship of so many nations in the common temple of their religion, might have afforded a spectacle of edification and peace; but the zeal of the Christian sects was embittered by hatred and revenge; and in the kingdom of a suffering Messiah, who had pardoned his enemies, they aspired to command and persecute their spiritual brethren. The pre-eminence was asserted by the spirit and numbers of the Franks; and the greatness of Charlemagne<sup>60</sup> protected both the Latin pilgrims, and the Catholics of the East. The poverty of Carthage, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, was relieved by the gifts of that pious emperor; and many monasteries of Palestine were founded or restored by his liberal devotion. Harun al Rashid, the greatest of the Abbassides, extended to his Christian brother a similar supremacy of genius and power: their friendship was cemented by a frequent intercourse of gifts and caresses; and the caliph, without resting the smallest claim, presented the emperor with the keys of the holy sepulchre, and perhaps of the city of Jerusalem. In the decline of the Caliphate, a monarchy, the republic of Amalphi promoted the interest

of trade and religion in the East. Her vessels transported the Latin pilgrims to the coasts of Egypt and Palestine, and deserved, by their useful imports, the favour and alliance of the Fatimite caliphs: <sup>61</sup> an annual fair was instituted on Mount Calvary; and the Italian merchants founded the convent and hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the cradle of the monastic and military order, which has since reigned in the isles of Rhodes and of Malta. Had the Christian pilgrims been content to revere the tomb of a prophet, the disciples of Mahomet, instead of blaming, would have imitated, their piety: but these rigid Unitarians were scandalized by a worship which represents the birth, death, and resurrection, of a God; the Catholic images were branded with the name of idols; and the Moslems smiled with indignation<sup>62</sup> at the miraculous flame, which was kindled on the eve of Easter in the holy sepulchre.<sup>63</sup> This pious fraud, first devised in the ninth century,<sup>64</sup> was devoutly cherished by the Latin crusaders, and is annually repeated by the clergy of the Greek, Armenian, and Coptic sects,<sup>65</sup> who impose on the credulous spectators<sup>66</sup> for their own benefit, and that of their tyrants. In every age, a principle of toleration has been fortified by a sense of interest; and the revenue of the prince and his emir was increased each year, by the expense and tribute of so many thousand strangers.

The revolution which transferred the sceptre from the Abbassides to the Fatimites was a benefit, rather than an injury, to the Holy Land. A sovereign resident in Egypt was more sensible of the importance of Christian trade; and the emirs of Palestine were less remote from the justice and power of the throne. But the third of these Fatimite caliphs was the famous Hakem,<sup>67</sup> a frantic youth, who was delivered by his impiety and despotism from the fear either of God or man; and whose reign was a wild mixture of vice and folly. Regardless of the most ancient customs of Egypt, he imposed on the women an absolute continence; the men excited the clamours of their wives; their clamours provoked his fury; a pet of voluptuaries was delivered to the flames; and his godless and citizens were engaged many days in a bloody combat. At first the caliph declared himself a Mahomedan, the founder of the sect of the Mahomedan colleges, twelve hundred and ninety copies of the Koran were translated at his expense in letters of gold; and his edict expanded the vineyards of the Upper Egypt. But his vanity was soon flattered by the

Under the Fatimite caliphs.  
A.D. 969-1076.

<sup>59</sup> See the history of the Caliphate, in the preceding modelation, p. 114.

<sup>60</sup> See the history of the Caliphate, in the preceding modelation, p. 114.

<sup>61</sup> See the history of the Caliphate, in the preceding modelation, p. 114.

<sup>62</sup> See the history of the Caliphate, in the preceding modelation, p. 114.

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<sup>67</sup> See the history of the Caliphate, in the preceding modelation, p. 114.





doned to the emir Ortok, the chief of a tribe of Turkinians, whose children, after their expulsion from Palestine, formed two dynasties on the borders of Armenia and Assyria.<sup>75</sup> The Oriental Christians and the Latin pilgrims deplored a revolution, which, instead of the regular government and old alliance of the caliphs, imposed on their necks the iron yoke of the strangers of the North.<sup>76</sup> In his court and camp the great sultan had adopted in some degree the arts and manners of Persia; but the body of the Turkish nation, and more especially the pastoral tribes, still breathed the fierceness of the desert. From Nice to Jerusalem, the western countries of Asia were a scene of foreign and domestic hostility; and the shepherds of Palestine, who held a precarious sway on a doubtful frontier, had neither leisure nor capacity to await the slow profits of commercial and religious freedom. The pilgrims, who, through innumerable perils, had reached the gates of Jerusalem, were the victims of private rapine or public oppression, and often sunk under the pressure of famine and disease, before they were permitted to salute the holy sepulchre. A spirit of native barbarism, or recent zeal, prompted the Turkinians to insult the clergy of every sect: the patriarch was dragged by the hair along the pavement, and cast into a dungeon, to extort a ransom from the sympathy of his flock; and the divine worship in the church of the Resurrection was often disturbed by the savage rudeness of its masters. The pathetic tale excited the millions of the West to march under the standard of the cross to the relief of the Holy Land: and yet how trifling is the sum of these accumulated evils, if compared with the single act of the sacrilege of Hakem, which had been so patiently endured by the Latin Christians! A slighter provocation inflamed the more irascible temper of their descendants: a new spirit had arisen of religious chivalry and papal dominion; a nerve was touched of exquisite feeling; and the sensation vibrated to the heart of Europe.

#### CHAP. LVIII.

*Origin and Numbers of the First Crusade. — Characters of the Latin Princes. — Their March to Constantinople. — Policy of the Greek Emperor Alexius. — Conquest of Nice, Antioch, and Jerusalem, by the Franks. — Deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre. — Goliath of Boudon, First King of Jerusalem. — Institutions of the French or Latin Kingdom.*

THE *crusade* ABOUT twenty years after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, the holy sepulchre was visited by an hermit of the name of Peter, a native of Amiens, in the province of Picardy<sup>1</sup> in France. His resentment and sympathy were

excited by his own injuries and the oppression of the Christian name; he mingled his tears with those of the patriarch, and earnestly enquired, if no hopes of relief could be entertained from the Greek emperors of the East. The patriarch exposed the vices and weakness of the successors of Constantine. "I will rouse," exclaimed the hermit, "the martial nations of Europe in your cause;" and Europe was obedient to the call of the hermit. The astonished patriarch dismissed him with epistles of credit and complaint; and no sooner did he land at Bari, than Peter hastened to kiss the feet of the Roman pontiff. His stature was small, his appearance contemptible; but his eye was keen and lively; and he possessed that vehemence of speech, which seldom fails to impart the persuasion of the soul.<sup>2</sup> He was born of a gentleman's family (for we must now adopt a modern idiom), and his military service was under the neighbouring counts of Boulogne, the heroes of the first crusade. But he soon relinquished the sword and the world; and if it be true, that his wife, however noble, was aged and ugly, he might withdraw, with the less reluctance, from her bed to a convent, and at length to an hermitage. In this austere solitude, his body was emaciated, his fancy was inflamed; whatever he wished, he believed; whatever he believed, he saw in dreams and revelations. From Jerusalem the pilgrim returned an accomplished fanatic; but as he excelled in the popular madness of the times, pope Urban the Second received him as a prophet, applauded his glorious design, promised to support it in a general council, and encouraged him to proclaim the deliverance of the Holy Land. Invigorated by the approbation of the pontiff, his zealous missionary traversed, with speed and success, the provinces of Italy and France. His diet was abstemious, his prayers long and fervent, and the alms which he received with one hand, he distributed with the other: his head was bare, his feet naked, his meagre body was wrapped in a coarse garment; he bore and displayed a weighty crucifix; and the ass on which he rode was sanctified in the public eye, by the service of the man of God. He preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets, and the highways; the hermit entered with equal confidence the palace and the cottage; and the people, for all was people, was impetuously moved by his call to repentance and arms. When he painted the sufferings of the natives and pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; every breast glowed with indignation, when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren, and rescue their Saviour: his ignorance of art and language was compensated by sighs, and tears, and ejaculations; and Peter supplied the deficiency of reason by loud and frequent appeals to Christ and his Mother, to the saints and angels of paradise, with whom he had personally conversed.

<sup>75</sup> De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 219. 272.  
<sup>76</sup> Wotien, *Tyr. l. i. c. 8. p. 651.* who strives hard to magnify the Christian grievances. The Turks exacted no more from each pilgrim. The offer of the Franks is now fourteen dollars and Europe does not complain of this voluntary tax.  
<sup>1</sup> Whomsoever enough is the origin of the name of *Picardy*, and from hence of *Picardie*, which does not date earlier than A. D. 1260. It was an academical joke, an epithet first applied to the quarrelsome



legal assemblies, and whose disregard of their sovereign was revenged by the disobedience of their inferior vassals. At Clermont, in the territories of the count of Auvergne,<sup>13</sup> the pope might brave with impunity the resentment of Philip; and the council which he convened in that city was not less numerous or respectable than the synod of Placentia.<sup>14</sup> Besides his court and council of Roman cardinals, he was supported by thirteen archbishops, and two hundred and twenty-five bishops; the number of mitred prelates was computed at four hundred; and the fathers of the church were blessed by the saints, and enlightened by the doctors of the age. From the adjacent kingdoms, a martial train of lords and knights of power and renown attended the council,<sup>15</sup> in high expectation of its resolves; and such was the ardour of zeal and curiosity, that the city was filled, and many thousands, in the month of November, erected their tents or huts in the open field. A session of eight days produced some useful or edifying canons for the reformation of manners; a severe censure was pronounced against the licence of private war; the will of God<sup>16</sup> was confirmed, a suspension of hostilities during four days of the week; women and priests were placed under the safeguard of the church; and a protection of three years was extended to husbandmen and merchants, the defenceless victims of military rapine. But a law, however venerable be the sanction, cannot suddenly transform the temper of the times; and the benevolent efforts of Urban deserve the less praise, since he laboured to appease some domestic quarrels, that he might spread the flames of war from the Atlantic to the Euphrates. From the synod of Placentia, the rumour of his great design had gone forth among the nations: the clergy on their return had preached in every diocese the merit and glory of the deliverance of the Holy Land; and when the pope ascended a lofty scaffold in the market-place of Clermont, his eloquence was addressed to a well-prepared and impatient audience. His topics were obvious, his exhortation was vehement, his address meretricious. The orator was interrupted by the shout of those and, who, with one voice, and in their native idiom, exclaimed aloud, "God will it, God will it."<sup>17</sup> "It is indeed the will of God," replied the pope; "and let this memorable word, the in-

"spiration surely of the Holy Spirit, be for  
"ever adopted as your cry of battle, to animate  
"the devotion and courage of the champions of  
"Christ. His cross is the symbol of your sal-  
"vation; wear it, a red, a bloody cross, as an  
"external mark, on your breasts or shoulders,  
"as a pledge of your sacred and irrevocable en-  
"gagement." The proposal was joyfully ac-  
"cepted; great numbers, both of the clergy and  
"laity, impressed on their garments the sign of  
"the cross,<sup>18</sup> and solicited the pope to march at  
"their head. This dangerous honour was de-  
"clined by the more prudent successor of Gregory,  
"who alleged the schism of the church, and the  
"duties of his pastoral office, recommending to  
"the faithful, who were disqualified by sex or  
"profession, by age or infirmity, to aid, with their  
"prayers and alms, the personal service of their  
"robust brethren. The name and powers of his  
"legate he devolved on Adhemar bishop of Puy,  
"the first who had received the cross at his hands.  
The foremost of the temporal chiefs was Ray-  
mond count of Thoulouse, whose ambassadors  
in the council excused the absence, and pledged  
the honour of their master. After the confession  
and absolution of their sins, the champions of the  
cross were dismissed with a superfluous admoni-  
tion to invite their countrymen and friends;  
and their departure for the Holy Land was fixed  
to the festival of the Assumption, the fifteenth of  
August, of the ensuing year.<sup>19</sup>

So familiar, and as it were so natu- Justice of  
ral to man, is the practice of violence, the crusades,  
that our indulgence allows the slightest provo-  
cation, the most disputable right, as a sufficient  
ground of national hostility. But the name and  
nature of an *holy war* demands a more rigorous  
scrutiny; nor can we hastily believe, that the  
servants of the Prince of Peace would unheath  
the sword of destruction, unless the motive were  
pure, the quarrel legitimate, and the necessity  
inevitable. The policy of an action may be de-  
termined from the tardy lessons of experience;  
but, before we act, our conscience should be  
satisfied of the justice and propriety of our en-  
terprise. In the age of the crusades, the Chris-  
tians, both of the East and West, were persuaded  
of their lawfulness and merit; their arguments  
are clothed by the perpetual abuse of Scripture  
and rhetoric; but they seem to insist on the  
right of natural and religious defence, their pe-

the same, and to the same effect. See B. l. v. c. 1. No. 11. p. 10. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history.

13. See the account of the council of Clermont, in the same work, B. l. v. c. 1. No. 11. p. 10. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history.

14. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history.

15. Most commonly on their shoulders, in a girdle of silk, or cloth,

16. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history.

17. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history.

18. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history. The same is also the case in the other parts of the history.

ceder title to the Holy Land, and the impurity in their Pagan and Mahometan fides. I. The right of a just defence may fairly include our civil and spiritual allies: it depends on the existence of danger: and that danger must be estimated by the twofold consideration of the malice, and the power, of our enemies. A perfidious tenet has been imputed to the Mahometans, the duty of *exterminating* all other religions by the sword. This charge of ignorance and bigotry is refuted by the Koran, by the history of the Musliman conquerors, and by their public and legal toleration of the Christian worship. But it cannot be denied, that the Oriental churches are depressed under their iron yoke; that, in peace and war, they assert a divine and indefeasible claim of universal empire; and that, in their orthodox creed, the unbelieving nations are continually threatened with the loss of religion or liberty. In the eleventh century, the victorious arms of the Turks presented a real and urgent apprehension of these losses. They had subdued, in less than thirty years, the kingdoms of Asia, as far as Jerusalem and the Hellespont; and the Greek empire tottered on the verge of destruction. Besides an honest sympathy for their brethren, the Latins had a right and interest in the support of Constantinople, the most important barrier of the West; and the privilege of defence must reach to prevent, as well as to repel, an impending assault. But this salutary purpose might have been accomplished by a moderate succour; and our calmer reason must disclaim the innumerable hosts and remote operations, which overwhelmed Asia and depopulated Europe. II. But we could add nothing to the strength or safety of the Latins; and fanaticism could pretend to justify the conquest of that distant and narrow province. The Christians affirmed that their inalienable title to the promised land had been sealed by the blood of their divine Saviour: it was their right and duty to rescue their inheritance from the unjust possessors, who profaned his sepulchre, and oppressed the pilgrimage of his disciples. Vainly would it be alleged that the pre-eminence of Jerusalem, and the sanctity of Palestine, have been abolished with the Mosaic law; that the God of the Christians is not a local deity, and that the recovery of Bethlem or Calvary, his cradle or his tomb, will not atone for the violation of the moral precepts of the Gospel. Such arguments glance aside from the laden shield of superstition; and the religious mind will not easily relinquish its hold on the sacred ground of mystery and miracle. III. But the holy wars which have been waged in every climate of the globe, from Egypt to Livonia, and from Peru to Hindostan, require the support of a more general and flexible tenet. It has been often supposed, and sometimes affirmed, that a

difference of religion is a worthy cause of hostility; that obstinate unbelievers may be slain or subdued by the champions of the cross; and that grace is the sole fountain of dominion as well as of mercy. Above four hundred years before the first crusade, the eastern and western provinces of the Roman empire had been acquired about the same time, and in the same manner, by the labours of Germany and Ardia. Time and treaties had legitimated the conquest of the *Christian Franks*; but in the eyes of their subjects and neighbours, the Mahometan princes were still tyrants and usurpers, who, by the arms of war or rebellion, might be lawfully driven from their unlawful possessions.<sup>21</sup>

As the manners of the Christians were relaxed, their discipline of penance <sup>So great in cases, and in the gestures,</sup> was enforced; and with the multiplication of sins, the remedies were multiplied. In the primitive church, a voluntary and open confession prepared the work of atonement. In the middle ages, the bishops and priests interrogated the criminal; compelled him to account for his thoughts, words, and actions; and prescribed the terms of his reconciliation with God. But as this discretionary power might alternately be abused by indulgence and tyranny, a rule of discipline was framed, to inform and regulate the spiritual judges. This mode of legislation was invented by the Greeks; their *penitentials* <sup>penitentials</sup> were translated, or imitated, in the Latin church; and, in the time of Charlemagne, the clergy of every diocese were provided with a code, which they prudently concealed from the knowledge of the vulgar. In this dangerous estate of crimes and punishments, each case was supposed, each difference was remarked, by the experience or perception of the monks; some sins are enumerated which innocence could not have suspected, and others which reason cannot believe; and the more ordinary offences of fornication and adultery, of perjury and sacrilege, of rapine and murder, were expiated by a penance, which, according to the various circumstances, was prolonged from forty days to seven years. During this term of mortification, the patient was healed, the criminal was absolved by a salutary regimen of fasts and prayers: the disorder of his dress was expressive of grief and remorse; and he humbly abstained from all the business and pleasure of social life. But the rigid execution of these laws would have depopulated the palace, the camp, and the city; the barbarians of the West believed and trembled; but nature often rebelled against principle; and the magistrate laboured without effect to enforce the jurisdiction of the priest. A literal accomplishment of penance was indeed impracticable; the guilt of adultery was multiplied by daily repetition; that of homicide might involve the massacre of a whole people; each act was

20) If the reader wants to go to the first volume of the first part of *It's*, the Fourth, he will see in the text of Shikpele the matter which is full of enthusiasm and in the pages of Luchinskaia, the wariness of the legend, though it is more, more gradually on every page to hate and to hate those who are from the end.

22 The passage, too, leaves, &c. of the middle ages are amply discussed by Maitland (antiquaries). *Engl. Media Ages*, etc.

one has  $p = 70.9 - 70.83 = 0.07$  MeV, as the energy difference between the two states. The energy difference is  $0.07 \times 1.6 \times 10^{-13} = 1.12 \times 10^{-14}$  J. Hence, the difference in energy between the two states is  $1.12 \times 10^{-14}$  J, exactly the same as the energy of the photon. It was a little surprising to see that

[illegible]

separately numbered; and, in those times of anarchy and vice, a modest sinner might easily incur a debt of three hundred years. His insolvency was relieved by a commutation, or *indulgence*: a year of penance was appreciated at twenty-six *solidi*<sup>24</sup> of silver, about four pounds sterling, for the rich: at three *solidi*, or nine shillings, for the indigent: and these alms were soon appropriated to the use of the church, which derived, from the redemption of sins, an inexhaustible source of opulence and dominion. A debt of three hundred years, or twelve hundred pounds, was enough to impoverish a plentiful fortune; the scarcity of gold and silver was supplied by the alienation of land; and the princely donations of Pepin and Charlemagne are expressly given for the *remedy* of their soul. It is a maxim of the civil law, that whosoever cannot pay with his purse, must pay with his body; and the practice of flagellation was adopted by the monks, a cheap, though painful, equivalent. By a fantastic arithmetic, a year of penance was taxed at three thousand lashes;<sup>25</sup> and such was the skill and patience of a famous hermit, St. Dominic of the Iron Cuirass,<sup>26</sup> that in six days he could discharge an entire century, by a whipping of three hundred thousand stripes. His example was followed by many penitents of both sexes; and, as a vicarious sacrifice was accepted, a sturdy disciplinarian might expiate on his own back the sins of his benefactors.<sup>27</sup> These compensations of the purse and the person introduced, in the eleventh century, a more honourable mode of satisfaction. The merit of military service against the Saracens of Africa and Spain had been allowed by the predecessors of Urban the Second. In the council of Clermont, that pope proclaimed a *plenary indulgence* to those who should enlist under the banner of the cross; the absolution of *all* their sins, and a full receipt for *all* that might be due of canonical penance.<sup>28</sup> The cold philosophy of modern times is incapable of feeling the impression that was made on a sinful and fanatic world. At the voice of their pastor, the robber, the incendiary, the homicide, arose by thousands to redeem their souls, by repeating on the infidels the same deeds which they had exercised against their Christian brethren; and the terms of atonement were eagerly embraced by offenders of every rank and denomination. None were pure; none were exempt from the guilt and penalty of sin; and those who were the least amenable to the justice of God and the church, were the best entitled to the temporal and eternal recompence of their pious courage. If they fill, the spirit of the Latin clergy did not hesitate to adorn their tomb with the crown of martyrdom;<sup>29</sup> and should they survive, they could expect without impatience the delay and increase of their heavenly

reward. They offered their blood to the Son of God, who had laid down his life for their salvation: they took up the cross, and entered with confidence into the way of the Lord. His providence would watch over their safety; perhaps his visible and miraculous power would smooth the difficulties of their holy enterprise. The cloud and pillar of Jehovah had marched before the Israelites into the promised land. Might not the Christians more reasonably hope that the rivers would open for their passage; that the walls of the strongest cities would fall at the sound of their trumpets; and that the sun would be arrested in his mid-career, to allow them time for the destruction of the infidels?

Of the chiefs and soldiers who <sup>Temporal and carnal motives.</sup> marched to the holy sepulchre, I will dare to affirm, that *all* were prompted by the spirit of enthusiasm; the belief of merit, the hope of reward, and the assurance of divine aid. But I am equally persuaded, that in *many* it was not the sole, that in *some* it was not the leading, principle of action. The use and abuse of religion are feeble to stem, they are strong and irresistible to impel, the stream of national manners. Against the private wars of the barbarians, their bloody tournaments, licentious loves, and judicial duels, the popes and synods might ineffectually thunder. It is a more easy task to provoke the metaphysical disputes of the Greeks, to drive into the cloister the victims of anarchy or despotism, to sanctify the patience of slaves and cowards, or to assume the merit of the humanity and benevolence of modern Christians. War and exercise were the reigning passions of the Franks or Latins; they were enjoined, as a penance, to gratify those passions, to visit distant lands, and to draw their swords against the nations of the East. Their victory, or even their attempt, would immortalise the names of the intrepid heroes of the cross; and the purest piety could not be insensible to the most splendid prospect of military glory. In the petty quarrels of Europe, they shed the blood of their friends and countrymen, for the acquisition perhaps of a castle or a village. They could march with alacrity against the distant and hostile nations who were devoted to their arms; their fancy already grasped the golden sceptres of Asia; and the conquest of Apulia and Sicily by the Normans might exalt to royalty the hopes of the most private adventurer. Christendom, in her rudest state, must have yielded to the climate and cultivation of the Mahometan countries; and their natural and artificial wealth had been magnified by the tales of pilgrims, and the gifts of an imperfect commerce. The vulgar, both the great and small, were taught to believe every wonder, of lands flowing with milk and honey, of mines and treasures, of gold and diamonds,

<sup>24</sup> Till the sixth century, we may suppose the clear account of *ten denarii*, or pence, to the *solidus*, or shilling; and *xx solidi* to the pound weight of silver, about ten pound sterling. Our money is diminished to a third, and the French to a fifth, of this primitive standard.

<sup>25</sup> Each century of lashes was sanctified with the recital of a psalm; and the whole latter, with the accomplishment of 15400 stripes, was equivalent to five years.

<sup>26</sup> The Life and Achievements of St. Dominic Loricatus was composed by his friend and admirer, Peter Damiani. See *Florus*, Hist. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 365-369. Bignon, A. D. 1054. See F., who derives from *Parianus*, how it is to be, even among laches, of quality (*sublimis generis*), this expiation (*pari, non generis*) was given.

<sup>27</sup> At a quarter, or even half a rial a lash, Sancho Panza was a cheeper, and possibly not a more dishonest, workman. I remember in 1781 to have seen a man who had been whipped 16-20 a very lively picture of

<sup>28</sup> *Omni* horis vel pœnæ ademptis, si enim penitentia repente. *Canon*, Council of Clermont, c. p. 526. *Indulgent* styles it novum salutis genus (p. 413), and is almost the only one of the subject.

<sup>29</sup> Such at least was the belief of the crusaders, and such is the uniform style of the historians. E-spirit the Crusades, tom. i. p. 47. But the prayer for the repose of their souls is inconsistent in orthodox dialogue, with the merits of martyrdom.

of palaces of marble and jasper, and of odiferous groves of cinnamon and frankincense. In this earthly paradise, each warrior depended on his sword to carve a plenteous and honourable establishment, which he measured only by the extent of his wishes.<sup>30</sup> Their vassals and soldiers trusted their fortunes to God and their master: the spoils of a Turkish emir might enrich the meanest follower of the camp; and the flavour of the wines, the beauty of the Grecian women,<sup>31</sup> were temptations more adapted to the nature, than to the profession, of the champions of the cross. The love of freedom was a powerful incitement to the multitudes who were oppressed by feudal or ecclesiastical tyranny. Under this holy sign, the peasants and burghers, who were attached to the servitude of the glebe, might escape from an haughty lord, and transplant themselves and their families to a land of liberty. The monk might release himself from the discipline of his convent; the debtor might suspend the accumulation of usury, and the pursuit of his creditors; and outlaws and malefactors of every cast might continue to brave the laws and elude the punishment of their crimes.<sup>32</sup>

**Influence of example.**

These motives were potent and numerous: when we have singly

computed their weight on the mind of each individual, we must add the infinite series, the multiplying powers of example and fashion. The first proselytes became the warmest and most effectual missionaries of the cross; among their friends and countrymen they preached the duty, the merit, and the recompence, of their holy vow; and the most reluctant hearers were insensibly drawn within the whirlpool of persuasion and authority. The martial youths were fired by the reproach or suspicion of cowardice; the opportunity of visiting with an army the sepulchre of Christ, was embraced by the old and infirm, by women and children, who consulted rather their zeal than their strength; and those who in the evening had derided the folly of their companions, were the most eager, the ensuing day, to tread in their foot-steps. The ignorance, which magnified the hopes, diminished the perils, of the enterprise. Since the Turkish conquest, the paths of pilgrimage were obliterated; the chiefs themselves had an imperfect notion of the length of the way and the state of their enemies; and such was the stupidity of the people, that, at the sight of the first city or castle beyond the limits of their knowledge, they were ready to ask whether that was not the Jerusalem, the term and object of their labours. Yet the more prudent of the crusaders, who were not sure that they should be fed from heaven with a shower of quails or manna, provided themselves with those precious metals, which, in every country, are the representatives of every com-

modity. To defray, according to their rank, the expenses of the road, princes alienated their provinces, nobles their lands and castles, peasants their cattle and the instruments of husbandry. The value of property was depreciated by the eager competition of multitudes; while the price of arms and horses was raised to an exorbitant height by the wants and impatience of the buyers.<sup>3)</sup> Those who remained at home, with sense and money, were enriched by the epidemical disease: the sovereigns acquired at a cheap rate the domains of their vassals; and the ecclesiastical purchasers completed the payment by the assurance of their prayers. The cross, which was commonly sewed on the garment, in cloth or silk, was inscribed by some zealots on their skin: an hot iron, or indelible liquor, was applied to perpetuate the mark; and a crafty monk, who showed the miraculous impression on his breast, was repaid with the popular veneration and the richest benefices of Palestine.<sup>34</sup>

The fifteenth of August had been fixed in the council of Clermont for the departure of the pilgrims ; but the day was anticipated by the thoughtless and needy crowd of plebeians ; and I shall briefly despatch the calamities which they inflicted and suffered, before I enter on the more serious and successful enterprise of the chiefs. Early in the spring, from the confines of France and Lorraine, above sixty thousand of the populace of both sexes flocked round the first missionary of the crusade, and pressed him with clamorous importunity to lead them to the holy sepulchre. The hermit, assuming the character, without the talents or authority, of a general, impelled or obeyed the forward impulse of his votaries along the banks of the Rhine and Danube. Their wants and numbers soon compelled them to separate, and his lieutenant, Walter the Peeniless, a valiant, though needy, soldier, conducted a vanguard of pilgrims, whose condition may be determined from the proportion of eight horsemen to fifteen thousand foot. The example and footsteps of Peter were closely pursued by another fanatic, the monk Godescalc, whose sermons had swept away fifteen or twenty thousand peasants from the villages of Germany. Their rear was again pressed by an herd of two hundred thousand, the most stupid and savage refuse of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal licence of rapine, prostitution, and drunkenness. Some counts and gentlemen, at the head of three thousand horse, attended the motions of the multitude to partake in the spoil ; but their genuine leaders (may we credit such folly ?) were a goose and a goat, who were carried in the front, and to whom these worthy Christians ascribed an infusion of the divine spirit.<sup>32</sup> Of these, and of other bands of en-

Departure of  
the first cru-  
saders.  
A. D. 1096,  
March, May,  
&c.

<sup>30</sup> The same hopes were displayed in the letters of the adventurers *ad animandos qui in Francia residerant*. Hugh de Rostes<sup>31</sup> could boast, that his share amounted to one abbey and ten castles, of the yearly value of 1500 marks, and that he should acquire an hundred castles in the space of thirty years, if he lived long enough.

51 In his genuine or fictitious letter to the count of Flanders, Alexius mingles with the dagger of the church, and the robes of saints, the auri et argenti amor, and pulcherrimum fornicarium voluptas (p. 176.), as it says the indignant Gilbert, the Greek women were handsomer than those of Europe.

33 Gumbert, tom. ii. p. 651, 652.

He was one of the few contemporaries who had genius enough to feel the astonishing scenes that were passing before their eyes. *Exat itaque*

...towards, &c.  
given in the *Esprit des*  
whom I have not seen.  
a general, intimate acquaintance  
popular state of opinion, however, as to the general disposition of  
resistant to change, and especially to any measure of extension of the  
the direct, would be to keep it as it is. As the *Esprit des* has  
P. L'Esprit. Has there been any further in our knowledge of the  
understand it, as it is, at the same time, that the whole of the  
the people, the church, the world have passed over with some questions and  
subtle and story.



whom he was descended in the female line. His father was of the noble race of the counts of Boulogne: Brabant, the lower province of Lorraine,<sup>43</sup> was the inheritance of his mother; and by the emperor's bounty, he was himself invested with that ducal title, which has been improperly transferred to his lordship of Bouillon in the Ardennes.<sup>44</sup> In the service of Henry the Fourth, he bore the great standard of the empire, and pierced with his lance the breast of Rodolph, the rebel king: Godfrey was the first who ascended the walls of Rome; and his sickness, his vow, perhaps his remorse for bearing arms against the pope, confirmed an early resolution of visiting the holy sepulchre, not as a pilgrim, but a deliverer. His valour was matured by prudence and moderation; his piety, though blind, was sincere; and in the tumult of a camp, he practised the real and fictitious virtues of a convent. Superior to the private factions of the chief, he reserved his enmity for the enemies of Christ; and though he gained a kingdom by the attempt, his pure and disinterested zeal was acknowledged by his rivals. Godfrey of Bouillon<sup>45</sup> was accompanied by his two brothers, by Eustace the elder, who had succeeded to the county of Boulogne, and by the younger, Baldwin, a character of more ambiguous virtue. The duke of Lorraine was alike celebrated on either side of the Rhine: from his birth and education, he was equally conversant with the French and Teutonic languages: the barons of France, Germany, and Lorraine, assembled their vassals; and the confederate force that marched under his banner was composed of fourscore thousand foot and about ten thousand horse.

II. In the parliament that was held at Paris, in the king's presence, about two months after the council of Clermont, Hugh, count of Vermandois, was the most conspicuous of the princes who assumed the cross. But the appellation of the Great was applied, not so much to his merit or possessions (though neither were contemptible), as to the royal birth of the brother of the king of France.<sup>46</sup> Robert, duke of Normandy, was the eldest son of William the Conqueror; but on his father's death he was deprived of the kingdom of England, by his own indolence and the activity of his brother Rufus. The birth of Robert was degraded by an excessive levity and easiness of temper: his cheerfulness seduced him to the indulgence of pleasure; his profuse liberality impoverished the prince and people; his indiscriminate clemency multiplied the number of offenders; and the amiable qualities of a private man became the essential defects of a sovereign. For the trifling sum of ten thousand marks, he mortgaged Normandy during his absence to the English usurper;<sup>47</sup> but his engagement and behaviour in the holy war, announced in Robert a reformation of manners, and restored him in some degree to the public esteem. Another Robert was count of Flanders, a royal province, which, in this century, gave three queens to the thrones of France, England, and Denmark: he was surnamed the Sword and Lance of the Christians; but in the exploits of a soldier, he sometimes forgot the duties of a general. Stephen, count of Chartres, of Blois, and of Troyes, was one of the richest princes of the age; and the number of his

II. Hugh of Vermandois, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Stephen of Chartres, &c.

<sup>43</sup> The fragments of the kingdoms of Lotharinga, or Lorraine, were broken into the two duchies of the Moselle and of the Rhine: the first has preserved its name, which in the latter it has been changed into that of Brabant (Vales Not. vol. p. 287—288).  
<sup>44</sup> See, by the Abbe de Beaumont, 54. *Beaumont*, part. i. p. 17, 18.  
<sup>45</sup> Godfrey sold or pawned Bouillon to the king (Necker, *Administration des Finances*, tom. i. p. 257).

<sup>46</sup> Anna Cornuena supposes, that Hugh was proud of his nobility, riches, and power (N. A. p. 288). The two last articles appear more equivocal; but an *et cetera*, which is seven hundred years now for us in the palace of Constantinople, attests the ancient dignity of the Capetian branch of France.  
<sup>47</sup> Wolf Gometzschius, *l. vi. c. 7. p. 672, 673* in Camden. Normandy. He pawned the duchy for one hundredth part of the present yearly revenue. Ten thousand marks may be equal to five hundred thousand livres, and Normandy annually yields fifty-seven million to the king (Necker, *Administration des Finances*, tom. i. p. 257).

\* To save time and space, I shall represent, in a short table, the particular references to the great events of the first crusade.

	The Crowd.	The Chiefs.	The Road to Constantinople.	Alexius.	Nice and Asia Minor.	Edessa.	Antioch.	The Battle.	The Holy Lance.	Conquest of Jerusalem.
I. Gesta Francorum	p. 1, 2.	p. 2.	p. 2, 3.	p. 4, 5.	p. 5-7.	—	p. 9-15.	p. 15-22.	p. 18-20.	p. 26-29.
II. Robertus Monachus	p. 33, 34.	p. 35, 36.	p. 36, 37.	p. 37, 38.	p. 39-45.	—	p. 45-55.	p. 56-66.	p. 61, 62.	p. 74-81.
III. Baldricus	p. 89.	—	p. 91-95.	p. 91-94.	p. 91-101.	—	p. 101-111.	p. 111-122.	p. 116-119.	p. 120-128.
IV. Raimundus de Agiles	—	—	p. 139, 140.	p. 140, 141.	p. 142.	—	p. 142-149.	p. 149-155.	p. 150, 152, 156.	p. 175-185.
V. Albertus Aqueensis	l. i. c. 7-31.	—	l. ii. c. 1-5.	l. iii. c. 9-19.	l. iv. c. 20-43.	l. v. c. 5-59.	l. vi. c. 53.	l. vii. c. 7-56.	l. viii. c. 43.	l. ix. c. 4, 46.
VI. Fulcherius Carnotensis	p. 351.	—	p. 355, 386.	p. 386.	p. 387-399.	p. 389, 390.	p. 390-392.	p. 392-397.	p. 392.	p. 396-400.
VII. Guibertus	p. 482, 485.	—	p. 485, 489.	p. 485-490.	p. 491-497.	p. 496, 497.	p. 495, 506, 512.	p. 512-523.	p. 520, 530.	p. 523-537.
VIII. Willelmus Tyrensis	l. i. c. 18-30.	l. i. c. 17.	l. ii. c. 1-4.	l. iii. c. 5-25.	l. iv. c. 1-12.	l. v. c. 1-6.	l. vi. c. 1-23.	l. vii. c. 1-23.	l. viii. c. 14.	l. ix. c. 1-25.
IX. Radulphus Cadomensis	—	c. 1-3, 15.	c. 4-7, 17.	c. 9-17, 19, 19.	c. 11-16, 21-27.	c. 45-71.	c. 72-91.	c. 160-160.	c. 111-138.	—
X. Bernardus Thesaurarius	c. 7-11.	—	c. 11-20.	c. 11-20.	c. 21-25.	c. 26.	c. 27-38.	c. 39-52.	c. 45.	c. 54-77.



castles has been compared to the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year. His mind was improved by literature; and in the council of the chiefs, the eloquent Stephen<sup>48</sup> was chosen to discharge the office of their president. These four were the principal leaders of the French, the Normans, and the pilgrims of the British isles: but the list of the barons who were possessed of three or four towns, would exceed, says a contemporary, the catalogue of the Trojan

III. Raymond, the command was assumed by Adhemar, bishop of Puy, the pope's legate, and by Raymond, count of St. Giles and Thoulouse, who added the prouder titles of duke of Narbonne and marquis of Provence. The former was a respectable prelate, alike qualified for this world and the next. The latter was a veteran warrior, who had fought against the Saracens of Spain, and who consecrated his declining age, not only to the deliverance, but to the perpetual service, of the holy sepulchre. His experience and riches gave him a strong ascendancy in the Christian camp, whose distress he was often able, and sometimes willing, to relieve. But it was easier for him to extort the praise of the infidels, than to preserve the love of his subjects and associates. His eminent qualities were clouded by a temper, haughty, envious, and obstinate; and, though he resigned an ample patrimony, for the cause of God, his piety, in the public opinion, was not exempt from avarice and ambition.<sup>50</sup> A mercantile, rather than a martial spirit, prevailed among his provincials,<sup>51</sup> a common name, which included the natives of Auvergne and Languedoc,<sup>52</sup> the vassals of the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles. From the adjacent frontier of Spain, he drew a band of hardy adventurers; as he marched through Lombardy, a crowd of Italians flocked to his standard, and his united force consisted of one hundred thousand horse and foot. If Raymond was the first to enlist and the last to depart, the delay may be excused by the greatness of his preparation and the promise of an everlasting firewall. IV. The name of Bohemond, of Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, was already famous by his double victory over the Greek emperor, but his father's will had reduced him to the principality of Tarentum, and the remembrance of his Eastern trophies, till he was awakened by the rumour and passage of the French pilgrims. It is in the person of this Norman chief that we may

seek for the coolest policy and ambition, with a small alloy of religious fanaticism. His conduct may justify a belief that he had secretly directed the design of the pope which he affected to second with astonishment and zeal : at the siege of Amalphi, his example and discourse inflamed the passions of a confederate army ; he instantly tore his garment to supply crosses for the numerous candidates, and prepared to visit Constantinople and Asia at the head of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. Several princes of the Norman race accompanied this veteran general ; and his cousin Tancred<sup>33</sup> was the partner, rather than the servant, of the war. In the accomplished character of Tancred, we discover all the virtues of a perfect knight,<sup>34</sup> the true spirit of chivalry, which inspired the generous sentiments and social offices of man, far better than the base philosophy, or the baser religion, of the times.

Between the age of Charlemagne and that of the crusades, a revolution had taken place among the Spaniards, the Normans, and the French, which was gradually extended to the rest of Europe. The service of the infantry was degraded to the plebeians; the cavalry formed the strength of the armies, and the honourable name of *miles*, or soldier, was confined to the gentlemen<sup>55</sup> who served on horseback, and were invested with the character of knighthood. The dukes and counts, who had usurped the rights of sovereignty, divided the provinces among their faithful barons: the barons distributed among their vassals the fiefs, or benefices of their jurisdiction; and these military tenants, the peers of each other and of their lord, composed the noble or equestrian order, which disdained to conceive the peasant or burgher as of the same species with themselves. The dignity of their birth was preserved by pure and equal alliances; their sons alone, who could produce four quarters or lines of ancestry, without spot or reproach, might legally pretend to the honour of knighthood; but a valiant plebeian was sometimes enriched and ennobled by the sword, and became the father of a new race. A single knight could impart, according to his judgment, the character which he received; and the warlike sovereigns of Europe derived more glory from this personal distinction, than from the lustre of their diadem. This ceremony, of which some traces may be found in Tacitus and the woods of Germany,<sup>56</sup> was in its origin simple and profane; the candidate, after some previous trial, was in-

48 His original letter to his wife is preserved in the Spanish arm of Dom Inigo de Aghero, to which it is alluded in the L'oprit des crousides, fol. 110 v<sup>17</sup>.

49. *Emm. emm. dubia*, from sea quarter opposite the pier, quite matured; 4 specimens; first pair in 1st stage. 1003. Abdomen coarsely punctate (Ever the lively and interesting tourist, p. 189).

<sup>50</sup> It is singular enough, that Raymond of St. Giles, second count in the kingdom of the crusades, should have been the hero of the writings of the Greeks (Ant. Comnen. Alexad. l. v. xi) and the Arabians (Ibn al-Arabi, p. 129).

St. John's town of his birth, or first anchorage, was consecrated to  
by t

Guscard; his father, the marquis Odo the Good. It is singular

enough, that the family and country of so illustrious a person should be unknown. But Muratori reasonably conjectures that he was an Italian, and perhaps of the race of the marquesses of Muntferat in Piedmont (Savoy to us), as he

14 In gratitude the cloth brought at the House of Este, Tasso has inserted in his poem, and in the first rhapsody, a fabulous hero, the brave and anonymous Biondo (x, 3, vv. 16-91). He might borrow his

[illegible]

etymologies  
ury, the sol-

56. *Franciae scutoque iuvenem ornant.* Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 13.

vested with his sword and spurs; and his cheek or shoulder was touched with a slight blow, as an emblem of the last affront which it was lawful for him to endure. But superstition mingled in every public and private action of life; in the holy wars, it sanctified the profession of arms; and the order of chivalry was assimilated in its rights and privileges to the sacred orders of priesthood. The bath and white garment of the novice were an indecent copy of the regeneration of baptism: his sword, which he offered on the altar, was blessed by the ministers of religion: his solemn reception was preceded by fasts and vigils; and he was created a knight in the name of God, of St. George, and of St. Michael the archangel. He swore to accomplish the duties of his profession; and education, example, and the public opinion, were the inviolable guardians of his oath. As the champion of God and the ladies (I blush to unite such discordant names), he devoted himself to speak the truth; to maintain the right; to protect the distressed; to practise *courtesy*, a virtue less familiar to the ancients; to pursue the infidels; to despise the allurements of ease and safety; and to vindicate in every perilous adventure the honour of his character.

The abuse of the same spirit provoked the illiterate knight to disdain the arts of industry and peace; to esteem himself the sole judge and avenger of his own injuries; and proudly to neglect the laws of civil society and military discipline. Yet the benefits of this institution, to refine the temper of barbarians, and to infuse some principles of faith, justice, and humanity, were strongly felt, and have been often observed.

The asperity of national prejudice was softened ; and the community of religion and arms spread a similar colour and generous emulation over the face of Christendom. Abroad, in enterprise and pilgrimage, at home in martial exercise, the warriors of every country were perpetually associated ; and impartial taste must prefer a Gothic tournament to the Olympic games of classic antiquity.<sup>37</sup> Instead of the naked spectacles which corrupted the manners of the Greeks, and banished from the stadium the virgins and matrons ; the pompous decoration of the lists was crowned with the presence of chaste and high-born beauty, from whose hands the conqueror received the prize of his dexterity and courage. The skill and strength that were exerted in wrestling and boxing bear a distant and doubtful relation to the merit of a soldier ; but the tournaments, as they were invented in France, and eagerly adopted both in the East and West, presented a lively image of the business of the field. The single combats, the general skirmish, the defence of a pass or castle, were rehearsed as in actual service ; and the contest, both in real and mimic war, was decided by the superior management of the horse and lance. The lance was the proper and peculiar weapon of the knight. his horse was of a large and heavy breed ; but this charger, till he was roused by the approaching danger,

was usually led by an attendant, and he quietly rode a pad or palfrey of a more easy pace. His helmet and sword, his greaves and buckler, it would be superfluous to describe; but I may remark, that at the period of the crusades, the armour was less ponderous than in later times; and that, instead of a massy cuirass, his breast was defended by an hauberk, or coat of mail. When their long lances were fixed in the rest, the warriors furiously spurred their horses against the foe; and the light cavalry of the Turks, and Arabs could seldom stand against the direct and impetuous weight of their charge. Each knight was attended to the field by his faithful squire, a youth of equal birth and similar hopes; he was followed by his archers and men at arms, and four, or five, or six soldiers, were computed as the furniture of a complete *lance*. In the expeditions to the neighbouring kingdoms or the Holy Land, the duties of the feudal tenure no longer subsisted; the voluntary service of the knights and their followers was either prompted by zeal or attachment, or purchased with rewards and promises; and the numbers of each squadron were measured by the power, the wealth, and the fame, of each independent chieftain. They were distinguished by his banner, his armorial coat, and his cry of war; and the most ancient families of Europe must seek in these achievements the origin and proof of their nobility. In this rapid portrait of chivalry, I have been urged to anticipate on the story of the crusades, at once an effect, and a cause, of this memorable institution.<sup>58</sup>

Such were the troops, and such the leaders, who assumed the cross for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre. As soon as they were relieved by the absence of the plebeian multitude, they encouraged each other, by interviews and messages, to accomplish their vow, and hasten their departure. Their wives and sisters were desirous of partaking the danger and merit of the pilgrimage; their portable treasures were conveyed in bars of silver and gold; and the princes and barons were attended by their equipage of hounds and hawks to amuse their leisure and to supply their table. The difficulty of procuring subsistence for so many myriads of men and horses, engaged them to separate their forces; their choice or situation determined the road; and it was agreed to meet in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and from thence to begin their operations against the Turks. From the banks of the Meuse and the Moselle, Godfrey of Bouillon followed the direct way of Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria: and, as long as he exercised the sole command, every step afforded some proof of his prudence and virtue. On the confines of Hungary he was stopped three weeks by a Christian people, to whom the name, or at least the abuse, of the cross was justly odious. The Hungarians still smarted with the wounds which they had received from the first pilgrims:

March of the  
princes to  
Constantinople.  
A. D. 1099,  
August 17—  
A. D. 1097,  
May.

57 The athletic exercises, particularly the *coetus* and *papcratum*, were conde a general, reader may see West (215-218.

55 On the various subjects of knighthood, knight's service, nobility, arms, cry of war, banners, and tournament. a ample fund of in-  
formation. Part 1. Folios of  
101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909.

in their turn they had abused the right of defence and retaliation; and they had reason to apprehend a severe revenge from an hero of the same nation, and who was engaged in the same cause. But, after weighing the motives and the events, the virtuous duke was content to pity the crimes and misfortunes of his worthless brethren; and his twelve deputies, the messengers of peace, requested in his name a free passage and an equal market. To remove their suspicions, Godfrey trusted himself, and afterwards his brother, to the faith of Carloman king of Hungary, who treated them with a simple but hospitable entertainment: the treaty was sanctified by their common Gospel; and a proclamation, under pain of death, restrained the animosity and licence of the Latin soldiers. From Austria to Belgrade, they traversed the plains of Hungary, without enduring or offering an injury; and the proximity of Carloman, who hovered on their flanks with his numerous cavalry, was a precaution not less useful for their safety than for his own. They reached the banks of the Save; and no sooner had they passed the river, than the king of Hungary restored the hostages, and saluted their departure with the fairest wishes for the success of their enterprise. With the same conduct and discipline, Godfrey pervaded the woods of Bulgaria and the frontiers of Thrace; and might congratulate himself, that he had almost reached the first term of his pilgrimage, without drawing his sword against a Christian adversary. After an easy and pleasant journey through Lombardy, from Turin to Aquileia, Raymond and his provincials marched forty days through the savage country of Dalmatia<sup>59</sup> and Sclavonia. The weather was a perpetual fog; the land was mountainous and desolate; the natives were either fugitive or hostile: loose in their religion and government, they refused to furnish provisions or guides; murdered the stragglers; and exercised by night and day the vigilance of the count, who derived more security from the punishment of some captive robbers than from his interview and treaty with the prince of Scodra.<sup>60</sup> His march between Durazzo and Constantinople was harassed, without being stopped, by the peasants and soldiers of the Greek emperor; and the same faint and ambiguous hostility was prepared for the remaining chiefs, who passed the Adriatic from the coast of Italy. Bohemond had arms and vessels, and foresight and discipline; and his name was not forgotten in the provinces of Epirus and Thessaly. Whatever obstacles he encountered were surmounted by

his military conduct and the valour of Tancred; and if the Norman prince affected to spare the Greeks, he gorged his soldiers with the full plunder of an heretical castle.<sup>61</sup> The nobles of France pressed forwards with the vain and thoughtless ardour of which their nation has been sometimes accused. From the Alps to Apulia the march of Hugh the Great, of the two Roberts, and of Stephen of Chartres, through a wealthy country, and amidst the applauding Catholics, was a devout or triumphant progress: they kissed the feet of the Roman pontiff; and the golden standard of St. Peter was delivered to the brother of the French monarch.<sup>62</sup> But in this visit of piety and pleasure, they neglected to secure the season and the means, of their embarkation: the winter was insensibly lost; their troops were scattered and corrupted in the towns of Italy. They separately accomplished their passage, regardless of safety or dignity; and within nine months from the feast of the Assumption, the day appointed by Urban, all the Latin princes had reached Constantinople. But the count of Vermandois was produced as a captive; his foremost vessels were scattered by a tempest; and his person, against the law of nations, was detained by the lieutenants of Alexius. Yet the arrival of Hugh had been announced by four and twenty knights in golden armour, who commanded the emperor to revere the general of the Latin Christians, the brother of the King of kings.<sup>63</sup>

In some Oriental tale I have read the fable of a shepherd, who was ruined by the accomplishment of his own wishes: he had prayed for water; the Ganges was turned into his grounds, and his flock and cottage were swept away by the inundation. Such was the fortune, or at least the apprehension, of the Greek emperor Alexius Comnenus, whose name has already appeared in this history, and whose conduct is so differently represented by his daughter Anne,<sup>64</sup> and by the Latin writers.<sup>65</sup> In the council of Placentia, his ambassadors had solicited a moderate succour, perhaps of ten thousand soldiers. but he was astonished by the approach of so many potent chiefs and fanatic nations. The emperor fluctuated between hope and fear, between timidity and courage; but in the crooked policy which he mistook for wisdom, I cannot believe, I cannot discern, that he maliciously conspired against the life or honour of the French heroes. The promiscuous multitudes of Peter the Hermit were savage beasts, alike

<sup>59</sup> The *Finis Dalmatiae* of Pucenaz is modern and incorrect, the principal frontiers are recent and fabulous; the Greeks reside and empire. At the war 1194, Alexius retained the maritime country as far as Trau and Salona (Katonas, *Hist. Crit. tom. i. p. 126*—207.)

<sup>60</sup> Scodra appears in Larc as the capital and fortress of the first king of the Elyriens, or manussimas, afterwards a Roman count (D'Anast, *tom. i. p. 793, 794*). It is now a dried bed, or desert (D'Anast, *tom. i. p. 793, 794*). The *sinjag* (river) under the Begler, is a revenue of 75,000 *as* (D'Anast, *tom. i. p. 793, 794*).

<sup>61</sup> In Peloponneso castrum barreticum . . . spoliatum cum suis habitatoribus igne combussere. *Accidit eis infirma quibus quia illorum detestabilis sermo et cancer sequebat, tamque circumcinctos regiones suo pravo dogmate sed daverat* (Robert. *Mon. p. 36, 37*).

<sup>62</sup> *Accidit eis infirma quibus quia illorum detestabilis sermo et cancer sequebat, tamque circumcinctos regiones suo pravo dogmate sed daverat* (Robert. *Mon. p. 36, 37*).

<sup>63</sup> *Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμανῶν καὶ ἀντιπρὸς τοὺς ἑσπερίους στρατηγούς, ὅπως αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει Βυζαντίου ἔχουσιν ἰσχυρὰν ἀμύνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει Βυζαντίου ἔχουσιν ἰσχυρὰν ἀμύνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει Βυζαντίου ἔχουσιν ἰσχυρὰν ἀμύνεσθαι* (Mansueti, *p. 51*). The passage of Matthew Paris (A.D. 1244) and Froussart (A.D. 1244), which style the king of France, rex regum, and chief defender of Christians.

<sup>64</sup> Anna Comnenus was born the 1st of December, A.D. 1098, under the reign of Alexius I. *p. 109, 110*. At thirteen, the time of the first crusade, she was married, and perhaps married to the younger Nicephorus Basilus, whom she humbly styles *τὸν ἐμὸν Καίσαρα* (A.D. 1109, *p. 200*). Some moderns have imagined, that her enmity to Bo-

destitute of humanity and reason: nor was it possible for Alexius to prevent or deplore their destruction. The troops of Godfrey and his peers were less contemptible, but not less suspicious, to the Greek emperor. Their motives *might* be pure and pious; but he was equally alarmed by his knowledge of the ambitious Bohemond, and his ignorance of the Transalpine chiefs: the courage of the French was blind and headstrong; they might be tempted by the luxury and wealth of Greece, and elated by the view and opinion of their invincible strength; and Jerusalem might be forgotten in the prospect of Constantinople. After a long march and painful abstinence, the troops of Godfrey encamped in the plains of Thrace; they heard with indignation, that their brother, the count of Vermandois, was imprisoned by the Greeks; and their reluctant duke was compelled to indulge them in some freedom of retaliation and rapine. They were appeased by the submission of Alexius; he promised to supply their camp; and as they refused, in the midst of winter, to pass the Bosphorus, their quarters were assigned among the gardens and palaces on the shores of that narrow sea. But an incurable jealousy still rankled in the minds of the two nations, who despised each other as slaves and barbarians. Ignorance is the ground of suspicion, and suspicion was inflamed into daily provocations: prejudice is blind, hunger is deaf; and Alexius is accused of a design to starve or assault the Latins in a dangerous post, on all sides encompassed with the waters.<sup>65</sup> Godfrey sounded his trumpets, burst the net, overspread the plain, and insulted the suburbs: but the gates of Constantinople were strongly fortified; the ramparts were lined with archers; and after a doubtful conflict, both parties listened to the voice of peace and religion. The gifts and promises of the emperor insensibly soothed the fierce spirit of the western strangers; as a Christian warrior, he rekindled their zeal for the prosecution of their holy enterprise, which he engaged to second with his troops and treasures. On the return of spring, Godfrey was persuaded to occupy a pleasant and plentiful camp in Asia; and no sooner had he passed the Bosphorus, than the Greek vessels were suddenly recalled to the opposite shore. The same policy was repeated with the succeeding chiefs, who were swayed by the example, and weakened by the departure, of their foremost companions. By his skill and diligence, Alexius prevented the union of any two of the confederate armies at the same moment under the walls of Constantinople; and before the feast of the Pentecost not a Latin pilgrim was left on the coast of Europe.

He obtains the homage of the crusaders.

The same arms which threatened Europe might deliver Asia. And compel the Turks from the neighbouring shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont. The fair provinces from Nice to Antioch were the

recent patrimony of the Roman emperor; and his ancient and perpetual claim still embraced the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt. In his enthusiasm, Alexius indulged, or affected, the ambitious hope of leading his new allies to subvert the thrones of the East; but the calmer dictates of reason and temper dissuaded him from exposing his royal person to the faith of unknown and lawless barbarians. His prudence, or his pride, was content with extorting from the French princes an oath of homage and fidelity, and a solemn promise, that they would either restore, or hold, their Asiatic conquests, as the humble and loyal vassals of the Roman empire. Their independent spirit was fired at the mention of this foreign and voluntary servitude: they successively yielded to the dexterous application of gifts and flattery; and the first proselytes became the most eloquent and effectual missionaries to multiply the companions of their shame. The pride of Hugh of Vermandois was soothed by the honours of his captivity; and in the brother of the French king, the example of submission was prevalent and weighty. In the mind of Godfrey of Bouillon every human consideration was subordinate to the glory of God and the success of the crusade. He had firmly resisted the temptations of Bohemond and Raymond, who urged the attack and conquest of Constantinople. Alexius esteemed his virtues, deservedly named him the champion of the empire, and dignified his homage with the filial name and the rights of adoption.<sup>67</sup> The hateful Bohemond was received as a true and ancient ally; and if the emperor reminded him of former hostilities, it was only to praise the valour that he had displayed, and the glory that he had acquired, in the fields of Dumazzo and Larissa. The son of Guiscard was lodged and entertained, and served with Imperial pomp: one day, as he passed through the gallery of the palace, a door was carelessly left open to expose a pile of gold and silver, of silk and gems, of curious and costly furniture, that was heaped in seeming disorder, from the floor to the roof of the chamber. "What conquests," exclaimed the ambitious miser, "might not be achieved by the possession of such a treasure?" "It is your own," replied a Greek attendant, who watched the motions of his soul; and Bohemond, after some hesitation, condescended to accept this magnificent present. The Norman was flattered by the assurance of an independent principality; and Alexius eluded, rather than denied, his daring demand of the office of great domestic, or general, of the East. The two Roberts, the son of the conqueror of England, and the kinsman of three queens,<sup>68</sup> bowed in their turn before the Byzantine throne. A private letter of Stephen of Chartres attests his admiration of the emperor, the most excellent and liberal of men, who taught him to believe that he was a favourite, and promised to educate and establish

<sup>65</sup> Introducing the son between the shirt and skin of his father. *Phrygæ sacra* &c. *vol. d. xxv. p. 216.* supposes to derive adoption to have been of the latter sort.

<sup>67</sup> After his return, Robert of Flanders, became the monk of the abbey of Brabant, but is famous for that he died in battle. See the first act of *Bayard's Fadaire*.

<sup>68</sup> There were two sorts of adjectives, the first army, the other 15

dusty of Alexius; a great number of boats was transported on sledges from the sea to the lake; they were filled with the most dexterous of his archers; the flight of the sultana was intercepted; Nice was invested by land and water; and a Greek emissary persuaded the inhabitants to accept his master's protection, and to save themselves, by a timely surrender, from the rage of the savages of Europe. In the moment of victory, or at least of hope, the crusaders, thirsting for blood and plunder, were awed by the Imperial banner that streamed from the citadel; and Alexius guarded with jealous vigilance this important conquest. The murmurs of the chiefs were stifled by honour or interest; and after an halt of nine days, they directed their march towards Phrygia under the guidance of a Greek general, whom they suspected of a secret connivance with the sultan. The consort and the principal servants of Soliman had been honourably restored without ransom; and the emperor's generosity to the *mascreants*<sup>83</sup> was interpreted as treason to the Christian cause.

Soliman was rather provoked than dismayed by the loss of his capital: he admonished his subjects and allies of this strange invasion of the Western barbarians; the Turkish emirs obeyed the call of loyalty or religion; the Turkman hordes encamped round his standard; and his whole force is loosely stated by the Christians at two hundred, or even three hundred and sixty thousand horse. Yet he patiently waited till they had left behind them the sea and the Greek frontier; and hovering on the flanks, observed their careless and confident progress in two columns beyond the view of each other. Some miles before they could reach Dorylaeum in Phrygia, the left and least numerous division was surprised, and attacked, and almost oppressed, by the Turkish cavalry.<sup>84</sup> The heat of the weather, the clouds of arrows, and the barbarous onset, overwhelmed the crusaders; they lost their order and confidence, and the fainting flight was sustained by the personal valour, rather than by the military conduct, of Bohemond, Tancred, and Robert of Normandy. They were revived by the welcome banners of duke Godfrey, who flew to their succour, with the count of Flanders, and six thousand horse; and was followed by Raymond of Thoulouse, the bishop of Puy, and the remainder of the sacred army. Without a moment's pause, they formed in new order, and advanced to a second battle. They were received with equal resolution; and, in their common disdain for the unwelcome people of Greece and Asia, they were confounded on both sides, that the Turks and the Franks were the only nations entitled

to the appellation of soldiers.<sup>85</sup> Their encounter was varied and balanced by the contrast of arms and discipline; of the direct charge, and wheeling evolutions; of the couched lance, and the brandished javelin; of a weighty broadsword, and a crooked sabre; of cumbrous armour, and thin flowing robes; and of the long Tartar bow, and the *arbalist* or cross-bow, a deadly weapon, yet unknown to the Orientals.<sup>86</sup> As long as the horses were fresh, and the quivers full, Soliman maintained the advantage of the day; and four thousand Christians were pierced by the Turkish arrows. In the evening, swiftness yielded to strength; on either side the numbers were equal, or at least as great as any ground could hold, or any generals could manage; but in turning the hills, the last division of Raymond and his *provincials* was led, perhaps without design, on the rear of an exhausted enemy; and the long contest was determined. Besides a nameless and unaccounted multitude, three thousand *Pagan* knights were slain in the battle and pursuit; the camp of Soliman was pillaged; and in the variety of precious spoil, the avarice of the Latins was amused with foreign arms and apparel, and the new aspect of dromedaries and camels. The importance of the victory was proved by the hasty retreat of the sultan: reserving ten thousand guards of the relics of his army, Soliman evacuated the kingdom of Roum, and hastened to implore the aid, and kindle the resentment, of his Eastern brethren. In a march of five hundred miles, the crusaders traversed the Lesser Asia, through a wasted land and deserted towns, without finding either a friend or an enemy. The geographer<sup>87</sup> may trace the position of Dorylaeum, Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Archelais, and Germanicia, and may compare those classic appellations with the modern names of Ekishehr the old city, Akishehr the white city, Cogni, Ereklî, and Marash. As the pilgrims passed over a desert, where a draught of water is exchanged for silver, they were tormented by intolerable thirst; and on the banks of the first rivulet, their haste and intemperance were still more pernicious to the disorderly throng. They climbed with toil and danger the steep and slippery sides of Mount Taurus: many of the soldiers cast away their arms to secure their foot-steps; and had not terror preceded their van, the long and trembling file might have been driven down the precipice by an handful of resolute enemies. Two of their most respectable chiefs, the duke of Lorraine and the count of Thoulouse, were carried in litters. Raymond was seized, as it is said by miracle, from an hopeless malady; and Godfrey had been torn by a bear, as he pursued that

<sup>83</sup> *Mascreant*, a word invented by the French crusaders, and confined to that language to its primitive sense. It should seem, that the real cause of an enter-braided bugler, and that they believed it was only never as a *mascreant*. A similar prejudice still lurks in the minds of many who think the Latins Christians.

<sup>84</sup> Bohemond is credited a very doubtful letter to his brother Roger (A. B. 1098, No. 15). The enemies consisted of Medo-Persians, Chaldeans, &c. &c. The last attack was *curia nostra* a *monasterio*, true and tender. But who Godfrey of Bouillon and Hugh in *thens*? Tancred is styled *fratru*, of whom? certainly not of Roger, nor of Bohemond.

<sup>85</sup> *Verumtamen dumtaxat se esse de Francorum genere me; et quia nullus homo naturaliter debet esse miles nisi Francus et Turci* (Gesta

Francorum, p. 7). The same community of blood and valour is at-

tributed to the Latins by Muratori, *Antiq. tom. ii. lib. i. p. 571, 572*. In the which he describes under the name of *francus*, was unknown in the East (x. p. 201.). By an humane misapprehension, the pope strove to prohibit it in Christian wars. <sup>87</sup> The curious reader may compare the classic harrowing of Callistrus, and the geographical science of D'Anville. William of Tyre is the only historian of the crusades who has any knowledge of antiquity, and M. D'Anville almost in the borders of the Franks from Constantinople to Antioch (*Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tom. i. p. 55-55.).

rough and perilous chace in the mountains of Pisidia.

To improve the general consternation, the cousin of Bohemond and the brother of Godfrey were detached from the main army with their respective squadrons of five, and of seven, hundred knights. They over-ran in a rapid career the hills and sea-coast of Cilicia, from Cogni to the Syrian gates: the Norman standard was first planted on the walls of Tarsus and Malmistra; but the proud injustice of Baldwin at length provoked the patient and generous Italian; and they turned their consecrated swords against each other in a private and profane quarrel. Honour was the motive, and fame the reward, of Tancred; but fortune smiled on the more selfish enterprise of his rival.<sup>88</sup> He was called to the assistance of a Greek or Armenian tyrant, who had been suffered under the Turkish yoke to reign over the Christians of Edessa. Baldwin accepted the character of his son and champion; but no sooner was he introduced into the city, than he inflamed the people to the massacre of his father, occupied the throne and treasure, extended his conquests over the hills of Armenia and the plain of Mesopotamia, and founded the first principality of the Franks or Latins, which subsisted fifty-four years beyond the Euphrates.<sup>89</sup>

Before the Franks could enter Syria, the summer, and even the autumn, were completely wasted: the siege of Antioch, or the separation and repose of the army during the winter season, was strongly debated in their council: the love of arms and the holy sepulchre urged them to advance; and reason perhaps was on the side of resolution. Since every hour of delay abates the fame and force of the invader, and multiplies the resources of defensive war. The capital of Syria was protected by the river Orontes; and the *von ladder*, of nine miles, derives its name from the massy gates of the two towers which are constructed at either end. They were opened by the sword of the duke of Normandy: his victory gave entrance to three hundred thousand crusaders, an account which may allow some scope for losses and desertion, but which clearly detects much exaggeration in the review of Nice. In the description of Antioch,<sup>90</sup> it is not easy to define a middle term between her ancient magnificence, under the successors of Alexander and Augustus, and the modern aspect of Turkish desolation. The Tetrachols, or four cities, if they retained their name and position, must have left a large vacancy in a circumference of twelve miles; and that measure, as well as the number of four hundred towers, are not perfectly consistent with the

five gates, so often mentioned in the history of the siege. Yet Antioch must have still flourished as a great and populous capital. At the head of the Turkish emirs, Baghisian, a veteran chief, commanded in the place: his garrison was composed of six or seven thousand horse, and fifteen or twenty thousand foot: one hundred thousand Moslems are said to have fallen by the sword; and their numbers were probably inferior to the Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians, who had been no more than fourteen years the slaves of the house of Seljuk. From the remains of a solid and stately wall, it appears to have arisen to the height of threescore feet in the valleys; and wherever less art and labour had been applied, the ground was supposed to be defended by the river, the morass, and the mountains. Notwithstanding these fortifications, the city had been repeatedly taken by the Persians, the Arabs, the Greeks, and the Turks; so large a circuit must have yielded many pervious points of attack; and in a siege that was formed about the middle of October, the vigour of the execution could alone justify the boldness of the attempt. Whatever strength and valour could perform in the field was abundantly discharged by the champions of the cross. In the frequent occasions of sallies, of forage, of the attack and defence of convoys, they were often victorious; and we can only complain, that their exploits are sometimes enlarged beyond the scale of probability and truth. The sword of Godfrey<sup>91</sup> divided a Turk from the shoulder to the haunch; and one half of the infidel fell to the ground, while the other was transported by his horse to the city gate. As Robert of Normandy rode against his antagonist, "I devote thy head," he proudly exclaimed, "to the demons of hell;" and that head was instantly cloven to the breast by the resistless stroke of his descending falchion. But the reality or the report of such gigantic prowess<sup>92</sup> must have taught the Moslems to keep within their walls; and against those walls of earth or stone, the sword and the lance were unavailing weapons. In the slow and successive labours of a siege, the crusaders were supine and ignorant, without skill to contrive, or money to purchase, or industry to use, the artificial engines and implements of assault. In the conquest of Nice, they had been powerfully assisted by the wealth and knowledge of the Greek emperor: his absence was poorly supplied by some Genoese and Prasan vessels, that were attracted by religion or trade to the coast of Syria: the stores were scanty, the return precarious, the communication difficult and dangerous. Indolence or weakness had prevented the Franks from investing the entire circuit; and the perpetual freedom of two gates relieved the wants and recruited the garrison of the city. At the end

<sup>88</sup> This detailed conquest of Edessa is best represented by Fulcher of Chartres, *crus. lib. 11*. in the list of Bohemond, Tancred, and Mortemner, the second champion of Robert of Normandy, *crus. lib. 1*. p. 12, 13. In the notes of that prince with Tancred, his party is encountered by the port of Bohemond Ladiness, the soldier and his train of the giant marquis.

<sup>89</sup> *Crus. lib. 1*. p. 12, 13. In the list of Bohemond, Tancred, and Mortemner, the second champion of Robert of Normandy, *crus. lib. 1*. p. 12, 13.

<sup>90</sup> *part. 1*.  
<sup>91</sup> *lib. 1*.  
<sup>92</sup> *lib. 1*.

<sup>91</sup> From the sword of Godfrey, *part. 1*. p. 12, 13. In the list of Bohemond, Tancred, and Mortemner, the second champion of Robert of Normandy, *crus. lib. 1*. p. 12, 13. In the notes of that prince with Tancred, his party is encountered by the port of Bohemond Ladiness, the soldier and his train of the giant marquis.

<sup>92</sup> See the exploits of Robert, Raymond, and the modest Tancred, who opposed silence to his dispute. *Raymond*, *lib. 1*. p. 12, 13.

his youngest son. In his southern province, the count of St. Giles and Thoulouse faintly recognised the supremacy of the king of France, a prince of a foreign nation and language. At the head of an hundred thousand men, he declared that he was the soldier and servant of Christ alone, and that the Greek might be satisfied with an equal treaty of alliance and friendship. His obstinate resistance enhanced the value and the price of his submission; and he shone, says the princess Anne, among the barbarians, as the sun amidst the stars of heaven. His disgust of the noise and insolence of the French, his suspicions of the designs of Bohemond, the emperor imparted to his faithful Raymond; and that aged statesman might clearly discern, that, however false in friendship, he was sincere in his enmity.<sup>61</sup> The spirit of chivalry was last subdued in the person of Tancred; and none could deem themselves dishonoured by the imitation of that gallant knight. He disdained the gold and flattery of the Greek monarch; assaulted in his presence an insolent patrician; escaped to Asia in the habit of a private soldier; and yielded with a sigh to the authority of Bohemond and the interest of the Christian cause. The best and most ostensible reason was the impossibility of passing the sea and accomplishing their vow, without the licence and the vessels of Alexius; but they cherished a secret hope, that as soon as they trod the continent of Asia, their swords would obliterate their shame, and dissolve the engagement, which on his side might not be very faithfully performed. The ceremony of their homage was grateful to a people who had long since considered pride as the substitute of power. High on his throne, the emperor sat mute and immovable; his majesty was adored by the Latin princes; and they submitted to kiss either his feet or his knees, an indignity which their own writers are ashamed to confess, and unable to deny.<sup>62</sup>

Private or public interest suppressed the murmurs of the dukes and counts; but a French baron (he is supposed to be Robert of Paris<sup>63</sup>) presumed to ascend the throne, and to place himself by the side of Alexius. The sage reproof of Baldwin provoked him to exclaim, in his barbarous idiom, "Who is this rustic, that keeps his seat, while so many valiant captains are standing round him?" The emperor maintained his silence, dissembled his indignation, and questioned his interpreter concerning the meaning of the words, which he partly suspected from the universal language of gesture and countenance. Before the departure of the pilgrims, he endeavoured

to learn the name and condition of the audacious baron. "I am a Frenchman," replied Robert, "of the purest and most ancient nobility of my country. All that I know is, that there is a church in my neighbourhood;<sup>64</sup> the resort of those who are desirous of approving their valour in single combat. Till an enemy appears, they address their prayers to God and his saints. That church I have frequently visited, but never have I found an antagonist who dared to accept my defiance." Alexius dismissed the challenger with some prudent advice for his conduct in the Turkish warfare; and history repeats with pleasure this lively example of the manners of his age and country.

The conquest of Asia was undertaken and achieved by Alexander, <sup>their review, and numbers, A. D. 1097, May,</sup> with thirty-five thousand Macedonians and Greeks;<sup>65</sup> and his best hope was in the strength and discipline of his phalanx of infantry. The principal force of the crusaders consisted in their cavalry; and when that force was mustered in the plains of Bithynia, the knights and their martial attendants on horseback amounted to one hundred thousand fighting men, completely armed with the helmet and coat of mail. The value of these soldiers deserved a strict and authentic account; and the flower of European chivalry might furnish, in a first effort, this formidable body of heavy horse. A part of the infantry might be enrolled for the service of scouts, pioneers, and archers; but the promiscuous crowd were lost in their own disorder; and we depend not on the eyes or knowledge, but on the belief and fancy, of a chaplain of count Baldwin,<sup>66</sup> in the estimate of six hundred thousand pilgrims able to bear arms, besides the priests and monks, the women and children, of the Latin camp. The reader starts; and before he is recovered from his surprise. I shall add, on the same testimony, that if all who took the cross had accomplished their vow, above six millions would have migrated from Europe to Asia. Under this oppression of faith, I derive some relief from a more sagacious and thinking writer,<sup>67</sup> who, after the same review of the cavalry, accuses the credulity of the priest of Chartres, and even doubts whether the *Cisalpine* regions (in the geography of a Frenchman) were sufficient to produce and pour forth such incredible multitudes. The coolest scepticism will remember, that of these religious volunteers great numbers never beheld Constantinople and Nice. Of enthusiasm the influence is irregular and transient: many were detained at home by reason or cowardice, by poverty or weakness; and many were repulsed by the obstacles of the

<sup>61</sup> Senat vetus regnandi, fides in amore, odia non facere. Tacit. vi. 44.

<sup>62</sup> The proud historians of the crusades do not stumble over this humiliating step. Yet, one of the horse-knights to salute the emperor as he sat motionless on his throne, it is said, that this knight had been wounded either in his feet or knees. It is only singular, that Anna Comnena should not have amply supplied the silence or ambiguity of the Latins. The abatement of their princes would have added a new chapter to the *Comnenale Jule Brummer*.

<sup>63</sup> He called himself *le comte de Paris* (Alexis, l. x. p. 501). What a title of nobility of the 14th century, if any one could now prove his inheritance! Anna Comnena, with visible pleasure, that the swelling barbarian, *Araxas regem*, was killed, of wounded, etc. (p. 502). His tomb in the *kyrie* of *Barbarum* (l. x. p. 517). This circumstance may justify the suspicion of DuRoi (Not. p. 562), that he was no other than Robert of Paris, of the most most peculiar, styled the Duke of France (*Cité de Paris*).

<sup>64</sup> With the same penetration, DuRoi discovers his church to be that of St. Martin, or, more properly, of St. Martin, which still is not a new name. *puelles qui ad in morum ipsi (his loab) perantur in vestis redit, ut de Burgundis et Italia talis nec esset confugit, ut r adum*. *duin*. Southern MSS. Epist. 139.

<sup>65</sup> There is some diversity on the numbers of his army; but no authority can be compared with that of Ptolemy, who states it at five thousand horse and thirty thousand foot (see Usher's *Annals*, p. 132).

<sup>66</sup> *Fulcher Carnotensis*, p. 587. He enumerates nineteen nations of the crusaders, and adds, *et alii multi*, but does not clearly specify the names of the nations, *Galli, Itali and Arabi*.

<sup>67</sup> The deserters. *position implies an immense multitude*. By Urban II in the fervour of his zeal, it is only rated at 500,000 pilgrims (Epist. xvi. Concil. tom. xii. p. 731).







duke of Normandy was recalled from the sea-shore by the censures of the church; Hugh the Great, though he led the vanguard of the battle, embraced an ambiguous opportunity of returning to France; and Stephen count of Chartres basely deserted the standard which he bore, and the council in which he presided. The soldiers were discouraged by the flight of William viscount of Melun, surnamed the *Carpenter*, from the weighty strokes of his axe; and the saints were scandalised by the fall of Peter the Hermit, who, after arming Europe against Asia, attempted to escape from the penance of a necessary fast. Of the multitude of recreant warriors, the names (says an historian) are blotted from the book of life; and the opprobrious epithet of the rope-dancers was applied to the deserters who dropped in the night from the walls of Antioch. The emperor Alexius, who seemed to advance to the succour of the Latins, was dismayed by the assurance of their hopeless condition. They expected their fate in silent despair; oaths and punishments were tried without effect; and to rouse the soldiers to the defence of the walls, it was found necessary to set fire to their quarters.

For their salvation and victory, <sup>Legend of the Holy Lance.</sup> they were indebted to the same fanaticism which had led them to the brink of ruin. In such a cause, and in such an army, visions, prophecies, and miracles, were frequent and familiar. In the distress of Antioch, they were repeated with unusual energy and success: St. Ambrose had assured a pious ecclesiastic, that two years of trial must precede the season of deliverance and grace; the deserters were stopped by the presence and reproaches of Christ himself; the dead had promised to arise and combat with their brethren; the Virgin had obtained the pardon of their sins; and their confidence was revived by a visible sign, the seasonable and splendid discovery of the HOLY LANCE. The policy of their chiefs has on this occasion been admired, and might surely be excused; but a pious fraud is seldom produced by the cool conspiracy of many persons: and a voluntary impostor might depend on the support of the wise and the credulity of the people. Of the diocese of Marseilles, there was a priest of low cunning and loose manners, and his name was Peter Bartholomy. He presented himself at the door of the council-chamber, to disclose an apparition of St. Andrew, which had been thrice reiterated in his sleep, with a dreadful menace, if he presumed to suppress the commands of Heaven. "At Antioch," said the apostle, "in the church of my brother St. Peter, near the high altar, is concealed the steel head of the Lance that pierced the side of our Redeemer. In three days, that instrument of eternal, and now of temporal, salvation, will be manifested to his disciples. Search and ye shall find. bear it aloft in battle; and that mystic weapon shall pene-

"trate the souls of the miscreants." The pope's legate, the bishop of Puy, affected to listen with coldness and distrust; but the revelation was eagerly accepted by count Raymond, whom his faithful subject, in the name of the apostle, had chosen for the guardian of the holy lance. The experiment was resolved; and on the third day, after a due preparation of prayer and fasting, the priest of Marseilles introduced twelve trusty spectators, among whom were the count and his chaplain; and the church-doors were barred against the impetuous multitude. The ground was opened in the appointed place; but the workmen, who relieved each other, dug to the depth of twelve feet without discovering the object of their search. In the evening, when count Raymond had withdrawn to his post, and the weary assistants began to murmur, Bartholomy, in his shirt, and without his shoes, boldly descended into the pit; the darkness of the hour and of the place enabled him to secrete and deposit the head of a Saracen lance; and the first sound, the first gleam, of the steel was saluted with a devout rapture. The holy lance was drawn from its recess, wrapped in a veil of silk and gold, and exposed to the veneration of the crusaders; their anxious suspense burst forth in a general shout of joy and hope, and the desponding troops were again inflamed with the enthusiasm of valour. Whatever had been the arts, and whatever might be the sentiments of the chiefs, they skillfully improved this fortunate revolution by every aid that discipline and devotion could afford. The soldiers were dismissed to their quarters, with an injunction to fortify their minds and bodies for the approaching conflict, freely to bestow their last pittance on themselves and their horses, and to expect with the dawn of day the signal of victory. On the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, the gates of Antioch were thrown open; a martial psalm, "Let the Lord arise, and let his enemies be scattered!" was chanted by a procession of priests and monks; the battle array was marshalled in twelve divisions, in honour of the twelve apostles; and the holy lance, in the absence of Raymond, was intrusted to the hands of his chaplain. The influence of this relic or trophy was felt by the servants, and perhaps by the enemies, of Christ;<sup>98</sup> and its potent energy was heightened by an accident, a stratagem, or a rumour, of a miraculous complexion. Three knights in white garments, and resplendent arms, <sup>CECILIUS WATERTON.</sup> either issued, or seemed to issue, from the hills, the voice of Adhemar, the pope's legate, proclaimed them as the martyrs St. George, St. Theodore, and St. Maurice; the tumult of battle allowed no time for doubt or scrutiny; and the welcome apparition dazzled the eyes or the imagination of a frantic army. In the season of danger and triumph, the revelation of Bartholomy of Marseilles was unanimously asserted; but as soon as the temporary service was ac-

<sup>98</sup> See the progress of the crusade, the retreat of Alexius, the victory of Antioch, and the conquest of Jerusalem, in the *Voyage*, l. i. c. 17. 327. Anna was so prone to exaggeration, that she magnified the exploits of the Latins.

<sup>99</sup> The Mahometan Aboulmahasen (*apud de Guignes*, tom. ii.

part. i. p. 57) is more correct in his account of the holy lance than the Christian. Amalric, count and viceroy of the Greek empire, surrounded with a crowd of the cross-bearers, p. 324, the Jacobite patriarch, with St. Peter's staff, p. 242.

complished, the personal dignity and liberal aims which the count of Thoulouse derived from the custody of the holy lance, provoked the envy, and awakened the reason, of his rivals. A Norman clerk presumed to sift, with a philosophic spirit, the truth of the legend, the circumstances of the discovery, and the character of the prophet; and the pious Bohemond ascribed their deliverance to the merits and intercession of Christ alone. For a while, the Provincials defended their national palladium with clamours and arms: and new visions condemned to death and hell the profane sceptics, who presumed to scrutinise the truth and merit of the discovery. The prevalence of incredulity compelled the author to submit his life and veracity to the judgment of God. A pile of dry faggots, four feet high, and fourteen long, was erected in the midst of the camp; the flames burnt fiercely to the elevation of thirty cubits; and a narrow path of twelve inches was left for the perilous trial. The unfortunate priest of Marsilles traversed the fire with dexterity and speed; but his thighs and belly were scorched by the intense heat; he expired the next day; and the logic of believing minds will pay some regard to his dying protestations of innocence and truth. Some efforts were made by the Provincials to substitute a cross, a ring, or a tabernacle, in the place of the holy lance, which soon vanished in contempt and oblivion.<sup>100</sup> Yet the revelation of Antioch is gravely asserted by succeeding historians; and such is the progress of credulity, that miracles, most doubtful on the spot and at the moment, will be received with implicit faith at a convenient distance of time and space.

The state of the Turks and caliph of Egypt. The prudence or fortune of the Franks had delayed their invasion till the decline of the Turkish empire.<sup>101</sup> Under the manly government of the three first sultans, the kingdoms of Asia were united in peace and justice: and the innumerable armies which they led in person were equal in courage, and superior in discipline, to the barbarians of the West. But at the time of the crusades, the influence of Malek Shaw was disputed by his four sons; their private ambition was sensible of the public danger; and, in the vicissitudes of civil faction, the royal vessels were ignorant, or regardless, of the true object of their allegiance. The twenty-eight emirs who marched with the standard of Kalebaga, were his rivals or enemies; four hundred thousand were drawn from the towns and tents of Mesopotamia and Syria; and the Turkish veterans were employed or consumed in the civil wars beyond the Tigris. The caliph of Egypt embraced this opportunity of weakness and discord, to recover his ancient possessions; and his sultan Aphlad besieged Jerusalem and Tyre, expelled the children of Ortok, and restored in

Palestine the civil and ecclesiastical authority of the Fatimites.<sup>102</sup> They heard with astonishment of the vast armies of Christians that had passed from Europe to Asia, and rejoiced in the sieges and battles which broke the power of the Turks, the adversaries of their sect and monarchy. But the same Christians were the enemies of the prophet; and from the overthrow of Nice and Antioch, the motive of their enterprise, which was gradually understood, would urge them forwards to the banks of the Jordan, or perhaps of the Nile. An intercourse of epistles and embassies, which rose and fell with the events of war, was maintained between the throne of Cairo and the camp of the Latins; and their adverse pride was the result of ignorance and enthusiasm. The ministers of Egypt declared in an haughty, or in insinuated in a milder, tone, that their sovereign, the true and lawful commander of the faithful, had rescued Jerusalem from the Turkish yoke; and that the pilgrims, if they would divide their numbers, and lay aside their arms, should find a safe and hospitable reception at the sepulchre of Jesus. In the belief of their lost condition, the caliph Mostali despised their arms and imprisoned their deputies; the conquest and victory of Antioch prompted him to solicit those formidable champions with gifts of horses and silk robes, of vases, and purses of gold and silver; and in his estimate of their merit or power, the first place was assigned to Bohemond, and the second to Godfrey. In either fortune the answer of the crusaders was firm and uniform; they disdained to enquire into the private claims or possessions of the followers of Mahomet: whatsoever was his name or nation, the usurper of Jerusalem was their enemy; and instead of prescribing the mode and terms of their pilgrimage, it was only by a timely surrender of the city and province, their sacred right, that he could deserve their alliance, or deprecate their impending and irresistible attack.<sup>103</sup>

Yet this attack, when they were within the view and reach of their glorious prize, was suspended above ten months after the defeat of Kalebaga. The zeal and courage of the crusaders were chilled in the moment of victory; and, instead of marching to improve the consternation, they hastily dispersed to enjoy the luxury of Syria. The causes of this strange delay may be traced in the want of strength and subordination. In the painful and various service of Antioch, the cavalry was annihilated; many thousands of every rank had been lost by famine, sickness, and desertion; the same abuse of plenty had been productive of a third famine; and the alternative of intemperance and distress, had generated a pestilence, which swept away above fifty thousand of the pilgrims. Few were able to command, and none were willing to obey: the

<sup>100</sup> The antagonists who express the most intimate knowledge and the strongest conviction of the sacred and of the profane, are R. de Montecassino, and R. de Maritima; the one attributed the count of Thoulouse, the other to the Norman prince Fulcherus of Chartres, president to the council of Jerusalem, and author of the *Itinerarium*. The first is a Frenchman, the second a Norman. The rest of the herd are loud and strong.

<sup>101</sup> See M. de Guignes (tom. ii. part. ii. p. 225 &c.), and the articles of *Isa. Karak*, *Mohammed*, *Sungur*, in D'Hierbois.

<sup>102</sup> The same caliph succeeded Jerusalem and Tyre, A.D. 1099.

<sup>103</sup> See the transactions between the caliph of Egypt and the crusaders, in W. of Tyre, lib. vi. c. 21. lib. vii. c. 10. and Albert Aquevius de vita c. 10. who are more sensible of their importance, than the contemporary writers.

domestic feuds, which had been stifled by common fear, were again renewed in acts, or at least in sentiments, of hostility; the fortune of Baldwin and Bohemond excited the envy of their companions; the bravest knights were enlisted for the defence of their new principalities; and count Raymond exhausted his troops and treasures in an idle expedition into the heart of Syria. The winter was consumed in discord and disorder; a sense of honour and religion was rekindled in the spring; and the private soldiers, less susceptible of ambition and jealousy, awakened with

Their march to  
Jerusalem,  
A. D. 1099,  
May 13—  
June 6.

angry clamours the indolence of their chiefs. In the month of May, the reliefs of this mighty host proceeded from Antioch to Laodicea; about forty thousand Latins, of whom no more than fifteen hundred horse, and twenty thousand foot, were capable of immediate service. Their easy march was continued between Mount Libanus and the sea-shore; their wants were liberally supplied by the coasting traders of Genoa and Pisa; and they drew large contributions from the emirs of Tripoli, Tyre, Sidon, Acre, and Caesarea, who granted a free passage, and promised to follow the example of Jerusalem. From Caesarea they advanced into the midland country; their clerks recognised the sacred geography of Lydda, Ramla, Emaus, and Bethlem, and as soon as they descried the holy city, the crusaders forgot their toils and claimed their reward.<sup>104</sup>

Siege and  
conquest of  
Jerusalem,  
A. D. 1099,  
June 7—  
July 13.

Jerusalem has derived some reputation from the number and importance of her memorable sieges. It was not till after a long and obstinate contest that Babylon and Rome could prevail against the obstinacy of the people, the craggy ground that might supersede the necessity of fortifications, and the walls and towers that would have fortified the most accessible plain.<sup>105</sup> These obstacles were diminished in the age of the crusades. The bulwarks had been completely destroyed and imperfectly restored; the Jews, their nation, and worship, were for ever banished; but nature is less changeable than man, and the site of Jerusalem, though somewhat softened and somewhat removed, was still strong against the assaults of an enemy. By the experience of a recent siege, and a three years' possession, the Saracens of Egypt had been taught to discern, and in some degree to remedy, the defects of a place, which religion as well as honour forbade them to resign. Aladin, or Istikhar, the caliph's lieutenant, was intrusted with the defence: his policy strove to restrain the native Christians by the dread of their own ruin and that of the holy sepulchre; to animate the Moslems by the assurance of temporal and

eternal rewards. His garrison is said to have consisted of forty thousand Turks and Arabians; and if he could muster twenty thousand of the inhabitants, it must be confessed that the besieged were more numerous than the besieging army.<sup>106</sup> Had the diminished strength and numbers of the Latins allowed them to grasp the whole circumference of four thousand yards (about two English miles and an half),<sup>107</sup> to what useful purpose should they have descended into the valley of Ben Hinnon and torrent of Cedron,<sup>108</sup> or approached the precipices of the south and east, from whence they had nothing either to hope or fear? Their siege was more reasonably directed against the northern and western sides of the city. Godfrey of Bouillon erected his standard on the first swell of Mount Calvary: to the left, as far as St. Stephen's gate, the line of attack was continued by Tancred and the two Roberts; and count Raymond established his quarters from the citadel to the foot of Mount Zion, which was no longer included within the precincts of the city. On the fifth day, the crusaders made a general assault, in the fanatic hope of battering down the walls without engines, and of scaling them without ladders. By the dint of brutal force, they burst the first barrier, but they were driven back with shame and slaughter to the camp, the influence of vision and prophecy was cadenced by the too frequent abuse of those pious stratagems; and time and labour were found to be the only means of victory. The time of the siege was indeed fulfilled in forty days, but they were forty days of calamity and anguish. A repetition of the old complaint of famine may be imputed in some degree to the voracious or disorderly appetite of the Franks; but the stony soil of Jerusalem is almost destitute of water; the scanty springs and hasty torrents were dry in the summer season; nor was the thirst of the besiegers relieved, as in the city, by the artificial supply of cisterns and aqueducts. The circumjacent country is equally destitute of trees for the uses of shade or building: but some large beams were discovered in a cave by the crusaders: a wood near Sichem, the enchanted grove of Tasso,<sup>109</sup> was cut down: the necessary timber was transported to the camp by the vigour and dexterity of Tancred; and the engines were framed by some Genoese artists, who had fortunately landed in the harbour of Jaffa. Two moveable turrets were constructed at the expense, and in the stations, of the duke of Lorraine and the count of Thoulouse, and rolled forwards with devout labour, not to the most accessible, but to the most neglected, parts of the fortification. Raymond's tower was re-

<sup>104</sup> The greater part of the narrative of the Franks' march, and most accurately traced, in Maundrell's *Journal* (see Appendix A, p. 163). The *Journal* of 1757, p. 105, contains a more complete and correct account of this event. D'Anville's *Mem. sur les croisades*, tom. i. p. 37.

<sup>105</sup> See the masterly description of Tacitus in the *Annals*, lib. 13, who supposes, that the Jewish high-priest held out for a perpetual state of hostility against the rest of mankind.

<sup>106</sup> The lively scepticism of Voltaire is favoured with sense and erudition by the French author of the *Essai sur les moeurs*, &c. p. 286—288, who observes, that, according to the Arabians, the number of inhabitants of Jerusalem must have exceeded 100,000, that in the case of Titus, Josephus numbers 1,700,000 Jews, that if they were settled by Tacitus himself at 100,000, and that the largest defect from that history, more can justify, will still leave them more numerous than the Roman army.

<sup>107</sup> Maundrell, who diligently perambulated the walls, found a

circumference of 1070 paces; but Fock has calculated 1070, 1100, from an authentic plan. D'Anville computes the circumference only six miles, of 1020 French paces, p. 37. These observations are valuable, for the topography of Jerusalem, see *Relat. d'Aladin*, tom. i. p. 522—523.

<sup>108</sup> Jerusalem was possessed only of the torrent of Cedron, from an annual flood of the winter, and of brooks of snow. Reland, tom. i. p. 107, 108. Both strangers and natives are provided with the water of the Cedron, and in the case of war, water is carried to the city. The Christians maintain a perpetual fire, and aqueduct, and cisterns for the water. The aqueduct is conveyed from the Tyber, Tekoa, or Ephraim, which is likewise mentioned by Bebedan, in the *Voy. de Sicile*, p. 108.

<sup>109</sup> The *Genius* of the *Literary*, tom. vi. It is pleasant to observe that the *Genius* has copied and embellished the most delicate of the *Genius*.

duced to ashes by the fire of the besieged, but his colleague was more vigilant and successful; the enemies were driven by his archers from the rampart; the drawbridge was let down; and on a Friday at three in the afternoon, the day and hour of the Passion, Godfrey of Bouillon stood victorious on the walls of Jerusalem. His example was followed on every side by the emulation of valour; and about four hundred and sixty years after the conquest of Omar, the holy city was rescued from the Mahometan yoke. In the pillage of public and private wealth, the adventurers had agreed to respect the exclusive property of the first occupant; and the spoils of the great mosque, seventy lamps and massy vases of gold and silver, rewarded the diligence, and displayed the generosity, of Tancred. A bloody sacrifice was offered by his mistaken votaries to the God of the Christians: resistance might provoke, but neither age nor sex could mollify, their implacable rage; they indulged themselves three days in a promiscuous massacre; <sup>110</sup> and the infection of the dead bodies produced an epidemical disease. After seventy thousand Moslems had been put to the sword, and the harmless Jews had been burnt in their synagogue, they could still reserve a multitude of captives, whom interest or lassitude persuaded them to spare. Of these savage heroes of the cross, Tancred alone betrayed some sentiments of compassion; yet we may praise the more selfish lenity of Raymond, who granted a capitulation and safe-conduct to the garrison of the citadel.<sup>111</sup> The holy sepulchre was now free; and the bloody victors prepared to accomplish their vow. Bare-headed and barefoot, with contrite hearts, and in an humble posture, they ascended the hill of Calvary, amidst the loud anthems of the clergy; kissed the stone which had covered the Saviour of the world; and bedewed with tears of joy and penitence the monument of their redemption. This union of the fiercest and most tender passions has been variously considered by two philosophers: by the one,<sup>112</sup> as easy and natural; by the other,<sup>113</sup> as absurd and incredible. Perhaps it is too rigorously applied to the same persons and the same hour—the example of the virtuous Godfrey awakened the piety of his companions; while they elained their bodies, they purified their minds; nor shall I believe that the most ardent in slaughter and rapine were the foremost in the procession to the holy sepulchre.

Eight days after this memorable event, which pope Urban did not live to hear, the Latin chiefs proceeded to the election of a king, to guard and govern their conquests in Palestine. Hugh the Great, and Stephen of Chartres, had retired with some loss of repu-

tation, which they strove to regain by a second crusade and an honourable death. Baldwin was established at Edessa, and Bohemond at Antioch; and two Roberts, the duke of Normandy<sup>114</sup> and the count of Flanders, preferred their fair inheritance in the West to a doubtful competition or a barren sceptre. The jealousy and ambition of Raymond were condemned by his own followers, and the free, the just, the unanimous voice of the army, proclaimed Godfrey of Bouillon the first and most worthy of the champions of Christendom. His magnanimity accepted a trust as full of danger as of glory; but in a city where his Saviour had been crowned with thorns, the devout pilgrim, rejected the name and ensigns of royalty; and the founder of the kingdom of Jerusalem contented himself with the modest title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. His government of a single year,<sup>115</sup> too short for the public happiness, was interrupted in the first fortnight by a summons to the field, by the approach of the vizir or sultan of Egypt, who had been too slow to prevent, but who was impatient to avenge, the loss of Jerusalem. His total overthrow in the battle of Ascalon sealed the establishment of the Latins in Syria, and signalled the valour of the French princes, who in this action bade a long farewell to the holy wars. Some glory might be derived from the prodigious inequality of numbers, though I shall not count the myriads of horse and foot on the side of the Fatimites; but, except three thousand Ethiopians or blacks, who were armed with flails or scourges of iron, the barbarians of the South fled on the first onset, and afforded a pleasing comparison between the active valour of the Turks and the sloth and effeminacy of the natives of Egypt. After suspending before the holy sepulchre the sword and standard of the sultan, the new king (he deserves the title) embraced his departing companions, and could retain only with the gallant Tancred three hundred knights, and two thousand foot-soldiers, for the defence of Palestine. His sovereignty was soon attacked by a new enemy, the only one against whom Godfrey was a coward. Adhemar, bishop of Puy, who excelled both in council and action, had been swept away in the last plague of Antioch: the remaining ecclesiastics preserved only the pride and avarice of their character; and their seditious clamours had required that the choice of a bishop should precede that of a king. The revenue and jurisdiction of the lawful patriarch were usurped by the Latin clergy: the exclusion of the Greeks and Syrians was justified by the reproach of heresy or schism;<sup>116</sup> and, under the iron yoke of their deliverers, the Oriental Christians regretted the tolerating go-

Battle of  
Ascalon.  
A.D. 1099,  
August 12.

Election and  
entry of God-  
frey of Bouillon.  
A.D. 1099,  
July 25—  
A.D. 1100,  
July 18.

<sup>110</sup> B-side the Latins, who are not accused of the massacre, see Elmasni (Hist. Saracen. p. 267), Abulpharag. (Hist. nat. p. 413), and M. de Guignes (Mem. p. 110), p. 110, from Abulpharag. Hist. nat. p. 413.

<sup>111</sup> The old tower of the city, in the middle ages, was named Castellum Primum, from the p. 110, from Abulpharag. Hist. nat. p. 413. The ruins of the Turkish city, a.d. 1099, were a prospect of the head sea, Judea, and Arabia Deserta, p. 110, 25. It was likewise called the Tower of David, p. 110, 25, 26.

<sup>112</sup> Hume, in his History of England, vol. i. p. 511, 512, calls it easy.

<sup>113</sup> Voltaire, in his Essai sur l'Histoire Générale, tom. ii. c. 51. p. 345, 346.

<sup>114</sup> The English agents to Robert of Normandy, and the French agents to Raymond of Toulouse, were both of the house of the count of Flanders, but the honest voice of the count of Flanders, who died at the siege of Tripoli, which was possessed by his descendants.

<sup>115</sup> See the election, the battle of Ascalon, &c. in William of Tyre, l. iv. c. 1-12, and in the conclusion of the Latin historians of the first crusade.

<sup>116</sup> Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch Alex. p. 479.

verment of the Arabian caliphs. Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, had long been trained in the secret policy of Rome : he brought a fleet of his countrymen to the succour of the Holy Land, and was installed, without a competitor, the spiritual and temporal head of the church. The new patriarch <sup>117</sup> immediately grasped the sceptre which had been acquired by the toil and blood of the victorious pilgrims ; and both Godfrey and Bohemond submitted to receive at his hands the investiture of their fensual possessions. Nor was this sufficient ; Daimbert claimed the immediate property of Jerusalem and Jaffa : instead of a firm and generous refusal, the hero negotiated with the priest ; a quarter of either city was ceded to the church ; and the modest bishop was satisfied with an eventual reversion of the rest, on the death of Godfrey without children, or on the future acquisition of a new seat at Cairo or Damascus.

Without this indulgence, the conqueror would have almost been stripped of his infant kingdom, which consisted only of Jerusalem and Jaffa, with about twenty villages and towns of the adjacent country.<sup>118</sup> Within this narrow verge, the Mahometans were still lodged in some impregnable castles; and the husbandman, the trader, and the pilgrim, were exposed to daily and domestic hostility. By the arms of Godfrey himself, and of the two Baldwins, his brother and cousin, who succeeded to the throne, the Latins breathed with more ease and safety; and at length they equalled, in the extent of their dominions, though not in the millions of their subjects, the ancient princes of Judah and Israel.<sup>119</sup> After the reduction of the maritime cities of Laodicea, Tripoli, Tyre, and Ascalon,<sup>120</sup> which were powerfully assisted by the fleets of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, and even of Flanders and Norway,<sup>121</sup> the range of sea-coast from Scanderoon to the borders of Egypt was possessed by the Christian pilgrims. If the prince of Antioch disclaimed his supremacy, the counts of Edessa and Tripoli owned themselves the vassals of the king of Jerusalem: the Latins reigned beyond the Euphrates; and the four cities of Hems, Hamah, Damascus, and Aleppo, were the only

117 See the claims of the patriarch Damiert, in Wil turn of Tyre (1 ix c. 15-18, x 4, 7<sup>9</sup>), who asserts with invariable candour the independence of the conquerors and king of Jerusalem.

118 Waldern, Tyr. I, x, 19. The Historia Hieronymiana of Jacobus a Vitruvio (1140-51-56), and the Secreta Historiarum of Marinus Sacerdotis (fl. ca. p. 114), describe the state and conquests of the Caran kingdom of Jerusalem.

[illegible]

<sup>120</sup> These songs are related, each in its proper place, in the great history of William of Wyke, from the birth in the south-west, and more briefly told by Herrardus Theoricus de Aquitane Terra Sancte c. 50, pp. 7-22, 70-90. Some details fall in with material in the *Chronicle of Fisi, Grou, and Venus*, in the eighth, ninth, and tenth parts of *Mur* too.

1422. Bencelator, apud de Guines, Hist. des Hôis, tom. i. part. i. p. 156, f. 1. A. B. 157. He is said to have been a champion of King Henry the First, and to have been killed in the battle of Brunanburh, in 1041. He is said to have been a champion of King Henry the First, and to have been killed in the battle of Brunanburh, in 1041. He is said to have been a champion of King Henry the First, and to have been killed in the battle of Brunanburh, in 1041.

relics of the Mahometan conquests in Syria.<sup>122</sup> The laws and language, the manners and titles, of the French nation and Latin church, were introduced into these transmarine colonies. According to the feudal jurisprudence, the principal states and subordinate baronies descended in the line of male and female succession,<sup>123</sup> but the children of the first conquerors,<sup>124</sup> a motley and degenerate race, were dissolved by the luxury of the climate; the arrival of new crusaders from Europe was a doubtful hope and a casual event. The service of the feudal tenures<sup>125</sup> was performed by six hundred and sixty six knights, who might expect the aid of two hundred more under the banner of the count of Tripoli; and each knight was attended to the field by four squires or archers on horseback,<sup>126</sup> Five thousand and seventy-five *serjeants*, most probably foot-soldiers, were supplied by the churches and cities; and the whole legal militia of the kingdom could not exceed eleven thousand men, a slender defence against the surrounding myriads of Saracens and Turks.<sup>127</sup> But the firmest bulwark of Jerusalem was founded on the knights of the hospital of St. John,<sup>128</sup> and of the temple of Solomon;<sup>129</sup> on the strange association of a monastic and military life, which fanaticism might suggest, but which policy must approve. The flower of the nobility of Europe aspired to wear the cross, and to profess the vows, of these respectable orders; their spirit and discipline were immortal; and the speedy donation of twenty-eight thousand farms, or manors,<sup>130</sup> enabled them to support a regular force of cavalry and infantry for the defence of Palestine. The austerity of the convent soon evaporated in the exercise of arms; the world was scandalised by the pride, avarice, and corruption of these Christian soldiers; their claims of immunity and jurisdiction disturbed the harmony of the church and state; and the public peace was endangered by their jealous emulation. But in their most dis-solute period, the knights of the hospital and temple maintained their fearlessness and fanatic character: they neglected to live, but they were prepared to die, in the service of Christ; and the spirit of chivalry, the parent and offspring of the crusades, has been transplanted

124 They were called by derivation *Poullains*, *Pullini*, and their name never pronounced without content of (but again, gloss I am not v. p. 533) and observations on Jonville, p. 81, 82, Jacob a Vienne, Hist. Haroué, 1. 1. c. 47, 72, and Sirey, 1. 1. p. 101, c. 2, p. 124. The name is also found at Terre-Sainte . . . habitation in 1811, in the name of the place . . . in the name of the place, and in the name of the place.

125 This parchment is extracted from the *Assises de Jerusalem* c. 1141-1161 (Summit 1141 p. 111, c. 1 p. 171) reckons only 618 knights, and 1375 fideiwers.

126. The *num totid.* and the *num totid.* ascertain the service of the three great heroes at Lou-kung-tsu-chi, and the text of the *Yü-wei*, which extends the number to 300, can only be justified by this supposition.

125. Yet on great evening (1895, 1896, 1897) the barons brought a volume of *Chalcididae* (mostly *Chalcididae*) in a volume of *Chalcididae*.

A. B. 1909, No. 11, 151. The assured the profession of arms

124 See St. Lawrence and St. Norbert Monks' Temple, composed

The Mother Pine, *Pin. mitis*, p. 344. He agrees to the description of 1899, but the leaf is "rather more" and of much higher proportion. However, his name is different in the first than in the French edition. *Alnus* as a lordship, manor, a dwelling.



evidence (according to the supposition of Montesquieu);<sup>119</sup> but in every case the right to offer battle was founded on the right to pursue by arms the redress of an injury; and the judicial combat was fought on the same principle, and with the same spirit, as a private duel. Champions were only allowed to women, and to men maimed or past the age of sixty. The consequence of a defeat was death to the person accused, or to the champion or witness, as well as to the accuser himself; but in civil cases, the defendant was punished with infamy and the loss of his suit, while his witness and champion suffered an ignominious death. In many cases it was in the option of the judge to award or to refuse the combat: but two are specified, in which it was the inevitable result of the challenge; if a faithful vassal gave the lie to his compeer, who unjustly claimed any portion of their lord's dues; or if an unsuccessful suitor presumed to impeach the judgment and veracity of the court. He might impeach them, but the terms were severe and perilous: in the same day he successively fought *all* the members of the tribunal, even those who had been absent: a single defeat was followed by death and infamy; and where none could hope for victory, it is highly probable that none would adventure the trial. In the Assise of Jerusalem, the legal subtlety of the count of Jaffa is more laudably employed to elude, than to facilitate, the judicial combat, which he derives from a principle of honour rather than of superstition.<sup>120</sup>

Among the causes which enfranchised the plebeians from the yoke of feudal tyranny, the institution of cities and corporations is one of the most powerful; and if those of Palestine are coeval with the first crusade, they may be ranked with the most ancient of the Latin world. Many of the pilgrims had escaped from their lords under the banner of the cross; and it was the policy of the French princes to tempt their stay by the assurance of the rights and privileges of freemen. It is expressly declared in the Assise of Jerusalem, that after instituting, for his knights and barons, the court of peers, in which he presided himself, Godfrey of Bouillon established a second tribunal, in which his person was represented by his viscount. The jurisdiction of this inferior court extended over the burghesses of the kingdom; and it was composed of a select number of the most discreet and worthy citizens, who were sworn to judge, according to the laws, of the actions and fortunes of their equals.<sup>11</sup> In the conquest and settlement of new cities, the example of Jeru-

salern was initiated by the kings and their great vassals; and above thirty similar corporations were founded before the loss of the Holy Land. Another class of subjects, the Syrians,<sup>142</sup> or Oriental Christians, were oppressed by the zeal of the clergy, and protected by the toleration of the state. Godfrey listened to their reasonable prayer, that they might be judged by their own national laws. A third court was instituted for their use, of limited and domestic jurisdiction. The sworn members were Syrians, in blood, language, and religion; but the office of the president (in Arabic, of the *raia*) was sometimes exercised by the viscount of the city. At an immeasurable distance below the nobles, the burgesses, and the strangers, the Assise of Jerusalem condescends to mention the *villains* and *slaves*, the peasants of the land and the captives of war, who were almost equally considered as the objects of property. The relief or protection of these unhappy men was not esteemed worthy of the care of the legislator; but he diligently provides for the recovery, though not indeed for the punishment, of the fugitives. Like hounds, or hawks, who had strayed from the lawful owner, they might be lost and claimed: the slave and falcon were of the same value; but three slaves, or twelve oxen, were accumulated to equal the price of the war-horse; and a sum of three hundred pieces of gold was fixed, in the age of chivalry, as the equivalent of the more noble animal.<sup>143</sup>

## CLAP. LIN.

*Præface of the Greek Empire. — Numbers, Progress, and Extent of the Second and Third Crusades. — St. Bernard. — Reign of Saladin in Egypt and Syria. — His Conquest of Jerusalem. — Naval Crusades. — Richard the First of England. — Pope Innocent the Third; and the Fourth and Fifth Crusades. — The Emperor Frederic the Second. — Louis the Ninth of France, and the two last Crusades. — Expulsion of the Latins or Franks by the Mamelukes.*

Is a style less grave than that of history, I should perhaps compare the emperor Alexis<sup>1</sup> to the jackall, who is said to follow the steps, and to devour the carcases, of the lion. Whatever had been his fears and toils in the passage of the first campaign, they were amply recompensed by the subsequent benefits which he derived from the exploits of the Franks. His dexterity and vigilance secured their first conquest of Nice; and from this

Success of  
Alexius,  
A. D. 1077. 1118

17. See "Fugate's Fox," *Exciter*. In the fifty years since its publication, this work has been re-read and re-issued, and its story of a people which has existed, is not the least of our debts to the author.

110 For the negligence of this obscure and obsolete newspaper, I am deeply indebted to the friendship of a friend, who, although on inaccurate and disarming posterity has preserved the photographic history of law. By his studies, posterity might be reminded of the merit of the orator and the judge can be protected by his example.

1. The French king, who is considered as the father of the nation in France, did not begin his reign till nine years. A.D. 1871 after losing a battle with Austria, 27 Feb. For a longer and fuller account of the same, see remarks of Dr. Robertson (History of Charles I. 1790, 2nd ed., 100, 101, 102, 103).

112 Every reader conversant with the history of the church will be ready to find in the people of Saragossa, the fragments of a people who were once a nation, who had all adopted the rule of the Apostles and into a nation.

1178, the Assyrian king, Sardanapallus (705-711-713). The plays were created a line as the car 130, in the kingdom of 131. In the same century, the reign of Edward I. I understand, from a... of... to... of... R... of... that the price of... were... in the... of... England.

1. A vector norm  $\|\cdot\|$  is for fathers consists in  $A$  as  $M$  is  $r$ .  
 Alex did  $\|x\| = 1 - 1 = 0$  for  $p = 11$ . The same was for  
 Peter and Bill to find  $p = 8$  and  $p = 10$  the sum of four and  
 to  $\|x\| = 11 - 10 = 1$  and  $\|x\| = 11 - 10 = 1$  and  $\|x\| = 11 - 10 = 1$   
 $\|x\| = 11 - 10 = 1$



threatening station the Turks were compelled to evacuate the neighbourhood of Constantinople. While the crusaders, with blind valour, advanced into the midland countries of Asia, the crafty Greek improved the favourable occasion when the emirs of the sea-coast were recalled to the standard of the sultan. The Turks were driven from the isles of Rhodes and Chios, the cities of Ephesus and Smyrna, of Sardes, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, were restored to the empire, which Alexius enlarged from the Hellespont to the banks of the Meander, and the rocky shores of Pamphylia. The churches resumed their splendour; the towns were rebuilt and fortified; and the desert country was peopled with colonies of Christians, who were gently removed from the more distant and dangerous frontier. In these paternal cares, we may forgive Alexius, if he forgot the deliverance of the holy sepulchre; but, by the Latins, he was stigmatised with the foul reproach of treason and desertion. They had sworn fidelity and obedience to his throne; but he had promised to assist their enterprise in person, or, at least, with his troops and treasures: his base retreat dissolved their obligations; and the sword, which had been the instrument of their victory, was the pledge and title of their just independence. It does not appear that the emperor attempted to revive his obsolete claims over the kingdom of Jerusalem;<sup>2</sup> but the borders of Cilicia and Syria were more recent in his possession, and more accessible to his arms. The great army of the crusaders was annihilated or dispersed; the principality of Antioch was left without a head, by the surprise and captivity of Bohemond: his ransom had oppressed him with a heavy debt; and his Norman followers were insufficient to repel the hostilities of the Greeks and Turks. In this distress, Bohemond embraced a magnanimous resolution, of leaving the defence of Antioch to his kinsman, the faithful Tancred; of arming the West against the Byzantine empire, and of executing the design which he inherited from the lessons and example of his father Guiscard. His embarkation was clandestine; and if we may credit a tale of the princess Anne, he passed the hostile sea, closely secreted in a coffin.<sup>3</sup> But his reception in France was dignified by the public applause, and his marriage with the king's daughter: his return was glorious, since the bravest spirits of the age enlisted under his veteran command; and he repassed the Hadriatic at the head of five thousand horse and forty thousand foot, assembled from the most remote climates of Europe.<sup>4</sup> The strength of

Durazzo and prudence of Alexius, the progress of famine and approach of winter, eluded his ambitious hopes; and the venal confederates were seduced from his standard. A treaty of peace<sup>5</sup> suspended the fears of the Greeks; and they were finally delivered by the death of an adversary, whom neither oaths could bind, nor dangers could appal, nor prosperity could satiate. His children succeeded to the principality of Antioch; but the boundaries were strictly defined, the homage was clearly stipulated, and the cities of Tarsus and Malmitra were restored to the Byzantine emperors. Of the coast of Anatolia, they possessed the entire circuit from Tiebizond to the Syrian gates. The Seljukian dynasty of Roum<sup>6</sup> was separated on all sides from the sea and their Musulman brethren; the power of the sultans was shaken by the victories, and even the defeats, of the Franks; and after the loss of Nice, they removed their throne to Cogni or Iconium, an obscure and inland town above three hundred miles from Constantinople.<sup>7</sup> Instead of trembling for their capital, the Comnenian princes waged an offensive war against the Turks, and the first crusade prevented the fall of the declining empire.

In the twelfth century, three great emigrations marched by land from the West to the relief of Palestine. The soldiers and pilgrims of Lombardy, France, and Germany, were excited by the example and success of the first crusade.<sup>8</sup> Forty-eight years after the deliverance of the holy sepulchre, the emperor, and the French king, Conrad the Third, and Louis the Seventh, undertook the second crusade to support the falling fortunes of the Latins.<sup>9</sup> A grand division of the third crusade was led by the emperor Frederic Barbarossa,<sup>10</sup> who sympathised with his brothers of France and England in the common loss of Jerusalem. These three expeditions may be compared in their resemblance of the greatness of numbers, their passage through the Greek empire, and the nature and event of their Turkish warfare, and a brief parallel may save the repetition of a tedious narrative. However splendid it may seem, a regular story of the crusades would exhibit the perpetual return of the same causes and effects; and the frequent attempts for the defence or recovery of the Holy Land, would appear so many faint and unsuccessful copies of the original.

I. Of the swarms that so closely trod in the footsteps of the first pilgrims, the chiefs were equal in rank, though un-

Their numbers.

<sup>2</sup> The king of Jerusalem submitted, however, to a non-interdependence, and in the title of patriarchate, gave to the church of Bethlehem, this respectable place before that city, the name of the reigning emperor (Bosquet, Dissertation sur Jérusalem, xxvii. p. 719).

<sup>3</sup> Anna Comnena adds, that in our plot of the situation, he was shut up with a dead cock, and indeed, it is to wonder how the barbarian could endure the torment and putrefaction. This absurd tale is unknown to the Latins.

<sup>4</sup> Aro (see, in the Byzantine geography, must mean England, yet we are more credibly informed, that our Henry I. would not suffer him to levy any troops in his kingdom (Bosquet, Not. ad Alexiad. p. 41).

<sup>5</sup> The copy of the treaty (Alexiad. l. xii. p. 406–414) is an original and curious piece, which would require, and might afford, a good map of the province of Antioch.

<sup>6</sup> See in the history of the king of the Bulgars (tom. ii. part. ii.) the history of this people.

<sup>7</sup> The

(trabes,

Expeditions by land the first crusade, A.D. 1099; the second, of Conrad III. and Louis VII., A.D. 1147; the third, of Frederic I., A.D. 1189.

with the ambiguous title of *Euphrates* (Collartus, tom. ii. p. 121). Yet St. Basil found in that place a multitude (revelation of Jews and Gentiles). Under the corrupt name of *Kempis*, it is described as a great city, with a river and gardens, three leagues from the mountains, and decorated (it knows not why) with Plato's tomb (Athenæa, edidit. xv. p. 307, see Bosquet, and the Index Geographicus of Scylitzus from Ibn Saad).

<sup>8</sup> For this supplement to the first crusade, see Anna Comnena

namus, l. ii. p. 11–49.

<sup>10</sup> For the third crusade, of Frederic Barbarossa, see Nicetas in Isaac Angeli, l. i. c. 7–9, p. 157; and Nicetas in Isaac Angeli, l. i. c. 7–9, p. 157; and two historians, who preface their tom. ii. p. 106–111, peditores Anacris Fred. I. p. 429–32, edit. Basnage).

equal in fame and merit, to Godfrey of Bouillon and his fellow adventurers. At their head were displayed the banners of the dukes of Burgundy, Bavaria, and Aquitaine; the first a descendant of Hugh Capet, the second a father of the Brunswick line: the archbishop of Milan, a temporal prince, transported, for the benefit of the Turks, the treasures and ornaments of his church and palace; and the veteran crusaders, Hugh the Great, and Stephen of Chartres, returned to consummate their unfinished vow. The huge and disorderly bodies of their followers moved forwards in two columns; and if the first consisted of two hundred and sixty thousand persons, the second might possibly amount to sixty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot.<sup>11</sup> The armies of the second crusade might have claimed the conquest of Asia. the nobles of France and Germany were animated by the presence of their sovereigns; and both the rank and personal characters of Conrad and Louis gave a dignity to their cause, and a discipline to their force, which might be vainly expected from the feudatory chiefs. The cavalry of the emperor, and that of the king, was each composed of seventy thousand knights, and their immediate attendants in the field;<sup>12</sup> and if the light-armed troops, the peasant infantry, the women and children, the priests and monks, be rigorously excluded, the full account will scarcely be satisfied with four hundred thousand souls. The West, from Rome to Britain, was called into action; the kings of Poland and Bohemia obeyed the summons of Conrad; and it is affirmed by the Greeks and Latins, that in the passage of a strait or river, the Byzantine agents, after a tale of nine hundred thousand, desisted from the endless and formidable computation.<sup>13</sup> In the third crusade, as the French and English preferred the navigation of the Mediterranean, the host of Frederic Barbarossa was less numerous. Fifteen thousand knights, and as many squires, were the flower of the German chivalry. sixty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot, were mustered by the emperor in the plains of Hungary; and after such repetitions, we shall no longer be startled at the six hundred thousand pilgrims, which credulity has ascribed to this last emigration.<sup>14</sup> Such extravagant reckonings prove only the astonishment of contemporaries; but their astonishment most strongly bears testimony to the existence of an enormous though indefinite multitude. The Greeks might applaud their superior knowledge of the arts and stratagems of war, but they confessed the strength and courage of the French cavalry, and the infantry of the Germans,<sup>15</sup> and the strangers are described as an iron race, of gigantic stature, who darted fire from their eyes, and spilt blood like water on the ground. Under

the banners of Conrad, a troop of females rode in the attitude and armour of men; and the chief of these Amazons, from her gilt spurs and buskins, obtained the epithet of the Golden-footed Dame.

11. The numbers and character <sup>Page 29 through</sup> of the strangers was an object of the Greek empire, <sup>the Greek empire.</sup> terror to the effeminate Greeks, and the sentiment of fear is nearly allied to that of hatred. This aversion was suspended or softened by the apprehension of the Turkish power; and the invectives of the Latins will not bias our more candid belief, that the emperor Alexius dissuembled their insolence, eluded their hostilities, counselled their rashness, and opened to their ardour the road of pilgrimage and conquest. But when the Turks had been driven from Nice and the sea-coast, when the Byzantine princes no longer dreaded the distant sultans of Cogni, they felt with pure indignation the free and frequent passage of the Western barbarians, who violated the majesty, and endangered the safety, of the empire. The second and third crusades were undertaken under the reign of Manuel Comnenus and Isaac Angelus. Of the former, the passions were always impetuous, and often malevolent; and the natural union of a cowardly and a mischievous temper was exemplified in the latter, who, without merit or mercy, could punish a tyrant, and occupy his throne. It was secretly, and perhaps tacitly, resolved by the prince and people, to destroy, or at least to discourage, the pilgrims, by every species of injury and oppression; and their want of prudence and discipline continually afforded the pretence or the opportunity. The Western monarchs had stipulated a safe passage and fair market in the country of their Christian brethren; the treaty had been ratified by oaths and hostages; and the poor soldier of Frederic's army was furnished with three marks of silver to defray his expenses on the road. But every engagement was violated by treachery and injustice; and the complaints of the Latins are attested by the honest confession of a Greek historian, who has dared to prefer truth to his country.<sup>15</sup> Instead of an hospitable reception, the gates of the cities, both in Europe and Asia, were closely barred against the crusaders; and the scanty pittance of food was let down in baskets from the walls. Experience or foresight might excuse this timid jealousy; but the common duties of humanity prohibited the mixture of chalk, or other poisonous ingredients, in the bread; and should Manuel be acquitted of any foul connivance, he is guilty of coining base money for the purpose of trading with the pilgrims. In every step of their march they were stopped or misled: the governors had private orders to

11 Anne, who states, these later swarms at 1,000 have an average of 400 to 500 more than 800 eggs, and places at their disposal 1000 of 1000000. The Greys have a record of 1000 of the same, but also, and possibly, as of the 1000000.

[illegible]

———— Numerum et pescere quærit;

*Melba mollera n. sp.*

14. This extract is correct as given by Albert of Seck and Strickland. The number of citations is increased from twelve of Alder to twenty. The names of the editors and Bernard the monk are left as printed. The original writers are absent. The Million comes from the 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th, 101st, 102nd, 103rd, 104th, 105th, 106th, 107th, 108th, 109th, 110th, 111th, 112th, 113th, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, 118th, 119th, 120th, 121st, 122nd, 123rd, 124th, 125th, 126th, 127th, 128th, 129th, 130th, 131st, 132nd, 133rd, 134th, 135th, 136th, 137th, 138th, 139th, 140th, 141st, 142nd, 143rd, 144th, 145th, 146th, 147th, 148th, 149th, 150th, 151st, 152nd, 153rd, 154th, 155th, 156th, 157th, 158th, 159th, 160th, 161st, 162nd, 163rd, 164th, 165th, 166th, 167th, 168th, 169th, 170th, 171st, 172nd, 173rd, 174th, 175th, 176th, 177th, 178th, 179th, 180th, 181st, 182nd, 183rd, 184th, 185th, 186th, 187th, 188th, 189th, 190th, 191st, 192nd, 193rd, 194th, 195th, 196th, 197th, 198th, 199th, 200th, 201st, 202nd, 203rd, 204th, 205th, 206th, 207th, 208th, 209th, 210th, 211th, 212th, 213th, 214th, 215th, 216th, 217th, 218th, 219th, 220th, 221st, 222nd, 223rd, 224th, 225th, 226th, 227th, 228th, 229th, 230th, 231st, 232nd, 233rd, 234th, 235th, 236th, 237th, 238th, 239th, 240th, 241st, 242nd, 243rd, 244th, 245th, 246th, 247th, 248th, 249th, 250th, 251st, 252nd, 253rd, 254th, 255th, 256th, 257th, 258th, 259th, 260th, 261st, 262nd, 263rd, 264th, 265th, 266th, 267th, 268th, 269th, 270th, 271st, 272nd, 273rd, 274th, 275th, 276th, 277th, 278th, 279th, 280th, 281st, 282nd, 283rd, 284th, 285th, 286th, 287th, 288th, 289th, 290th, 291st, 292nd, 293rd, 294th, 295th, 296th, 297th, 298th, 299th, 300th, 301st, 302nd, 303rd, 304th, 305th, 306th, 307th, 308th, 309th, 310th, 311th, 312th, 313th, 314th, 315th, 316th, 317th, 318th, 319th, 320th, 321st, 322nd, 323rd, 324th, 325th, 326th, 327th, 328th, 329th, 330th, 331st, 332nd, 333rd, 334th, 335th, 336th, 337th, 338th, 339th, 340th, 341st, 342nd, 343rd, 344th, 345th, 346th, 347th, 348th, 349th, 350th, 351st, 352nd, 353rd, 354th, 355th, 356th, 357th, 358th, 359th, 360th, 361st, 362nd, 363rd, 364th, 365th, 366th, 367th, 368th, 369th, 370th, 371st, 372nd, 373rd, 374th, 375th, 376th, 377th, 378th, 379th, 380th, 381st, 382nd, 383rd, 384th, 385th, 386th, 387th, 388th, 389th, 390th, 391st, 392nd, 393rd, 394th, 395th, 396th, 397th, 398th, 399th, 400th, 401st, 402nd, 403rd, 404th, 405th, 406th, 407th, 408th, 409th, 410th, 411th, 412th, 413th, 414th, 415th, 416th, 417th, 418th, 419th, 420th, 421st, 422nd, 423rd, 424th, 425th, 426th, 427th, 428th, 429th, 430th, 431st, 432nd, 433rd, 434th, 435th, 436th, 437th, 438th, 439th, 440th, 441st, 442nd, 443rd, 444th, 445th, 446th, 447th, 448th, 449th, 450th, 451st, 452nd, 453rd, 454th, 455th, 456th, 457th, 458th, 459th, 460th, 461st, 462nd, 463rd, 464th, 465th, 466th, 467th, 468th, 469th, 470th, 471st, 472nd, 473rd, 474th, 475th, 476th, 477th, 478th, 479th, 480th, 481st, 482nd, 483rd, 484th, 485th, 486th, 487th, 488th, 489th, 490th, 491st, 492nd, 493rd, 494th, 495th, 496th, 497th, 498th, 499th, 500th, 501st, 502nd, 503rd, 504th, 505th, 506th, 507th, 508th, 509th, 510th, 511th, 512th, 513th, 514th, 515th, 516th, 517th, 518th, 519th, 520th, 521st, 522nd, 523rd, 524th, 525th, 526th, 527th, 528th, 529th, 530th, 531st, 532nd, 533rd, 534th, 535th, 536th, 537th, 538th, 539th, 540th, 541st, 542nd, 543rd, 544th, 545th, 546th, 547th, 548th, 549th, 550th, 551st, 552nd, 553rd, 554th, 555th, 556th, 557th, 558th, 559th, 560th, 561st, 562nd, 563rd, 564th, 565th, 566th, 567th, 568th, 569th, 570th, 571st, 572nd, 573rd, 574th, 575th, 576th, 577th, 578th, 579th, 580th, 581st, 582nd, 583rd, 584th, 585th, 586th, 587th, 588th, 589th, 590th, 591st, 592nd, 593rd, 594th, 595th, 596th, 597th, 598th, 599th, 600th, 601st, 602nd, 603rd, 604th, 605th, 606th, 607th, 608th, 609th, 610th, 611th, 612th, 613th, 614th, 615th, 616th, 617th, 618th, 619th, 620th, 621st, 622nd, 623rd, 624th, 625th, 626th, 627th, 628th, 629th, 630th, 631st, 632nd, 633rd, 634th, 635th, 636th, 637th, 638th, 639th, 640th, 641st, 642nd, 643rd, 644th, 645th, 646th, 647th, 648th, 649th, 650th, 651st, 652nd, 653rd, 654th, 655th, 656th, 657th, 658th, 659th, 660th, 661st, 662nd, 663rd, 664th, 665th, 666th, 667th, 668th, 669th, 670th, 671st, 672nd, 673rd, 674th, 675th, 676th, 677th, 678th, 679th, 680th, 681st, 682nd, 683rd, 684th, 685th, 686th, 687th, 688th, 689th, 690th, 691st, 692nd, 693rd, 694th, 695th, 696th, 697th, 698th, 6

The German names of the first, second and third crosses are the same as the German names of the books which they represent. The first is *Die Kunst der Germanen*, the *Praxis* and *Rechtslehre*, and the last is *Freiheit*, which represents the *Verfassungsgeschichte* of Germany. He likewise names the *Erziehungsgeschichte* of Germany, which is the second cross, and the *Grundriss der Geschichte der Menschheit*, which is the last, as the important part of Philosophy, *Germania* is not only a national and productive study.

fortify the passes and break down the bridges against them; the stragglers were pillaged and murdered; the soldiers and horses were pierced in the woods by arrows from an invisible hand; the sick were burnt in their beds; and the dead bodies were hung on gibbets along the high-ways. These injuries exasperated the champions of the cross, who were not endowed with evangelical patience; and the Byzantine princes, who had provoked the unequal conflict, promoted the embarkation and march of these formidable guests. On the verge of the Turkish frontier Barbarossa spared the guilty Philadelphia,<sup>17</sup> rewarded the hospitable Laodicea, and deplored the hard necessity that had stained his sword with any drops of Christian blood. In their intercourse with the monarchs of Germany and France, the pride of the Greeks was exposed to an anxious trial. They might boast that on the first interview the seat of Louis was a low stool, beside the throne of Manuel;<sup>18</sup> but no sooner had the French king transported his army beyond the Bosphorus, than he refused the offer of a second conference, unless his brother would meet him on equal terms, either on the sea or land. With Conrad and Frederic, the ceremonial was still nicer and more difficult: like the successors of Constantine, they styled themselves emperors of the Romans;<sup>19</sup> and firmly maintained the purity of their title and dignity. The first of these representatives of Charlemagne would only converse with Manuel on horse-back in the open field; the second, by passing the Hellespont rather than the Bosphorus, declined the view of Constantinople and its sovereign. An emperor, who had been crowned at Rome, was reduced in the Greek epistles to the humble appellation of *Rex*, or prince of the Alemauni; and the vain and feeble Angelus affected to be ignorant of the name of one of the greatest men and monarchs of the age. While they viewed with hatred and suspicion the Latin pilgrims, the Greek emperors maintained a strict, though secret, alliance with the Turks and Saracens. Isaac Angelus complained, that by his friendship for the great Saladin he had incurred the enmity of the Franks; and a mosque was founded at Constantinople for the public exercise of the religion of Mahomet.<sup>20</sup>

#### Turkish warfare

III. The swarms that followed the first crusade, were destroyed in Anatolia by famine, pestilence, and the Turkish arrows; and the princes only escaped with some squadrons of horse to accomplish their lamentable pilgrimage. A just opinion may be formed of their knowledge and humanity; of their knowledge, from the design of subduing Persia and Chormasan in their way to Jerusalem; of their humanity, from the massacre of the

Christian people, a friendly city, who came out to meet them with palms and crosses in their hands. The arms of Conrad and Louis were less cruel and imprudent; but the event of the second crusade was still more ruinous to Christendom; and the Greek Manuel is accused by his own subjects of giving seasonable intelligence to the sultan, and treacherous guides to the Latin princes. Instead of crushing the common foe, by a double attack at the same time but on different sides, the Germans were urged by emulation, and the French were retarded by jealousy. Louis had scarcely passed the Bosphorus when he was met by the returning emperor, who had lost the greatest part of his army in glorious, but unsuccessful, actions on the banks of the Meander. The contrast of the pomp of his rival hastened the retreat of Conrad, the desertion of his independent vassals reduced him to his hereditary troops; and he borrowed some Greek vessels to execute by sea the pilgrimage of Palestine. Without studying the lessons of experience, or the nature of the war, the king of France advanced through the same country to a similar fate. The vanguard, which bore the royal banner and the oriflamme of St. Denis,<sup>21</sup> had doubled their march with rash and inconsiderate speed; and the rear, which the king commanded in person, no longer found their companions in the evening camp. In darkness and disorder, they were encompassed, assaulted, and overwhelmed, by the innumerable host of Turks, who in the art of war were superior to the Christians of the twelfth century. Louis, who climbed a tree in the general discomfiture, was saved by his own valour and the ignorance of his adversaries; and with the dawn of day he escaped alive, but almost alone, to the camp of the vanguard. But, instead of pursuing his expedition by land, he was rejoiced to shelter the relics of his army in the friendly sea-port of Satalia. From thence he embarked for Antioch; but so penurious was the supply of Greek vessels, that they could only afford room for his knights and nobles; and the plebeian crowd of infantry was left to perish at the foot of the Pamphylian hills. The emperor and the king embarked and wept at Jerusalem; their martial trains, the remnant of mighty armies, were joined to the Christian powers of Syria, and a fruitless siege of Damascus was the final effort of the second crusade. Conrad and Louis embarked for Europe with the personal fame of piety and courage; but the Orientals had braved these potent monarchs of the Franks, with whose names and military forces they had been so often threatened.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps they had still more to fear from the veteran genius of Frederic the First, who in his youth had served in

17 The conduct of the Philadelphians is blamed by Nicaetus, while the anonymous German accuses the rudeness of his countrymen (vol. ii. p. 104). History would be pleased, if it were endeavoured to show by such contradictions. It is likewise from Nicaetus that we learn the pious and saintly sorrow of Frederic.

18 *Stilbae* is a name which Constantine translates into Latin to the word *Zealot*. This usage is very hard to save his king and country from such ignominy (our *Joanville*, *Chrestien* vol. ii. p. 512). The latter is inserted on a mistake in more exact, not an exception, according to the frequent realisation of some MSS.

19 *Ego Romanorum imperator summus*, the Roman emperor (Anonym. *Caus.* p. 124). The public and historical style of the Greeks was the same as the prince's. Yet Constantine owns, that *imperator* is proper to the emperor.

20 In the Epistles of Innocent III. (sup. p. 181), and the History of Bohdan (p. 124, 125), see the views of a pope and a cardinal on this singular toleration.

21 As counts of Vexin, the kings of France were the vassals and advocates of the monastery of St. Denis. The saint's peculiar banner, which they received from the abbot, was of a square form, and a red or flaming colour. The oriflamme appeared at the head of the French army from the sixth to the xvth century (Ducaugny sur Joinville, *Disc.* sur p. 221, 222).

22 The excellent French History of the second crusade are the *Gesta* (sup. p. 131) and the *Chronique* (sup. p. 132) of Joinville, the *Chronique* of the same volume contains more original letters of the king, of Roger his master, &c., the best documents of authentic history.

Asia under his uncle Conrad. Forty campaigns in Germany and Italy had taught Barbarossa to command; and his soldiers, even the princes of the empire, were accustomed under his reign to obey. As soon as he lost sight of Philadelpia and Laodicea, the last cities of the Greek frontier he plunged into the salt and barren desert, a land (says the historian) of horror and tribulation.<sup>23</sup> During twenty days, every step of his fainting and sickly march was besieged by the invincible hordes of Turkman,<sup>24</sup> whose numbers and fury increased after each defeat to multiply and inflame. The emperor continued to struggle and to suffer; and such was the measure of his calamities, that when he reached the gates of Iconium, no more than one thousand knights were able to serve on horseback. By a sudden and resolute assault he defeated the guards, and stormed the capital of the sultan,<sup>25</sup> who humbly sued for pardon and peace. The road was now open, and Frederic advanced in a career of triumph, till he was unfortunately drowned in a petty torrent of Cilicia.<sup>26</sup> The remainder of his Germans was consumed by sickness and desertion; and the emperor's son expired with the greatest part of his Swabian vassals at the siege of Acre. Among the Latin heroes, Godfrey of Bouillon and Frederic Barbarossa could alone achieve the passage of the Lesser Asia; yet even their success was a warning; and in the last and most experienced age of the crusades, every nation preferred the sea to the toils and perils of an inland expedition.<sup>27</sup>

The enthusiasm of the first crusade is a natural and simple event, while hope was fresh, danger untried, and enterprise congenial to the spirit of the times. But the obstinate perseverance of Europe was indeed excited our pity and admiration; that no instruction should have been drawn from constant and adverse experience; that the same confidence should have repeatedly grown from the same failures; that six succeeding generations should have rushed headlong down the precipice that was open before them; and that men of every condition should have staked their public and private fortunes on the desperate adventure of possessing or recovering a tomb-stone two thousand miles from their country. In a period of two centuries after the council of Clermont, each spring and summer produced a new emigration of pilgrim warriors for the defence of the Holy Land; but the seven great armaments or crusades were excited by some impending or recent calamity: the nations were

moved by the authority of their pontiffs, and the example of their kings: their zeal was kindled, and their reason was silenced, by the voice of their holy orators; and among these, Bernard,<sup>28</sup> the monk, or the saint, may claim the most honourable place. About eight years before the first conquest of Jerusalem, he was born of a noble family in Burgundy; at the age of three and twenty he buried himself in the monastery of Cîteaux, then in the primitive fervour of the institution; at the end of two years he led forth her third colony, or daughter, to the valley of Clairvaux<sup>21</sup> in Champagne; and was content, till the hour of his death, with the humble station of abbot of his own community. A philosophic age has abolished, with too liberal and indiscriminate disdain, the honours of these spiritual heroes. The meanest among them are distinguished by some energies of the mind; they were at least superior to their votaries and disciples; and, in the race of superstition, they attained the prize for which such numbers contended. In speech, in writing, in action, Bernard stood high above his rivals and contemporaries; his compositions are not devoid of wit and eloquence; and he seems to have preserved as much reason and humanity as may be reconciled with the character of a saint. In a secular life, he would have shared the seventh part of a private inheritance; by a vow of poverty and penance, by closing his eyes against the visible world,<sup>30</sup> by the refusal of all ecclesiastical dignities, the abbot of Clairvaux became the oracle of Europe, and the founder of one hundred and sixty convents. Princes and pontiffs trembled at the freedom of his apostolical censures. France, England, and Milan, consulted and obeyed his judgment in a session of the church: the debt was repaid by the gratitude of Innocent the Second; and his successor, Eugenius the Third, was the friend and disciple of the holy Bernard. It was in the proclamation of the second crusade that he shone as the missionary and prophet of God, who called the nations to the defence of his holy sepulchre.<sup>31</sup> At the parliament of Vezelay he spoke before the king; and Louis the Seventh, with his nobles, received their crosses from his hand. The abbot of Clairvaux then marched to the less easy conquest of the emperor Conrad: a phlegmatic people, ignorant of his language, was transported by the pathetic vehemence of his tone and gestures; and his progress, from Constance to Cologne, was the

$$\begin{aligned} \text{FIP} &= \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n \text{Firm}_i \text{Turnover}_i}{\sum_{i=1}^n \text{Firm}_i \text{Sales}_i} \times 100 \\ \text{FIP} &= \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n \text{Firm}_i \text{Turnover}_i}{\sum_{i=1}^n \text{Firm}_i \text{Sales}_i} \times 100 \\ \text{FIP} &= \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n \text{Firm}_i \text{Turnover}_i}{\sum_{i=1}^n \text{Firm}_i \text{Sales}_i} \times 100 \end{aligned}$$

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system (1) as  $t \rightarrow \infty$ . It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) are bounded and tend to zero as  $t \rightarrow \infty$ .

[illegible]

27. M. J. S. Smith, *J. Biol. Chem.*, **235**, 135 (1960). In this paper, the authors state that the rate of polymerization is proportional to the concentration of the monomer, and that the rate of polymerization is proportional to the concentration of the monomer.

28. The most authentic edition of St. Bernard's letters is from the earliest printed edition of the Opera by M. de la Haye, and reprinted at Venice 1775, in six volumes in Latin. We never

the above could reflect or suggest, it could add, is contained in the new, 1993, exhibits, as the old, 1991, exhibit is continuing to be used in the new exhibit, by exhibit in the papers of the late Dr. J. Edgar Hoover.

[illegible][illegible]

$\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \sum_{k=0}^{n-1} f(T^k x) = \int_X f d\mu$



“but I still possess three shops in the city of  
“Hems: these you may take; and these alone  
“can I bestow.” His chamber of justice was  
the terror of the great and the refuge of the  
poor. Some years after the sultan’s death, an  
oppressed subject called aloud in the streets of  
Damascus. “O Nouredin, Nouredin, where  
“art thou now? Arise, arise, to pity and pro-  
“tect us!” A tumult was apprehended, and a  
living tyrant blushed or trembled at the name  
of a departed monarch.

Conquest of  
Egypt by the  
Turks.  
A.D. 1165—1169.

By the arms of the Turks and Franks the Fatimites had been deprived of Syria. In Egypt the decay of their character and influence was still more essential. Yet they were still revered as the descendants and successors of the prophet; they maintained their invisible state in the palace of Cairo; and their person was seldom violated by the profane eyes of subjects or strangers. The Latin ambassadors have described their own introduction through a series of gloomy passages, and glittering porticoes <sup>41</sup> the scene was enlivened by the warbling of birds and the murmur of fountains: it was enriched by a display of rich furniture, and rare animals; of the imperial treasures, something was shown, and much was supposed; and the long order of unfolding doors was guarded by black soldiers and domestic counsellors. The sanctuary of the presence chamber was veiled with a curtain; and the vizir, who conducted the ambassadors, laid aside his cimeter, and prostrated himself three times on the ground; the veil was then removed; and they beheld the commander of the faithful, who signified his pleasure to the first slave of the throne. But this slave was his master the vizir or sultan had usurped the supreme administration of Egypt; the claims of the rival candidates were decided by arms; and the name of the most worthy, of the strongest, was inscribed in the royal patent of command. The factions of Dargham and Shawer alternately expelled each other from the capital and country; and the weaker side implored the dangerous protection of the sultan of Damascus or the king of Jerusalem, the perpetual enemies of the sect and monarchy of the Fatimites. By his arms and religion the Turk was most formidable; but the Frank, in an easy direct march, could advance from Gaza to the Nile; while the intermediate situation of his realm compelled the troops of Nour-eddin to wheel round the skirts of Arabia, a long and painful circuit, which exposed them to thirst, fatigue, and the burning winds of the desert. The secret zeal and ambition of the Turkish prince aspired to reign in Egypt under the name of the Abbassides; but the restoration of the suppliant Shawer was the ostensible motive of the first expedition; and the success was intrusted to the emir Shiroonah, a valiant and veteran commander. Dargham was oppressed and slain; but

the ingratitude, the jealousy, the just apprehensions, of his more fortunate rival, soon provoked him to invite the king of Jerusalem to deliver Egypt from his insolent benefactors. To this union the forces of Shiracouh were unequal; he relinquished the premature conquest; and the evacuation of Belbeis or Pelusium was the condition of his safe retreat. As the Turks defiled before the enemy, and their general closed the rear, with a vigilant eye, and a hart caxe in his hand, a Frank presumed to ask him if he were not afraid of an attack? "It is doubtless in your power to begin the attack," replied the intrepid emir; "but rest assured, that not one of my soldiers will go to paradise till he has sent an infidel to hell." His report of the riches of the land, the effeminacy of the natives, and the disorders of the government, revived the hopes of Noureddin; the caliph of Bagdad applauded the pious design; and Shiracouh descended into Egypt a second time, with twelve thousand Turks and eleven thousand Arabs. Yet his forces were still inferior to the confederate armies of the Franks and Saracens; and I can discern an unusual degree of military art in his passage of the Nile, his retreat into Thebais, his masterly evolutions in the battle of Babain, the surprise of Alexandria, and his marches and counter-marches in the flats and valley of Egypt, from the tropic to the sea. His conduct was seconded by the courage of his troops; and on the eve of action a Mamaluke<sup>42</sup> exclaimed, "If we cannot wrest Egypt from the Christian dogs, why do we not renounce the honours and rewards of the sultan, and retire to labour with the peasants, or to spin with the females of the harem?" Yet, after all his efforts in the field, after the obstinate defence of Alexandria<sup>43</sup> by his nephew Saladin, an honorable capitulation and retreat concluded the second enterprise of Shiracouh; and Noureddin reserved his abilities for a third and more pretensions occasion. It was soon offered by the ambitious and avastie of Amalric or Amaury, king of Jerusalem, who had imbibed the pernicious maxim, that no faith should be kept with the enemies of God. A religious warrior, the great master of the hospital, encouraged him to proceed; the emperor of Constantinople either gave, or promised, a fleet to act with the armies of Syria; and the perfidious Christian, unsatisfied with spoil and subsidy, aspired to the conquest of Egypt. In this emergency, the Moslems turned their eyes towards the sultan of Damascus; the vizir, whom danger encompassed on all sides, yielded to their unanimous wishes, and Noureddin seemed to be tempted by the fair offer of one third of the revenue of the kingdom. The Franks were already at the gates of Cairo; but the suburbs, the old city, were burnt on their approach; they were deceived by an insidious negotiation, and their vessels were unable to surmount the barriers of the Nile. They preferentially

41 From the ambassador, William Fitzwilliam, on 17.12.15, describes the place of the pearl in the diet of the nobles and a pearl as large as a pigeon's egg, and a pearl as large as a nut, weighing 100 drams, in a round of coral, and a pearl as large as a nut, in any vessel of crystal, and a pearl as large as a nut, in any vessel of crystal.

42. *Mimulus*, per *Mimulus* ...  
pharic p. 1 and Diller p. 1 ...  
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declined a contest with the Turks in the midst of an hostile country; and Amaury retired into Palestine with the shame and reproach that always adhered to unsuccessful injustice. After this deliverance, Shihacouh was invested with a robe of honour, which he soon stained with the blood of the unfortunate Shawer. For a while, the Turkish emir condescended to hold the office of vizir; but this foreign conquest precipitated the fall of the Fatimites themselves; and the bloodless change was accomplished by a message and a word. The caliphs had been degraded by their own weakness and the tyranny of the vizirs: their subjects blushed, when the descendant and successor of the prophet presented his naked hand to the rude gripe of a Latin ambassador; they wept when he sent the hair of his women, a sad emblem of their grief and terror, to excite the pity of the sultan of Damascus. By the command of Noureddin, and the sentence of the doctors, the holy names of Abubeker, Omar, and Othman, were solemnly restored: the caliph Mosthadi, of Bagdad, was acknowledged in the public prayers as the true commander of the faithful; and the green livery of the sons of Ali was exchanged for the black colour of the Abbassides. The last of his race, the caliph Adhed, who survived only ten days, expired in happy ignorance of his fate: his treasures secured the loyalty of the soldiers, and silenced the murmurs of the sectaries; and in all subsequent revolutions, Egypt has never departed from the orthodox tradition of the Moslems.<sup>45</sup>

The hilly country beyond the Tigris is occupied by the pastoral tribes of the Curds;<sup>46</sup> a people hardly, strong, savage, impatient of the yoke, addicted to rapine, and tenacious of the government of their national chief. The resemblance of name, situation, and manners, seems to identify them with the Carduchiens of the Greeks;<sup>47</sup> and they still defend against the Ottoman Porte the antique freedom which they asserted against the successors of Cyrus. Poverty and ambition prompted them to embrace the profession of mercenary soldiers: the service of his father and uncle prepared the reign of the great Saladin;<sup>48</sup> and the son of Job or Ayub, a simple Kurd, magnanimously smiled at his pedigree, which flattery deduced from the Arabian caliphs. So numerous was Noureddin of the impending ruin of his house, that he considered the reluctant youth to follow his uncle Shihacouh into Egypt: his military character was established by the defence of Alexandria; and if we may believe the Latins, he solicited and obtained from

the Christian general the *profane* honours of knighthood.<sup>49</sup> On the death of Shihacouh, the office of grand vizir was bestowed on Saladin, as the youngest and least powerful of the emirs; but with the advice of his father, whom he invited to Cairo, his genius obtained the ascendant over his equals, and attached the army to his person and interest. While Noureddin lived, these ambitious Curds were the most humble of his slaves; and the indiscreet murmurs of the divan were silenced by the prudent Ayub, who loudly protested that at the command of the sultan he himself would lead his son in chains to the foot of the throne. "Such language," he added in private, "was prudent and proper in an assembly of your rivals; but we are now above fear and obedience; and the threats of Noureddin shall not extort the tribute of a sugar-cane." His seasonable death relieved them from the odious and doubtful conflict: his son, a minor of eleven years of age, was left for a while to the emirs of Damascus; and the new lord of Egypt was decorated by the caliph with every title<sup>51</sup> that could sanctify his usurpation in the eyes of the people. Nor was Saladin long content with the possession of Egypt; he despoiled the Christians of Jerusalem, and the Atabeks of Damascus, Aleppo, and Diarbekir: Mecca and Medina acknowledged him for their temporal protector; his brother subdued the distant regions of Yemen, or the happy Arabia; and at the hour of his death, his empire was spread from the African Tripoli to the Tigris, and from the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia. In the judgment of his character, the reproaches of treason and ingratitude strike forcibly on our minds, impressed, as they are, with the principle and experience of law and loyalty. But his ambition may in some measure be excused by the revolutions of Asia,<sup>52</sup> which had crased every notion of legitimate succession; by the recent example of the Atabeks themselves; by his reverence to the son of his benefactor, his humane and generous behaviour to the collateral branches; by *their* incapacity and *his* merit; by the approbation of the caliph, the sole source of all legitimate power; and, above all, by the wishes and interest of the people, whose happiness is the first object of government. In his virtues, and in those of his patron, they admired the singular union of the hero and the saint; for both Noureddin and Saladin are ranked among the Mahometan saints; and the constant meditation of the holy war appears to have shed a serious and sober colour over their lives and actions. The youth of the latter<sup>53</sup> was addicted to wine and

<sup>45</sup> For the most recent history of Egypt, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118. For the history of Egypt, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118. For the history of Egypt, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118.

<sup>46</sup> For the Curds, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118. For the Curds, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118. For the Curds, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118.

<sup>47</sup> See the Carduchi of Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118. For the Carduchi, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118.

<sup>48</sup> For the history of Saladin, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118. For the history of Saladin, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118.

<sup>49</sup> For the history of Saladin, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118. For the history of Saladin, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118.

<sup>50</sup> For the history of Saladin, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118. For the history of Saladin, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118.

<sup>51</sup> For the history of Saladin, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118. For the history of Saladin, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118.

<sup>52</sup> For the history of Saladin, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118. For the history of Saladin, see Volney, *Essai sur l'usage de l'Alphabet*, p. 117-118.

<sup>53</sup> See his life and character in Renaudot, p. 537-545.

women ; but his aspiring spirit soon renounced the temptations of pleasure, for the graver follies of fame and dominion : the garment of Saladin was of coarse woollen ; water was his only drink ; and, while he exultated the temperance, he surpassed the chastity, of his Arabian prophet. Both in faith and practice he was a rigid Muslim ; he ever deplored that the defence of religion had not allowed him to accomplish the pilgrimage of Mecca ; but at the stated hours, five times each day, the sultan devoutly prayed with his brethren : the involuntary omission of fasting was scrupulously repaid ; and his perusal of the Koran, on horseback between the approaching armies, may be quoted as a proof, how ever ostentatious, of piety and courage.<sup>54</sup> The superstitious doctrine of the sect of Shafei was the only study that he deigned to encourage. the poets were safe in his contempt ; but all profane science was the object of his aversion ; and a philosopher, who had vented some speculative novelties, was seized and strangled by the command of the royal saint. The justice of his divan was accessible to the meanest suppliant against himself and his ministers ; and it was only for a kingdom that Saladin would deviate from the rule of equity. While the descendants of Seljuk and Zenghi held his stirrup and smoothed his garments, he was affable and patient with the meanest of his servants. So boundless was his liberality, that he distributed twelve thousand horses at the siege of Acre ; and, at the time of his death, no more than forty-seven drams of silver and one piece of gold coin were found in the treasury ; yet, in a martial reign, the tributes were diminished, and the wealthy citizens enjoyed without fear or danger the fruits of their industry. Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, were adorned by the royal foundations of hospitals, colleges, and mosques ; and Cairo was fortified with a wall and citadel ; but his works were consecrated to public use,<sup>55</sup> nor did the sultan indulge himself in a garden or palace of private luxury. In a fanatic age, himself a fanatic, the genuine virtues of Saladin commanded the esteem of the Christians : the emperor of Germany gloried in his friendship ;<sup>56</sup> the Greek emperor solicited his alliance ;<sup>57</sup> and the conquest of Jerusalem diffused, and perhaps magnified, his fame both in the East and West.

During its short existence, the kingdom of Jerusalem<sup>18</sup> was supported by the discord of the Turks and Saracens; and both the Fatimite caliphs and the sultans of Damascus were tempted to sacrifice the cause of their religion to the more considerations of private and present advantage. But the powers of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, were now united by an *homo*, whose nature and fortune had armed against the Christians. All without, now bore the most threatening aspect;

and all was feeble and hollow in the internal state of Jerusalem. After the two first Baldwins, the brother and cousin of Godfrey of Bouillon, the sceptre devolved by female succession to Melisenda, daughter of the second Baldwin, and her husband Fulk, count of Anjou, the father, by a former marriage, of our English Plantagenets. Their two sons, Baldwin the Third, and Amaury, waged a strenuous, and not unsuccessful, war against the infidels; but the son of Amaury, Baldwin the Fourth, was deprived, by the leprosy, a gift of the crusades, of the faculties both of mind and body. His sister Sybilla, the mother of Baldwin the Fifth, was his natural heiress; after the suspicious death of her child, she crowned her second husband, Guy of Lusignan, a prince of a handsome person, but of such base renown, that his own brother Jeffrey was heard to exclaim, "Since they have made *him* a king, surely they would have made *me* a god!" The choice was generally blamed; and the most powerful vassal, Raymond count of Tripoli, who had been excluded from the succession and regency, entertained an implacable hatred against the king, and exposed his honour and conscience to the temptations of the sultan. Such were the guardians of the holy city; a leper, a child, a woman, a coward, and a traitor: yet its fate was delayed twelve years by some supplies from Europe, by the valour of the military orders, and by the distant or domestic avocations of their great enemy. At length, on every side, the sinking state was encircled and pressed by an hostile line; and the truce was violated by the Franks, whose existence it protected. A soldier of fortune, Reginald of Chatillon, had seized a fortress on the edge of the desert, from whence he pillaged the caravans, insulted Mahomet, and threatened the cities of Mecca and Medina. Saladin condemned to complain; rejoiced in the denial of justice; and at the head of four-score thousand horse and foot invaded the Holy Land. The choice of Tiberias for his first siege was suggested by the count of Tripoli, to whom it belonged; and the king of Jerusalem was persuaded to drain his garrisons, and to arm his people for the relief of that important place.<sup>59</sup> By the advice of the perfidious Raymond, the Christians were betrayed into a camp destitute of water: he fled on the first onset, with the curses of both nations;<sup>60</sup> Lusignan was overthrown, with the loss of thirty thousand men; and the wood of the true cross, a dire misfortune! was left in the power of the infidels. The royal captive was conducted to the tent of Saladin; and as he fainted with thirst and terror, the generous victor presented him with a cup of sherbet, cooled in snow, without sufficing his companion, Reginald of Chatillon, to partake of this pledge of hospitality and pardon. "The person and dignity of a king," said the sultan,

54 The axial and regions that are attached to the first paper of the cone are 70% the same as the second paper of the cone. The other two papers are 10% the same as the first paper of the cone and the other two papers are 10% the same as the second paper of the cone.

18 North Lankford Road, Fort Worth, Texas 76104  
 19 The above information was obtained from the files of the  
 20 Federal Bureau of Investigation, Dallas, Texas, and is being furnished to you for your information.  
 21 Very truly yours,  
 22 Special Agent in Charge

[illegible]



"are sacred; but this impious robber must instantly acknowledge the prophet, whom he has blasphemed, or meet the death which he has so often deserved." On the proud or conscientious refusal of the Christian warrior, Saladin struck him on the head with his cimeter, and Reginald was despatched by the guards.<sup>61</sup> The trembling Lusignan was sent to Damascus, to an honourable prison and speedy ransom; but the victory was stained by the execution of two hundred and thirty knights of the hospital, the intrepid champions and martyrs of their faith. The kingdom was left without a head; and of the two grand masters of the military orders, the one was slain and the other was a prisoner. From all the cities, both of the sea-coast and the inland country, the garrisons had been drawn away for this fatal field: Tyre and Tripoli alone could escape the rapid inroad of Saladin; and three months after the battle of Tiberias, he appeared in arms before the gates of Jerusalem.<sup>62</sup>

He might expect, that the siege of a city so venerable on earth and in heaven, so interesting to Europe and Asia, would rekindle the last sparks of enthusiasm; and that, of sixty thousand Christians, every man would be a soldier, and every soldier a candidate for martyrdom. But queen Sybilla trembled for herself and her captive husband, and the barons and knights, who had escaped from the sword and chains of the Turks, displayed the same factious and selfish spirit in the public ruin. The most numerous portion of the inhabitants was composed of the Greek and Oriental Christians, whom experience had taught to prefer the Mahometan before the Latin yoke;<sup>63</sup> and the holy sepulchre attracted a base and needy crowd, without arms or courage, who subsisted only on the charity of the pilgrims. Some feeble and hasty efforts were made for the defence of Jerusalem; but in the space of fourteen days, a victorious army drove back the sallies of the besieged, planted their engines, opened the wall to the breadth of fifteen cubits, applied their scaling-ladders, and erected on the breach twelve banners of the prophet and the sultan. It was in vain that a barefoot procession of the queen, the women, and the monks, implored the Son of God to save his tomb and his inheritance from impious violation. Their sole hope was in the mercy of the conqueror, and to their first suppliant deputation that mercy was sternly denied. "He had sworn to avenge the patience and long-suffering of the Moslems; the hour of forgiveness was elapsed, and the moment was now arrived to expiate, in blood, the innocent blood which had been spilt by Godfrey and the first crusaders." But a desperate and successful struggle of the Franks admonished the sultan that his triumph was not yet secure; he listened with reverence to a solemn adjuration in the name of the common father of mankind; and a sentiment of human sympathy mollified the ri-

gour of fanaticism and conquest. He consented to accept the city, and to spare the inhabitants. The Greek and Oriental Christians were permitted to live under his dominion; but it was stipulated, that in forty days all the Franks and Latins should evacuate Jerusalem, and be safely conducted to the sea-ports of Syria and Egypt; that ten pieces of gold should be paid for each man, five for each woman, and one for every child; and that those who were unable to purchase their freedom should be detained in perpetual slavery. Of some writers it is a favourite and invidious theme to compare the humanity of Saladin with the massacre of the first crusade. The difference would be merely personal; but we should not forget that the Christians had offered to capitulate, and that the Mahometans of Jerusalem sustained the last extremities of an assault and storm. Justice is indeed due to the fidelity with which the Turkish conqueror fulfilled the conditions of the treaty; and he may be deservedly praised for the glance of pity which he cast on the misery of the vanquished. Instead of a rigorous exaction of his debt, he accepted a sum of thirty thousand byzants, for the ransom of seven thousand poor; two or three thousand more were dismissed by his gratuitous clemency; and the number of slaves was reduced to eleven or fourteen thousand persons. In his interview with the queen, his words, and even his tears, suggested the kindest consolations; his liberal alms were distributed among those who had been made orphans or widows by the fortune of war; and while the knights of the hospital were in arms against him, he allowed their more pious brethren to continue, during the term of a year, the care and service of the sick. In these acts of mercy the virtue of Saladin deserves our admiration and love: he was above the necessity of dissimulation, and his stern fanaticism would have prompted him to dissemble, rather than to affect, this profane compassion for the enemies of the Koran. After Jerusalem had been delivered from the presence of the strangers, the sultan made his triumphant entry, his banners waving in the wind, and to the harmony of martial music. The great mosch of Omar, which had been converted into a church, was again consecrated to one God and his prophet Mahomet; the walls and pavement were purified with rose-water; and a pulpit, the labour of Nouredin, was erected in the sanctuary. But when the golden cross that glittered on the dome was cast down, and dragged through the streets, the Christians of every sect uttered a lamentable groan, which was answered by the joyful shouts of the Moslems. In four ivory chests the patriarch had collected the crosses, the images, the vases, and the relics of the holy place: they were seized by the conqueror, who was desirous of presenting the caliph with the trophies of Christian idolatry. He was persuaded, however, to intrust them to the patriarch and prince of Antioch; and the

<sup>61</sup> Renaud, Reginald, or Arnold de Châtillon, is celebrated by the Latins for his life and death: but the various stories of the latter are, notwithstanding, united by Belsham and Arnold; and, for the first time, de St. Louis, p. 701. Châtillon's great enemy Saladin, after having put to death a prisoner who had tasted his bread and salt. Some of the

most sacrificed, in 1187, p. 721. Belsham and Arnold, p. 275, insert two original letters of knight templar to Renaud, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 515.

pious pledge was redeemed by Richard of England, at the expense of fifty-two thousand byzants of gold.<sup>64</sup>

The nations might fear and hope  
the immediate and final expulsion  
of the Latins from Syria; which  
was yet delayed above a century after the death  
of Saladin.<sup>65</sup> In the career of victory, he was  
first checked by the resistance of Tyre; the  
troops and garrisons, which had capitulated,  
were imprudently conducted to the same port:  
their numbers were adequate to the defence  
of the place; and the arrival of Conrad of Mont-  
ferrat inspired the disorderly crowd with con-  
fidence and union. His father, a venerable  
pilgrim, had been made prisoner in the battle  
of Tiberias; but that disaster was unknown in  
Italy and Greece, when the son was urged by  
ambition and piety to visit the inheritance of his  
royal nephew, the infant Baldwin. The view  
of the Turkish banners wound him from the  
hostile coast of Jaffa; and Conrad was unani-  
mously hailed as the prince and champion of  
Tyre, which was already besieged by the con-  
queror of Jerusalem. The firmness of his zeal,  
and perhaps his knowledge of a generous  
foe, enabled him to brave the threats of the  
sultan, and to declare, that should his aged  
parent be exposed before the walls, he him-  
self would discharge the first arrow, and  
glory in his descent from a Christian martyr.<sup>66</sup>  
The Egyptian fleet was allowed to enter the  
harbour of Tyre; but the chain was suddenly  
drawn, and five galleys were either sunk or  
taken: a thousand Turks were slain in a sally;  
and Saladin, after burning his engines, con-  
cluded a glorious campaign by a disgraceful  
retreat to Damascus. He was soon assailed by  
a more formidable tempest. The pathetic nar-  
ratives, and even the pictures, that represented  
in lively colours the servitude and profanation  
of Jerusalem, awakened the torpid sensibility  
of Europe. the emperor Frederic Barbarossa,  
and the kings of France and England, assumed  
the cross; and the tardy magnitude of their  
armaments was anticipated by the maritime  
states of the Mediterranean and the Ocean.  
The skilful and provident Italians first em-  
barked in the ships of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice.  
They were speedily followed by the most eager  
pilgrims of France, Normandy, and the Western  
Isles. The powerful succour of Flanders, Frise,  
and Denmark, filled near an hundred vessels;  
and the Northern warriors were distinguished in  
the field by a lofty stature and a ponderous  
battle-axe.<sup>67</sup> Their increasing multitudes could  
no longer be confined within the walls of Tyre,  
or remain obedient to the voice of Conrad.  
They pitied the misfortunes, and revered the  
dignity, of Lusignan, who was released from  
prison, perhaps to divide the army of the Franks.

He proposed the recovery of Ptolemais, or Acre, thirty miles to the south of Tyre; and the place was first invested by two thousand horse and thirty thousand foot under his nominal command. I shall not expatiate on the story of this memorable siege; in which lasted near two years, and consumed, in a narrow space, the forces of Europe and Asia. Never did the flame of enthusiasm burn with <sup>Siege of Acre, A.D. 1189, July—A.D. 1191, July</sup> fiercer and more destructive rage; nor could the true believers, a common appellation, who consecrated their own martyrs, refuse some applause to the mistaken zeal and courage of their adversaries. At the sound of the holy trumpet, the Moslems of Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and the Oriental provinces, assembled under the servant of the prophet.<sup>68</sup> his camp was pitched and removed within a few miles of Acre; and he laboured, night and day, for the relief of his brethren and the annoyance of the Franks. Nine battles, not unworthy of the name, were fought, in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel, with such vicissitude of fortune, that in one attack the sultan forced his way into the city; that in one sally, the Christians penetrated to the royal tent. By the means of divers and pigeons, a regular correspondence was maintained with the besieged: and, as often as the sea was left open, the exhausted garrison was withdrawn, and a fresh supply was poured into the place. The Latin camp was thinned by famine, the sword, and the climate; but the tents of the dead were replenished with new pilgrims, who exaggerated the strength and speed of their approaching countrymen. The vulgar was astonished by the report, that the pope himself, with an innumerable crusade, was advanced as far as Constantinople. The march of the emperor filled the East with more serious alarms; the obstacles which he encountered in Asia, and perhaps in Greece, were raised by the policy of Saladin; his joy on the death of Barbarossa was measured by his esteem; and the Christians were rather dismayed than encouraged at the sight of the duke of Swabia and his way-worn remnant of five thousand Germans. At length, in the spring of the second year, the royal fleets of France and England cast anchor in the bay of Acre, and the siege was more vigorously prosecuted by the youthful emulation of the two kings, Philip Augustus and Richard Plantagenet. After every resource had been tried, and every hope was exhausted, the defenders of Acre submitted to their fate; a capitulation was granted, but their lives and liberties were taxed at the hard conditions of a ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, the deliverance of one hundred nobles, and fifteen hundred inferior captives, and the restoration of the wood of the holy cross. Some doubts in the agreement, and some delay in the execution, rekindled the fury

61 For the complex of *Artemesia*, *Polytrichum* sp. 75 and *Allylaria* sp. 10-17, see our Microtus notes. On the other hand, Bernard *Triturus* sp. 131-133 is the most copious and authentic, see below. *Mytilus* (Page 14) of 123.

fact, by Vertot, who adopts without reluctance a romantic tale, the old literature is definitely exposed to the glare of the historical.

67. Northernmost of the three, it is the only salmonid species that occurs in the district of September 1961. It is a small, slender, silvery fish, with a maximum length of 10 cm. It is found in the upper reaches of the river, where it is common.

As the history of the movement is well known, it is not necessary to repeat it here. I do, however, feel the need to mention the names of M. J. and G. J. Jones, the founders, and the thought against which they

of the Franks, and three thousand Moslems, almost in the sultan's view, were beheaded by the command of the sanguinary Richard.<sup>69</sup> By the conquest of Acre, the Latin powers acquired a strong town and a convenient harbour; but the advantage was most dearly purchased. The minister and historian of Saladin computes, from the report of the enemy, that their numbers, at different periods, amounted to five or six hundred thousand; that more than one hundred thousand Christians were slain; that a far greater number was lost by disease or shipwreck; and that a small portion of this mighty host could return in safety to their native country.<sup>70</sup>

Richard of England, in the First, are the only kings of A.D. 1191, 1192. France and England, who have fought under the same banners; but the holy service, in which they were enlisted, was incessantly disturbed by their national jealousy; and the two factions, which they protected in Palestine, were more averse to each other than to the common enemy. In the eyes of the Orientals, the French monarch was superior in dignity and power; and, in the emperor's absence, the Latins revered him as their temporal chief.<sup>71</sup> His exploits were not adequate to his fame. Philip was brave, but the statesman predominated in his character; he was soon weary of sacrificing his health and interest on a barren coast; the surrender of Acre became the signal of his departure; nor could he justify this unpopular desertion, by leaving the duke of Burgundy, with five hundred knights, and ten thousand foot, for the service of the Holy Land. The king of England, though inferior in dignity, surpassed his rival in wealth and military renown;<sup>72</sup> and if heroism be confined to brutal and ferocious valour, Richard Plantagenet will stand high among the heroes of the age. The memory of *Cœur de Lion*, of the lion-hearted prince, was long dear and glorious to his English subjects; and, at the distance of sixty years, it was celebrated in proverbial sayings by the grandsons of the Turks and Saracens, against whom he had fought: his tremendous name was employed by the Syrian mothers to silence their infants; and if an horse suddenly started from the way, his rider was wont to exclaim, "Dost thou think king Richard is in that bush?"<sup>73</sup> His cruelty to the Mohammedans was the effect of temper and zeal; but I cannot believe that a soldier, so free and fearless in the use of his lance, would have descended to what

a dagger against his valiant brother Conrad of Montferrat, who was slain at Tyre by some secret assassins.<sup>74</sup> After the surrender of Acre, and the departure of Philip, the king of England led the crusaders to the recovery of the sea-coast; and the cities of Caesarea and Jaffa were added to the fragments of the kingdom of Lusignan. A march of one hundred miles from Acre to Ascalon, was a great and perpetual battle of eleven days. In the disorder of his troops, Saladin remained on the field with seventeen guards, without lowering his standard, or suspending the sound of his brazen kettle-drum: he again rallied and renewed the charge; and his preachers or heralds called aloud on the *unitarians*, manfully to stand up against the Christian idolaters. But the progress of these idolaters was irresistible, and it was only by demolishing the walls and buildings of Ascalon, that the sultan could prevent them from occupying an important fortress on the confines of Egypt. During a severe winter, the armies slept; but in the spring, the Franks advanced within a day's march of Jerusalem, under the leading standard of the English king, and his active spirit intercepted a convoy, or caravan, of seven thousand camels. Saladin<sup>75</sup> had fixed his station in the holy city; but the city was struck with consternation and discord: he fasted; he prayed; he preached; he offered to share the dangers of the siege; but his Mamelukes, who remembered the fate of their companions at Acre, pressed the sultan, with loyal or seditious clamours, to reserve his person and their courage for the future defence of the religion and empire.<sup>76</sup> The Moslems were delivered by the sudden, or, as they deemed, the miraculous, retreat of the Christians.<sup>77</sup> and the laurels of Richard were blasted by the prudence, or envy, of his companions. The hero, ascending an hill, and veiling his face, exclaimed with an indignant voice, "Those who are unwilling to rescue, are unworthy to view, the sepulchre of Christ!" After his return to Acre, on the news that Jaffa was surprised by the sultan, he sailed with some merchant vessels, and leaped foremost on the beach; the castle was relieved by his presence; and sixty thousand Turks and Saracens fled before his arms. The discovery of his weakness provoked them to return in the morning; and they found him carelessly encamped before the gates with only seventeen knights and three hundred archers. Without counting their numbers, he sustained

<sup>69</sup> Richard of England, with a small party of knights, killed a great number of the Moslems, and took a great number of captives. See the account of this battle in the *Chronicle of Richard I.* p. 1191. and in the *Chronicle of Philip Augustus* p. 1191. and in the *Chronicle of Saladin* p. 1191.

<sup>70</sup> Richard of England, p. 1191. He says, that he saw a great number of Christians killed, and a great number of Moslems taken. He also says, that he saw a great number of Christians taken, and a great number of Moslems killed.

<sup>71</sup> Richard of England, p. 1191. He says, that he saw a great number of Christians killed, and a great number of Moslems taken. He also says, that he saw a great number of Christians taken, and a great number of Moslems killed.

<sup>72</sup> Richard of England, p. 1191. He says, that he saw a great number of Christians killed, and a great number of Moslems taken. He also says, that he saw a great number of Christians taken, and a great number of Moslems killed.

<sup>73</sup> Richard of England, p. 1191. He says, that he saw a great number of Christians killed, and a great number of Moslems taken. He also says, that he saw a great number of Christians taken, and a great number of Moslems killed.

<sup>74</sup> Richard of England, p. 1191. He says, that he saw a great number of Christians killed, and a great number of Moslems taken. He also says, that he saw a great number of Christians taken, and a great number of Moslems killed.

<sup>75</sup> Richard of England, p. 1191. He says, that he saw a great number of Christians killed, and a great number of Moslems taken. He also says, that he saw a great number of Christians taken, and a great number of Moslems killed.

<sup>76</sup> Richard of England, p. 1191. He says, that he saw a great number of Christians killed, and a great number of Moslems taken. He also says, that he saw a great number of Christians taken, and a great number of Moslems killed.

<sup>77</sup> Richard of England, p. 1191. He says, that he saw a great number of Christians killed, and a great number of Moslems taken. He also says, that he saw a great number of Christians taken, and a great number of Moslems killed.

their charge; and we learn from the evidence of his enemies, that the king of England, grasping his lance, rode furiously along their front, from the right to the left wing, without meeting an adversary who dared to encounter his career.<sup>78</sup> Am I writing the history of Orlando or Amadis?

During these hostilities, a languid and tedious negotiation<sup>79</sup> between the Franks and Moslems was started, and continued, and broken, and again resumed, and again broken. Some acts of royal courtesy, the gift of snow and fruit, the exchange of Norway hawks and Arabian horses, softened the asperity of religious war: from the vicissitude of success, the monarchs might learn to suspect that Heaven was neutral in the quarrel; nor, after the trial of each other, could either hope for a decisive victory.<sup>80</sup> The health both of Richard and Saladin appeared to be in a declining state; and they respectively suffered the evils of distant and domestic warfare: Plantagenet was impatient to punish a perfidious rival who had invaded Normandy in his absence; and the indefatigable sultan was subdued by the cries of the people, who was the victim, and of the soldiers, who were the instruments, of his martial zeal. The first demands of the king of England were the restitution of Jerusalem, Palestine, and the true cross; and he firmly declared, that himself and his brother pilgrims would end their lives in the pious labour, rather than return to Europe with ignominy and remorse. But the conscience of Saladin refused, without some weighty compensation, to restore the idols, or promote the idolatry, of the Christians: he asserted, with equal firmness, his religious and civil claim to the sovereignty of Palestine; descended on the importance and sanctity of Jerusalem; and rejected all terms of the establishment, or partition, of the Latins. The marriage which Richard proposed, of his sister with the sultan's brother, was defeated by the difference of faith: the princess abhorred the embraces of a Turk; and Adil, or Saphadin, would not easily renounce a plurality of wives. A personal interview was declined by Saladin, who alleged their mutual ignorance of each other's language; and the negotiation was managed with much art and delay by their interpreters and envoys. The final agreement was equally disapproved by the zealots of both parties, by the Roman pontiff and the caliph of Bagdad. It was stipulated that Jerusalem and the holy sepulchre should be open, without tribute or vexation, to the pilgrimage of the Latin Christians; that, after the demolition of Ascalon, they should inclusively possess the sea-coast from Jaffa to Tyre; that

the count of Tripoli and the prince of Antioch should be comprised in the truce; and that, during three years and three months, all hostilities should cease. The principal chiefs of the two armies swore to the observance of the treaty; but the monarchs were satisfied with giving their word and their right hand; and the royal majesty was excused from an oath, which always implies some suspicion of falsehood and dishonour. Richard embarked for Europe, to seek a long captivity and a premature grave; and the space of a few months concluded the life and glories of Saladin. The Orientals describe his edifying death, which happened at Damascus; but they seem ignorant of the equal distribution of his alms among the three religions,<sup>81</sup> or of the display of a shroud, instead of a standard, to admonish the East of the instability of human greatness. The unity of empire was dissolved by his death; his sons were oppressed by the stronger arm of their uncle Saphadin; the hostile interests of the sultans of Egypt, Damascus, and Aleppo,<sup>82</sup> were again revived; and the Franks or Latins stood, and breathed, and hoped, in their fortresses along the Syrian coast.

The noblest monument of a conqueror's fame, and of the terror A.D. 1199-1216. Innocent III. which he inspired, is the Saladine tenth, a general tax, which was imposed on the laity, and even the clergy, of the Latin church for the service of the holy war. The practice was too lucrative to expire with the occasion; and this tribute became the foundation of all the tithes and tenths on ecclesiastical benefices, which have been granted by the Roman pontiffs to Catholic sovereigns, or reserved for the immediate use of the apostolic see.<sup>83</sup> This pecuniary emolument must have tended to increase the interest of the popes in the recovery of Palestine: after the death of Saladin they preached the crusade, by their epistles, their legates, and their missionaries; and the accomplishment of the pious work might have been expected from the zeal and talents of Innocent the Third.<sup>84</sup> Under that young and ambitious priest, the successors of St. Peter attained the full meridian of their greatness; and in a reign of eighteen years, he exercised a despotic command over the emperors and kings, whom he raised and deposed; over the nations, whom an interdict of months or years deprived, for the offence of their rulers, of the exercise of Christian worship. In the council of the Lateran he acted as the ecclesiastical, almost as the temporal, sovereign of the East and West. It was at the feet of his legate that John of England surrendered his

Death of Saladin.  
A.D. 1193,  
March 4

Innocent III.

<sup>78</sup> The exploits of King Richard, from 1191 to 1195, are recorded by R. de B. p. 181-209; and Geoffrey of V. p. 140-141. The progress of the crusade, from the march of St. Albans to the capture of the city, is described in the chronicle of the province of Rouen, A.D. 1191-1195, p. 142-143. The *Monarchie*, p. 177-178, and the *Chronique*, p. 142-143, contain a full and accurate account of the events of this year.

<sup>79</sup> The negotiations between the two monarchs are described in the *Chronique*, p. 142-143, and in the *Monarchie*, p. 177-178. The *Chronique*, p. 142-143, and the *Monarchie*, p. 177-178, contain a full and accurate account of the events of this year.

<sup>80</sup> The negotiations between the two monarchs are described in the *Chronique*, p. 142-143, and in the *Monarchie*, p. 177-178. The *Chronique*, p. 142-143, and the *Monarchie*, p. 177-178, contain a full and accurate account of the events of this year.

<sup>81</sup> The account of the death of Saladin is given by R. de B. p. 181-209, and by Geoffrey of V. p. 140-141.

<sup>82</sup> The account of the death of Saladin is given by R. de B. p. 181-209, and by Geoffrey of V. p. 140-141.

<sup>83</sup> The account of the death of Saladin is given by R. de B. p. 181-209, and by Geoffrey of V. p. 140-141.

<sup>84</sup> The account of the death of Saladin is given by R. de B. p. 181-209, and by Geoffrey of V. p. 140-141.

erown; and Innocent may boast of the two most signal triumphs over sense and humanity, the establishment of transubstantiation, and the origin of the inquisition. At his voice, two crusades, the fourth and the fifth, were undertaken; but, except a king of Hungary, the princes of the second order were at the head of the pilgrims; the forces were inadequate to the design; nor did the effects correspond with the hopes and wishes of the pope and the people.

The fourth crusade was diverted from Syria to Constantinople; and the conquest of the Greek or Roman empire by the Latins will form the proper and important subject of the next chapter. In

The fourth  
crusade  
A.D. 1205.

In the fifth,<sup>85</sup> two hundred thousand A.D. 1218. Franks were landed at the eastern mouth of the Nile. They reasonably hoped that Palestine must be subdued in Egypt, the seat and storehouse of the sultan; and, after a siege of sixteen months, the Moslems deplored the loss of Damietta. But the Christian army was ruined by the pride and insolence of the legate Pelagius, who, in the pope's name, assumed the character of general: the sickly Franks were encompassed by the waters of the Nile and the Oriental forces; and it was by the evacuation of Damietta that they obtained a safe retreat, some concessions for the pilgrims, and the tardy restitution of the doubtful relic of the true cross. The failure may in some measure be ascribed to the abuse and multiplication of the crusades, which were preached at the same time against the Pagans of Livonia, the Moors of Spain, the Albigeois of France, and the kings of Sicily of the Imperial family.<sup>86</sup> In these meritorious services, the volunteers might acquire at home the same spiritual indulgence, and a larger measure of temporal rewards; and even the popes, in their zeal against a domestic enemy, were sometimes tempted to forget the distress of their Syrian brethren. From the last age of the crusades they derived the occasional command of an army and revenue; and some deep reasoners have suspected that the whole enterprise, from the first synod of Placentia, was contrived and executed by the policy of Rome. The suspicion is not founded either in nature or in fact. The successors of St. Peter appear to have followed, rather than guided, the impulse of manners and prejudice; without much foresight of the seasons, or cultivation of the soil, they gathered the ripe and spontaneous fruits of the superstition of the times. They gathered these fruits without toil or personal danger: in the council of the Lateran, Innocent the Third declared an ambiguous resolution of animating the crusaders by his example; but the pilot of the sacred vessel could not abandon the helm; nor was Palestine ever blessed with the presence of a Roman pontiff.<sup>87</sup>

The persons, the families, and estates of the pilgrims, were under the immediate protection of the popes; and these spiritual patrons soon claimed the prerogative of directing their operations, and enforcing, by commands and censures, the accomplishment of their vow. Frederic the Second,<sup>88</sup> the grandson of Barbarossa, was successively the pupil, the enemy, and the victim of the church. At the age of twenty-one years, and in obedience to his guardian Innocent the Third, he assumed the cross; the same promise was repeated at his royal and Imperial coronations; and his marriage with the heiress of Jerusalem for ever bound him to defend the kingdom of his son Conrad. But as Frederic advanced in age and authority, he repented of the rash engagements of his youth: his liberal sense and knowledge taught him to despise the phantoms of superstition and the crowns of Asia. He no longer entertained the same reverence for the successors of Innocent; and his ambition was occupied by the restoration of the Italian monarchy from Sicily to the Alps. But the success of this project would have reduced the popes to their primitive simplicity; and, after the delays and excuses of twelve years, they urged the emperor, with entreaties and threats, to fix the time and place of his departure for Palestine. In the harbours of Sicily and Apulia, he prepared a fleet of one hundred galleys, and of one hundred vessels, that were framed to transport and land two thousand five hundred knights, with their horses and attendants; his vassals of Naples and Germany formed a powerful army; and the number of English crusaders was magnified to sixty thousand by the report of fame. But the inevitable, or affected, slowness of these mighty preparations, consumed the strength and provisions of the more indigent pilgrims; the multitude was thinned by sickness and desertion, and the sultry summer of Calabria anticipated the mischiefs of a Syrian campaign. At length the emperor hoisted sail at Brundisium, with a fleet and army of forty thousand men; but he kept the sea no more than three days; and his hasty retreat, which was ascribed by his friends to a grievous indisposition, was accused by his enemies as a voluntary and obstinate disobedience. For suspending his vow was Frederic excommunicated by Gregory the Ninth; for presuming, the next year, to accomplish his vow, he was again excommunicated by the same pope.<sup>89</sup> While he sailed under the banner of the cross, a crusade was preached against him in Italy; and after his return he was compelled to ask pardon for the injuries which he had suffered. The clergy and military orders of Palestine were previously instructed to renounce his communion and dispute his commands; and in his own kingdom, the emperor was

The emperor  
Frederic II.  
in Palestine.  
A.D. 1228.

<sup>85</sup> See the 4th crusade, and the siege of Damietta, in Jacobus a Vitro cor. l. iii. p. 1124-1139, and the gesta Dei of Bonvassini, in ead. vitros. Bernardi Theaur. mus. in Script. Muratori, tom. vi. p. 87-91.

<sup>86</sup> To those who took the cross against Manfre, the pope (A.D. 1255) granted plenissimum peccatorum remissionem. Fideles mirabantur quod tantum eis promitteret pro sanguine Christianorum effundendo quantum pro cruce infidelium aliquando (Matthew Paris, p. 753). A high flight for the reason of the fifth century.

<sup>88</sup> The origin drawn from the Ital. tom. vi. p. 202, 203. T. tom. xvii. Ve (istoria civile d'Italia, tom. x.)

<sup>89</sup> Poor Muratori knows what to think, but knows not what to say. "Chano qui il capto, &c. p. 724."

<sup>89</sup> The orig. of Script. Rerum. 286, 291, 304. (Hist. Eccles. iii.) Giannone. iratori (Annali

forced to consent that the orders of the camp should be issued in the name of God and of the Christian republic. Frederic entered Jerusalem in triumph; and with his own hands (for no priest would perform the office) he took the crown from the altar of the holy sepulchre. But the patriarch cast an interdict on the church which his presence had profaned; and the knights of the hospital and temple informed the sultan how easily he might be surprised and slain in his unguarded visit to the river Jordan. In such a state of fanaticism and faction, victory was hopeless, and defence was difficult; but the conclusion of an advantageous peace may be imputed to the discord of the Mahometans, and their personal esteem for the character of Frederic. The enemy of the church is accused of maintaining with the miscreants an intercourse of hospitality and friendship, unworthy of a Christian; of despising the barrenness of the land; and of indulging a profane thought, that if Jehovah had seen the kingdom of Naples, he never would have selected Palestine for the inheritance of his chosen people. Yet Frederic obtained from the sultan the restitution of Jerusalem, of Bethlem and Nazareth, of Tyre and Sidon: the Latins were allowed to inhabit and fortify the city; an equal code of civil and religious freedom was ratified for the sectaries of Jesus and those of Mahomet; and, while the former worshipped at the holy sepulchre, the latter might pray and preach in the mosque of the temple;<sup>9</sup> from whence the prophet undertook his nocturnal journey to heaven. The clergy deplored this scandalous toleration; and the weaker Moslems were gradually expelled; but every rational object of the crusades was accomplished without bloodshed; the churches were restored, the monasteries were replenished; and, in the space of fifteen years, the Latins of Jerusalem exceeded the number of six thousand. This peace and prosperity, for which they were ungrateful to their benefactor, was terminated by the irruption of the strange and savage hordes of Carizmians.<sup>11</sup> Flying from the arms of

invasion of the Caspian sea.  
 A. D. 1213.

Of the seven crusades, the two last were undertaken by Louis the Ninth, king of France; who lost his liberty in Egypt, and his life on the coast of Africa. Twenty-eight years after his death, he was canonised at Rome; and sixty-five miracles were readily found, and solemnly attested, to justify the claim of the royal saint.<sup>42</sup> The voice of history renders a more honourable testimony that he united the virtues of a king, an hero, and a man; that his martial spirit was tempered by the love of private and public justice; and that Louis was the father of his people, the friend of his neighbours, and the terror of the infidels. Superstition alone, in all the extent of her baleful influence,<sup>43</sup> corrupted his understanding and his heart; his devotion stooped to admire and imitate the begging friars of Francis and Dominic; he pursued with blind and cruel zeal the enemies of the faith; and the best of kings twice descended from his throne to seek the adventures of a spiritual knight-errant. A monkish historian would have been content to applaud the most despicable part of his character; but the noble and gallant Joinville,<sup>44</sup> who shared the friendship and captivity of Louis, has traced with the pencil of nature the free portrait of his virtues as well as of his failings. From this intimate knowledge, we may learn to suspect the political views of depressing their great vassals, which are so often imputed to the royal authors of the crusades. Above all the princes of the middle ages, Louis the Ninth successfully laboured to restore the prerogatives of the crown; but it was at home, and not in the East, that he acquired for himself and his posterity; his vow was the result of enthusiasm and sickness; and if he were the promoter, he was likewise the victim, of this holy madness. For the invasion of Egypt, France was exhausted of her troops and treasures; he covered the sea of Cyprus with eighteen hundred sails; the most modest enumeration amounts to fifty thousand men; and, if we might trust his own confession, as it is reported by Oriental vanity, he disembarked nine thousand five hundred horse, and one hundred and thirty thousand foot, who performed their pilgrimage under the shadow of his power.<sup>45</sup>

In complete armour, the oriflamme waving before him, Louis leaped foremost on the beach; and the strong city of Damietta, which had cost his predecessors a siege of sixteen months, was abandoned on the first assault by the trembling Moslems. But Damietta was the first and the last of his conquests; and in the fifth and sixth crusades, the same causes, almost on the same ground, were productive of similar calamities. <sup>6</sup>

90 The clergy artfully confounded the messiah or church of the temple with the Messiah, and their wilful error has deceived both Yeret and Mar-ton.

94 The irruption of the Carmanas, or Carmanas, is related by Matthew Paris (p. 546, 547), and by Joinville, Nages, and the Arabians (p. 111, 312, 191, 192, 198, 250).

<sup>52</sup> Read, if you can, the Lives and Miracles of St. Irenaeus, by the confessor of queen Margaret (p. 24) — (25) de Bonville, and I have

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sent et

9411 has two editions of Jouglaire, the one Paris, 1763 from a sale after the observations of this paper, the other Paris and Le Havre, 1764 most probably for the pure and authentic text, a MS of which has been recently discovered. The last editor proves, that the history of St. Louis was finished A. D. 1760, without explaining, or even adorning, the age of the author, who must have exceeded ninety years (Biblioth. de la Société d'agriculture de France, p. 375).

[illegible]

After a ruinous delay, which introduced into the camp the seeds of an epidemical disease, the Franks advanced from the sea-coast towards the capital of Egypt, and strove to surmount the unseasonable inundation of the Nile, which opposed their progress. Under the eye of their intrepid monarch, the barons and knights of France displayed their invincible contempt of danger and discipline: his brother, the count of Artois, stormed with inconsiderate valour the town of Massoura; and the carrier pigeons announced to the inhabitants of Cairo that all was lost. But a soldier, who afterwards usurped the sceptre, rallied the flying troops: the main body of the Christians was far behind their vanguard; and Artois was overpowered and slain. A shower of Greek fire was incessantly poured on the invaders; the Nile was commanded by the Egyptian galleys, the open country by the Arabs; all provisions were intercepted; each day aggravated the sickness and famine; and about the same time a retreat was found to be necessary and impracticable. The Oriental writers confess, that Louis might have escaped, if he would have deserted his subjects: he was made prisoner, with the greatest part of his nobles; all who could not redeem their lives by service or ransom were inhumanly massacred; and the walls of Cairo were decorated with a circle of Christian heads.<sup>97</sup> The king of

France was loaded with chains; April 3–May 6, but the generous victor, a great-grandson of the brother of Saladin, sent a robe of honour to his royal captive, and his deliverance, with that of his soldiers, was obtained by the restitution of Damietta,<sup>98</sup> and the payment of four hundred thousand pieces of gold. In a soft and luxurious climate, the degenerate children of the companions of Nourreddin and Saladin were incapable of resisting the flower of European chivalry: they triumphed by the arms of their slaves or Mamalukes, the hardy natives of Tartary, who at a tender age had been purchased of the Syrian merchants, and were educated in the camp and palace of the sultan. But Egypt soon afforded a new example of the danger of pratorian bands; and the rage of these ferocious animals, who had been let loose on the strangers, was provoked to devour their benefactor. In the pride of conquest, Toman Shaw, the last of his race, was murdered by his Mamalukes; and the most daring of the assassins entered the chamber of the captive king, with drawn cineters, and their hands insubred in the blood of their sultan. The firmness of Louis commanded their respect; their avaiice pre-

vailed over cruelty and zeal; the treaty was accomplished; and the king of France, with the relics of his army, was permitted to embark for Palestine. He wasted four years within the walls of Acre, unable to visit Jerusalem, and unwilling to return without glory to his native country.

The memory of his defeat excited Louis, after sixteen years of wisdom and repose, to undertake the seventh and last of the crusades. His finances were restored, his kingdom was enlarged, a new generation of warriors had arisen, and he embarked with fresh confidence at the head of six thousand horse and thirty thousand foot. The loss of Antioch had provoked the enterprise: a wild hope of baptizing the king of Tunis, tempted him to steer for the African coast; and the report of an immense treasure reconciled his troops to the delay of their voyage to the Holy Land. Instead of a pro-clyte, he found a siege; the French panted and died on the burning sands; St. Louis expired in his tent; and no sooner had he closed his eyes, than his son and successor gave the signal of the retreat.<sup>99</sup> "It is thus," says a lively writer, "that a Christian king died near the ruins of Carthage, waging war against the sectaries of Mahomet, in a land to which Dido had introduced the deities of Syria."<sup>101</sup>

A more unjust and absurd constitution cannot be devised, than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude, under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves. Yet such has been the state of Egypt above five hundred years. The most illustrious sultans of the Baharite and Borgite dynasties,<sup>102</sup> were themselves promoted from the Tartar and Circassian bands; and the four and twenty beys, or military chiefs, have ever been succeeded, not by their sons, but by their servants. They produce the great charter of their liberties, the treaty of Selim the First with the republic;<sup>103</sup> and the Othman emperor still accepts from Egypt a slight acknowledgment of tribute and subjection. With some breathing intervals of peace and order, the two dynasties are marked as a period of rapine and bloodshed;<sup>104</sup> but their throne, however shaken, reposed on the two pillars of discipline and valour; their sway extended over Egypt, Nubia, Arabia, and Syria; their Mamalukes were multiplied from eight hundred to twenty-five thousand horse; and their numbers were increased by a provincial militia of one hundred and seven thousand foot, and the occasional aid of sixty-

<sup>97</sup> Savary, in his admirable *Lettres sur l'Égypte*, has given a description of Damietta taken on the spot, p. 242–243, and a narrative of the expedition of St. Louis, tom. i. p. 300–311.

<sup>98</sup> For the capture of St. Louis, a million of Egypt was a kind of gratuity, but the sultans generously denied that gratuity to the king, who here is used by Juvénal at 100,000 French livres of his own time, and expressed by Matthew Paris by 100,000 in value of silver (this usage, see *Journal*).

<sup>99</sup> The idea of the errors to which Louis's troops were exposed is remarkably attested by Juvénal, p. 77, 78, and does not appear to me to be contradicted by St. Louis's *Journal* (the *Journal* is tom. ii. p. 389, 397). The Mamelukes themselves were strange, rebels, and equis, they had felt his valor, they hoped his conversion, and such a nation, which was not so seconded, might be made, perhaps by a secret Christian, in their tumultuous isle.

<sup>100</sup> See the expedition in the *Annals of St. Louis*, by William de Nangis, p. 270–281, and the Arabic Extracts, p. 545, 553, of the *Journal* edition of Juvénal.

<sup>101</sup> Voltaire, *Hist. Generale*, tom. ii. p. 391.

<sup>102</sup> The *Chronique* of the two dynasties of Mamelukes, the Baharites, a tribe of Turks of Kipchak, and the Borgites, Circassians, is given by P. de La Harpe, of Turbithurg, p. 71 and De Guignes, tom. i. p. 261–270, their history, from Alutteda, M. enri, &c. to the decline of the sixth century, by the same M. de Guignes, tom. ii. p. 110, 128.

<sup>103</sup> Savary, *Lettres sur l'Égypte*, tom. i. lettre xv. p. 189–208. I much question the authenticity of this copy, yet it is true, that Sultan Selim concluded a treaty with the Circassians or Mamelukes of Egypt, and left them in possession of arms, riches, and power. See a new *Abrégé de l'Histoire Ottomane*, composed in Egypt, and translated by M. de Genon, tom. i. p. 55–58, Paris, 1781, a curious, and entire, and curious history.

<sup>104</sup> St. Louis, upon regnum acceptum tempus respiciens, presertim quod iam prout superius dicitur, p. 242, n. 10, inquit, et regnum reuertitur (Al. Juvénal and De Guignes, p. 71). The ruin of Mohammed (A. D. 1311–1314) affords an happy exception (De Guignes, tom. ii. p. 208–210).

His death before Tunis, in the seventh crusade.  
A. D. 1270, Aug. 25.

The Mamalukes of Egypt.  
A. D. 1250–1517.

six thousand Arabs.<sup>1, 5</sup> Princes of such power and spirit could not long endure on their coast an hostile and independent nation; and if the ruin of the Franks was postponed about forty years, they were indebted to the ears of an unsettled reign, to the invasion of the Mogols, and to the occasional aid of some warlike pilgrims. Among these, the English reader will observe the name of our first Edward, who assumed the cross in the lifetime of his father Henry. At the head of a thousand soldiers, the future conqueror of Wales and Scotland delivered Acre from a siege; marched as far as Nazareth with an army of nine thousand men; ennobled the fame of his uncle Richard; extorted, by his valour, a ten years' truce; and escaped, with a dangerous wound, from the danger of a fanatic assassin.<sup>1-6</sup>

Antioch,<sup>107</sup> whose situation had been less exposed to the calamities of the holy war, was finally occupied and ruined by Bonduchar, or Bilbars, sultan of Egypt and Syria; and the Latin principality was extinguished; and the first seat of the Christian name was despoiled by the slaughter of seven-  
 ten, and the captivity of one hundred thousand of her inhabitants. The maritime towns of Lacedicea, Gabala, Tripoli, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, and Jaffa, and the stronger castles of the Hospitallers and Templars, successively fell; and the whole existence of the Franks was confined to the city and colony of St. John of Acre, which is sometimes described by the more classic title of Ptolemais.

After the loss of Jerusalem, Acre,<sup>118</sup> which is distant about seventy miles, became the metropolis of the Latin Christians, and was adorned with strong and stately buildings, with aqueducts, an artificial port, and a double wall. The population was increased by the incessant streams of pilgrims and fugitives, in the pauses of hostility the trade of the East and West was attracted to this convenient station; and the market could offer the produce of every clime and the interpreters of every tongue. But in this conflux of nations, every vice was propagated and practised: of all the disciples of Jesus and Mahomet, the male and female inhabitants of Acre were esteemed the most corrupt; nor could the abuse of religion be corrected by the discipline of law. The city had many sovereigns, and no government. The kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus, of the house of Lusignan, the princes of Antioch, the counts of Tripoli and Sidon, the great masters of the hospital, the temple, and the Teutonic order, the republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, the pope's legate, the kings of France and England, assumed an independent command. seventeen tribunals exercised the power of life and death; every criminal was protected in the adjacent quarter; and the perpetual jealousy of the nations often burst forth in acts of violence and blood. Some adventurers, who disowned the

ensign of the cross, compensated their want of pay by the plunder of the Mahometan villages. nineteen Syrian merchants, who traded under the public faith, were despoiled and hanged by the Christians; and the denial of satisfaction justified the arms of the sultan Khalil. He marched against Acre, at the head of sixty thousand horse and one hundred and forty thousand foot; his train of artillery if I may use the word, was numerous and weighty; the separate timbers of a single engine were transported in one hundred wagons; and the royal historian Abulfeda, who served with the troops of Hama, was himself a spectator of the holy war. Whatever might be the vices of the Franks, their courage was rekindled by enthusiasm and despair; but they were torn by the discord of seventeen chiefs, and overwhelmed on all sides by the powers of the sultan. After a siege of thirty-three days, the double wall was forced by the Moslems; the principal tower yielded to their engines; the Mandukes made a general assault; the city was stormed; and death or slavery was the lot of sixty thousand Christians. The convent, or rather fortress, of the Templars resisted three days longer; but the great master was pierced with an arrow; and, of five hundred knights, only ten were left alive, less happy than the victims of the sword, if they lived to suffer on a scaffold in the unjust and cruel proscription of the whole order. The king of Jerusalem, the patriarch, and the great master of the hospital, effected their retreat to the shore; but the sea was rough, the vessels were insufficient; and great numbers of the fugitives were drowned before they could reach the isle of Cyprus, which might comfort Lusignan for the loss of Palestine. By the command of the sultan, the churches and fortifications of the Latin cities were demolished; a motive of avarice or fear still opened the holy sepulchre to some devout and defenceless pilgrims; and a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the world's de-

THE LOSS OF  
ACRE, AND THE  
FALL OF THE  
HOLY LAND,  
A.D. 1187.

DATE, 169

CHAP. LX.

*Schism of the Greeks and Latins. — State of Constantinople. — Revolt of the Bulgarians. — Isaac Angelus dethroned by his Brother Alexius. — Origin of the Fourth Crusade. — Alliance of the French and Venetians with the Son of Isaac. — The mutual Expedition to Constantinople. — The two Sieges and final Conquest of the City by the Latins.*

The restoration of the Western empire by Charlemagne was speedily followed by the separation of the Greek and Latin churches.<sup>1</sup> A religious and national

105 They are now reduced to 8,000. But the expense of each Mameluke may be rated at 100 m. and Egypt groans under the avarice and insolence of these strangers. (*Voyages de Volney*, t. iii. p. 204, 1787.)

100. See Charles's History of England, vol. II, p. 174, 175 and his original authors, Thomas Wikes and Walter Hemmingsford (1570-74, 55), in Gales Collection (from II, p. 67-68, 69-70). They are both ignorant of the princess Eleanor's part in the murder of the poor wound, and save our hero at the risk of her own life.

The loss of  
Aure and the  
H. 1201.  
A. H. 1201,  
May 18.

### Scheme of the Lesson

The State of Arizona is numbered as 11 the other pages of the  
forms are given; especially useful in Arizona is the Arizona

1 In two cases,  $\alpha = 0$  and  $\beta = 1$ , the expression for  $\beta$  is  $\beta = 1 - \alpha$ . In these cases,  $\beta$  is not a function of  $\alpha$  and the expression for  $\beta$  is  $\beta = 1$ .





Photius,<sup>8</sup> an ambitious layman, the captain of the guards and principal secretary, was promoted by merit and favour to the more desirable office of patriarch of Constantinople. In science, even ecclesiastical science, he surpassed the clergy of the age; and the purity of his morals has never been impeached: but his ordination was hasty, his rise was irregular; and Ignatius, his abdicated predecessor, was yet supported by the public compassion and the obstinacy of his adherents. They appealed to the tribunal of Nicholas the First, one of the proudest and most aspiring of the Roman pontiffs, who embraced the welcome opportunity of judging and condemning his rival of the East. Their quarrel was embittered by a conflict of jurisdiction over the king and nation of the Bulgarians; nor was their recent conversion to Christianity of much avail to either prelate, unless he could number the proselytes among the subjects of his power.

With the aid of his court, the Greek patriarch was victorious; but in the furious contest he deposed in his turn the successor of St. Peter, and involved the Latin church in the reproach of heresy and schism. Photius sacrificed the peace of the world to a short and precarious reign: he fell with his patron, the Cæsar Bardas; and Basil the Macedonian performed an act of justice in the restoration of Ignatius, whose age and dignity had not been sufficiently respected. From his monastery, or prison, Photius solicited the favour of the emperor by pathetic complaints and artful flattery; and the eyes of his rival were scarcely closed, when he was again restored to the throne of Constantinople. After the death of Basil, he experienced the vicissitudes of courts and the ingratitude of a royal pupil: the patriarch was again deposed, and in his last solitary hours he might regret the freedom of a secular and studious life. In each revolution, the breath, the nod, of the sovereign had been accepted by a submissive clergy; and a synod of three hundred bishops was always prepared to hail the triumph, or to stigmatise the fall, of the holy, or the execrable Photius.<sup>9</sup> By a delusive promise of succour or reward, the popes were tempted to countenance these various proceedings; and the synods of Constantinople were ratified by their epistles or legates. But the court and the people, Ignatius and Photius, were equally adverse to their claims; their ministers were insulted or imprisoned; the procession of the Holy Ghost was forgotten; Bulgaria was for ever annexed to the Byzantine throne; and the schism was prolonged by their rigid censure of all the multiplied ordinations of an irregular patriarch. The darkness and corruption of the tenth century suspended the intercourse, without reconciling the minds, of the two nations. But when the Norman sword restored the churches of Apulia to the jurisdiction of Rome, the departing flock was warned, by a petulant epistle of the Greek patriarch, to avoid and abhor the errors of the Latins. The rising majesty of

Rome could no longer brook the insolence of a rebel; and Michael Cerularius was excommunicated in the heart of Constantinople by the pope's legates. Shaking the dust from their feet, they deposited on the altar of St. Sophia a dreadful anathema,<sup>10</sup> which enumerates the seven mortal heresies of the Greeks, and devotes the guilty teachers, and their unhappy secretaries, to the eternal society of the devil and his angels. According to the emergencies of the church and state, a friendly correspondence was sometimes resumed; the language of charity and concord was sometimes affected; but the Greeks have never recanted their errors; the popes have never repealed their sentence; and from this thunderbolt we may date the consummation of the schism. It was enlarged by each ambitious step of the Roman pontiffs: the emperors blushed and trembled at the ignominious fate of their royal brethren of Germany; and the people was scandalised by the temporal power and military life of the Latin clergy.<sup>11</sup>

The aversion of the Greeks and Latins was nourished and manifested in the three first expeditions to the Holy Land. Alexius Comnenus contrived the absence at least of the formidable pilgrims: his successors, Manuel and Isaac Angelus, conspired with the Moslems for the ruin of the greatest princes of the Franks; and their crooked and malignant policy was seconded by the active and voluntary obedience of every order of their subjects. Of this hostile temper, a large portion may doubtless be ascribed to the difference of language, dress, and manners, which severs and alienates the nations of the globe. The pride, as well as the prudence, of the sovereign was deeply wounded by the intrusion of foreign armies, that claimed a right of traversing his dominions, and passing under the walls of his capital; his subjects were insulted and plundered by the rude strangers of the West; and the hatred of the pusillanimous Greeks was sharpened by secret envy of the bold and pious enterprises of the Franks. But these profane causes of national enmity were fortified and inflamed by the venom of religious zeal. Instead of a kind embrace, an hospitable reception, from their Christian brethren of the East, every tongue was taught to repeat the names of schismatic and heretic, more odious to an orthodox ear than those of pagan and infidel: instead of being loved for the general conformity of faith and worship, they were abhorred for some rules of discipline, some questions of theology, in which themselves or their teachers might differ from the Oriental church. In the crusade of Louis the Seventh, the Greek clergy washed and purified the altars which had been defiled by the sacrifice of a French priest. The companions of Frederic Barbarossa deplore the injuries which they endured, both in word and deed, from the peculiar rancour of the bishops and monks. Their prayers and sermons excited

The popes excommunicate the patriarch of Constantinople and the Greeks. A. D. 1054, July 10.

Enmity of the Greeks and Latins. A. D. 1100-1200.

<sup>8</sup> The xth volume of the Venice edition of the *Constitutiones* contains the acts of the synods, and *breve de Photio*, times in 1042-43, with a short notice of the schism of Photius, b. 1, in c. 1 and 2.

<sup>9</sup> The synod of Constantinople, held in the year 1059, is a dispute of the general council, the last in series of the Eastern schism, as mentioned by the Roman church. See the *Constitutiones*, b. 1, c. 1, and 2, of the years 8 and 9, in c. 1, in 1059. However, it is not clear that they were far from it, but it is not so.

<sup>10</sup> See this anathema in the *Constitutiones*, tom. xi. p. 147-149.

<sup>11</sup> Anecdotes of the schism of 1054, p. 74-75, represents the anathema, and the *Constitutiones*, b. 1, c. 1, in 1054, for the Greek, A. D. 1100, and the Latin, in 1200. The story of the schism is told in the *Constitutiones*, b. 1, c. 1, in 1054, and in the *Constitutiones*, b. 1, c. 1, in 1054, and in the *Constitutiones*, b. 1, c. 1, in 1054.





far as Stagyra in Macedonia; but the fugitive, without an object or a follower, was arrested, brought back to Constantinople, deprived of his eyes, and confined in a lonesome tower, on a scanty allowance of bread and water. At the moment of the revolution, his son Alexius, whom he educated in the hope of empire, was twelve years of age. He was spared by the usurper, and reduced to attend his triumph both in peace and war; but as the army was encamped on the sea-shore, an Italian vessel facilitated the escape of the royal youth; and, in the disguise of a common sailor, he eluded the search of his enemies, passed the Hellespont, and found a secure refuge in the Isle of Sicily. After saluting the threshold of the apostles, and imploring the protection of pope Innocent the Third, Alexius accepted the kind invitation of his sister Irene, the wife of Philip of Swabia, king of the Romans. But in his passage through Italy, he heard that the flower of Western chivalry was assembled at Venice for the deliverance of the Holy Land; and a ray of hope was kindled in his bosom, that their invincible swords might be employed in his father's restoration.

About ten or twelve years after the loss of Jerusalem, the nobles of France were again summoned to the holy war by the voice of a third prophet, less extravagant, perhaps, than Peter the Hermit, but far below St. Bernard in the merit of an orator and a statesman. An illiterate priest of the neighbourhood of Paris, Fulk of Neuilly,<sup>25</sup> forsook his parochial duty, to assume the more flattering character of a popular and itinerant missionary. The fame of his sanctity and miracles was spread over the land; he declaimed, with severity and vehemence, against the vices of the age; and his sermons, which he preached in the streets of Paris, converted the robbers, the usurers, the prostitutes, and even the doctors and scholars of the university. No sooner did Innocent the Third ascend the chair of St. Peter, than he proclaimed in Italy, Germany, and France, the obligation of a new crusade.<sup>26</sup> The eloquent pontiff described the ruin of Jerusalem, the triumph of the Pagans, and the shame of Christendom: his liberality proposed the redemption of sins, a plenary indulgence to all who should serve in Palestine, either a year in person, or two years by a substitute;<sup>27</sup> and among his legates and orators who blew the sacred trumpet, Fulk of Neuilly was the loudest and most successful. The situation of the principal monarchs was adverse

to the pious summons. The emperor Frederic the Second was a child; and his kingdom of Germany was disputed by the rival houses of Brunswick and Swabia, the memorable factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines. Philip Augustus of France had performed, and could not be persuaded to renew, the perilous vow; but as he was not less ambitious of praise than of power, he cheerfully instituted a perpetual fund for the defence of the Holy Land. Richard of England was satiated with the glory and misfortunes of his first adventure, and he presumed to deride the exhortations of Fulk of Neuilly, who was not abashed in the presence of kings. "You advise me," said Plantagenet, "to dismiss my three daughters, pride, avarice, and incontinence: I bequeath them to the most deserving; my pride to the knights templars, my avarice to the monks of Cîteaux, and my incontinence to the prelates." But the preacher was heard and obeyed by the great vassals, the princes of the second order; and Theobald, or Thibaut, count of Champagne, was the foremost in the holy race. The valiant youth, at the age of twenty-two years, was encouraged by the domestic examples of his father, who marched in the second crusade, and of his elder brother, who had ended his days in Palestine with the title of King of Jerusalem: two thousand two hundred owed service and homage to his peerage.<sup>28</sup> the nobles of Champagne excelled in all the exercises of war;<sup>29</sup> and, by his marriage with the heiress of Navarre, Thibaut could draw a band of hardy Gascons from either side of the Pyrenean mountains. His companion in arms was Louis, count of Blois and Chartres; like himself of regal lineage, for both the princes were nephews, at the same time, of the kings of France and England. In a crowd of prelates and barons, who imitated their zeal, I distinguish the birth and merit of Matthew of Montmorency; the famous Simon of Montfort, the scourge of the Albigeois; and a valiant noble, Jeffrey of Villehardouin,<sup>30</sup> marshal of Champagne,<sup>31</sup> who has condescended, in the rude idiom of his age and country,<sup>32</sup> to write or dictate an original narrative of the councils and actions in which he bore a memorable part. At the same time, Baldwin count of Flanders, who had married the sister of Thibaut, assumed the cross at Bruges, with his brother Henry and the principal knights and citizens of that rich and industrious province.<sup>33</sup> The vow which the chiefs had pronounced in churches, they ratified in tournaments: the operations of the

embellished by the barons of France.

<sup>25</sup> See Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xvi. p. 26. See and Villehardouin, No. 1 with the observations of DuCange, which I always mean to quote with the original text.

<sup>26</sup> The contemporary life of pope Innocent III. published by Buzurg and Murison (see post. p. 119) is most valuable for the important and original documents which are inserted in the text. The bull of the crusade may be read, c. 51, 55.

<sup>27</sup> *Force que cil pardon, fut au crin, si ven eurent mult li cœurs des gentz, et mult s'en croissent, porre que li parlois eut si gran Villehardouin, No. 1. Our philosophers may refine on the causes of the crusades, but such were the genuine feelings of a French knight.*

<sup>28</sup> This number of 2200, of which 1500 owed him homage, was enrolled in the church of St. Stephen at Troyes, and attested A. D. 1215, by the marshal and butler of Champagne (DuCange, Observ. p. 234).

<sup>29</sup> Campana, c. 10. *multos prolegos singlars, excellit . . . in t. romis . . . prolegos . . . armis, &c.* DuCange, p. 219, from the old Chronicle of Jerusalem, A. D. 1177-1199.

<sup>30</sup> The name of Villehardouin was taken from a village and castle in the diocese of Troyes, near the river Aube, between Bar and Arcet. The family was ancient and noble: the elder branch of our

history existed after the year 1400, the younger, which secured the primacy of Achaia, merged in the house of Savoy (DuCange, p. 235-245).

<sup>31</sup> This office was held by his father and his descendants, but Thibaut has not hunted it with his usual sagacity. I find that, in the year 1226, it was in the hands of Countess, but these provisions I have been long since eclipsed by the national marshals of France.

<sup>32</sup> This language, of which I shall produce some specimens, is explained by Vossius and DuCange in a version and obscurity. The president Des Broches (*Mémoires des Langues*, tom. ii. p. 83) gives it as the example of a language which has ceased to be French, and is understood only by grammarians.

<sup>33</sup> His son, and his own sequel, *moi qui ceste œuvre dicta* (No. 62, &c.) may justify the suspicion more probable than Mr. Wod's on Homer, that he could neither read nor write. Yet Champagne may boast of the two first historians, the noble authors of *Errores*, *Vie de saint Louis*, and *le Roman*.

<sup>34</sup> The crusade and reign of the counts of Flanders, Baldwin and his son, are the subject of a curious history by the Jesuit DuRoi, which is not only published at Turnay, 1659, in 4to, which I have only seen with the eyes of DuCange.

war were debated in full and frequent assemblies; and it was resolved to seek the deliverance of Palestine in Egypt, a country, since Saladin's death, which was almost ruined by famine and civil war. But the fate of so many royal armies displayed the toils and perils of a land expedition; and, if the Flemings dwelt along the ocean, the French barons were destitute of ships and ignorant of navigation. They embraced the wise resolution of choosing six deputies or representatives, of whom Villehardouin was one, with a discretionary trust to direct the motions, and to pledge the faith, of the whole confederacy. The maritime states of Italy were alone possessed of the means of transporting the holy warriors with their arms and horses; and the six deputies proceeded to Venice to solicit, on motives of piety or interest, the aid of that powerful republic.

In the invasion of Italy by Attila, I have mentioned<sup>33</sup> the flight of the Venetians from the fallen cities of the continent, and their obscure shelter in the chain of islands that line the extremity of the Adriatic Gulf. In the midst of the waters, free, indigent, laborious, and inaccessible, they gradually coalesced into a republic: the first foundations of Venice were laid in the island of Riulto; and the annual election of the twelve tribunes was superseded by the permanent office of a duke or doge. On the verge of the two empires, the Venetians exult in the belief of primitive and perpetual independence.<sup>36</sup> Against the Latins, their antique freedom has been asserted by the sword, and may be justified by the pen. Charlemagne himself resigned all claims of sovereignty to the islands of the Adriatic Gulf; his son Pepin was repulsed in the attacks of the *luggans* or canals, too deep for the cavalry, and too shallow for the vessels; and in every age, under the German Cæsars, the lands of the republic have been clearly distinguished from the kingdom of Italy. But the inhabitants of Venice were considered by themselves, by strangers, and by their sovereigns, as an inalienable portion of the Greek empire;<sup>37</sup> in the ninth and tenth centuries, the proofs of their subjection are numerous, and unquestionable; and the vain titles, the servile honours, the Byzantine court, so ambitionly solicited by their dukes, would have degraded the magistrates of a free people. But the bands of this dependence, which was never absolute or rigid, were imperceptibly relaxed by the ambition of Venice and the weakness of Constantinople. Obedience was softened into respect, privilege ripened into prerogative, and the free-

dom of domestic government was fortified by the independence of foreign dominion. The maritime cities of Istria and Dalmatia bowed to the sovereigns of the Adriatic; and when they armed against the Normans in the cause of Alexius, the emperor applied, not to the duty of his subjects, but to the gratitude and generosity of his faithful allies. The sea was their patrimony; in the western parts of the Mediterranean, from Tuscany to Gibraltar, were indeed abandoned to their rivals of Pisa and Genoa; but the Venetians acquired an early and lucrative share of the commerce of Greece and Egypt. Their riches increased with the increasing demand of Europe: their manufactures of silk and glass, perhaps the institution of their bank, are of high antiquity; and they enjoyed the fruits of their industry in the magnificence of public and private life. To assert her flag, to avenge her injuries, to protect the freedom of navigation, the republic could launch and man a fleet of an hundred galleys; and the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Normans, were encountered by her naval arms. The Franks of Syria were assisted by the Venetians in the reduction of the sea-coast; but their zeal was neither blind nor disinterested; and in the conquest of Tyre, they shared the sovereignty of a city, the first seat of the commerce of the world. The policy of Venice was marked by the avarice of a trading, and the insolence of a maritime, power; yet her ambition was prudent; nor did she often forget that if armed galleys were the effect and safeguard, merchant vessels were the cause and supply, of her greatness. In her religion, she avoided the schism of the Greeks, without yielding a servile obedience to the Roman pontiff; and a free intercourse with the infidels of every clime appears to have allayed betimes the fever of superstition. Her primitive government was a loose mixture of democracy and monarchy: the doge was elected by the votes of the general assembly; as long as he was popular and successful, he reigned with the pomp and authority of a prince; but in the frequent revolutions of the state, he was deposed, or banished, or slain, by the justice or injustice of the multitude. The twelfth century produced the first rudiments of the wise and jealous aristocracy, which has reduced the doge to a pageant, and the people to a cipher.<sup>39</sup>

When the six ambassadors of the French pilgrims arrived at Venice, they were hospitably entertained in the palace of St. Mark, by the reigning duke: his name was Henry Dandolo;<sup>40</sup> and he shone

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The first foundation of independence of Mexico, and Spain's invasion, are shown of by the first foundation in A.D. 1519. The second, and third, are shown of by the second foundation in A.D. 1521. The third, and fourth, are shown of by the third foundation in A.D. 1522. The fourth, and fifth, are shown of by the fourth foundation in A.D. 1523. The fifth, and sixth, are shown of by the fifth foundation in A.D. 1524. The sixth, and seventh, are shown of by the sixth foundation in A.D. 1525. The seventh, and eighth, are shown of by the seventh foundation in A.D. 1526. The eighth, and ninth, are shown of by the eighth foundation in A.D. 1527. The ninth, and tenth, are shown of by the ninth foundation in A.D. 1528. The tenth, and eleventh, are shown of by the tenth foundation in A.D. 1529. The eleventh, and twelfth, are shown of by the eleventh foundation in A.D. 1530. The twelfth, and thirteenth, are shown of by the twelfth foundation in A.D. 1531. The thirteenth, and fourteenth, are shown of by the thirteenth foundation in A.D. 1532. The fourteenth, and fifteenth, are shown of by the fourteenth foundation in A.D. 1533. The fifteenth, and sixteenth, are shown of by the fifteenth foundation in A.D. 1534. The sixteenth, and seventeenth, are shown of by the sixteenth foundation in A.D. 1535. The seventeenth, and eighteenth, are shown of by the seventeenth foundation in A.D. 1536. The eighteenth, and nineteenth, are shown of by the eighteenth foundation in A.D. 1537. The nineteenth, and twentieth, are shown of by the nineteenth foundation in A.D. 1538. The twentieth, and twenty-first, are shown of by the twentieth foundation in A.D. 1539. The twenty-first, and twenty-second, are shown of by the twenty-first foundation in A.D. 1540. The twenty-second, and twenty-third, are shown of by the twenty-second foundation in A.D. 1541. The twenty-third, and twenty-fourth, are shown of by the twenty-third foundation in A.D. 1542. The twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth, are shown of by the twenty-fourth foundation in A.D. 1543. The twenty-fifth, and twenty-sixth, are shown of by the twenty-fifth foundation in A.D. 1544. The twenty-sixth, and twenty-seventh, are shown of by the twenty-sixth foundation in A.D. 1545. The twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth, are shown of by the twenty-seventh foundation in A.D. 1546. The twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth, are shown of by the twenty-eighth foundation in A.D. 1547. The twenty-ninth, and thirtieth, are shown of by the twenty-ninth foundation in A.D. 1548. The thirtieth, and thirty-first, are shown of by the thirtieth foundation in A.D. 1549. The thirty-first, and thirty-second, are shown of by the thirty-first foundation in A.D. 1550. The thirty-second, and thirty-third, are shown of by the thirty-second foundation in A.D. 1551. The thirty-third, and thirty-fourth, are shown of by the thirty-third foundation in A.D. 1552. The thirty-fourth, and thirty-fifth, are shown of by the thirty-fourth foundation in A.D. 1553. The thirty-fifth, and thirty-sixth, are shown of by the thirty-fifth foundation in A.D. 1554. The thirty-sixth, and thirty-seventh, are shown of by the thirty-sixth foundation in A.D. 1555. The thirty-seventh, and thirty-eighth, are shown of by the thirty-seventh foundation in A.D. 1556. The thirty-eighth, and thirty-ninth, are shown of by the thirty-eighth foundation in A.D. 1557. The thirty-ninth, and fortieth, are shown of by the thirty-ninth foundation in A.D. 1558. The fortieth, and forty-first, are shown of by the fortieth foundation in A.D. 1559. The forty-first, and forty-second, are shown of by the forty-first foundation in A.D. 1560. The forty-second, and forty-third, are shown of by the forty-second foundation in A.D. 1561. The forty-third, and forty-fourth, are shown of by the forty-third foundation in A.D. 1562. The forty-fourth, and forty-fifth, are shown of by the forty-fourth foundation in A.D. 1563. The forty-fifth, and forty-sixth, are shown of by the forty-fifth foundation in A.D. 1564. The forty-sixth, and forty-seventh, are shown of by the forty-sixth foundation in A.D. 1565. The forty-seventh, and forty-eighth, are shown of by the forty-seventh foundation in A.D. 1566. The forty-eighth, and forty-ninth, are shown of by the forty-eighth foundation in A.D. 1567. The forty-ninth, and fiftieth, are shown of by the forty-ninth foundation in A.D. 1568. The fiftieth, and fifty-first, are shown of by the fifty-first foundation in A.D. 1569. The fifty-first, and fifty-second, are shown of by the fifty-second foundation in A.D. 1570. The fifty-second, and fifty-third, are shown of by the fifty-third foundation in A.D. 1571. The fifty-third, and fifty-fourth, are shown of by the fifty-fourth foundation in A.D. 1572. The fifty-fourth, and fifty-fifth, are shown of by the fifty-fifth foundation in A.D. 1573. The fifty-fifth, and fifty-sixth, are shown of by the fifty-sixth foundation in A.D. 1574. The fifty-sixth, and fifty-seventh, are shown of by the fifty-seventh foundation in A.D. 1575. The fifty-seventh, and fifty-eighth, are shown of by the fifty-eighth foundation in A.D. 1576. The fifty-eighth, and fifty-ninth, are shown of by the fifty-ninth foundation in A.D. 1577. The fifty-ninth, and sixtieth, are shown of by the sixtieth foundation in A.D. 1578. The sixtieth, and sixty-first, are shown of by the sixty-first foundation in A.D. 1579. The sixty-first, and sixty-second, are shown of by the sixty-second foundation in A.D. 1580. The sixty-second, and sixty-third, are shown of by the sixty-third foundation in A.D. 1581. The sixty-third, and sixty-fourth, are shown of by the sixty-fourth foundation in A.D. 1582. The sixty-fourth, and sixty-fifth, are shown of by the sixty-fifth foundation in A.D. 1583. The sixty-fifth, and sixty-sixth, are shown of by the sixty-sixth foundation in A.D. 1584. The sixty-sixth, and sixty-seventh, are shown of by the sixty-seventh foundation in A.D. 1585. The sixty-seventh, and sixty-eighth, are shown of by the sixty-eighth foundation in A.D. 1586. The sixty-eighth, and sixty-ninth, are shown of by the sixty-ninth foundation in A.D. 1587. The sixty-ninth, and seventieth, are shown of by the seventieth foundation in A.D. 1588. The seventieth, and seventy-first, are shown of by the seventy-first foundation in A.D. 1589. The seventy-first, and seventy-second, are shown of by the seventy-second foundation in A.D. 1590. The seventy-second, and seventy-third, are shown of by the seventy-third foundation in A.D. 1591. The seventy-third, and seventy-fourth, are shown of by the seventy-fourth foundation in A.D. 1592. The seventy-fourth, and seventy-fifth, are shown of by the seventy-fifth foundation in A.D. 1593. The seventy-fifth, and seventy-sixth, are shown of by the seventy-sixth foundation in A.D. 1594. The seventy-sixth, and seventy-seventh, are shown of by the seventy-seventh foundation in A.D. 1595. The seventy-seventh, and seventy-eighth, are shown of by the seventy-eighth foundation in A.D. 1596. The seventy-eighth, and seventy-ninth, are shown of by the seventy-ninth foundation in A.D. 1597. The seventy-ninth, and eightieth, are shown of by the eightieth foundation in A.D. 1598. The eightieth, and eighty-first, are shown of by the eighty-first foundation in A.D. 1599. The eighty-first, and eighty-second, are shown of by the eighty-second foundation in A.D. 1600. The eighty-second, and eighty-third, are shown of by the eighty-third foundation in A.D. 1601. The eighty-third, and eighty-fourth, are shown of by the eighty-fourth foundation in A.D. 1602. The eighty-fourth, and eighty-fifth, are shown of by the eighty-fifth foundation in A.D. 1603. The eighty-fifth, and eighty-sixth, are shown of by the eighty-sixth foundation in A.D. 1604. The eighty-sixth, and eighty-seventh, are shown of by the eighty-seventh foundation in A.D. 1605. The eighty-seventh, and eighty-eighth, are shown of by the eighty-eighth foundation in A.D. 1606. The eighty-eighth, and eighty-ninth, are shown of by the eighty-ninth foundation in A.D. 1607. The eighty-ninth, and ninetieth, are shown of by the ninetieth foundation in A.D. 1608. The ninetieth, and one hundred, are shown of by the one hundred foundation in A.D. 1609. The one hundred, and one hundred and one, are shown of by the one hundred and one foundation in A.D. 1610. The one hundred and one, and one hundred and two, are shown of by the one hundred and two foundation in A.D. 1611. The one hundred and two, and one hundred and three, are shown of by the one hundred and three foundation in A.D. 1612. The one hundred and three, and one hundred and four, are shown of by the one hundred and four foundation in A.D. 1613. The one hundred and four, and one hundred and five, are shown of by the one hundred and five foundation in A.D. 1614. The one hundred and five, and one hundred and six, are shown of by the one hundred and six foundation in A.D. 1615. The one hundred and six, and one hundred and seven, are shown of by the one hundred and seven foundation in A.D. 1616. The one hundred and seven, and one hundred and eight, are shown of by the one hundred and eight foundation in A.D. 1617. The one hundred and eight, and one hundred and nine, are shown of by the one hundred and nine foundation in A.D. 1618. The one hundred and nine, and one hundred and ten, are shown of by the one hundred and ten foundation in A.D. 1619. The one hundred and ten, and one hundred and eleven, are shown of by the one hundred and eleven foundation in A.D. 1620. The one hundred and eleven, and one hundred and twelve, are shown of by the one hundred and twelve foundation in A.D. 1621. The one hundred and twelve, and one hundred and thirteen, are shown of by the one hundred and thirteen foundation in A.D. 1622. The one hundred and thirteen, and one hundred and fourteen, are shown of by the one hundred and fourteen foundation in A.D. 1623. The one hundred and fourteen, and one hundred and fifteen, are shown of by the one hundred and fifteen foundation in A.D. 1624. The one hundred and fifteen, and one hundred and sixteen, are shown of by the one hundred and sixteen foundation in A.D. 1625. The one hundred and sixteen, and one hundred and seventeen, are shown of by the one hundred and seventeen foundation in A.D. 1626. The one hundred and seventeen, and one hundred and eighteen, are shown of by the one hundred and eighteen foundation in A.D. 1627. The one hundred and eighteen, and one hundred and nineteen, are shown of by the one hundred and nineteen foundation in A.D. 1628. The one hundred and nineteen, and one hundred and twenty, are shown of by the one hundred and twenty foundation in A.D. 1629. The one hundred and twenty, and one hundred and twenty-one, are shown of by the one hundred and twenty-one foundation in A.D. 1630. The one hundred and twenty-one, and one hundred and twenty-two, are shown of by the one hundred and twenty-two foundation in A.D. 1631. The one hundred and twenty-two, and one hundred and twenty-three, are shown of by the one hundred and twenty-three foundation in A.D. 1632. The one hundred and twenty-three, and one hundred and twenty-four, are shown of by the one hundred and twenty-four foundation in A.D. 1633. The one hundred and twenty-four, and one hundred and twenty-five, are shown of by the one hundred and twenty-five foundation in A.D. 1634. The one hundred and twenty-five, and one hundred and twenty-six, are shown of by the one hundred and twenty-six foundation in A.D. 1635. The one hundred and twenty-six, and one hundred and twenty-seven, are shown of by the one hundred and twenty-seven foundation in A.D. 1636. The one hundred and twenty-seven, and one hundred and twenty-eight, are shown of by the one hundred and twenty-eight foundation in A.D. 1637. The one hundred and twenty-eight, and one hundred and twenty-nine, are shown of by the one hundred and twenty-nine foundation in A.D. 1638. The one hundred and twenty-nine, and one hundred and thirty, are shown of by the one hundred and thirty foundation in A.D. 1639. The one hundred and thirty, and one hundred and thirty-one, are shown of by the one hundred and thirty-one foundation in A.D. 1640. The one hundred and thirty-one, and one hundred and thirty-two, are shown of by the one hundred and thirty-two foundation in A.D. 1641. The one hundred and thirty-two, and one hundred and thirty-three, are shown of by the one hundred and thirty-three foundation in A.D. 1642. The one hundred and thirty-three, and one hundred and thirty-four, are shown of by the one hundred and thirty-four foundation in A.D. 1643. The one hundred and thirty-four, and one hundred and thirty-five, are shown of by the one hundred and thirty-five foundation in A.D. 1644. The one hundred and thirty-five, and one hundred and thirty-six, are shown of by the one hundred and thirty-six foundation in A.D. 1645. The one hundred and thirty-six, and one hundred and thirty-seven, are shown of by the one hundred and thirty-seven foundation in A.D. 1646. The one hundred and thirty-seven, and one hundred and thirty-eight, are shown of by the one hundred and thirty-eight foundation in A.D. 1647. The one hundred and thirty-eight, and one hundred and thirty-nine, are shown of by the one hundred and thirty-nine foundation in A.D. 1648. The one hundred and thirty-nine, and one hundred and forty, are shown of by the one hundred and forty foundation in A.D. 1649. The one hundred and forty, and one hundred and forty-one, are shown of by the one hundred and forty-one foundation in A.D. 1650. The one hundred and forty-one, and one hundred and forty-two, are shown of by the one hundred and forty-two foundation in A.D. 1651. The one hundred and forty-two, and one hundred and forty-three, are shown of by the one hundred and forty-three foundation in A.D. 1652. The one hundred and forty-three, and one hundred and forty-four, are shown of by the one hundred and forty-four foundation in A.D. 1653. The one hundred and forty-four, and one hundred and forty-five, are shown of by the one hundred and forty-five foundation in A.D. 1654. The one hundred and forty-five, and one hundred and forty-six, are shown of by the one hundred and forty-six foundation in A.D. 1655. The one hundred and forty-six, and one hundred and forty-seven, are shown of by the one hundred and forty-seven foundation in A.D. 1656. The one hundred and forty-seven, and one hundred and forty-eight, are shown of by the one hundred and forty-eight foundation in A.D. 1657. The one hundred and forty-eight, and one hundred and forty-nine, are shown of by the one hundred and forty-nine

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troops; the magazines were abundantly replenished with forage and provisions; and the fleet of transports, ships, and galleys, was ready to hoist sail, as soon as the republic had received the price of the freight and armament. But that price far exceeded the wealth of the crusaders who were assembled at Venice. The Flemings, whose obedience to their count was voluntary and precarious, had embarked in their vessels for the long navigation of the ocean and Mediterranean; and many of the French and Italians had preferred a cheaper and more convenient passage from Marseilles and Apulia to the Holy Land. Each pilgrim might complain, that after he had furnished his own contribution, he was made responsible for the deficiency of his absent brethren: the gold and silver plate of the chiefs, which they freely delivered to the treasury of St. Mark, was a generous but inadequate sacrifice; and after all their efforts, thirty-four thousand marks were still wanting to complete the stipulated sum. The obstacle was removed by the policy and patriotism of the doge, who proposed to the barons, that if they would join their arms in reducing some revolted cities of Dalmatia, he would expose his person in the holy war, and obtain from the republic a long indulgence, till some wealthy conquest should afford the means of satisfying the debt. After much scruple and hesitation, they chose rather to accept the offer than to relinquish the enterprise; and the first hostilities of the fleet and army were directed against Zara,<sup>46</sup> a strong

Siege of Zara.

Nov. 10

city of the Slavonian coast, which had renounced its allegiance to Venice, and implored the protection of the king of Hungary.<sup>47</sup> The crusaders burst the chain or boom of the harbour; landed their horses, troops, and military engines; and compelled the inhabitants, after a defence of five days, to surrender at discretion: their lives were spared, but the revolt was punished by the pillage of their houses and the demolition of their wall. The season was far advanced; the French and Venetians resolved to pass the winter in a secure harbour and plentiful country; but their repose was disturbed by national and tumultuous quarrels of the soldiers and mariners. The conquest of Zara had scattered the seeds of discord and scandal: the arms of the allies had been stained in their outset with the blood, not of infidels, but of Christians: the king of Hungary and his new subjects were themselves enlisted under the banner of the cross, and the scruples of the devout, were melted by the fear or lassitude of the reluctant pilgrims. The pope had excommunicated the false crusaders who had pillaged and massacred their brethren,<sup>48</sup> and only the marquis Boniface and

Simon of Montfort escaped these spiritual thunders; the one by his absence from the siege, the other by his final departure from the camp. Innocent might absolve the simple and submissive penitents of France; but he was provoked by the stubborn reason of the Venetians, who refused to confess their guilt, to accept their pardon, or to allow, in their temporal concerns, the interposition of a priest.

The assembly of such formidable powers by sea and land, had revived the hopes of young<sup>49</sup> Alexius; and, both at Venice and Zara, he solicited the arms of the crusaders, for his own restoration and his father's<sup>50</sup> deliverance. The royal youth was recommended by Philip king of Germany: his prayers and presence excited the compassion of the camp; and his cause was embraced and pleaded by the marquis of Montferrat and the doge of Venice. A double alliance, and the dignity of Cæsar, had connected with the Imperial family the two elder brothers of Boniface.<sup>51</sup> He expected to derive a kingdom from the important service; and the more generous ambition of Dandolo was eager to secure the inestimable benefits of trade and dominion that might accrue to his country.<sup>52</sup> Their influence procured a favourable audience for the ambassadors of Alexius; and if the magnitude of his offers excited some suspicion, the motives and rewards which he displayed might justify the delay and diversion of those forces which had been consecrated to the deliverance of Jerusalem. He promised, in his own and his father's name, that as soon as they should be seated on the throne of Constantinople, they would terminate the long schism of the Greeks, and submit themselves and their people to the lawful supremacy of the Roman church. He engaged to recompense the labours and merits of the crusaders, by the immediate payment of two hundred thousand marks of silver; to accompany them in person to Egypt; or, if it should be judged more advantageous, to maintain, during a year, ten thousand men, and, during his life, five hundred knights, for the service of the Holy Land. These tempting conditions were accepted by the republic of Venice; and the eloquence of the doge and marquis persuaded the counts of Flanders, Blois, and St. Pol, with eight barons of France, to join in the glorious enterprise. A treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was confirmed by their oaths and seals; and each individual, according to his situation and character, was swayed by the hope of public or private advantage; by the honour of restoring an exiled monarch; or by the sincere and probable opinion, that their efforts in Palestine would be

alliance of the crusaders with the Greek prince, the young Alexius.

<sup>46</sup> In 1202, the Venetians, under the command of Dandolo, sailed for Zara, and after a siege of five days, they entered the city. The king of Hungary, who had sought the protection of the pope, was forced to surrender. The Venetians then sailed for the Holy Land, and the crusaders followed them.

<sup>47</sup> The Venetians, under the command of Dandolo, sailed for Zara, and after a siege of five days, they entered the city. The king of Hungary, who had sought the protection of the pope, was forced to surrender.

<sup>48</sup> The pope, Innocent III., excommunicated the crusaders who had pillaged and massacred their brethren, and only the marquis Boniface and Simon of Montfort escaped these spiritual thunders.

<sup>49</sup> The young Alexius, son of Isaac II. Comnenus, was the emperor of the Byzantine Empire at the time of the crusade. He was a young man of great energy and ambition.

<sup>50</sup> Alexius's father, Isaac II. Comnenus, had been deposed by his brother, Manuel I. Comnenus, in 1185.

<sup>51</sup> The two elder brothers of Boniface were Philip of Germany and Conrad of Swabia. They were both married to princesses of the Imperial family.

<sup>52</sup> The doge, Enrico Dandolo, was an old man at the time of the crusade. He was a man of great energy and ambition.

<sup>53</sup> The Venetians, under the command of Dandolo, sailed for Zara, and after a siege of five days, they entered the city. The king of Hungary, who had sought the protection of the pope, was forced to surrender.

<sup>54</sup> The Venetians, under the command of Dandolo, sailed for Zara, and after a siege of five days, they entered the city. The king of Hungary, who had sought the protection of the pope, was forced to surrender.









cavalry, the least of which was more numerous than the largest of their divisions. Shame and despair had provoked Alexius to the last effort of a general sally; but he was awed by the firm order and manly aspect of the Latins; and, after skirmishing at a distance, withdrew his troops in the close of the evening. The silence or tumult of the night exasperated his fears; and the timid usurper, collecting a treasure of ten thousand pounds of gold, basely deserted his wife, his people, and his fortune; threw himself into a bark, stole through the Bosporous, and landed in shameful safety in an obscure harbour of Thrace. As soon as they were apprised of his flight, the Greek nobles sought pardon and peace in the dungeon where the blind Isaac expected each hour the visit of the executioner. Again saved and exalted by the vicissitudes of fortune, the captive in his Imperial robes was replaced on the throne, and surrounded with prostrate slaves, whose real terror and affected joy he was incapable of discerning. At the dawn of day hostilities were suspended; and the Latin chiefs were surprised by a message from the lawful and reigning emperor, who was impatient to embrace his son, and to reward his generous deliverers.<sup>67</sup>

Restoration of the empire.  
Isaac Comnenus,  
first his brother  
Alexius.  
July 19.

But these generous deliverers were unwilling to release their hostage, till they had obtained from his father the payment, or at least the promise, of their recompence. They chose four ambassadors, Matthew of Montmorency, our historian the marshal of Champagne, and two Venetians to congratulate the emperor. The gates were thrown open on their approach, the streets on both sides were lined with the battle-axes of the Danish and English guard; the presence-chamber glittered with gold and jewels, the false substitutes of virtue and power; by the side of the blind Isaac, his wife was seated, the sister of the king of Hungary; and by her appearance, the noble matrons of Greece were drawn from their domestic retirement, and mingled with the circle of senators and soldiers. The Latins, by the mouth of the marshal, spoke like men, conscious of their merits, but who respected the work of their own hands; and the emperor clearly understood, that his son's engagement with Venice and the pilgrims must be ratified without hesitation or delay. Withdrawing into a private chamber with the empress, a chamberlain, an interpreter, and the four ambassadors, the father of young Alexius enquired with some anxiety into the nature of his stipulations. The submission of the Eastern empire to the pope, the succour of the Holy Land, and a present contribution of two hundred thousand marks of silver — “These conditions are weighty,” was his prudent reply; “they are hard to accept, and difficult to perform. But no conditions can exceed the measure of your services, and de-

"serts." After this satisfactory assurance, the barons mounted on horseback, and introduced the heir of Constantinople to the city and palace: his youth and marvellous adventures engaged every heart in his favour, and Alexius was solemnly crowned with his father in the dome of St. Sophia. In the first days of his reign, the people, already blessed with the restoration of plenty and peace, was delighted by the joyful catastrophe of the tragedy; and the discontent of the nobles, their regret, and their fears, were covered by the polished surface of pleasure and loyalty. The mixture of two discordant nations in the same capital might have been pregnant with mischief and danger; and the suburb of Galata, or Pera, was assigned for the quarters of the French and Venetians. But the liberty of trade and familiar intercourse was allowed between the friendly nations; and each day the pilgrims were tempted by devotion or curiosity to visit the churches and palaces of Constantinople. Their rude minds, insensible perhaps of the finer arts, were astonished by the magnificent scenery; and the poverty of their native towns enhanced the populousness and riches of the first metropolis of Christendom.<sup>68</sup> Descending from his state, young Alexius was prompted by interest and gratitude to repeat his frequent and familiar visits to his Latin allies; and in the freedom of the table, the gay petulance of the French sometimes forgot the emperor of the East.<sup>69</sup> In their most serious conferences, it was agreed, that the re-union of the two churches must be the result of patience and time; but avarice was less tractable than zeal; and a large sum was instantly disbursed to appease the wants, and silence the importunity, of the crusaders.<sup>70</sup> Alexius was alarmed by the approaching hour of their departure, their absence might have relieved him from the engagement which he was yet incapable of performing; but his friends would have left him, naked and alone, to the caprice and prejudice of a perfidious nation. He wished to bribe their stay, the delay of a year, by undertaking to defray their expense, and to satisfy, in their name, the freight of the Venetian vessels. The offer was agitated in the council of the barons; and, after a repetition of their debates and scruples, a majority of votes again acquiesced in the advice of the doge and the prayer of the young emperor. At the price of sixteen hundred pounds of gold, he prevailed on the marquis of Montferrat to lead him with an army round the provinces of Europe; to establish his authority, and pursue his uncle, while Constantinople was eyed by the presence of Baldwin and his confederates of France and Flanders. The expedition was successful; the blind emperor exulted in the success of his arms, and listened to the predictions of his flatterers, that the same Providence which had raised him from the dungeon to the throne

57. For the first time and amongst the Constantine, we may read the original text of the epilogue of the work III, 1040, c. 1, p. 177, 174. V. Gharibian, No 2, 1961. Nizet in *Armenian Studies*, 1961, p. 119-120. Tachibana, 1961, p. 722. In the same year, all but Maroun, were not yet returned from their first place of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where the greatest part of the community had died of the plague.

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triot and a courtier, the perfidious Mourzoufle, who was not destitute of cunning and courage, opposed the Latins both in speech and action, incited the passions and prejudices of the Greeks, and insinuated himself into the favour and confidence of Alexius, who trusted him with the office of great chamberlain, and tinged his buskins with the colours of royalty. At the dead of night, he rushed into the bedchamber with an affrighted aspect, exclaiming that the palace was attacked by the people and betrayed by the guards. Starting from his couch, the unsuspecting prince threw himself into the arms of his enemy, who had contrived his escape by a private staircase. But that staircase terminated

Alexius and his  
father d. post.  
by Mourzoufle.  
Feb. 5.

in a prison: Alexius was seized, stripped and loaded with chains; and, after tasting some days the bitterness of death, he was poisoned, or strangled, or beaten with clubs, at the command, or in the presence, of the tyrant. The emperor Isaac Angelus soon followed his son to the grave, and Mourzoufle, perhaps, might spare the superfluous crime of hastening the extinction and impotence and blindness.

The death of the emperors, and the usurpation of Mourzoufle, had changed the nature of the quarrel. It was no longer the disagreement of allies who over-valued their services, or neglected their obligations: the French and Venetians forgot their complaints against Alexius, dropped a tear on the untimely fate of their companion, and swore revenge against the perfidious nation who had crowned his assassin. Yet the prudent doge was still inclined to negotiate; he asked as a debt, a subsidy, or a fine, fifty thousand pounds of gold, about two millions sterling; nor would the conference have been abruptly broken, if the zeal, or policy, of Mourzoufle had not refused to sacrifice the Greek church to the safety of the state.<sup>77</sup> Amidst the invectives of his foreign and domestic enemies, we may discern, that he was not unworthy of the character which he had assumed, of the public champion: the second siege of Constantinople was far more laborious than the first; the treasury was replenished, and discipline was restored, by a severe inquisition into the abuses of the former reign; and Mourzoufle, an iron mace in his hand, visiting the posts, and affecting the port and aspect of a warrior, was an object of terror to his soldiers, at least, and to his kinsmen. Before and after the death of Alexius, the Greeks made two vigorous and well-conducted attempts to burn the navy in the harbour; but the skill and courage of the Venetians repulsed the fireships; and the vagrant flames wasted themselves without injury in the sea.<sup>78</sup> In a nocturnal sally the Greek emperor was vanquished by Henry, brother of the count of Flanders: the advantages of number and surprise aggravated the share of his defeat; his

buckler was found on the field of battle; and the Imperial standard,<sup>79</sup> a divine image of the Virgin, was presented, as a trophy and a relic, to the Cistercian monks, the disciples of St. Bernard. Near three months, without excepting the holy season of Lent, were consumed in skirmishes and preparations, before the Latins were ready or resolved for a general assault. The land fortifications had been found impregnable; and the Venetian pilots represented, that on the shore of the Propontis, the anchorage was unsafe, and the ships must be driven by the current far away to the straits of the Hellespont: a prospect not displeasing to the reluctant pilgrims, who sought every opportunity of breaking the army. From the harbour, therefore, the assault was determined by the assailants, and expected by the besieged; and the emperor had placed his scarlet pavilions on a neighbouring height, to direct and animate the efforts of his troops. A fearless spectator, whose mind could entertain the ideas of pomp and pleasure, might have admired the long array of two embattled armies, which extended above half a league, the one on the ships and galleys, the other on the walls and towers raised above the ordinary level by several stages of wooden turrets. Their first fury was spent in the discharge of darts, stones, and fire, from the engines; but the water was deep; the French were bold; the Venetians were skilful; they approached the walls; and a desperate conflict of swords, spears, and battle-axes, was fought on the trembling bridges that grappled the floating, to the stable, batteries. In more than an hundred places, the assault was urged, and the defence was sustained; till the superiority of ground and numbers finally prevailed, and the Latin trumpets sounded a retreat. On the ensuing days, the attack was renewed with equal vigour, and a similar event; and, in the night, the doge and the barons held a council, apprehensive only for the public danger: not a voice pronounced the words of escape or treaty; and each warrior, according to his temper, embraced the hope of victory, or the assurance of a glorious death.<sup>80</sup> By the experience of the former siege, the Greeks were instructed, but the Latins were animated; and the knowledge that Constantinople might be taken, was of more avail than the local precautions which that knowledge had inspired for its defence. In the third assault, two ships were linked together to double their strength; a strong north wind drove them on the shore; the bishops of Troyes and Soissons led the van; and the auspicious names of the *Palm* and the *Paradise* resounded along the line.<sup>81</sup> The episcopal banners were displayed on the walls; an hundred marks of silver had been promised to the first adventurers; and if their reward was intercepted by death, their names have been immortalized by fame. Four towers were scaled; three gates were

77. This negotiation, probably, on a staff, and suggested by Nicetas (p. 593), is omitted as a suspicion by the delicacy of Ducas and Villehardouin.

78. Beldien mentions two attempts to fire the fleet (p. 174, 175). Villehardouin says No. 117. I have seen the text in two places, but not in the same words. It is not credible, that a fleet of these warriors should be so easily taken by fire. The text is in the margin of the original.

79. Ducas, No. 117, says it was the most of the Virgin, a relic of the Imperial. This banner of the Virgin is shown at Venice as a

relic and relic of the Virgin, the most of the Virgin, a relic of the Imperial.

80. The text is in the margin of the original. It is not credible, that a fleet of these warriors should be so easily taken by fire. The text is in the margin of the original.

81. The text is in the margin of the original. It is not credible, that a fleet of these warriors should be so easily taken by fire. The text is in the margin of the original.

burst open; and the French knights, who might tremble on the waves, felt themselves invincible on horseback on the solid ground. Shall I relate that the thousands who guarded the emperor's person, fled on the approach, and before the lance, of a single warrior? Their ignominious flight is attested by their countryman Nicetas: an army of phantoms marched with the French hero, and he was magnified to a giant in the eyes of the Greeks.<sup>82</sup> While the fugitives deserted their posts and cast away their arms, the Latins entered the city under the banners of their leaders; the streets and gates opened for their passage; and either design or accident kindled a third conflagration, which consumed in a few hours the measure of three of the largest cities of France.<sup>83</sup> In the close of the evening, the barons checked their troops, and fortified their stations; they were awed by the extent and populousness of the capital, which might yet require the labour of a month, if the churches and palaces were conscious of their internal strength. But in the morning, a suppliant procession, with crosses and images, announced the submission of the Greeks, and deprecated the wrath of the conquerors; the usurper escaped through the golden gate: the palaces of Blachernæ and Boucoleon were occupied by the count of Flanders and the marquis of Montferriat; and the empire, which still bore the name of Constantine, and the title of Roman, was subverted by the arms of the Latin pilgrims.<sup>84</sup>

Constantinople had been taken by <sup>Pillage of</sup> Constantinople. storm; and no restraints, except those of religion and humanity, were imposed on the conquerors by the laws of war. Boniface, marquis of Montferriat, still acted as their general; and the Greeks, who revered his name as that of their future sovereign, were heard to exclaim in a lamentable tone, "Holy marquis-king, have mercy upon us!" His prudence or compassion opened the gates of the city to the fugitives; and he exhorted the soldiers of the cross to spare the lives of their fellow-Christians. The streams of blood that flow down the pages of Nicetas, may be reduced to the slaughter of two thousand of his unresisting countrymen;<sup>85</sup> and the greater part was massacred, not by the strangers, but by the Latins, who had been driven from the city, and who exercised the revenge of a triumphant faction. Yet of these evils, some were less mindful of injuries than of benefits; and Nicetas himself was indebted for his safety to the generosity of a Venetian merchant. Pope Innocent the Third accuses the pilgrims of respecting, in their lust, neither age, nor sex, nor religious profession; and bitterly laments that the deeds of darkness, fornication, adultery, and incest, were perpetrated in open day; and that

noble matrons and holy nuns were polluted by the grooms and peasants of the Catholic camp.<sup>86</sup> It is indeed probable that the licence of victory prompted and covered a multitude of sins: but it is certain, that the capital of the East contained a stock of venal or willing beauty, sufficient to satiate the desires of twenty thousand pilgrims: and female prisoners were no longer subject to the right or abuse of domestic slavery. The marquis of Montferriat was the patron of discipline and decency; the count of Flanders was the mirror of chastity: they had forbidden, under pain of death, the rape of married women, or virgins, or nuns; and the proclamation was sometimes invoked by the vanquished<sup>87</sup> and respected by the victors. Their cruelty and lust were moderated by the authority of the chiefs, and feelings of the soldiers; for we are no longer describing an irruption of the northern savages; and however ferocious they might still appear, time, policy, and religion, had civilised the manners of the French, and still more of the Italians. But a free scope was allowed to their avarice, which was glutted, even in the holy week, by the pillage of Constantinople. The right of victory, unshackled by any promise or treaty, had confiscated the public and private wealth of the Greeks; and every hand, according to its size and strength, might lawfully execute the sentence and seize the forfeit. A portable and universal standard of exchange was found in the coined and uncoined metals of gold and silver, which each captor, at home or abroad, might convert into the possessions most suitable to his temper and situation. Of the treasures, which trade and luxury had accumulated, the silks, velvets, furs, the gems, spices, and rich moveables, were the most precious, as they could not be procured for money in the ruder countries of Europe. An order of rapine <sup>Division of the</sup> was instituted; nor was the share of <sup>spoils.</sup> each individual abandoned to industry or chance. Under the tremendous penalties of perjury, excommunication and death, the Latins were bound to deliver their plunder into the common stock; three churches were selected for the deposit and distribution of the spoil: a single share was allotted to a foot soldier; two for a serjeant on horseback; four to a knight; and larger proportions according to the rank and merit of the barons and princes. For violating this sacred engagement, a knight, belonging to the count of St. Pol, was hanged with his shield and coat of arms round his neck: his example might render similar offenders more artful and discreet; but avarice was more powerful than fear; and it is generally believed, that the secret far exceeded the acknowledged plunder. Yet the magnitude of the prize surpassed the largest scale of experience or expectation.<sup>88</sup> Af-

<sup>82</sup> With an allusion to Homer, Nicetas calls him *Αχιλλεύς*, a hero, or, in English words, a giant, a statue with human mind, have excused the terror of the Greek. On this occasion, the historian seems fond of the unrefined, than of his country, or perhaps of truth. Balaam exclaims in the words of the psalmist, *persequitur utrumque et nullo certamine abouit*.

<sup>83</sup> Villehardouin (No. 150) is again ignorant of the authors of *l'Esprit* more legitimate title, which is ascribed by Gunther to a spurious count Teutonicus (c. 11.). They seem admitted, the incendiaries.

<sup>84</sup> For the second siege and capture of Constantinople, see Villehardouin (No. 115-152), Baldwin's last Epistle to Innocent III. (Gesta, c. 92, p. 551-557), with the whole record of Montferriat, in Nicetas (p. 363-375), and I borrow some hints from Hæd. in Chron. Venet. p. 525-530) and Gunther Hist. C. P. c. 115-151, who add the decorations of prophecy and vision. The former produces an

oracle of the Ethiopian sibyl, of a great armament on the Hellespont, under a band which, against Byzantium, &c. Curious enough, were the prediction anterior to the fact.

<sup>85</sup> *Et ceciderunt omnes ad eum civium quæ duo milia, &c.* (Gunther, c. 151.) Antheimus is an excellent tolestone to try the applications of reason and rhetoric.

<sup>86</sup> *Quidam (says Innocent III. Gesta, c. 91, p. 558), nec religionem, nec statum, nec ætatem præcipuerunt sed fortunas, utilitates, et divitias in oculis omnium habuerunt, non solum maritatus et viduitas, sed et matronarum et virginum. Propter divitias, exasperant superbiam, gremium, Vultu carissimum facies non notice of these common incidents.*

<sup>87</sup> Nicetas saved, and afterwards married, a noble virgin (p. 361) who, in a short time, *σεως αμαρτωλων πολλων επιβλεψαμενος* had almost changed in spirit, and the *εργα αρετης* were everywhere.

<sup>88</sup> Of the general ideas of wealth, Gunther observes, *ut de pauperibus*

ter the whole had been equally divided between the French and Venetians, fifty thousand marks were deducted to satisfy the debts of the former and the demands of the latter. The residue of the French amounted to four hundred thousand marks of silver,<sup>89</sup> about eight hundred thousand pounds sterling; nor can I better appreciate the value of that sum in the public and private transactions of the age, than by defining it as seven times the annual revenue of the kingdom of England.<sup>90</sup>

In this great revolution we enjoy the singular felicity of comparing the narratives of Villehardouin and Nicetas, the opposite feelings of the marshal of Champagne and the Byzantine senator.<sup>91</sup> At the first view it should seem that the wealth of Constantinople was only transferred from one nation to another; and that the loss and sorrow of the Greeks is exactly balanced by the joy and advantage of the Latins. But in the miserable account of war, the gain is never equivalent to the loss, the pleasure to the pain: the smiles of the Latins were transient and fallacious; the Greeks for ever wept over the ruins of their country; and their real calamities were aggravated by sacrilege and mockery. What benefits accrued to the conquerors from the three fires which annihilated so vast a portion of the buildings and riches of the city? What a stock of such things, as could neither be used nor transported, was maliciously or wantonly destroyed! How much treasure was idly wasted in gaming, debauchery, and riot! And what precious objects were bartered for a vile price by the impatience or ignorance of the soldiers, whose reward was stolen by the base industry of the last of the Greeks! These alone, who had nothing to lose, might derive some profit from the revolution; but the misery of the upper ranks of society is strongly painted in the personal adventures of Nicetas himself. His stately palace had been reduced to ashes in the second conflagration; and the senator, with his family and friends, found an obscure shelter in another house which he possessed near the church of St. Sophia. It was the door of this mean habitation that his friend, the Venetian merchant, guarded in the disguise of a soldier, till Nicetas could save, by a precipitate flight, the relics of his fortune and the chastity of his daughter. In a cold wintry season, these fugitives, nursed in the lap of prosperity, departed on foot; his wife was with child; the desertion of their slaves compelled them to carry their baggage on their own shoulders; and their women, whom they placed in the centre, were exhorted to conceal their beauty with dirt, instead of adorning it with paint and jewels. Every step was exposed to insult and danger: the threats of

the strangers were less painful than the taunts of the plebeians, with whom they were now levelled; nor did the exiles breathe in safety till their mournful pilgrimage was concluded at Selymbria, above forty miles from the capital. On the way they overtook the patriarch, without attendance, and almost without apparel, riding on an ass, and reduced to a state of apostolical poverty, which, had it been voluntary, might perhaps have been meritorious. In the mean while, his desolate churches were profaned by the licentiousness and party zeal of the Latins. After stripping the gems and pearls, <sup>sacrilege and</sup> they converted the chalices into drinking cups; their tables, on which they gamed and feasted, were covered with the pictures of Christ and the saints; and they trampled under foot the most venerable objects of the Christian worship. In the cathedral of St. Sophia, the ample veil of the sanctuary was rent asunder for the sake of the golden fringe; and the altar, a monument of art and riches, was broken in pieces, and shared among the captors. Their mules and horses were laden with the wrought silver and gilt carvings, which they tore down from the doors and pulpit; and if the beasts stumbled under the burden, they were stabbed by their impatient drivers, and the holy pavement streamed with their impure blood. A prostitute was seated on the throne of the patriarch; and that daughter of Belial, as she is styled, sung and danced in the church, to ridicule the hymns and processions of the Orientals. Nor were the repositories of the royal treasure secure from violation: in the church of the Apostles, the tombs of the emperors were rifled, and it is said, that after six centuries the corpse of Justinian was found without any signs of decay or putrefaction. In the streets, the French and Germans clothed themselves and their horses in rich robes and flowing head-dresses of linen; and the coarse intemperance of their feasts insulted the splendid sobriety of the East. To expose the arms of a people of scribes and scholars, they affected to display a pen, an inkhorn, and a sheet of paper, without discerning that the instruments of science and valour were *alike* feeble and useless in the hands of the modern Greeks.

Their reputation and their lan- <sup>destruction of</sup> guage encouraged them, however, the statues to despise the ignorance, and to overlook the progress, of the Latins.<sup>92</sup> In the love of the arts, the national difference was still more obvious and real; the Greeks preserved with reverence the works of their ancestors, which they could not imitate; and, in the destruction of the statues of Constantinople, we are provoked to join in the complaints and invectives of the Byzantine historian.<sup>93</sup> We have seen how the

bus et admodum magis de his rebus (Hist. C. P. c. 181) Villehardouin, non fuit tantum gaudere, dum tota non videretur possidere.

<sup>89</sup> Villehardouin, No. 175—175. Instead of 400,000, there is a various reading of 500,000. The Venetians had offered to take the whole booty, and to give 100 marks to each knight, 200 to each priest and horseman, and 100 to each foot soldier. This would have been great losses. (Le Beau, Hist. du Bas-Empire, tom. ix. p. 39.) I know not from whence.)

<sup>90</sup> At the council of Lyons A. D. 1271, the English ambassadors stated the revenue of the crown as below that of the five in France, which amounted to 400,000 marks a year (Maitland, c. 141, Hist. of Henry of England, vol. i. p. 170.)

<sup>91</sup> The disorders of the sack of Constantinople, and his own adventures, are feelingly described by Nicetas, p. 362—366; and in the *biatus Urb. C. P.* p. 573—584. His complaints, even of sacrilege, are

justified by Innocent III. (Gesta, c. 92.); but Villehardouin does not borrow a symptom of pity or remorse.

<sup>92</sup> If I might aspersed the Greek of Nicetas's reproach, their favourite dishes were boiled hennocks, of beef, salt pork and peas, and soup made of garlic and sharp or sour herbs. (c. 92.)

<sup>93</sup> Nicetas was very harsh against some, *magis quodammodo barbaros, etiam magis iniquos* (Francia, *magis quodammodo barbaros, etiam magis iniquos*), and a true philosopher most strongly in their ignorance of Greek and Latin. In the year 1204, the Latins of the city, who were not desirous of literature. See Henry's Hist. of France, p. 120. The Latins of the city, who were not desirous of literature. See Henry's Hist. of France, p. 120. The Latins of the city, who were not desirous of literature. See Henry's Hist. of France, p. 120.





CHAP. LXI.

*Partition of the Empire by the French and Venetians. — Five Latin Emperors of the Houses of Flanders and Courtenay. — Their Wars against the Bulgarians and Greeks. — Weakness and Poverty of the Latin Empire. — Recovery of Constantinople by the Greeks. — General Consequences of the Crusades.*

**Election of the emperor Baldwin I.**  
A. D. 1204,  
May 9—16.

future possessions.<sup>1</sup> It was stipulated by treaty, that twelve electors, six of either nation, should be nominated; that a majority should choose the emperor of the East; and that, if the votes were equal, the decision of chance should ascertain the successful candidate. To him, with all the titles and prerogatives of the Byzantine throne, they assigned the two palaces of Boucoleon and Blachernæ, with a fourth part of the Greek monarchy. It was defined that the three remaining portions should be equally shared between the republic of Venice and the barons of France; that each feudatory, with an honourable exception for the doge, should acknowledge and perform the duties of homage and military service to the supreme head of the empire; that the nation which gave an emperor, should resign to their brethren the choice of a patriarch; and that the pilgrims, whatever might be their impatience to visit the Holy Land, should devote another year to the conquest and defence of the Greek provinces. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, the treaty was confirmed and executed; and the first and most important step was the creation of an emperor. The six electors of the French nation were all ecclesiastics, the abbot of Loes, the archbishop elect of Acre in Palestine, and the bishops of Troyes, Soissons, Halberstadt, and Bethlehem, the last of whom exercised in the camp the office of pope's legate: their profession and knowledge were respectable; and as *they* could not be the objects, they were best qualified to be the authors, of the choice. The six Venetians were the principal servants of the state, and in this list the noble families of Querini and Contarini are still proud to discover their ancestors. The twelve assembled in the chapel of the palace; and after the solemn invocation of the Holy Ghost they proceeded to deliberate and vote. A just impulse of respect and gratitude prompted them to crown the virtues of the doge: his wisdom had inspired their enterprise; and the most youthful knights might envy and applaud the exploits of blindness and age. But the patriot Dandolo was devoid of all personal ambition, and fully satisfied that he had been judged worthy to reign. His nomination was over-ruled by the

transcribes and translates *sequitur ad unguem*, a MS. of Villehardouin, which he possessed, but he enriches his narrative with Greek and Latin materials, and we are indebted to him for a correct state of the

hardouin, No. 136-140, with DuRoi, in his *Observations*, and the 1st book of his *Histoire de Constantinople sous l'Empire des Français*.

Venetians themselves: his countrymen, and perhaps his friends,<sup>2</sup> represented, with the eloquence of truth, the mischiefs that might arise to national freedom and the common cause, from the union of two incompatible characters, of the first magistrate of a republic and the emperor of the East. The exclusion of the doge left room for the more equal merits of Boniface and Baldwin; and at their names all manner of candidates respectfully withdrew. The marquis of Montferrat was recommended by his mature age and fair reputation, by the choice of the adventurers, and the wishes of the Greeks; nor can I believe that Venice, the mistress of the sea, could be seriously apprehensive of a petty lord at the foot of the Alps.<sup>3</sup> But the count of Flanders was the chief of a wealthy and warlike people; he was valiant, pious, and chaste; in the prime of life, since he was only thirty-two years of age; a descendant of Charlemagne, a cousin of the king of France, and a compeer of the prelates and barons who had yielded with reluctance to the command of a foreigner. Without the chapel, these barons, with the doge and marquis at their head, expected the decision of the twelve electors. It was announced by the bishop of Soissons, in the name of his colleagues; "Ye have sworn to obey the prince whom we should choose: by our unanimous suffrage, Baldwin count of Flanders and Hainault is now your sovereign, and the emperor of the East." He was saluted with loud applause, and the proclamation was re-echoed through the city by the joy of the Latins, and the trembling adulation of the Greeks. Boniface was the first to kiss the hand of his rival, and to raise him on the buckler; and Baldwin was transported to the cathedral, and solemnly invested with the purple buskins. At the end of three weeks he was crowned by the legate, in the vacancy of a patriarch; but the Venetian clergy soon filled the chapter of St. Sophia, seated Thomas Morosini on the ecclesiastical throne, and employed every art to perpetuate in their own nation the honours and benefices of the Greek church.<sup>4</sup> Without delay the successor of Constantine instructed Palestine, France, and Rome, of this memorable revolution. To Palestine he sent, as a trophy, the gates of Constantinople, and the chain of the Labourer;<sup>5</sup> and adopted, from the Assise of Jerusalem, the laws or customs best adapted to a French colony and conquest in the East. In his epistles, the natives of France are encouraged to swell that colony, and to secure that conquest, to people a magnificent city and a fertile land, which will reward the labours both of the priest and the soldier. He congratulates the Roman pontiff on the restoration of his authority in the East; invites him to extinguish the Greek schism by his presence in a general council; and implores his blessing and forgiveness for the disobedient pilgrims. Prudence and dignity

[illegible]



men, whose sole umpire was the sword. Within three months after the conquest of Constantinople, the emperor and the king of Thessalonien drew their hostile followers into the field; they were reconciled by the authority of the doge, the advice of the marshal, and the firm freedom of their peers.<sup>16</sup>

Two fugitives, who had reigned <sup>Revol of the Greeks.</sup> at Constantinople, still asserted the <sup>A. D. 1201, &c.</sup> title of emperor; and the subjects of their fallen throne might be moved to pity by the misfortunes of the elder Alexis, or excited to revenge by the spirit of Mourzoufle. A domestic alliance, a common interest, a similar guilt, and the merit of extinguishing his enemies, a brother and a nephew, induced the more recent usurper to unite with the former the relics of his power. Mourzoufle was received with smiles and honours in the camp of his father Alexis; but the wicked can never love, and should rarely trust, their fellow-criminals; he was seized in the bath, deprived of his eyes, stripped of his troops and treasures, and turned out to wander an object of horror and contempt to those who with more propriety could hate, and with more justice could punish, the assassin of the emperor Isaac and his son. As the tyrant, pursued by fear or remorse, was stealing over to Asia, he was seized by the Latins of Constantinople, and condemned, after an open trial, to an ignominious death. His judges directed the mode of his execution, the axe, the wheel, or the stake; and it was resolved that Mourzoufle<sup>17</sup> should ascend the Theodosian column, a pillar of white marble of one hundred and forty-seven feet in height.<sup>18</sup> From the summit he was cast down headlong, and dashed in pieces on the pavement, in the presence of innumerable spectators, who filled the forum of Taurus, and admired the accomplishment of an old prediction, which was explained by this singular event.<sup>19</sup> The fire of Alexis is less tragical. He was sent by the marquis a captive to Italy, and a gift to the king of the Romans; but he had not much to applaud his fortune, if the sentence of imprisonment and exile were changed from a fortress in the Alps to a monastery in Asia. But his daughter, before the national calamity, had been given in marriage to a young hero who continued the succession, and restored the throne, of the Greek princes.<sup>20</sup> The valour of Theodore Lascaris was signalised in the two sieges of Constantinople.

Theodore Lascaris, emperor of Nicaea.  
A. D. 1191  
—1212.

After the flight of Mourzoufle, when the Latins were already in the city, he offered himself as their emperor to the soldiers and people: and his ambition, which might be virtuous, was undoubtedly brave. Could he

have infused a soul into the multitude, they might have crushed the strangers under their feet: their abject despair refused his aid, and Theodore retired to breathe the air of freedom in Anatolia, beyond the immediate view and pursuit of the conquerors. Under the title, at first of despot, and afterwards of emperor, he drew to his standard the bolder spirits, who were fortified against slavery by the contempt of life; and as every means was lawful for the public safety, implored without scruple the alliance of the Turkish sultan. Nice, where Theodore established his residence, Prusa and Philadelphia, Smyrna and Ephesus, opened their gates to their deliverer: he derived strength and reputation from his victories, and even from his defeats; and the successor of Constantine preserved a fragment of the empire from the banks of the Meander to the suburbs of Nicomedia, and at length of Constantinople. Another

The dukes and emperors of Trebizond.

possessed by the lineal heir of the Comnenian, a son of the virtuous Manuel, a grandson of the tyrant Andronicus. His name was Alexis; and the epithet of great was applied perhaps to his stature, rather than to his exploits. By the indulgence of the Angeli, he was appointed governor or duke of Trebizond;<sup>21</sup> his birth gave him ambition, the revolution independence; and without changing his title, he reigned in peace from Sinope to the Phasis, along the coast of the Black Sea. His nameless son and successor is described as the vassal of the sultan, whom he served with two hundred lances, that Comnenian prince was no more than duke of Trebizond, and the title of emperor was first assumed by the pride and envy of the successor of Alexis. In the West,

a third fragment was saved from the common shipwreck by Michael, a bastard of the house of Angeli, who, before the revolution, had been known as an hostage, a soldier, and a rebel. His flight from the camp of the marquis Boniface secured his freedom; by his marriage with the governor's daughter, he commanded the important place of Durazzo, assumed the title of despot, and founded a strong and conspicuous principality in Epirus, Aetolia, and Thessaly, which have ever been peopled by a warlike race. The Greeks, who had offered their service to their new sovereigns, were excluded by the haughty Latins<sup>22</sup> from all civil and military honours, as a nation born to trouble and obey. Their resentment prompted them to show that they might have been useful friends, since they could be dangerous enemies: their nerves were braced by adversity; whatever was learned of holy, whatever was noble or valiant, rolled away

<sup>16</sup> Their quarrel is told by Vithardouon (No. 116. 118.) with the spirit of freedom. The merit and portion of the marshal are acknowledged by the Greek historians; (No. 116.) but Mourzoufle is described as a tyrant, whose exploits are only visible in their own names.

<sup>17</sup> See the fate of Mourzoufle, in Nicetas (p. 703.) Vithardouon (No. 116.) 115. 116. and Goutherin (p. 20. 21.) Neither the marquis nor the Greek afford a ground of pity to a person so cruel, whose punishment, however, was more merited than his crime.

<sup>18</sup> The column of Arcadius, which represents an African before his victories, or those of his father Theodosius, is to be seen at Constantinople. It is described and measured, Goutherin (p. 19.) p. 73. Barlun (died 1171.) Antiquities (p. 11.) &c. and Tournefort (Voyage du Levant, tom. ii. livre 10. p. 21.)

<sup>19</sup> The reverse of a coin, and the modern Greeks concerning the calamity, is a very curious coin, but I have not seen it. It is a coin of the reign of the emperor Isaac, who died in 1195. (No. 27.) relates the death of Mourzoufle, who was killed in the

forum, and a coin, struck on the following day, showing his hands, and uttering a loud exclamation.

<sup>20</sup> The dynasty of Nicaea, Trebizond, and Iconium, of which Nicetas speaks, is a branch of the Comnenian line, which was established by the emperor Manuel.

<sup>21</sup> The principality of Trebizond, which was a vassal of the empire, was a principality of the empire, and was a principality of the empire.

<sup>22</sup> The principality of Trebizond, which was a vassal of the empire, was a principality of the empire, and was a principality of the empire.

<sup>23</sup> The principality of Trebizond, which was a vassal of the empire, was a principality of the empire, and was a principality of the empire.

<sup>24</sup> The principality of Trebizond, which was a vassal of the empire, was a principality of the empire, and was a principality of the empire.

into the independent states of Trebizond, Epirus, and Nice; and a single patrician is marked by the ambiguous praise of attachment and loyalty to the Franks. The vulgar herd of the cities and the country would have gladly submitted to a mild and regular servitude; and the transient disorders of war would have been obliterated by some years of industry and peace. But peace was banished, and industry was crushed, in the disorders of the feudal system. The Roman emperors of Constantinople, if they were endowed with abilities, were armed with power for the protection of their subjects; their laws were wise, and their administration was simple. The Latin throne was filled by a titular prince, the chief, and often the servant, of his licentious confederates; the fiefs of the empire, from a kingdom to a castle, were held and ruled by the sword of the barons: and their discord, poverty, and ignorance, extended the ramifications of tyranny to the most sequestered villages. The Greeks were oppressed by the double weight of the priest, who was invested with temporal power, and of the soldier, who was inflamed by fanatic hatred; and the insuperable bar of religion and language for ever separated the stranger and the native. As long as the crusaders were united at Constantinople, the memory of their conquest, and the terror of their arms, imposed silence on the captive land: their dispersion betrayed the smallness of their numbers and the defects of their discipline; and some failures and mischances revealed the secret, that they were not invincible. As the fear of the Greeks abated, their hatred increased. They murmured; they conspired; and before a year of slavery had elapsed, they implored, or accepted, the succour of a barbarian, whose power they had felt, and whose gratitude they trusted.<sup>23</sup>

The Bulgar war.  
A. D. 1205.

The Latin conquerors had been saluted by a solemn and early embassy from John, or Joannice, or Calo-John, the revolted chief of the Bulgarians and Walachians. He deemed himself their brother, as the viceroy of the Roman pontiff, from whom he had received the royal title and an holy banner; and in the subversion of the Greek monarchy, he might aspire to the name of their friend and accomplice. But Calo-John was astonished to find, that the count of Flanders had assumed the pomp and pride of the successors of Constantine; and his ambassadors were dismissed with an haughty message, that the rebel must deserve a pardon, by touching with his forehead the footstool of the Imperial throne. His resentment<sup>24</sup> would have exhaled in acts of violence and blood; his cooler policy watched the rising discontent of the Greeks; affected a tender concern for their sufferings; and promised, that their first struggles for freedom should be supported by his person and kingdom. The conspiracy was propagated by national hatred, the fittest hand of association and secrecy; the Greeks were im-

patient to sheath their daggers in the breasts of the victorious strangers; but the execution was prudently delayed, till Henry, the emperor's brother, had transported the flower of his troops beyond the Hellespont. Most of the towns and villages of Thrace were true to the moment and the signal: and the Latins, without arms or suspicion, were slaughtered by the vile and merciless revenge of their slaves. From Demotica, the first scene of the massacre, the surviving vassals of the count of St. Pol escaped to Adrianople; but the French and Venetians, who occupied that city, were slain or expelled by the furious multitude; the garrisons that could effect their retreat fell back on each other towards the metropolis; and the fortresses, that separately stood against the rebels, were ignorant of each other's and of their sovereign's fate. The voice of fame and fear announced the revolt of the Greeks and the rapid approach of their Bulgarian ally; and Calo-John, not depending on the forces of his own kingdom, had drawn from the Scythian wilderness a body of fourteen thousand Comans, who drank, as it was said, the blood of their captives, and sacrificed the Christians on the altars of their gods.<sup>25</sup>

Alarmed by this sudden and growing danger, the emperor despatched a swift messenger to recall count Henry and his troops; and had Baldwin expected the return of his gallant brother, with a supply of twenty thousand Armenians, he might have encountered the invader with equal numbers and a decisive superiority of arms and discipline. But the spirit of chivalry could seldom discriminate caution from cowardice; and the emperor took the field with an hundred and forty knights, March. and their train of archers and sergeants. The marshal, who dissuaded and obeyed, led the vanguard in their march to Adrianople; the main body was commanded by the count of Blois; the aged doge of Venice followed with the rear; and their scanty numbers were increased from all sides by the fugitive Latins. They undertook to besiege the rebels of Adrianople; and such was the pious tendency of the crusades, that they employed the holy week in pillaging the country for their subsistence, and in kindling engines for the destruction of their fellow-Christians. But the Latins were soon interrupted and alarmed by the light cavalry of the Comans, who boldly skirmished to the edge of their imperfect lines; and a proclamation was issued by the marshal of Romania, that, on the trumpet's sound, the cavalry should mount and form; but that none, under pain of death, should abandon themselves to a desultory and dangerous pursuit. This wise injunction was first disobeyed by the count of Blois, who involved the emperor in his rashness and ruin. The Comans, of the Parthian or Tartar school, fled before their first charge; but after a career of two leagues, when the knights and their horses were almost breathless, they suddenly turned, rallied, and encompassed

<sup>23</sup> I here begin to mix, with freedom and confidence, the eight books of the *Historia Imperii Romaniae*, which Burce has given us a slight hint to V. 1. *Barbarum*, and which, in a brilliant style, describes their origin and classic work.

<sup>24</sup> In *the* *fourth* answer to the pope, we find, and his claims and complaints (Gesta Innocent. III. c. 108, 109.) he was cherished at Rome as the prodigal son.

<sup>25</sup> The Comans were a Tartar or Turkmen horde, which encamped in the north and south central, on the verge of the desert. The greater part were Pagans, but some were Mahometans, and the whole horde was converted to Christianity (A. D. 1570) by Lewis king of Hungary.

Defeat and captivity of Baldwin  
A. D. 1205,  
April 15.

Defeat and cap-  
tivity of Baldwin  
2d, 1149,  
April 15.

the heavy squadrons of the Franks. The count was slain on the field; the emperor was made prisoner; and if the one disdained to fly, if the other refused to yield, their personal bravery made a poor atonement for their ignorance, or neglect, of the duties of a general.<sup>26</sup>

Proud of his victory and his royal prize, the Bulgarian advanced to relieve Adrianople and achieve the destruction of the Latins. They must inevitably have been destroyed, if the marshal of Romania had not displayed a cool courage and consummate skill: uncommon in all ages, but most uncommon in those times, when war was a passion, rather than a science. His grief

and fears were poured into the firm and faithful bosom of the doge; but in the camp he diffused an assurance of safety, which could only be realised by the general belief. All day he maintained his perilous station between the city and the barbarians; Villehardouin decamped in silence at the dead of night; and his marvellous retreat of three days would have deserved the praise of Xenophon and the ten thousand. In the rear, the marshal supported the weight of the pursuit; in the front, he moderated the impatience of the fugitives; and wherever the Comans approached, they were repelled by a line of impenetrable spears. On the third day, the weary troops beheld the sea, the solitary town of Podosto, and their friends, who had landed from the Asiatic shore. They embraced, they wept; but they united their arms and counsels; and, in his brother's absence, count Henry assumed the regency of the empire, at once in a state of childhood and caducity. If the Comans with-

drew from the summer heats, seven thousand Latins, in the hour of danger, deserted Constantinople, their brethren, and their vows. Some partial success was overbalanced by the loss of one hundred and twenty knights in the field of Rusion; and of the Imperial domain, no more was left than the capital, with two or three adjacent fortresses on the shores of Europe and Asia. The king of Bulgaria was restless and inexorable; and Calo-John respectfully eluded the demands of the pope, who conjured his new proselyte to restore peace and the emperor to the afflicted Latins. The deliverance of Baldwin was no longer, he said, in the power of man: that prince had died in prison; and the manner of his death is variously related by ignorance and credulity. The lovers of a tragic legend will be pleased to hear, that the royal captive was tempted by the amorous queen of the Bulgarians; that his chaste refusal exposed him to the falsehood of a woman and the jealousy of a savage; that his hands and feet were severed from his body; that his bleeding trunk was cast among the carcasses of dogs and horses; and that he breathed three days, before

### Death of the emperor.

he was devoured by the birds of prey.<sup>2</sup> About twenty years afterwards, in a wood of the Netherlands, an hermit announced himself as the true Baldwin, the emperor of Constantinople, and lawful sovereign of Flanders. He related the wonders of his escape, his adventures, and his penance, among a people prone to believe and to rebel; and, in the first transport, Flanders acknowledged her long-lost sovereign. A short examination before the French court detected the impostor, who was punished with an ignominious death; but the Flemings still adhered to the pleasing error; and the countess Jane is accused by the gravest historians of sacrificing to her ambition the life of an unfortunate father.<sup>3</sup>

In all civilised hostility, a treaty is established for the exchange or ransom of prisoners; and if their captivity be prolonged, their condition is known, and they are treated according to their rank with humanity or honour. But the savage Bulgaria was a stranger to the laws of war; his prisons were involved in darkness and silence; and above a year elapsed before the Latins could be assured of the death of Baldwin, before his brother, the regent Henry, would consent to assume the title of emperor. His moderation was applauded by the Greeks as an act of rare and inimitable virtue. Their light and perfidious ambition was eager to seize or anticipate the moment of a vacancy, while a law of succession, the guardian both of the prince and people, was gradually defined and confirmed in the hereditary monarchies of Europe. In the support of the Eastern empire, Henry was gradually left without an associate, as the heroes of the crusade retired from the world or from the war. The doge of Venice, the venerable Dandolo, in the fulness of years and glory, sunk into the grave. The raucous of Montferrat was slowly recalled from the Peloponnesian war to the revenge of Baldwin and the defence of Thessalonica. Some nice disputes of feudal homage and service were reconciled in a personal interview between the emperor and the king: they were firmly united by mutual esteem and the common danger; and their alliance was sealed by the nuptial of Henry with the daughter of the Italian prince. He soon deplored the loss of his friend and father. At the persuasion of some faithful Greeks, Boniface made a bold and successful inroad among the hills of Rhodope: the Bulgarians fled on his approach; they assembled to harass his retreat. On the intelligence that his rear was attacked, without waiting for any defensive armour, he leaped on horse-back, echoed his lance, and drove the enemies before him; but in the rash pursuit he was pierced with a mortal wound; and the head of the king of Thessalonica was presented to Calo-John, who enjoyed the honours, without the merit, of victory. The

King and  
character of  
Henry  
A. D. 1206,  
Aug. 20—1216,  
June 11.

25 Naetus, from ignorance or malice, attributes the defeat to the cowardice of Darius (iii, 58). But Xerxes afterwards shares his own glory with his enemy, rather than let his victory be complete and newsworthy, thus multiplying the effects of his success. Naetus, however,

28. The reign and end of Bodhidharma is given by the *Yueh-shi-ching* and *Nei-shi-ching*. *Ching-t'ang-shih* and *Ching-t'ang-shih-shih* are supplied by Daizang in his *Chüeh-shih*, and to the end of the first book.

[illegible]

is here, at this melancholy event, that the pen or the voice of Jeffrey of Villehardouin seems to drop or to expire;<sup>31</sup> and if he still exercised his military office of marshal of Romania, his subsequent exploits are buried in oblivion.<sup>32</sup> The character of Henry was not unequal to his arduous situation: in the siege of Constantinople, and beyond the Hellespont, he had deserved the fame of a valiant knight and a skilful commander; and his courage was tempered with a degree of prudence and mildness unknown to his impetuous brother. In the double war against the Greeks of Asia and the Bulgarians of Europe, he was ever the foremost on shipboard or on horseback; and though he cautiously provided for the success of his arms, the drooping Latins were often roused by his example to save and to second their fearless emperor. But such efforts, and some supplies of men and money from France, were of less avail than the errors, the cruelty, and death, of their most formidable adversary. When the despair of the Greek subjects invited Calo-John as their deliverer, they hoped that he would protect their liberty and adopt their laws: they were soon taught to compare the degrees of national ferocity, and to execrate the savage conqueror, who no longer dissembled his intention of dispeopling Thrace, of demolishing the cities, and of transplanting the inhabitants beyond the Danube. Many towns and villages of Thrace were already evacuated; an heap of ruins marked the place of Philippopolis, and a similar calamity was expected at Demotica and Adrianople, by the first authors of the revolt. They raised a cry of grief and repentance to the throne of Henry: the emperor alone had the magnanimity to forgive and trust them. No more than four hundred knights, with their sergeants and archers, could be assembled under his banner; and with this slender force he fought and repulsed the Bulgarian, who, besides his infantry, was at the head of forty thousand horse. In this expedition, Henry felt the difference between an hostile and a friendly country; the remaining cities were preserved by his arms; and the savages, with shame and loss, were compelled to relinquish his prey. The siege of Thessalonica was the last of the evils which Calo-John inflicted or suffered: he was stabbed in the night in his tent; and the general, perhaps the assassin, who found him weltering in his blood, ascribed the blow with general applause to the lance of St. Demetrius.<sup>33</sup> After several victories, the prudence of Henry concluded an honourable peace with the successor of the tyrant, and with the Greek princes of Nice and Epirus. If he ceded some doubtful limits, an ample kingdom was reserved for himself and his feudatories; and his reign, which lasted only ten years, afforded a short interval of prosperity and peace. Far above the narrow policy of Baldwin and Boniface, he freely intrusted to

the Greeks the most important offices of the state and army: and this liberality of sentiment and practice was the more seasonable, as the princes of Nice and Epirus had already learned to seduce and employ the mercenary valour of the Latins. It was the aim of Henry to unite and reward his deserving subjects of every nation and language; but he appeared less solicitous to accomplish the impracticable union of the two churches. Pelagius, the pope's legate, who acted as the sovereign of Constantinople, had interdicted the worship of the Greeks, and sternly imposed the payment of tithes, the double procession of the Holy Ghost, and a blind obedience to the Roman pontiff. As the weaker party, they pleaded the duties of conscience, and implored the rights of toleration: "Our bodies," they said, "are Caesar's, but our souls belong only to God." The persecution was checked by the firmness of the emperor;<sup>34</sup> and if we can believe that the same prince was poisoned by the Greeks themselves, we must entertain a contemptible idea of the sense and gratitude of mankind. His valour was a vulgar attribute, which he shared with ten thousand knights; but Henry possessed the superior courage to oppose, in a superstitious age, the pride and avarice of the clergy. In the cathedral of St. Sophia he presumed to place his throne on the right-hand of the patriarch; and this presumption excited the sharpest censure of pope Innocent the Third. By a salutary edict, one of the first examples of the laws of mortmain, he prohibited the alienation of fiefs: many of the Latins, desirous of returning to Europe, resigned their estates to the church for a spiritual or temporal reward; these holy lands were immediately discharged from military service; and a colony of soldiers would have been gradually transformed into a college of priests.<sup>35</sup>

The virtuous Henry died at Thessalonica, in the defence of that kingdom, and of an infant, the son of his friend Boniface. In the two first emperors of Constantinople the male line of the counts of Flanders was extinct. But their sister Yolande was the wife of a French prince, the mother of a numerous progeny; and one of her daughters had married Andrew king of Hungary, a brave and pious champion of the cross. By seating him on the Byzantine throne, the barons of Romania would have acquired the forces of a neighbouring and warlike kingdom; but the prudent Andrew revered the laws of succession; and the princess Yolande, with her husband Peter of Courtenay, count of Auxerre, was invited by the Latins to assume the empire of the East. The royal birth of his father, the noble origin of his mother, recommended to the barons of France the first cousin of their king. His reputation was fair, his possessions were ample, and, in the bloody crusade against the

Peter of Courtenay is emperor of Constantinople, in 1205, April 9.

cenosis of the holy sepulchre, and contained a divine ointment which distilled daily and stupendous miracles (Ducange, Hist. de C. P. ii. 41).

<sup>31</sup> Villehardouin, Nov. 257. I quote, with regret, this lamentable circumstance, where we lose at once the original history, and the tradition of Ducange. The last pages no longer so much light from Henry's two epistles to Innocent III. (Hist. c. 107.)

<sup>32</sup> The marshal was alive in 1212, but he probably died soon afterwards, without returning to France (Ducange, Obs. sur les mss. de Villehardouin, p. 278.). His fact of Viterbo, in the 24th of Boniface, was the ancient Maximianopolis, which flourished in the time of Anastasius Marcellinus, and the ruins of Viterbo (No. 111.)

<sup>33</sup> The church of this patron of Thessalonica was served by the

Albigensis, the soldiers and the priests had been abundantly satisfied of his zeal and valour. Vanity might applaud the elevation of a French emperor of Constantinople; but prudence must pity, rather than envy, his treacherous and imaginary greatness. To assert and adorn his title, he was reduced to sell or mortgage the best of his patrimony. By these expedients, the liberality of his royal kinsman Philip Augustus, and the national spirit of chivalry, he was enabled to pass the Alps at the head of one hundred and forty knights, and five thousand five hundred sergeants and others. After some hesitation, pope Honorius the Third was persuaded to crown the successor of Constantine, but he performed the ceremony in a church without the walls, lest he should seem to imply or to bestow any right of sovereignty over the ancient capital of the empire. The Venetians had engaged to transport Peter and his forces beyond the Adriatic, and the empress, with her four children, to the Byzantine palace; but they required, as the price of their service, that he should recover Durazzo from the despot of Epirus. Michael Angelus, or Comnenus, the last of his dynasty, had bequeathed the succession of his power and ambition to Theodore, his legitimate brother, who already threatened and invaded the establishments of the Latins. After discharging his debt by a fruitless assault, the emperor raised the siege to prosecute a long and perilous journey over land from Durazzo to Thessalonica. He was soon lost in the mountains of Epirus: the passes were fortified; his provisions exhausted; he was delayed and deceived by a treacherous negotiation; and

and, after Peter of Courtenay and the Roman legate had been arrested in a banquet, the French troops, without leaders or hopes, were eager to exchange their arms for the delusive promise of mercy and bread. The Varian plundered; and the impious Theodore was threatened with the vengeance of earth and Heaven; but the captive emperor and his soldiers were forgotten, and the reproaches of the pope are confined to the imprisonment of his legate. No sooner was he satisfied by the delivrance of the priest and a promise of spiritual obedience, than he pardoned and protected the despot of Epirus. His peremptory commands suspended the ardour of the Venetians and the king of Hungary; and it was only by a natural or unmanly death<sup>6</sup> that Peter of Courtenay was released from his hopeless captivity.<sup>37</sup>

The long ignorance of his fate, and the presence of the lawful sovereign, of Yolande, his wife or widow, delayed the proclamation of a new emperor. Before her death, and in the midst of her grief, she was delivered of a son, who was named Baldwin, the last and most unfortunate of the Latin princes of Constantinople. His birth endeared him to the barons of Romania; but his childhood would

have prolonged the troubles of a minority, and his claims were superseded by the elder claims of his brethren. The first of these, Philip of Courtenay, who derived from his mother the inheritance of Namur, had the wisdom to prefer the substance of a marquise to the shadow of an empire; and on his refusal, Robert, the second of the sons of Peter and Yolande, was called to the throne of Constantinople. Warned by his father's mischance, he pursued his slow and secure journey through Germany and along the Danube; a passage was opened by his sister's marriage with the king of Hungary; and the emperor Robert was crowned by the patriarch in the cathedral of St. Sophia. But his reign was an era of calamity and disgrace; and the colony, as it was styled, of NEW FRANCE yielded on all sides to the Greeks of Nice and Epirus. After a victory, which he owed to his perfidy rather than his courage, Theodore Angelus entered the kingdom of Thessalonica, expelled the feeble Demetrius, the son of the marquis Boniface, erected his standard on the walls of Adrianople; and added, by his vanity, a third or fourth name to the list of rival emperors. The relics of the Asiatic province were swept away by John Vataces, the son-in-law and successor of Theodore Lascaris, and who, in a triumphant reign of thirty-three years, displayed the virtues both of peace and war. Under his discipline the swords of the French mercenaries were the most effectual instrument of his conquests, and their desertion from the service of their country was at once a symptom and a cause of the rising ascendancy of the Greeks. By the construction of a fleet, he obtained the command of the Hellespont, reduced the islands of Lesbos and Rhodes, attacked the Venetians of Candia, and forced the rare and precious succours of the West. Once, and once only, the Latin emperor sent an army against Vataces; and in the defeat of that army, the veteran knights, the last of the original conquerors, were left on the field of battle. But the success of a foreign enemy was less painful to the pusillanimous Robert than the insolence of his Latin subjects, who confounded the weakness of the emperor and of the empire. His personal misfortunes will prove the anarchy of the government and the ferociousness of the times. The anorous youth had neglected his Greek bride, the daughter of Vataces, to introduce into the palace a beautiful maid, of a private, though noble, family of Artois; and her mother had been tempted by the lustre of the purple to forfeit her engagements with a gentleman of Burgundy. His love was converted into rage; he assembled his friends, forced the palace gates, threw the mother into the sea, and inhumanly cut off the nose and lips of the wife or concubine of the emperor. Instead of punishing the offender, the barons avowed and applauded the savage deed,<sup>38</sup> which, as a prince and as a man, it was impossible that Baldwin should forgive. He escaped from the guilty city to implore the

<sup>36</sup> Acropolis (c. 14) affirms, that Peter of Courtenay died by the sword *tepus maximo veneno*, but from his dark expressions, I should conclude a previous *opitium*, or *poison*, by the *destruction* of the *veneno*, or *poison*. The Chron. de la Ville de Constantinople, however, states his death till the year 1229, and asserts, as in the neighbourhood of a fortnight.

<sup>37</sup> See the reign and death of Peter of Courtenay, in *Le Comte de Flandre*.

<sup>38</sup> C. P. l. p. 22-23, who fully strives to excuse the neglect of the emperor by his enemies.

<sup>39</sup> *Martini Senensis Secreta Fidei in Graecia*, l. ii. c. 13. p. 157. It is so remarkable that the *destruction* of the *veneno*, or *poison*, is not mentioned in the *Chron. de la Ville de Constantinople*. Yet he acknowledges the *destruction* of the *veneno*, or *poison*.





ciated by too frequent and indiscriminate abuse. His birth and misfortunes recommended him to the generosity of his cousin Lewis the Ninth; but the martial zeal of the saint was diverted from Constantinople to Egypt and Palestine; and the public and private poverty of Baldwin was alleviated, for a moment, by the alienation of the marquise of Namur and the lordship of Comtenay, the last remains of his inheritance.<sup>47</sup> By such shameful or ruinous expedients, he once more returned to Romania, with an army of thirty thousand soldiers, whose numbers were doubled in the apprehension of the Greeks. His first despatches to France and England announced his victories and his hopes; he had reduced the country round the capital to the distance of three days' journey; and if he succeeded against an important, though nameless, city (most probably Chiorli), the frontier would be safe and the passage accessible. But these expectations (if Baldwin was sincere) quickly vanished like a dream; the troops and treasures of France melted away in his unskilful hands; and the throne of the Latin emperor was protected by a dishonourable alliance with the Turks and Comans. To secure the former, he consented to bestow his niece on the unbelieving sultan of Cogni; to please the latter, he complied with their Pagan rites; a dog was sacrificed between the two armies; and the contracting parties tasted each other's blood, as a pledge of their fidelity.<sup>48</sup> In the pulque, or prison, of Constantinople, the successor of Augustus demolished the vacant houses for winter fuel, and stripped the lead from the churches for the daily expense of his family. Some usurious loans were dealt with a scanty hoard by the merchants of Italy; and Philip, his son and heir, was pawned at Venice as the security for a debt.<sup>49</sup> Thirst, hunger, and nakedness, are positive evils; but wealth is relative; and a prince, who would be rich in a private station, may be exposed by the increase of his wants to all the anxiety and bitterness of poverty.

But in this abject distress, the emperor and empire were still possessed of an ideal treasure, which drew its fantastic value from the superstition of the Christian world. The merit of the true cross was somewhat impaired by its frequent division; and a long captivity among the infidels might shed some suspicion on the fragments that were produced in the East and West. But another relic of the Passion was preserved in the hapless chapel of Constantinople; and the crown of thorns which had been placed on the head of Christ was equally precious and authentic. It had formerly been the practice of the Egyptian debtors to deposit, as a security, the mummies of their parents; and both their honour and

religion were bound for the redemption of the pledge. In the same manner, and in the absence of the emperor, the barons of Romania borrowed the sum of thirteen thousand one hundred and thirty-four pieces of gold,<sup>30</sup> on the credit of the holy crown. they failed in the performance of their contract, and a rich Venetian, Nicholas Querini, undertook to satisfy their impatient creditors, on condition that the relic should be lodged at Venice, to become his absolute property, if it were not redeemed within a short and definite term. The barons apprised their sovereign of the hard treaty and impending loss; and as the empire could not afford a ransom of seven thousand pounds sterling, Baldwin was anxious to snatch the prize from the Venetians, and to vest it with more honour and emolument in the hands of the most Christian king.<sup>31</sup> Yet the negotiation was attended with some delicacy. In the purchase of relics, the saint would have started at the guilt of simony; but if the mode of expression were changed, he might lawfully repay the debt, accept the gift, and acknowledge the obligation. His ambassadors, two Dominicans, were despatched to Venice, to redeem and receive the holy crown, which had escaped the dangers of the sea and the galleys of the Venetians. On opening a wooden box, they recognised the seals of the doge and barons, which were applied on a shrine of silver: and within this shrine the monument of the Passion was enclosed in a golden vase. The reluctant Venetians yielded to justice and power: the emperor Frederic granted a free and honourable passage; the court of France advanced as far as Troyes in Champagne, to meet with devotion this insupportable cure. It was borne in triumph through Paris by the king himself, barefoot, and in his shirt; and a free gift of ten thousand marks of silver reconciled Baldwin to his loss. The success of this transaction tempted the Latin emperor to offer with the same generosity the remaining furniture of his chapel;<sup>32</sup> a large and authentic portion of the true cross; the baby-linen of the Son of God, the lance, the sponge, and the chain, of his Passion, the rod of Moses, and part of the skull of St John the Baptist. For the reception of these spiritual treasures, twenty thousand marks were expended by St. Louis on a stately foundation, the holy chapel of Paris, on which the muse of Boileau has bestowed a comic immortality. The truth of such remote and ancient relics, which cannot be proved by any human testimony, must be admitted by those who believe in the miracles which they have performed. About the middle of the last age, an inveterate ulcer was touched and cured by an holy prickle of the holy crown.<sup>33</sup> the prodigy is attested by the most pious and enlightened Christians of France; nor will the

17. Louis IX disapproved and stopped the appointment of Courtenay (Ducange, l. iv, c. 25). It is not to be used in the real domains, but granted for a term of years in the family of the curvellers. Courtenay, in the election of Neuchâtel in the 15th century, was a great first noble, with the reputation of a noble. M. de la Roche, l. 1, c. 1, p. 10. Bédouin, l. iv, c. 25, p. 10.

[illegible][illegible]

Mr. W. J. McGee, a member of the committee, said that the 1924-25 season had been a very successful one for the fishery, and that the fishery was now in a position to produce a large quantity of fish for export. He said that the fishery was now in a position to produce a large quantity of fish for export.

fact be easily disproved, except by those who are armed with a general antidote against religious credulity.<sup>54</sup>

The Latins of Constantinople<sup>55</sup> were on all sides encompassed and pressed: their sole hope, the last delay of their ruin, was in the division of their Greek and Bulgarian enemies; and of this hope they were deprived by the superior arms and policy of Vataces emperor of Nice. From the Propontis to the rocky coast of Pamphylia, Asia was peaceful and prosperous under his reign; and the events of every campaign extended his influence in Europe. The strong cities of the hills of Macedonia and Thrace were rescued from the Bulgarians; and their kingdom was circumscribed by its present and proper limits, along the southern banks of the Danube. The sole emperor of the Romans could no longer brook that a lord of Epirus, a Comnenian prince of the West, should presume to dispute or share the honours of the purple; and the humble Demetrius changed the colour of his buskins; and accepted with gratitude the appellation of despot. His own subjects were exasperated by his baseness and incapacity: they implored the protection of their supreme lord. After some resistance, the kingdom of Thessalonica was united to the empire of Nice; and Vataces reigned without a competitor from the Turkish borders to the Adriatic Gulf. The princes of Europe revered his merit and power; and had he subscribed an orthodox creed, it should seem that the pope would have abandoned without reluctance the Latin throne of Constantinople. But the death of Vataces, the short and busy reign of Theodore his son, and the helpless infancy of his grand-son John, suspended the restoration of the Greeks. In the next chapter, I shall explain their domestic revolutions; in this place, it will be sufficient to observe, that the young prince was oppressed

by the ambition of his guardian and regent, Michael Palaeologus, who expelled the virtues and vices that had been the foundation of a new dynasty. The emperor Baldwin had uttered himself, though in a moment of passion, as cities by an importunate tyrant. His adherents were dismissed from Nice with mockery and contempt. At every word which they uttered, Palaeologus alleged some special reason, which rendered it dear and valuable in his eyes: in the one he was born; in another he had been first promoted to military command; and in a third he had enjoyed, and loped long to enjoy, the pleasures of the chase. "And what," then do you propose to give us?" said the astonished deputies. "Nothing," replied the Greek, "not a foot of land. If your master

"be desirous of peace, let him pay me, as an annual tribute, the sum which he receives from the trade and customs of Constantinople. On these terms I may allow him to reign. If he refuses, it is war. I am not ignorant of the art of war, and I trust the event to God and my sword."<sup>56</sup> An expedition against the despot of Epirus was the first prelude of his arms. If a victory was followed by a defeat; if the race of the Comneni or Angeli survived in those mountains his efforts and his reign; the captivity of Villehardouin, prince of Achaia, deprived the Latins of the most active and powerful vassal of their expiring monarchy. The republics of Venice and Genoa disputed, in the first of their naval wars, the command of the sea and the commerce of the East. Pride and interest attached the Venetians to the defence of Constantinople; their rivals were tempted to promote the designs of her enemies, and the alliance of the Genoese with the schismatic conqueror provoked the indignation of the Latin church.<sup>57</sup>

Intent on this great object, the emperor Michael visited in person and strengthened the troops and fortifications of Thrace. The remains of the Latins were driven from their last possessions: he assaulted without success the suburb of Galata; and corresponded with a perfidious baron, who proved unwilling, or unable, to open the gates of the metropolis. The next spring, his favourite general, Alexius Strategopulus, whom he had decorated with the title of Cæsar, passed the Hellespont with eight hundred horse and some infantry,<sup>58</sup> on a secret expedition. His instructions enjoined him to approach, to listen, to watch, but not to risk any doubtful or dangerous enterprise against the city. The adjacent territory between the Propontis and the Black Sea, was cultivated by an hardy race of peasants and outlaws, exercised in arms, uncertain in their allegiance, but inclined by language, religion, and present advantage, to the party of the Greeks. They were styled the *volontiers*,<sup>59</sup> and by their free service the army of Alexius, with the regulars of Thrace and the Comnenians,<sup>60</sup> was augmented to the number of five and twenty thousand men. By the ardour of the volunteers, and by his own ambition, the Cæsar was stimulated to disobey the precise orders of his master, in the just confidence that success would plead his pardon and reward. The weakness of Constantinople, and the distress and terror of the Latins, were familiar to the observation of the volunteers; and they represented the present moment as the most propitious to surprise and conquest. A rash youth, the new governor of the Venetian colony, had

Constantinople  
recovered by  
the Greeks.  
A.D. 1261,  
July 23.

<sup>54</sup> Vulture (Nouvelle de Louis XIV. c. 37. Ouvres, tom. ix. p. 178, 179. *l'oiseau* (p. 178) and *Hu* (p. 178) are used in the text.

<sup>55</sup> The Greek books of the Latins may be traced in the third, fourth, and fifth books of the compilation of Ducange, but of the Greek accounts he has dropped in an error, which is the first recovered from the later history of France, the most, and the first books of the Greek history, the two writers of the History, who have had the good fortune to meet with earned editors, Leo Allatius, at Rome, and John Boivin in the Academy of Inscriptions of Paris.

<sup>56</sup> George Acropolita, c. 78, p. 69, 90, edit. Porro.

<sup>57</sup> The Greeks, a band of my fore and I, cause the alliance and success of the Genoese, but the fact is proved by the testimony of

J. Villani (Chron. l. vi. c. 71. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 292, 293) and William de Nangis (Annals de St. Louis, p. 218. in the *l'œuvre* J. Villani, l. vi. c. 71, two important foreigners, and Urban IV. threatened to deprive him of her archbishop.

<sup>58</sup> Some present numbers, the 800.

<sup>59</sup> *volontiers*, l. vi. c. 24.

<sup>60</sup> *volontiers*, l. vi. c. 24.

<sup>61</sup> *volontiers*, l. vi. c. 24.

<sup>62</sup> *volontiers*, l. vi. c. 24.

<sup>63</sup> *volontiers*, l. vi. c. 24.

<sup>64</sup> *volontiers*, l. vi. c. 24.

<sup>65</sup> *volontiers*, l. vi. c. 24.

<sup>66</sup> *volontiers*, l. vi. c. 24.

<sup>67</sup> *volontiers*, l. vi. c. 24.

sailed away with thirty galleys, and the best of the French knights, on a wild expedition to Daphnusia, a town on the Black Sea, at the distance of forty leagues; and the remaining were without strength or suspicion. They were informed that Alexius had passed the Hellespont; but their apprehensions were lulled by the smallness of his original numbers; and their imprudence had not watched the subsequent increase of his army. If he left his main body to second and support his operations, he might advance unperceived in the night with a chosen detachment. While some applied scaling-ladders to the lowest part of the walls, they were secure of an old Greek, who would introduce their companions through a subterraneous passage into his house; they could soon on the inside break an entrance through the golden gate, which had been long obstructed; and the conqueror would be in the heart of the city, before the Latins were conscious of their danger. After some debate, the Caesar resigned himself to the faith of the volunteers; they were trusty, bold, and successful; and in describing the plan, I have already related the execution and success.<sup>61</sup> But no sooner had Alexius passed the threshold of the golden gate, than he trembled at his own rashness; he paused, he deliberated; till the desperate volunteers urged him forwards, by the assurance that in retreat lay the greatest and most inevitable danger. Whilst the Caesar kept his regulars in firm array, the Comans dispersed themselves on all sides; an alarm was sounded, and the threats of fire and pillage compelled the citizens to a decisive resolution. The Greeks of Constantinople remembered their native sovereignty; the Genoese merchants their recent alliance; and Venetian foes, every quarter was in arms; and the air resounded with a general acclamation of "Long life and victory to Michael and John, the august emperors of the Romans!" Their rival Baldwin was awakened by the sound; but the most pressing danger could not prompt him to draw his sword in the defence of a city which he deserted, perhaps, with more pleasure than regret; he fled from the palace to the sea shore, where he desisted the welcome sails of the fleet returning from the vain and fruitless attempt on Daphnusia. Constantinople was irrecoverably lost; but the Latin emperor and the principal families embarked on board the Venetian galleys, and steered for the Isle of Eubœa, and afterwards for Italy, where the royal fugitive was entertained by the pope and Sicilian king with a mixture of contempt and pity. From the loss of Constantinople to his death, he consumed thirteen years, solliciting the Catholic powers to join in his restoration: the lesson had been familiar to his youth; nor was his last exile more indigent or shameful than his three former

pilgrimages to the courts of Europe. His son Philip was the heir of an ideal empire; and the pretensions of *his* daughter Catharine were transported by her marriage to Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair, king of France. The house of Courtenay was represented in the female line by successive alliances, till the title of emperor of Constantinople, too bulky and sonorous for a private name, modestly expired in silence and oblivion.<sup>62</sup>

After this narrative of the expeditions of the Latins to Palestine and Constantinople, I cannot dismiss the subject without revolving the general consequences on the countries that were the scene, and on the nations that were the actors, of these memorable crusades.<sup>63</sup> As soon as the arms of the Franks were withdrawn, the impression, though not the memory, was erased in the Mahometan realms of Egypt and Syria. The faithful disciples of the prophet were never tempted by a profane desire to study the laws or language of the idolaters; nor did the simplicity of their primitive manners receive the slightest alteration from their intercourse in peace and war with the unknown strangers of the West. The Greeks, who thought themselves proud, but who were only vain, showed a disposition somewhat less inflexible. In the efforts for the recovery of their empire, they emulated the valour, discipline, and tactics, of their antagonists. The modern literature of the West they might justly despise; but its free spirit would instruct them in the rights of man; and some institutions of public and private life were adopted from the French. The correspondence of Constantinople and Italy diffused the knowledge of the Latin tongue; and several of the fathers and classics were at length honoured with a Greek version.<sup>64</sup> But the national and religious prejudices of the Orientals were inflamed by persecution; and the reign of the Latins confirmed the separation of the two churches.

If we compare, at the æra of the crusades, the Latins of Europe with the Greeks and Arabians, their respective degrees of knowledge, industry, and art, our rude ancestors must be content with the third rank in the scale of nations. Their successive improvement and present superiority may be ascribed to a peculiar energy of character, to an active and imitative spirit, unknown to their more polished rivals, who at that time were in a stationary or retrograde state. With such a disposition, the Latins should have derived the most early and essential benefits from a series of events which opened to their eyes the prospect of the world, and introduced them to a long and frequent intercourse with the more cultivated regions of the East. The first and most obvious progress was in trade and manufactures, in the arts which are strongly prompted by the thirst of wealth, the calls of necessity, and the gratifi-

61 The loss of Constantinople is briefly told by the Latins; the conquest is described with more satisfaction by the Greeks, by *Acropolitae* (c. 85 f.), *Palaeologus* (l. c. 25 f.), *Nesiphorus Gregorius* (l. c. 1, 2 f.). See Duinge, *Historie de l'Empire*, p. 19-27.

62 See the three last books, v. 1, v. 2, v. 3.  
of Ducange. In the year 1822, the  
was James de Brax, duke of Ande-  
son of Margaret, daughter of Catho-  
rine, daughter of Philip, son of Baz-  
38 It is uncertain whether he left any posterity

63 Abulfeda, who saw the conclusion of the crusades, speaks of the

kingdoms of the Franks, and those of the Negroes, is equally untrue (Prolegomena ad Geograph.). Had he not disdained the Latin language, how easily might the Syrian prince have found books and interpreters to furnish him with a correct account of the Europeans from whom he was

...of these versions from Latin into  
tatione et de laud. Interpretum,  
a work of constantinople A.D.  
Commentaries, the Soliman Series  
H.roides of Ovid, &c. (Facile Lib.

cation of the sense or vanity. Among the crowd of unthinking fanatics, a captive or a pilgrim might sometimes observe the superior refinements of Cairo and Constantinople: the first importer of windmills<sup>65</sup> was the benefactor of nations; and if such blessings are enjoyed without any grateful remembrance, history has condescended to notice the more apparent luxuries of silk and sugar, which were transported into Italy from Greece and Egypt. But the intellectual wants of the Latins were more slowly felt and supplied; the ardour of studious curiosity was awakened in Europe by different causes and more recent events; and, in the age of the crusades, they viewed with careless indifference the literature of the Greeks and Arabians. Some rudiments of mathematical and medicinal knowledge might be imparted in practice and in figures; necessity might produce some interpreters for the grosser business of merchants and soldiers; but the commerce of the Orientals had not diffused the study and knowledge of their languages in the schools of Europe.<sup>66</sup> If a similar principle of religion repulsed the idiom of the Koran, it should have excited their patience and curiosity to understand the original text of the Gospel; and the same grammar would have unfolded the sense of Plato and the beauties of Homer. Yet in a reign of sixty years, the Latins of Constantinople disdained the speech and learning of their subjects; and the manuscripts were the only treasures which the natives might enjoy without rapine or envy. Aristotle was indeed the oracle of the Western universities, but it was a barbarous Aristotle; and, instead of ascending to the fountain head, his Latin votaries humbly accepted a corrupt and remote version from the Jews and Moors of Andalusia. The principle of the crusades was a savage fanaticism; and the most important effects were analogous to the cause. Each pilgrim was ambitious to return with his sacred spoils, the relics of Greece and Palestine;<sup>67</sup> and each relic was preceded and followed by a train of miracles and visions. The belief of the Catholics was corrupted by new legends, their practice by new superstitions; and the establishment of the inquisition, the mendicant orders of monks and friars, the last abuse of indulgences, and the final progress of idolatry, flowed from the baleful fountain of the holy war. The active spirit of the Latins preyed on the vitals of their reason and religion; and if the ninth and tenth centuries were the times of darkness, the thirteenth and fourteenth were the age of absurdity and fable.

In the profusion of Christianity, in the cultivation of a fertile land, the northern conquerors of the Roman empire insensibly mingled with the provincials, and acknowledged the embers of the arts of antiquity. Their settlements about the age of Charlemagne had acquired some degree of order and stability, when they were overwhelmed by new swarms of invaders, the Normans, Sara-

cens,<sup>68</sup> and Hungarians, who replunged the western countries of Europe into their former state of anarchy and barbarism. About the eleventh century, the second tempest had subsided by the expulsion or conversion of the enemies of Christendom: the tide of civilisation, which had so long ebbed, began to flow with a steady and accelerated course; and a fairer prospect was opened to the hopes and efforts of the rising generations. Great was the increase, and rapid the progress, during the two hundred years of the crusades; and some philosophers have applauded the propitious influence of these holy wars, which appear to me to have checked rather than forwarded the maturity of Europe.<sup>69</sup> The lives and labours of millions, which were buried in the East, would have been more profitably employed in the improvement of their native country: the accumulated stock of industry and wealth would have overflowed in navigation and trade; and the Latins would have been enriched and enlightened by a pure and friendly correspondence with the climates of the East. In one respect I can indeed perceive the accidental operation of the crusades, not so much in producing a benefit as in removing an evil. The larger portion of the inhabitants of Europe was chained to the soil, without freedom, or property, or knowledge; and the two orders of ecclesiastics and nobles, whose numbers were comparatively small, alone deserved the name of citizens and men. This oppressive system was supported by the arts of the clergy and the swords of the barons. The authority of the priests operated in the darker ages as a salutary antidote: they prevented the total extinction of letters, mitigated the fierceness of the times, sheltered the poor and defenceless, and preserved or revived the peace and order of civil society. But the independence, rapine, and discord, of the feudal lords were unmixd with any semblance of good: and every hope of industry and improvement was crushed by the iron weight of the martial aristocracy. Among the causes that undermined that Gothic edifice, a conspicuous place must be allowed to the crusades. The estates of the barons were dissipated, and their force was often extinguished, in these costly and perilous expeditions. Their poverty extorted from their pride those charters of freedom which unlocked the fetters of the slave, secured the farm of the peasant and the shop of the artificer, and gradually restored a substance and a soul to the most numerous and useful part of the community. The conflagration which destroyed the tall and barren trees of the forest, gave air and scope to the vegetation of the smaller and nutritive plants of the soil.

#### *Digression on the Family of Courtenay.*

THE purple of three emperors, who have reigned at Constantinople, will authorise or ex-

I shall only instance the pedegree of the Comnènes, and the flight of the house of Lorraine, at which we both derive from Palestine.

65 See the conquest of Sicily, under Roger, in the 11th century. Roger, vol. i. p. 418. Kippes edition. If Roger, himself, or his brother, understood some Greek, they were prodigious, and owed nothing to the commerce of the East.

66 Such was the opinion of the great Leobor of Lyons, de Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 438, a master of the history of the middle ages.

67 Such was the opinion of the great Leobor of Lyons, de Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 438, a master of the history of the middle ages.

68 Such was the opinion of the great Leobor of Lyons, de Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 438, a master of the history of the middle ages.

69 Such was the opinion of the great Leobor of Lyons, de Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 438, a master of the history of the middle ages.





time, that the rational pride of the family now refuses to accept this imaginary founder. Their most faithful historians believe, that after giving his daughter to the king's son, Reginald of Courtenay abandoned his possessions in France, and obtained from the English monarch a second wife and a new inheritance. It is certain, at least, that Henry the Second distinguished in his camps and councils, a Reginald, of the name and arms, and, as it may be fairly presumed, of the genuine race, of the Courtenays of Fiance. The right of wardship enabled a feudal lord to reward his vassal with the marriage and estate of a noble heiress; and Reginald of Courtenay acquired a fair establishment in Devonshire, where his posterity has been seated above six hundred years.<sup>83</sup> From a Norman baron, Baldwin de Briouisi, who had been invested by the Conqueror, Hawise, the wife of Reginald, derived the honour of Okhampton, which was held by the service of ninety-three knights; and a female might claim the manly offices of hereditary viscount or sheriff, and of captain of the royal castle of Exeter. Their son Robert married the sister of the earl of Devon; at the end of a century, on the failure of the family of Rivers,<sup>84</sup> his great-grandson, Hugh the second, succeeded to a title which was still considered as a territorial dignity; and twelve earls of Devonshire, of the name of Courtenay, have flourished in a period of two hundred and twenty years. They were ranked among the chief of the barons of the realm; nor was it till after a strenuous dispute, that they yielded to the fief of Arundel, the first place in the parliament of England: their alliances were contracted with the noblest families, the Veres, Despensers, St. Johns, Talbots, Bohuns, and even the Plantagenets themselves; and in a contest with John of Lancaster, a Courtenay, bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, might be accused of profane confidence in the strength and number of his kindred. In peace, the earls of Devon resided in their numerous castles and manors of the West: their ample revenue was appropriated to devotion and hospitality; and the epitaph of Edward, surnamed, from his misfortune, the *blind*, from his virtues, the *good*, earl, inculcates with much ingenuity a moral sentence, which may, however, be abused by thoughtless generosity. After a grateful commemoration of the fifty-five years of union and happiness, which he enjoyed with Mabel his wife, the good earl thus speaks from the tomb:—

"What we gave, we have;

"What we spent, we had;

"What we left, we lost."<sup>85</sup>

But their *losses*, in this sense, were far superior to their gifts and expenses; and their heirs, not less than the poor, were the objects of their paternal care. The sums which they paid for livery

and seisin attest the greatness of their possessions; and several estates have remained in their family since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In war, the Courtenays of England fulfilled the duties, and deserved the honours, of chivalry. They were often intrusted to levy and command the militia of Devonshire and Cornwall; they often attended their supreme lord to the borders of Scotland; and in foreign service, for a stipulated price, they sometimes maintained four-score men at arms and as many archers. By sea and land, they fought under the standard of the Edwards and Henries: their names are conspicuous in battles, in tournaments, and in the original list of the order of the Garter; three brothers shared the Spanish victory of the Black Prince; and in the lapse of six generations, the English Courtenays had learned to despise the nation and country from which they derived their origin. In the quarrel of the two roses, the earls of Devon adhered to the house of Lancaster; and three brothers successively died, either in the field or on the scaffold. Their honours and estates were restored by Henry the Seventh; a daughter of Edward the Fourth was not disgraced by the nuptials of a Courtenay; their son, who was created marquis of Exeter, enjoyed the favour of his cousin Henry the Eighth; and in the camp of Cloth of Gold, he broke a lance against the French monarch. But the favour of Henry was the prelude of disgrace; his disgrace was the signal of death; and of the victims of the jealous tyrant, the marquis of Exeter is one of the most noble and guiltless. His son Edward lived a prisoner in the Tower, and died an exile at Paris; and the secret love of queen Mary, whom he slighted, perhaps for the princess Elizabeth, has shed a romantic colour on the story of this beautiful youth. The relics of his patrimony were conveyed into strange families by the marriages of his four aunts; and his personal honours, as if they had been legally extinct, were revived by the patents of succeeding princes. But there still survived a lineal descendant of Hugh the first earl of Devon, a younger branch of the Courtenays, who had been seated at Powderham castle above four hundred years, from the reign of Edward the Third to the present hour. Their estates have been increased by the grant and improvement of lands in Ireland, and they have been recently restored to the honours of the peerage. Yet the Courtenays still retain the plaintive motto which asserts the innocence, and deploras the fall, of their ancient house.<sup>86</sup> While they sigh for past greatness, they are doubtless sensible of present blessings: in the long series of the Courtenay annals, the most splendid era is likewise the most unfortunate; nor can an opulent peer of Britain be inclined to envy the emperors of Constantinople, who wandered over Europe to solicit alms for the support of their dignity and the defence of their capital.

Should he not have corrected the register of Ford Abbey, and annihilated the phantom Florus, by the unquestionable evidence of the French historians?

<sup>83</sup> Besides the third and most valuable book of Cleveland's History, I have consulted Bagele, the father of our genealogical science, Barroage, part i. p. 651—675.

<sup>84</sup> This great family, de Briouisi, de Briouisi, de Rivers, ended in Edward the First's time, in Isabel de Courbus, a famous and proud beauty, who long survived her brother and husband of England; Barroage, part i. p. 254—277.

<sup>85</sup> Cleveland, p. 113. By some it is ascribed to a Rivers earl of Devon, but the English denotes the 17th, rather than the 14th century.

<sup>86</sup> The famous motto *non fui in fine seculi* was probably adopted by the Powderham family about the time of the fall of Edward the Fourth. The primitive arms of the Courtenays were, *for the first time*, a lion was his supporter. Early in the reign of Edward the Fourth, and the second century of B. was a



## CHAP. LXII.

*The Greek Emperors of Nice and Constantinople.*

— *Elevation and Reign of Michael Palæologus.*

— *His false Union with the Pope and the Latin Church.* — *Hostile Designs of Charles of Anjou.*

— *Revolt of Sicily.* — *War of the Catalans in Asia and Greece.* — *Revolutions and present State of Athens.*

THE loss of Constantinople restored a momentary vigour to the Greeks. From their palaces, the princes and nobles were driven into the field; and the fragments of the falling monarchy were grasped by the hands of the most vigorous or the most skilful candidates. In the long and barren pages of the Byzantine annals,<sup>1</sup> it would not be an

easy task to equal the two characters of Theodore Lascaris and John Ducas Vataces,<sup>2</sup> who replanted and upheld the Roman standard at Nice in Bithynia. The difference of their virtues was happily suited to the diversity of their situation. In his first efforts, the fugitive Lascaris commanded only three cities and two thousand soldiers: his reign was the season of generous and active despair: in every military operation he staked his life and crown; and his enemies, of the Hellespont and the Mæander, were surprised by his celerity and subdued by his boldness. A victorious reign of eighteen years expanded the principality of Nice to the magnitude of an empire. The throne of his successor and son-in-law Vataces was founded on a more solid basis, a larger scope, and more plentiful

resources; and it was the temper, as well as the interest, of Vataces to calculate the risk, to expect the moment, and to ensure the success, of his ambitious designs. In the decline of the Latins, I have briefly exposed the progress of the Greeks; the prudent and gradual advances of a conqueror, who, in a reign of thirty-three years, rescued the provinces from national and foreign usurpers, till he pressed on all sides the Imperial city, a leafless and sapless trunk, which must fall at the first stroke of the axe. But his interior and peaceful administration is still more deserving of notice and praise.<sup>3</sup> The calamities of the times had wasted the numbers and the substance of the Greeks; the motives and the means of agriculture were extirpated; and the most fertile lands were left without cultivation or inhabitants. A portion of this vacant property was occupied and improved by the command, and for the benefit, of the emperor: a powerful hand and a vigilant eye supplied and surpassed, by a skilful management, the minute diligence of a private farmer: the royal domain became the garden and granary of Asia; and without impoverishing the people, the sovereign acquired a fund of innocent and productive

wealth. According to the nature of the soil, his lands were sown with corn or planted with vines; the pastures were filled with horses and oxen, with sheep and hogs; and when Vataces presented to the empress a crown of diamonds and pearls, he informed her with a smile, that this precious ornament arose from the sale of the eggs of his innumerable poultry. The produce of his domain was applied to the maintenance of his palace and hospitals, the calls of dignity and benevolence: the lesson was still more useful than the revenue; the plough was restored to its ancient security and honour; and the nobles were taught to seek a sure and independent revenue from their estates, instead of adorning their splendid beggary by the oppression of the people, or (what is almost the same) by the favours of the court. The superfluous stock of corn and cattle was eagerly purchased by the Turks, with whom Vataces preserved a strict and sincere alliance; but he discouraged the importation of foreign manufactures, the costly silks of the East, and the curious labours of the Italian looms. "The demands of nature and necessity," was he accustomed to say, "are indispensable; but the influence of fashion may rise and sink at the breath of a monarch;" and both his precept and example recommended simplicity of manners and the use of domestic industry. The education of youth and the revival of learning were the most serious objects of his care; and, without deciding the precedence, he pronounced with truth, that a prince and a philosopher<sup>4</sup> are the two most eminent characters of human society. His first wife was Irene, the daughter of Theodore Lascaris, a woman more illustrious by her personal merit, the milder virtues of her sex, than by the blood of the Angeli and Comneni, that flowed in her veins, and transmitted the inheritance of the empire. After her death he was contracted to Anne, or Constance, a natural daughter of the emperor Frederic the Second; but as the bride had not attained the years of puberty, Vataces placed in his solitary bed an Italian damsel of her train; and his amorous weakness bestowed on the concubine the honours, though not the title, of lawful empress. His frailty was censured as a flagitious and damnable sin by the monks; and their rude invectives exercised and displayed the patience of the royal lover. A philosophic age may excuse a single vice, which was redeemed by a crowd of virtues; and in the review of his faults, and the more intemperate passions of Lascaris, the judgment of their contemporaries was softened by gratitude to the second founders of the empire.<sup>5</sup> The slaves of the Latins, without law or peace, applauded the happiness of their brethren who had resumed their national freedom; and Vataces employed the laudable policy of convincing the Greeks of every dominion that it was their interest to be enrolled in the number of his subjects.

<sup>1</sup> *Span of Lascaris, and the *evangelia* of Vataces. The two portraits are in a very good style.*

<sup>2</sup> Pachymer, l. i. c. 23, 24. Nic. Greg. l. ii. c. 6. The reader of the Byzantine must observe how rarely we are indulged with such precious details.

<sup>3</sup> The Latins.  
<sup>4</sup> Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 1) distinguishes between the *epistat* phorus ure, *oras*.

Theodore  
Lascaris II.  
A. D. 1273,  
Oct. 30 —  
A. D. 1279,  
August.

A strong shade of degeneracy is visible between John Vataces and his son Theodore; between the founder who sustained the weight, and the heir who enjoyed the splendour, of the Imperial crown.<sup>6</sup> Yet the character of Theodore was not devoid of energy; he had been educated in the school of his father, in the exercise of war and hunting: Constantinople was yet spared; but in the three years of a short reign, he thrice led his armies into the heart of Bulgaria. His virtues were sullied by a choleric and suspicious temper: the first of these may be ascribed to the ignorance of control; and the second might naturally arise from a dark and imperfect view of the corruption of mankind. On a march in Bulgaria, he consulted on a question of policy his principal ministers; and the Greek logothete, George Acropolita, presumed to offend him by the declaration of a free and honest opinion. The emperor half-unleashed his cimeter; but his more deliberate rage reserved Acropolita for a baser punishment. One of the first officers of the empire was ordered to dismount, stripped of his robes, and extended on the ground in the presence of the prince and army. In this posture he was chastised with so many and such heavy blows from the clubs of two guards or executioners, that when Theodore commanded them to cease, the great logothete was scarcely able to rise and crawl away to his tent. After a seclusion of some days, he was recalled by a peremptory mandate to his seat in council; and so dead were the Greeks to the sense of honour and shame, that it is from the narrative of the sufferer himself that we acquire the knowledge of his disgrace.<sup>7</sup> The cruelty of the emperor was exasperated by the pangs of sickness, the approach of a premature end, and the suspicion of poison and magic. The lives and fortunes, the eyes and limbs, of his kinsmen and nobles, were sacrificed to each sally of passion: and before he died, the son of Vataces might deserve from the people, or at least from the court, the appellation of tyrant. A matron of the family of the Palæologi had provoked his anger by refusing to bestow her beautiful daughter on the vile plebeian who was recommended by his caprice. Without regard to her birth or age, her body, as high as the neck, was enclosed in a sack with several cats, who were pricked with pins to irritate their fury against their unfortunate fellow-captive. In his last hours the emperor testified a wish to forgive and be forgiven, a just anxiety for the fate of John his son and successor, who, at the age of eight years, was condemned to the dangers of a long minority. His last choice intrusted the office of guardian to the sanctity of the patriarch Arsenius,

Minority of John  
Lascaris.  
A. D. 1279,  
August.

6 A Persian saying, that Cerns was the father, and Darius the master, of his subjects, was applied to Vataces and his son. But Facymer (l. i. c. 23) has mistaken the mild Darius for the cruel Cambyses, despot or tyrant of his people. By the institution of taxes,

Greek families, καὶ δόξα αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ χρυσοῦ ἐντοκοδοσίᾳ. Does he mean, by this decoration, a figurative, or a real, golden chain? Perhaps, both.

and to the courage of George Muzalon, the great domestic, who was equally distinguished by the royal favour and the public hatred. Since their connection with the Latins, the names and privileges of hereditary rank had insinuated themselves into the Greek monarchy; and the noble families<sup>8</sup> were provoked by the elevation of a worthless favourite, to whose influence they imputed the errors and calamities of the late reign. In the first council, after the emperor's death, Muzalon, from a lofty throne, pronounced a laboured apology of his conduct and intentions: his modesty was subdued by an unanimous assurance of esteem and fidelity; and his most inveterate enemies were the loudest to salute him as the guardian and saviour of the Romans. Eight days were sufficient to prepare the execution of the conspiracy. On the ninth, the obsequies of the deceased monarch were solemnised in the cathedral of Magnesia,<sup>9</sup> an Asiatic city, where he expired, on the banks of the Hermus, and at the foot of Mount Sipylus. The holy rites were interrupted by a sedition of the guards; Muzalon, his brothers, and his adherents, were massacred at the foot of the altar; and the absent patriarch was associated with a new colleague, with Michael Palæologus, the most illustrious, in birth and merit, of the Greek nobles.<sup>10</sup>

Of those who are proud of their ancestors, the far greater part must be content with local or domestic renown; and few there are who dare trust the memorials of their family to the public annals of their country. As early as the middle of the eleventh century, the noble race of the Palæologi<sup>11</sup> stands high and conspicuous in the Byzantine history; it was the valiant George Palæologus who placed the father of the Comneni on the throne; and his kinsmen or descendants continue, in each generation, to lead the armies and councils of the state. The purple was not dishonoured by their alliance; and had the law of succession, and female succession, been strictly observed, the wife of Theodore Lascaris must have yielded to her elder sister, the mother of Michael Palæologus, who afterwards raised his family to the throne. In his person, the splendour of birth was dignified by the merit of the soldier and statesman: in his early youth he was promoted to the office of *constable* or commander of the French mercenaries; the private expense of a day never exceeded three pieces of gold; but his ambition was rapacious and profuse; and his gifts were doubled by the graces of his conversation and manners. The love of the soldiers and people excited the jealousy of the court; and Michael thrice escaped from the dangers in which he was involved by his own imprudence or that of his friends. I. Under the

Family and  
character of  
Michael Palæologus.

and his eight hours, or fort, Voyage du Levant.

who lived too near the times;

explained by Innocent, Episc. Byzant. l. i. c. 7. 121. and 129. p. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

reign of Justice and Vataces a dispute arose<sup>12</sup> between two officers, one of whom accused the other of maintaining the hereditary right of the Palæologi. The cause was decided, according to the new jurisprudence of the Latins, by single combat: the defendant was overthrown; but he persisted in declaring that himself alone was guilty; and that he had uttered these rash or treasonable speeches without the approbation or knowledge of his patron. Yet a cloud of suspicion hung over the innocence of the constable: he was still pursued by the whispers of malevolence; and a subtle courtier, the archbishop of Philadelphia, urged him to accept the judgment of God in the fiery proof of the ordeal.<sup>13</sup> Three days before the trial, the patient's arm was enclosed in a bag, and secured by the royal signet; and it was incumbent on him to bear a red-hot ball of iron three times from the altar to the rails of the sanctuary, without artifice and without injury. Palæologus eluded the dangerous experiment with sense and pleasantry. "I am a soldier," said he, "and will boldly enter the lists with my accusers: but a layman, a sinner like myself, is not endowed with the gift of miracles. Your piety, most holy prelate, may deserve the interposition of Heaven, and from your hands I will receive the fiery globe, the pledge of my innocence." The archbishop started; the emperor smiled; and the absolution or pardon of Michael was approved by new rewards and new services. II. In the succeeding reign, as he held the government of Nice, he was secretly informed, that the mind of the absent prince was poisoned with jealousy; and that death, or blindness, would be his final reward. Instead of awaiting the return and sentence of Theodore, the constable, with some followers, escaped from the city and the empire; and though he was plundered by the Turkmans of the desert, he found an hospitable refuge in the court of the sultan. In the ambiguous state of an exile, Michael reconciled the duties of gratitude and loyalty: drawing his sword against the Tartars; admonishing the garrisons of the Roman limit; and promoting, by his influence, the restoration of peace, in which his pardon and recall were honourably included. III. While he guarded the West against the despot of Epirus, Michael was again suspected and condemned in the palace; and such was his loyalty or weakness, that he submitted to be led in chains above six hundred miles from Durazzo to Nice. The civility of the messenger alleviated his disgrace; the emperor's sickness dispelled his danger; and the last breath of Theodore, which recommended his infant son, at once acknowledged the innocence and the power of Palæologus.

But his innocence had been too unworthily treated, and his power<sup>His elevation to the throne.</sup> was too strongly felt, to curb an aspiring subject in the fair field that was opened to his ambition.<sup>14</sup> In the council after the death of Theodore, he was the first to pronounce, and the first to violate, the oath of allegiance to Muzalon; and so dexterous was his conduct, that he reaped the benefit, without incurring the guilt, or at least the reproach, of the subsequent massacre. In the choice of a regent, he balanced the interests and passions of the candidates; turned their envy and hatred from himself against each other, and forced every competitor to own, that, after his own claims, those of Palæologus were best entitled to the preference. Under the title of Great Duke, he accepted or assumed, during a long minority, the active powers of government; the patriarch was a venerable name; and the factious nobles were seduced, or oppressed, by the ascendancy of his genius. The fruits of the economy of Vataces were deposited in a strong castle on the banks of the Hermus, in the custody of the faithful Varangians: the constable retained his command or influence over the foreign troops; he employed the guards to possess the treasure, and the treasure to corrupt the guards; and whatsoever might be the abuse of the public money, his character was above the suspicion of private avarice. By himself, or by his emissaries, he strove to persuade every rank of subjects, that their own prosperity would rise in just proportion to the establishment of his authority. The weight of taxes was suspended, the perpetual theme of popular complaint; and he prohibited the trials by the ordeal and judicial combat. These barbaric institutions were already abolished or undermined in France<sup>15</sup> and England;<sup>16</sup> and the appeal to the sword offended the sense of a civilised,<sup>17</sup> and the temper of an unwarlike, people. For the future maintenance of their wives and children, the veterans were grateful: the priest and the philosopher applauded his ardent zeal for the advancement of religion and learning; and his vague promise of rewarding merit was applied by every candidate to his own hopes. Conscious of the influence of the clergy, Michael successfully laboured to secure the suffrage of that powerful order. Their expensive journey from Nice to Magnesia afforded a decent and ample pretence: the leading prelates were tempted by the liberality of his nocturnal visits; and the incorruptible patriarch was flattered by the homage of his new colleague, who led his mule by the bridle into the town, and removed to a respectful distance the importunity of the crowd. Without renouncing his title by royal descent, Palæologus encouraged a free discussion into the advantages of

ville prefers the proof by evidence, and that by judicial combat is reprobated in the *Fleta*. Yet the trial by battle has never been abrogated in the English law, and it was ordered by the judges as late as the beginning of the last century.

17 Yet an ingenious friend has urged to me in mitigation of this practice, 1. *That* in nations emerging from barbarism, it moderates the licence of private war and arbitrary revenge. 2. *That* it is less absurd than the trials by the ordeal, or by drawing water, or the cross, which it has contrived to abolish. 3. *That* it is a cruel at least as a test of person or courage; a quality so seldom united with a base disposition, that the danger of a trial might be so much less to a malicious prosecutor, and in case of his being accused, to a malicious supporter of power. The culprit and the unfortunate art of surrey might possibly have escaped his unrelenting fire, had not his demand of the combat against his accuser been over-ruled.

12 Acropolis (c. 50) relates the circumstances of this curious adventure, which seem to have escaped the more recent writers.

13 Pachymer (l. i. c. 13), who speaks with proper contempt of this barbarous trial, affirms, that he had seen in his youth many persons who had sustained, without injury, the fiery ordeal. As a Greek, he is credulous; but the ingenuity of the Greeks might furnish some remedies of art or fraud against their own superstition, or that of their tyrant.

14 Without mentioning such names as Thucydides or Tacitus, I will (l. 1. n. 1), which pursues the necessity, and tolerable freedom, more concisely.

15 St. Louis in his own territories; and his example and authority were at length prevalent in France (*Espit des Loix*, l. xxviii. c. 29).

16 In civil cases Henry II. gave an option to the defendant. Glan-

elective monarchy; and his adherents asked, with the insolence of triumph, what patient would trust his health, or what merchant would abandon his vessel, to the *hereditary* skill of a physician or a pilot? The youth of the emperor, and the impending dangers of a minority, required the support of a mature and experienced guardian; of an associate raised above the envy of his equals, and invested with the name and prerogatives of royalty. For the interest of the prince and people, without any selfish views for himself or his family, the Great Duke consented to guard and instruct the son of Theodore; but he sighed for the happy moment when he might restore to his firmer hands the administration of his patrimony, and enjoy the blessing of a private station. He was first invested with the title and prerogatives of *despot*, which bestowed the purple ornaments, and the second place in the Roman monarchy. It was afterwards agreed that John and Michael should be proclaimed as joint emperors, and raised on the buckler, but that the pre-eminence should be reserved for the birthright of the former. A mutual league of amity was pledged between the royal partners; and in case of a rupture, the subjects were bound by their oath of allegiance to declare themselves against the aggressor; an ambiguous name, the seed of discord and civil war. Palæologus was content; but on the day of the coronation, and in the cathedral of Nice, his zealous adherents most vehemently urged the just priority of his age and merit. The unseasonable dispute was eluded by postponing to a more convenient opportunity the coronation of John Lascaris; and he walked with a slight diadem in the train of his guardian, who alone received the Imperial crown from the hands of the patriarch. It was not without extreme reluctance that Arsenius abandoned the cause of his pupil; but the Vangarians brandished their battle-axes; a sign of assent was extorted from the trembling youth; and some voices were heard, that the life of a child should no longer impede the settlement of the nation. A full harvest of honours and employments was distributed among his friends by the grateful Palæologus. In his own family, he created a despot and two Sebastocrators; Alexius Strategopulus was decorated with the title of Cæsar; and that veteran commander soon repaid the obligation, by restoring Constantinople to the Greek emperor.

It was in the second year of his reign, while he resided in the palace and gardens of Nymphæum,<sup>18</sup> near Synrna, that the first messenger arrived at the dead of night; and the stupendous intelligence was imparted to Michael, after he had been gently waked by the tender precaution of his sister Eulogia. The man was unknown or obscure; he produced no letters from the victorious Cæsar; nor could it easily be credited, after the defeat of Vataces and the recent failure

of Palæologus himself, that the capital had been surprised by a detachment of eight hundred soldiers. As an hostage, the doubtful author was confined, with the assurance of death or an ample recompence; and the court was left some hours in the anxiety of hope and fear, till the messengers of Alexius arrived with the authentic intelligence, and displayed the trophies of the conquest, the sword and sceptre,<sup>19</sup> the buskins and bonnet,<sup>20</sup> of the usurper Baldwin, which he had dropped in his precipitate flight. A general assembly of the bishops, senators, and nobles, was immediately convened, and never perhaps was an event received with more heartfelt and universal joy. In a studied oration, the new sovereign of Constantinople congratulated his own and the public fortune. "There was a time," said he, "a far distant time, when the Roman empire extended to the Hædriatic, the Tigris, and the confines of Æthiopia. After the loss of the provinces, our capital itself, in these last and calamitous days, has been wrested from our hands by the barbarians of the West. From the lowest ebb, the tide of prosperity has again returned in our favour; but our prosperity was that of fugitives and exiles; and when we were asked, which was the country of the Romans, we indicated with a blush the climate of the globe and the quarter of the heavens. The divine Providence has now restored to our arms the city of Constantine, the sacred seat of religion and empire; and it will depend on our valour and conduct to render this important acquisition the pledge and omen of future victories." So eager was the impatience of the prince and people, that Michael made his triumphal entry into Constantinople only twenty days after the expulsion of the Latins. The golden gate was thrown open at his approach; the devout conqueror dismounted from his horse; and a miraculous image of Mary the Conductress was borne before him, that the divine Virgin in person might appear to conduct him to the temple of her Son, the cathedral of St. Sophia. But after the first transport of devotion and pride, he sighed at the dreary prospect of solitude and ruin. The palæe was defiled with smoke and dirt, and the gross intemperance of the Franks; whole streets had been consumed by fire, or were decayed by the injuries of time; the sacred and profane edifices were stripped of their ornaments; and, as if they were conscious of their approaching exile, the industry of the Latins had been confined to the work of pillage and destruction. Trade had expired under the pressure of anarchy and distress, and the numbers of inhabitants had decreased with the opulence of the city. It was the first care of the Greek monarch to reinstate the nobles in the palaces of their fathers; and the houses or the ground which they occupied were restored to the families that

Michael  
Palæologus  
emperor.  
A. D. 1204,  
Jan. 1.

Recovery of  
Constantinople.  
A. D. 1204,  
July 26.

18 The site of Nymphæum is not clearly defined in ancient or modern writers. B. 1. c. 10. says it was the last hours of Vataces. A. reports it was the residence of the emperor. C. says it was the residence of the emperor. D. says it was the residence of the emperor. E. says it was the residence of the emperor. F. says it was the residence of the emperor. G. says it was the residence of the emperor. H. says it was the residence of the emperor. I. says it was the residence of the emperor. J. says it was the residence of the emperor. K. says it was the residence of the emperor. L. says it was the residence of the emperor. M. says it was the residence of the emperor. N. says it was the residence of the emperor. O. says it was the residence of the emperor. P. says it was the residence of the emperor. Q. says it was the residence of the emperor. R. says it was the residence of the emperor. S. says it was the residence of the emperor. T. says it was the residence of the emperor. U. says it was the residence of the emperor. V. says it was the residence of the emperor. W. says it was the residence of the emperor. X. says it was the residence of the emperor. Y. says it was the residence of the emperor. Z. says it was the residence of the emperor.

Return of the  
Greek emperor.  
A. D. 1204,  
Aug. 11.

named *Ducal*, and the Imperial sceptre was distinguished as usual by the red or purple tassel. 19 A. reports that the sceptre was given to the Franks by the emperor; but B. says it was the property of the emperor. C. says it was the property of the emperor. D. says it was the property of the emperor. E. says it was the property of the emperor. F. says it was the property of the emperor. G. says it was the property of the emperor. H. says it was the property of the emperor. I. says it was the property of the emperor. J. says it was the property of the emperor. K. says it was the property of the emperor. L. says it was the property of the emperor. M. says it was the property of the emperor. N. says it was the property of the emperor. O. says it was the property of the emperor. P. says it was the property of the emperor. Q. says it was the property of the emperor. R. says it was the property of the emperor. S. says it was the property of the emperor. T. says it was the property of the emperor. U. says it was the property of the emperor. V. says it was the property of the emperor. W. says it was the property of the emperor. X. says it was the property of the emperor. Y. says it was the property of the emperor. Z. says it was the property of the emperor.

could exhibit a legal right of inheritance. But the far greater part was extinct or lost; the vacant property had devolved to the lord; he repeopled Constantinople by a liberal invitation to the provinces; and the brave *volunteers* were seated in the capital which had been recovered by their arms. The French harons and the principal families had retired with their emperor; but the patient and humble crowd of Latins was attached to the country, and indifferent to the change of masters. Instead of banishing the factories of the Pisans, Venetians, and Genoese, the prudent conqueror accepted their oaths of allegiance, encouraged their industry, confirmed their privileges, and allowed them to live under the jurisdiction of their proper magistrates. Of these nations, the Pisans and Venetians preserved their respective quarters in the city; but the services and power of the Genoese deserved at the same time the gratitude and the jealousy of the Greeks. Their independent colony was first planted at the seaport town of Heraclea in Thrace. They were speedily recalled, and settled in the exclusive possession of the suburb of Galata, an advantageous post, in which they revived the commerce, and insulted the majesty, of the Byzantine empire.<sup>21</sup>

Palæologus blinds and banishes the young emperor.  
A. D. 1261,  
Dec. 25;

The recovery of Constantinople was celebrated as the era of a new empire: the conqueror, alone, and by the right of the sword, renewed his coronation in the church of St. Sophia; and the name and honours of John Lascaris, his pupil and lawful sovereign, were insensibly abolished. But his claims still lived in the minds of the people; and the royal youth must speedily attain the years of manhood and ambition. By fear or conscience, Palæologus was restrained from dipping his hands in innocent and royal blood; but the anxiety of an usurper and a parent urged him to secure his throne, by one of those imperfect crimes so familiar to the modern Greeks. The loss of sight incapacitated the young prince for the active business of the world: instead of the brutal violence of tearing out his eyes, the visual nerve was destroyed by the intense glare of a red-hot basin,<sup>22</sup> and John Lascaris was removed to a distant castle, where he spent many years in privacy and oblivion. Such cool and deliberate guilt may seem incompatible with remorse; but if Michael could trust the mercy of Heaven, he was not inaccessible to the reproaches and vengeance of mankind, which he had provoked by cruelty and treason. His cruelty imposed on a servile court the duties of applause or silence; but the clergy had a right to speak in the name of their invisible master; and their holy legions were led by a prelate, whose character was above the temptations of hope or fear. After a short abdication of his dignity, Arsenius<sup>23</sup> had con-

sent to ascend the ecclesiastical throne of Constantinople, and to preside in the restoration of the church. His pious simplicity was long deceived by the arts of Palæologus; and his patience and submission might soothe the usurper, and protect the safety of the young prince. On the news of his inhuman treatment, the patriarch unsheathed the spiritual sword; and superstition, on this occasion, was enlisted in the cause of humanity and justice. In a synod of bishops, who were stimulated by the example of his zeal, the patriarch pronounced a sentence of excommunication; though his prudence still repeated the name of Michael in the public prayers. The Eastern prelates had not adopted the dangerous maxims of ancient Rome; nor did they presume to enforce their censures, by deposing princes, or absolving nations from their oaths of allegiance. But the Christian who had been separated from God and the church, became an object of horror; and, in a turbulent and fanatic capital, that horror might arm the hand of an assassin, or inflame a sedition of the people. Palæologus felt his danger, confessed his guilt, and deprecated his judge: the act was irrevocable; the prize was obtained; and the most rigorous penance, which he solicited, would have raised the sinner to the reputation of a saint. The unrelenting patriarch refused to announce any means of atonement or any hopes of mercy; and condescended only to pronounce, that, for so great a crime, great indeed must be the satisfaction. "Do you require," said Michael, "that I should abdicate the empire?" And at these words, he offered, or seemed to offer, the sword of state. Arsenius eagerly grasped this pledge of sovereignty: but when he perceived that the emperor was unwilling to purchase absolution at so dear a rate, he indignantly escaped to his cell, and left the royal sinner kneeling and weeping before the door.<sup>24</sup>

The danger and scandal of this excommunication subsisted above three years, till the popular clamour was assuaged by time and repentance; till the brethren of Arsenius condemned his inflexible spirit, so repugnant to the unbounded forgiveness of the Gospel. The emperor had artfully insinuated, that, if he were still rejected at home, he might seek, in the Roman pontiff, a more indulgent judge; but it was far more easy and effectual to find or to place that judge at the head of the Byzantine church. Arsenius was involved in a vague rumour of conspiracy and disaffection; some irregular steps in his ordination and government were liable to censure; a synod deposed him from the episcopal office; and he was transported under a guard of soldiers to a small island of the Propontis. Before his exile, he suddenly requested that a strict account might be

is excommunicated by the patriarch Arsenius.  
A. D. 1262—1268.

Schism of the Arsenites.  
A. D. 1266  
—1314.

<sup>21</sup> See Pachymer (l. ii. c. 28—33), Acropolita (c. 55), Nicephorus

head with a strong cord till the eyes burst from their sockets. Ingenious tyrant.

<sup>23</sup> See the first retreat and restoration of Arsenius, in Pachymer (l. iii. c. 15; l. iv. c. 1, 2), and Nicephorus Gregoras (l. iii. c. 1, 17; c. 11).

<sup>24</sup> 1. The emperor's penance restored their freedom.

taken of the treasures of the church; boasted, that his sole riches, three pieces of gold, had been earned by transcribing the psalms; continued to assert the freedom of his mind; and denied, with his last breath, the pardon which was implored by the royal sinner.<sup>25</sup> After some delay, Gregory, bishop of Adrianople, was translated to the Byzantine throne; but his authority was found insufficient to support the absolution of the emperor; and Joseph, a reverend monk, was substituted to that important function. This edifying scene was represented in the presence of the senate and people; at the end of six years, the humble penitent was restored to the communion of the faithful; and humanity will rejoice, that a milder treatment of the captive Lascaris was stipulated as a proof of his remorse. But the spirit of Arsenius still survived in a powerful faction of the monks and clergy, who persevered above forty-eight years in an obstinate schism. Their scruples were treated with tenderness and respect by Michael and his son; and the reconciliation of the Arsenites was the serious labour of the church and state. In the confidence of fanaticism, they had proposed to try their cause by a miracle; and when the two papers, that contained their own and the adverse cause, were cast into a fiery brasier, they expected that the Catholic verity would be respected by the flames. Alas! the two papers were indiscriminately consumed, and this unforeseen accident produced the union of a day, and renewed the quarrel of an age.<sup>26</sup> The final treaty displayed the victory of the Arsenites: the clergy abstained during forty days from all ecclesiastical functions: a slight penance was imposed on the laity; the body of Arsenius was deposited in the sanctuary; and in the name of the departed saint, the prince and people were released from the sins of their fathers.<sup>27</sup>

Reign of  
Michael  
Palæologus,  
A. D. 1282,  
Dec. 1—  
A. D. 1282,  
Dec. 11.  
Reign of  
Andronicus  
the Elder,  
A. D. 1273,  
Nov. 8—  
A. D. 1279,  
Feb. 13.

The establishment of his family was the motive, or at least the pretence, of the crime of Palæologus; and he was impatient to confirm the succession, by sharing with his eldest son the honours of the purple. Andronicus, afterwards surnamed the Elder, was proclaimed and crowned emperor of the Romans,

in the fifteenth year of his age; and, from the first æra of a prolix and inglorious reign, he held that august title nine years as the colleague, and fifty as the successor, of his father. Michael himself, had he died in a private station, would have been thought more worthy of the empire: the assaults of his temporal and spiritual enemies left him few moments to labour for his own fame or the happiness of his subjects. He wrested from the Franks several of the noblest islands of the Archipelago, Lesbos, Chios, and Rhodes: his brother Constantine

was sent to command in Malvasia and Sparta; and the eastern side of the Morea, from Argos and Napoli to Cape Tænarus, was repossessed by the Greeks. This effusion of Christian blood was loudly condemned by the patriarch; and the insolent priest presumed to interpose his fears and scruples between the arms of princes. But in the prosecution of these western conquests, the countries beyond the Hellespont were left naked to the Turks; and their depredations verified the prophecy of a dying senator, that the recovery of Constantinople would be the ruin of Asia. The victories of Michael were achieved by his lieutenants; his sword rusted in the palace; and, in the transactions of the emperor with the popes and the king of Naples, his political arts were stained with cruelty and fraud.<sup>28</sup>

I. The Vatican was the most natural refuge of a Latin emperor, who had been driven from his throne; and pope Urban the Fourth appeared to pity the misfortunes, and vindicate the cause, of the fugitive Baldwin. A crusade, with plenary indulgence, was preached by his command against the schismatic Greeks; he excommunicated their allies and adherents; solicited Louis the Ninth in favour of his kinsman; and demanded a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of France and England for the service of the holy war.<sup>29</sup> The subtle Greek, who watched the rising tempest of the West, attempted to suspend or soothe the hostility of the pope, by suppliant embassies and respectful letters; but he insinuated that the establishment of peace must prepare the reconciliation and obedience of the Eastern church. The Roman court could not be deceived by so gross an artifice; and Michael was admonished, that the repentance of the son should precede the forgiveness of the father; and that *fath* (an ambiguous word) was the only basis of friendship and alliance. After a long and affected delay, the approach of danger, and the importunity of Gregory the Tenth, compelled him to enter on a more serious negotiation: he alleged the example of the great Vataces; and the Greek clergy, who understood the intentions of their prince, were not alarmed by the first steps of reconciliation and respect. But when he pressed the conclusion of the treaty, they strenuously declared, that the Latins, though not in name, were heretics in fact, and that they despised those strangers as the vilest and most despicable portion of the human race.<sup>30</sup> It was the task of the emperor to persuade, to corrupt, to intimidate, the most popular ecclesiastics, to gain the vote of each individual, and alternately to urge the arguments of Christian charity and the public welfare. The texts of the fathers and the arms of the Franks were balanced in the theological and political scale;

His union  
with the  
Latin church.  
A. D. 1274.  
—1277.

<sup>25</sup> Pachymer relates the exile of Arsenius (l. iv. c. 1.—16.) he was one of the commissaries who visited him in the desert island. The last testament of the unforfeigning patriarch is still extant (Dupan, Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. x. p. 171.).

<sup>26</sup> Pachymer (l. vii. c. 22) relates this miraculous trial like a philosopher, and treats with similar contempt a plot of the Arsenites, to hide a revelation in the coffin of some old saint (l. vii. c. 13.). He

<sup>28</sup> Of the xiii books of Pachymer, the first six (as the 15th and 17th of Nicephorus Gregoras) contain the reign of Michael, at the time of whose death he was forty years of age. Instead of breaking, like his editor the Père Pausan, his history into two parts, I follow Ducange and Cousin, who number the xiii books in one series.

<sup>29</sup> Ducange, Hist. de G. P. l. v. c. 35, &c. from the Epistles of Urban IV.

<sup>30</sup> From their mercenary intercourse with the Venetians and Genoese, they branded the Latins as *heretics* and *idolaters*. Pachymer, l. vi. c. 10. Some are heretics in name, others in fact. The Latins, in fact, said the learned *heretics* (l. vi. c. 11.) who soon afterwards became converts (c. 12. 16.) to a profession of Christianity.

and without approving the addition to the Nicene creed, the most moderate were taught to confess, that the two hostile propositions of proceeding from the Father *by* the Son, and of proceeding from the Father *and* the Son, might be reduced to a safe and Catholic sense.<sup>31</sup> The supremacy of the pope was a doctrine more easy to conceive, but more painful to acknowledge; yet Michael represented to his monks and prelates, that they might submit to name the Roman bishop as the first of the patriarchs; and that their distance and discretion would guard the liberties of the Eastern church from the mischievous consequences of the right of appeal. He protested that he would sacrifice his life and empire rather than yield the smallest point of orthodox faith or national independence; and this declaration was sealed and ratified by a golden bull. The patriarch Joseph withdrew to a monastery, to resign or resume his throne, according to the event of the treaty: the letters of union and obedience were subscribed by the emperor, his son Andronicus, and thirty-five archbishops and metropolitans, with their respective synods; and the episcopal list was multiplied by many dioceses which were annihilated under the yoke of the infidels. An embassy was composed of some trusty ministers and prelates; they embarked for Italy, with rich ornaments and rare perfumes, for the altar of St. Peter; and their secret orders authorised and recommended a boundless compliance. They were received in the general council of Lyons, by pope Gregory the Tenth, at the head of five hundred bishops.<sup>32</sup> He embraced with tears his long-lost and repentant children; accepted the oath of the ambassadors, who abjured the schism in the name of the two emperors; adorned the prelates with the ring and mitre; chanted in Greek and Latin the Nicene creed with the addition of *filioque*; and rejoiced in the union of the East and West, which had been reserved for his reign. To consummate this pious work, the Byzantine deputies were speedily followed by the pope's nuncios; and their instruction discloses the policy of the Vatican, which could not be satisfied with the vain title of supremacy. After viewing the temper of the prince and people, they were enjoined to dissolve the schismatic clergy, who should subscribe and swear their abjuration and obedience; to establish in all the churches the use of the perfect creed; to prepare the entrance of a cardinal legate, with the full powers and dignity of his office; and to instruct the emperor in the advantages which he might derive from the temporal protection of the Roman pontiff.<sup>33</sup>

But they found a country without a friend, a nation in which the names of Rome and Union were pronounced with abhorrence. The patriarch Joseph was indeed removed; his place was filled

by Veccus, an ecclesiastic of learning and moderation; and the emperor was still urged by the same motives, to persevere in the same professions. But in his private language, Palæologus affected to deplore the pride, and to blame the innovations, of the Latins; and while he debased his character by this double hypocrisy, he justified and punished the opposition of his subjects. By the joint suffrage of the new and the ancient Rome, a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the obstinate schismatics; the censures of the church were executed by the sword of Michael; on the failure of persuasion, he tried the arguments of prison and exile, of whipping and mutilation; those touch-stones, says an historian, of cowards and the brave. Two Greeks still reigned in Ætolia, Epirus, and Thessaly, with the appellation of despots; they had yielded to the sovereignty of Constantinople, but they rejected the chains of the Roman pontiff, and supported their refusal by successful arms. Under their protection, the fugitive monks and bishops assembled in hostile synods; and retorted the name of heretic with the galling addition of apostate: the prince of Trebizond was tempted to assume the forfeit title of emperor; and even the Latins of Negropont, Thebes, Athens, and the Morea, forgot the merits of the convert, to join, with open or clandestine aid, the enemies of Palæologus. His favourite generals, of his own blood and family, successively deserted, or betrayed, the sacrilegious trust. His sister Eulogia, a niece, and two female cousins, conspired against him; and another niece, Mary queen of Bulgaria, negotiated his ruin with the sultan of Egypt; and, in the public eye, their treason was consecrated as the most sublime virtue.<sup>34</sup> To the pope's nuncios, who urged the consummation of the work, Palæologus exposed a naked recital of all that he had done and suffered for their sake. They were assured that the guilty sectaries, of both sexes and every rank, had been deprived of their honours, their fortunes, and their liberty; a spreading list of confiscation and punishment, which involved many persons, the dearest to the emperor, or the best deserving of his favour. They were conducted to the prison, to behold four princes of the royal blood chained in the four corners, and shaking their fetters in an agony of grief and rage. Two of these captives were afterwards released; the one by submission, the other by death: but the obstinacy of their two companions was chastised by the loss of their eyes; and the Greeks, the least adverse to the union, deplore that cruel and inauspicious tragedy.<sup>35</sup> Persecutors must expect the hatred of those whom they oppress; but they commonly find some consolation in the testimony of their conscience, the applause of their party, and, perhaps, the success of their undertaking. But the

<sup>31</sup> His proclamation to the Greeks, A.D. 1277-1282.

<sup>32</sup> This curious synodical tradition, which has been drawn with more or less honesty by Wadding and Longueval, from the archives at the Vatican, is given in an abstract by Fleury, tom. xviii. p. 224.

<sup>33</sup> This frank and authentic confession of Michael's distress, is exhibited in barbarous Latin by Ogerus, who signs himself Protonotarius.

<sup>34</sup> See the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth, of the preceding chapter.

<sup>35</sup> See the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth, of the preceding chapter.

hypocrisy of Michael, which was prompted only by political motives, must have forced him to hate himself, to despise his followers, and to esteem and envy the rebel champions by whom he was detested and despised. While his violence was abhorred at Constantinople, at Rome his slowness was arraigned, and his sincerity suspected; till at length pope Martin the Fourth excluded the Greek emperor from the pale of a church, into which he was striving to reduce a schismatic people. No sooner had the tyrant

The union dissolved.  
A. D. 1253.

expired, than the union was dissolved, and abjured by unanimous consent: the churches were purified; the penitents were reconciled; and his son Andronicus, after weeping the sins and errors of his youth, most piously denied his father the burial of a prince and a Christian.<sup>86</sup>

II. In the distress of the Latins, the walls and towers of Constantinople had fallen to decay: they were restored and fortified by the policy of Michael, who deposited a plenteous store of corn and salt provisions, to sustain the siege which he might hourly expect from the resentment of the Western powers. Of these, the sovereign of the two Sicilies was the most formidable neighbour; but as long as they were possessed by Mainfroy, the bastard of Frederic the Second, his monarchy was the bulwark, rather than the annoyance, of the Eastern empire. The usurper, though a brave and active prince, was sufficiently employed in the defence of his throne: his pro-cription by successive popes had separated Mainfroy from the common cause of the Latins; and the forces that might have besieged Constantinople were detained in a crusade against the domestic enemy of Rome. The prize of her avenger, the crown of the two Sicilies, was won and worn by the brother of St. Louis, by Charles count of Anjou and Provence, who led the chivalry of France on this holy expedition.<sup>87</sup> The disaffection of his Christian subjects compelled Mainfroy to enlist a colony of Saracens whom his father had planted in Apulia: and this odious succour will explain the defiance of the Catholic hero, who rejected all terms of accommodation. "Bear this message," said Charles, "to the sultan of Nocera, that God and the sword are umpire between us; and that he shall either send me to paradise, or I will send him to the pit of hell." The armies met, and though I am ignorant of Mainfroy's doom in the other world, in this he lost his friends, his kingdom, and his life, in the bloody battle of Benevento. Naples and Sicily were immediately peopled with a warlike race of French nobles; and their aspiring leader embraced the future conquest of Africa, Greece, and Palestine. The most specious reasons might point his first arms against the Byzantine empire; and Palæologus, diffident of his own strength, repeatedly appealed from the ambition

of Charles to the humanity of St. Louis, who still preserved a just ascendant over the mind of his ferocious brother. For a while the attention of that brother was confined at home by the invasion of Conradin, the last heir of the Imperial house of Swabia: but the hapless hoy sunk in the unequal conflict; and his execution on a public scaffold taught the rivals of Charles to tremble for their heads as well as their dominions. A second respite was obtained by the last crusade of St. Louis to the African coast; and the double motive of interest and duty urged the king of Naples to assist, with his powers and his presence, the holy enterprise. The death of St. Louis released him from the importunity of a virtuous censor: the king of Tunis confessed himself the tributary and vassal

of the crown of Sicily; and the boldest of the French knights were free to enlist under his banner

Threatens the Greek empire.  
A. D. 1267, &c.

against the Greek empire. A treaty and a marriage united his interest with the house of Courtenay; his daughter Beatrice was promised to Philip, son and heir of the emperor Baldwin; a pension of six hundred ounces of gold was allowed for his maintenance; and his generous father distributed among his allies the kingdoms and provinces of the East, reserving only Constantinople, and one day's journey round the city, for the Imperial domain.<sup>88</sup> In this perilous moment Palæologus was the most eager to subscribe the creed, and implore the protection, of the Roman pontiff, who assumed, with propriety and weight, the character of an angel of peace, the common father of the Christians. By his voice, the sword of Charles was chained in the scabbard; and the Greek ambassadors beheld him, in the pope's antechamber, biting his ivory sceptre in a transport of fury, and deeply representing the refusal to enfranchise and consecrate his arms. He appears to have respected the disinterested mediation of Gregory the Tenth; but Charles was insensibly disgusted by the pride and partiality of Nicholas the Third; and his attachment to his kindred, the Ursini family, alienated the most strenuous champion from the service of the church. The hostile league against the Greeks, of Philip the Latin emperor, the king of the two Sicilies, and the republic of Venice, was ripened into execution; and the election of Martin the Fourth, a French pope, gave a sanction to the cause. Of the allies, Philip supplied his name; Martin, a bull of excommunication; the Venetians, a squadron of forty galleys; and the formidable powers of Charles consisted of forty counts, ten thousand men at arms, a numerous body of infantry, and a fleet of more than three hundred ships and transports. A distant day was appointed for assembling this mighty force in the harbour of Brindisi; and a previous attempt was risked with a detachment of three hundred knights, who invaded Albania, and besieged the fortress of

<sup>86</sup> Pachymer, l. vi. c. 1-11. 17. The speech of Andronicus the Elder (lib. vi. c. 2.) is a curious record, which proves, that at the time the slaves of the emperor, the emperor was not the

by Murton, in the sixth and sixth volumes of the Historians of Italy. In his Annals, torn. vi. p. 305-7, 20, he has abridged these great events, which are taken as we described in the 1st riv. table of Giannone, torn. i. l. 1. c. 10. p. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 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995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.



Belgrade. Their defeat might amuse with a triumph the vanity of Constantinople; but the more sagacious Michael, despairing of his arms, depended on the effects of a conspiracy; on the secret workings of a rat, who gnawed the bow-string<sup>39</sup> of the Sicilian tyrant.

Among the proscribed adherents of the house of Swabia, John of Procida forfeited a small island of that name in the Bay of Naples. His birth was noble, but his education was learned; and in the poverty of exile, he was relieved by the practice of physic, which he had studied in the school of Salerno. Fortune had left him nothing to lose, except life; and to despise life is the first qualification of a rebel. Procida was endowed with the art of negotiation, to enforce his reasons, and disguise his motives; and in his various transactions with nations and men, he could persuade each party that he laboured solely for *their* interest. The new kingdoms of Charles were afflicted by every species of fiscal and military oppression;<sup>40</sup> and the lives and fortunes of his Italian subjects were sacrificed to the greatness of their master and the licentiousness of his followers. The hatred of Naples was repressed by his presence; but the looser government of his vicegerents excited the contempt, as well as the aversion, of the Sicilians: the island was roused to a sense of freedom by the eloquence of Procida; and he displayed to every baron his private interest in the common cause. In the confidence of foreign aid, he successively visited the courts of the Greek emperor, and of Peter king of Arragon,<sup>41</sup> who possessed the maritime countries of Valentia and Catalonia. To the ambitious Peter a crown was presented, which he might justly claim by his marriage with the sister of Mainfroy, and by the dying voice of Conradin, who from the scaffold had cast a ring to his heir and avenger. Palæologus was easily persuaded to divert his enemy from a foreign war by a rebellion at home; and a Greek subsidy of twenty-five thousand ounces of gold was most profitably applied to arm a Catalan fleet, which sailed under an holy banner to the specious attack of the Saracens of Africa. In the disguise of a monk or beggar, the indefatigable missionary of revolt flew from Constantinople to Rome, and from Sicily to Saragossa: the treaty was sealed with the signet of pope Nicholas himself, the enemy of Charles; and his deed of gift transferred the fiefs of St. Peter from the house of Anjou to that of Arragon. So widely diffused and so freely circulated, the secret was preserved above two years with impenetrable discretion; and each of the conspirators imbibed the maxim of Peter, who declared that he would cut off his left hand if it were conscious of the

intentions of his right. The mine was prepared with deep and dangerous artifice; but it may be questioned, whether the instant explosion of Palermo were the effect of accident or design.

On the vigil of Easter, a procession of the disarmed citizens visited a church without the walls; and a noble damsel was rudely insulted by a French soldier.<sup>42</sup> The ravisher was instantly punished with death; and if the people was at first scattered by a military force, their numbers and fury prevailed: the conspirators seized the opportunity; the flame spread over the island; and eight thousand French were exterminated in a promiscuous massacre, which has obtained the name of the SICILIAN VESPERS.<sup>43</sup> From every city the banners of freedom and the church were displayed; the revolt was inspired by the presence or the soul of Procida; and Peter of Arragon, who sailed from the African coast to Palermo, was saluted as the king and saviour of the isle. By the rebellion of a people on whom he had so long trampled with impunity, Charles was astonished and confounded; and in the first agony of grief and devotion, he was heard to exclaim, "O God! if thou hast decreed to humble me, grant me at least a gentle and gradual descent from the pinnacle of greatness!" His fleet and army, which already filled the sea-ports of Italy, were hastily recalled from the service of the Grecian war: and the situation of Messina exposed that town to the first storm of his revenge. Feeble in themselves, and yet hopeless of foreign succour, the citizens would have repented, and submitted on the assurance of full pardon and their ancient privileges. But the pride of the monarch was already rekindled; and the most fervent entreaties of the legate could extort no more than a promise, that he would forgive the remainder, after a chosen list of eight hundred rebels had been yielded to his discretion. The despair of the Messinese renewed their courage: Peter of Arragon approached to their relief;<sup>44</sup> and his rival was driven back by the failure of provision and the terrors of the equinox to the Calabrian shore. At the same moment, the Catalan admiral, the famous Roger de Loria, swept the channel with an invincible squadron: the French fleet, more numerous in transports than in galleys, was either burnt or destroyed; and the same blow assured the independence of Sicily and the safety of the Greek empire. A few days before his death, the emperor Michael rejoiced in the fall of an enemy whom he hated and esteemed: and perhaps he might be content with the popular judgment, that had they not been matched with each other, Constantinople and Italy must

The Sicilian  
Vespers.  
A. D. 1282,  
March 30.

Defeat of  
Charles.  
Oct. 2.

<sup>39</sup> The reader of Herodotus will recollect how miraculously the Assyrian host of Sennacherib was disarmed and destroyed (l. ii. c. 111).

<sup>40</sup> According to Sabas Malaspina (Hist. Sicula, l. vi. c. 16, in Muratori, tom. viii. p. 562), a zealous Greek, the subjects of Charles, who had once been his ally, began to regret him as a lamb oppressor of the French; and he manifested in Nicholas (1301).

<sup>41</sup> See the character and counsels of Peter king of Arragon, in Mariana (Hist. Hispan. l. xiv. c. 6, tom. ii. p. 153). The reader forgives the Jesuit's defects, in favour, always of his style, and often of his sense.

<sup>42</sup> After enumerating the sufferings of his country, Nicholas Specusius adds, in the true spirit of Italian jealousy, *Quæ omnia et gra-*

speedily have obeyed the same master.<sup>45</sup> From this disastrous moment, the life of Charles was a series of misfortunes; his capital was insulted, his son was made prisoner, and he sunk into the grave without recovering the isle of Sicily, which, after a war of twenty years, was finally severed from the throne of Naples, and transferred, as an independent kingdom, to a younger branch of the house of Arragon.<sup>46</sup>

The service and war of the Catalans in the Greek empire, A.D. 1302-1307.

I shall not, I trust, be accused of superstition; but I must remark, that, even in this world, the natural order of events will sometimes afford the strong appearances of moral retribution. The first Palæologus had saved his empire by involving the kingdoms of the West in rebellion and blood; and from these seeds of discord uprose a generation of iron men, who assaulted and endangered the empire of his son. In modern times, our debts and taxes are the secret poison, which still corrodes the bosom of peace; but in the weak and disorderly government of the middle ages, it was agitated by the present evil of the disbanded armies. Too idle to work, too proud to beg, the mercenaries were accustomed to a life of rapine: they could rob with more dignity and effect under a banner and a chief; and the sovereign, to whom their service was useless, and their presence importunate, endeavoured to discharge the torrent on some neighbouring countries. After the peace of Sicily, many thousands of Genoese, Catalans,<sup>47</sup> &c. who had fought, by sea and land, under the standard of Anjou or Arragon, were blended into one nation by the resemblance of their manners and interest. They heard that the Greek provinces of Asia were invaded by the Turks: they resolved to share the harvest of pay and plunder; and Frederic king of Sicily most liberally contributed the means of their departure. In a warfare of twenty years, a ship, or a camp, was become their country; arms were their sole profession and property; valour was the only virtue which they knew; their women had imbibed the fearless temper of their lovers and husbands: it was reported, that, with a stroke of their broadsword, the Catalans could cleave a horseman and an horse; and the report itself was a powerful weapon. Roger de Flor was the most popular of their chiefs; and his personal merit overshadowed the dignity of his prouder rivals of Arragon. The offspring of a marriage between a German gentleman of the court of Frederic the Second and a damsel of Brindisi, Roger was successively a templar, an apostate, a pirate, and at length the richest and most powerful admiral of the Mediterranean. He sailed from Messina to Constantinople, with eighteen galleys, four great ships, and eight thousand adventurers; and his previous treaty

was faithfully accomplished by Andronicus the Elder, who accepted with joy and terror this formidable succour. A palace was allotted for his reception, and a niece of the emperor was given in marriage to the valiant stranger, who was immediately created great duke or admiral of Romania. After a decent repose, he transported his troops over the Propontis, and boldly led them against the Turks: in two bloody battles thirty thousand of the Moslems were slain: he raised the siege of Philadelphia, and deserved the name of the deliverer of Asia. But after a short season of prosperity, the cloud of slavery and ruin again burst on that unhappy province. The inhabitants escaped (says a Greek historian) from the smoke into the flames; and the hostility of the Turks was less pernicious than the friendship of the Catalans. The lives and fortunes which they had rescued, they considered as their own: the willing or reluctant maid was saved from the race of circumcision for the embraces of a Christian soldier: the exaction of fines and supplies was enforced by licentious rapine and arbitrary executions; and, on the resistance of Magnesia, the great duke besieged a city of the Roman empire.<sup>48</sup> These disorders he excused by the wrongs and passions of a victorious army; nor would his own authority or person have been safe, had he dared to punish his faithful followers, who were defrauded of the just and covenanted price of their services. The threats and complaints of Andronicus disclosed the nakedness of the empire. His golden bull had invited no more than five hundred horse and a thousand foot soldiers; yet the crowds of volunteers, who migrated to the East, had been enlisted and fed by his spontaneous bounty. While his bravest allies were content with three byzants or pieces of gold, for their monthly pay, an ounce, or even two ounces, of gold were assigned to the Catalans, whose annual pension would thus amount to near an hundred pounds sterling: one of their chiefs had modestly rated at three hundred thousand crowns the value of his *future* merits; and above a million had been issued from the treasury for the maintenance of these costly mercenaries. A cruel tax had been imposed on the corn of the husbandman; one third was retrenched from the salaries of the public officers; and the standard of the coin was so shamefully debased, that of the four and twenty parts only five were of pure gold.<sup>49</sup> At the summons of the emperor, Roger evacuated a province which no longer supplied the materials of rapine: but he refused to disperse his troops; and while his style was respectful, his conduct was independent and hostile. He protested, that if the emperor should march against him, he would advance forty paces to kiss the ground before

45 Nicæphorus Grægoras (l. v. c. 6.) admires the wisdom of Providence in this equal balance of states and princes. For the honour of Palæologus, I had rather this balance had been observed by an Italian writer.

46 See the Chronicle of Villani, the xth volume of the *Annali d'Italia* of Muratori, and the xth and xxth books of the *Istoria civile* of Giannone.

47 In this motley multitude, the Catalans and Spaniards, the bravest of the soldiers, were styled, by themselves and the Greeks, *denegari* or *denegades*. Moncada derives their origin from the Geths, and Pachymer (l. vi. c. 22.) from the Arabs; and in spite of national and religious pride, I am afraid the latter is in the right.

48 Some idea may be formed of the prodigious number of these mercenaries, by the 35,000 inhabitants of Tralles, which, in the present day, is a

rebuilt by the emperor, and ruined by the Turks (Pachymer, l. vi. c. 20, 21.)

49 I have collected these pecuniary circumstances from Pachymer (l. vi. c. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100). Even in the prosperous times of John Ducas Vares, the Livans were composed of equal proportions of the pure and the baser metal. The poverty of Michael Palæologus compelled him to strike a new coin, with nine parts of silver, and one of copper alloy. After his death, the standard rose to ten parts of silver, and the pure metal was reduced to one part. The price was not raised for a moment, while credit and commerce were in the height. In France, the two thirds of gold coin was still current at 10 s. and the standard of gold coin at 11 s. and 12 s.

him, but in rising from this prostrate attitude Roger had a life and sword at the service of his friends. The great duke of Romania condescended to accept the title and ornaments of Cæsar; but he rejected the new proposal of the government of Asia, with a subsidy of corn and money, on condition that he should reduce his troops to the harmless number of three thousand men. Assassination is the last resource of cowards. The Cæsar was tempted to visit the royal residence of Adrianople: in the apartment, and before the eyes of the empress, he was stabbed by the Alani guards; and, though the deed was imputed to their private revenge, his countrymen, who dwelt at Constantinople in the security of peace, were involved in the same proscription by the prince or people. The loss of their leader intimidated the crowd of adventurers, who hoisted the sails of flight, and were soon scattered round the coasts of the Mediterranean. But a veteran band of fifteen hundred Catalans, or French, stood firm in the strong fortress of Gallipoli on the Hellespont, displayed the banners of Arragon, and offered to revenge and justify their chief by an equal combat of ten or an hundred warriors. Instead of accepting this bold defiance, the emperor Michael, the son and colleague of Andronicus, resolved to oppress them with the weight of multitudes: every nerve was strained to form an army of thirteen thousand horse and thirty thousand foot; and the Propontis was covered with the ships of the Greeks and Genoese. In two battles by sea and land, these mighty forces were encountered and overthrown by the despair and discipline of the Catalans; the young emperor fled to the palace; and an insufficient guard of light horse was left for the protection of the open country. Victory renewed the hopes and numbers of the adventurers: every nation was blended under the name and standard of the *great company*; and three thousand Turkish proselytes deserted from the Imperial service to join this military association. In the possession of Gallipoli, the Catalans intercepted the trade of Constantinople and the Black Sea, while they spread their devastations on either side of the Hellespont over the confines of Europe and Asia. To prevent their approach, the greatest part of the Byzantine territory was laid waste by the Greeks themselves: the peasants and their cattle retired into the city; and myriads of sheep and oxen, for which neither place nor food could be procured, were unprofitably slaughtered on the same day. Four times the emperor Andronicus sued for peace, and four times he was inflexibly repulsed, till the want of provisions, and the discord of the chiefs, compelled the Catalans to evacuate the banks of the Hellespont and the neighbourhood of the

capital. After their separation from the Turks, the remains of the great company pursued their march through Macedonia and Thessaly, to seek a new establishment in the heart of Greece.<sup>50</sup>

After some ages of oblivion, Greece was awakened to new misfortunes by the arms of the Latins.

Revolutions of  
Athens.  
A.D. 1204—1456.

In the two hundred and fifty years between the first and the last conquest of Constantinople, that venerable land was disputed by a multitude of petty tyrants; without the comforts of freedom and genius, her ancient cities were again plunged in foreign and intestine war; and, if servitude be preferable to anarchy, they might repose with joy under the Turkish yoke. I shall not pursue the obscure and various dynasties, that rose and fell on the continent or in the isles; but our silence on the fate of ATHENS<sup>51</sup> would argue a strange ingratitude to the first and purest school of liberal science and amusement. In the partition of the empire, the principality of Athens and Thebes was assigned to Otho de la Roche, a noble warrior of Burgundy,<sup>52</sup> with the title of Great Duke,<sup>53</sup> which the Latins understood in their own sense, and the Greeks more foolishly derived from the age of Constantine.<sup>54</sup> Otho followed the standard of the marquis of Montferrat; the ample state which he acquired by a miracle of conduct or fortune,<sup>55</sup> was peaceably inherited by his son and two grandsons, till the family, though not the nation, was changed, by the marriage of an heiress into the elder branch of the house of Brienne. The son of that marriage, Walter de Brienne, succeeded to the duchy of Athens; and, with the aid of some Catalan mercenaries, whom he invested with fiefs, reduced above thirty castles of the vassal or neighbouring lords. But when he was informed of the approach and ambition of the great company, he collected a force of seven hundred knights, six thousand four hundred horse, and eight thousand foot, and boldly met them on the banks of the river Cephissus in Bœotia. The Catalans amounted to no more than three thousand five hundred horse, and four thousand foot; but the deficiency of numbers was compensated by stratagem and order. They formed round their camp an artificial inundation; the duke and his knights advanced without fear or precaution on the verdant meadow; their horses plunged into the bog; and he was cut in pieces, with the greatest part of the French cavalry. His family and nation were expelled; and his son Walter de Brienne, the titular duke of Athens, the tyrant of Florence, and the constable of France, lost his life in the field of Poitiers. Attica and Bœotia were the rewards of the victorious Catalans; they mar-

<sup>50</sup> And under the first passage, Ducange observes all that can be known of his person and family.

<sup>51</sup> From the Latin phrase of the sixth century, *Rocace, Chaucer, and Shakespeare*, I have borrowed their Thesusus duke of Athens. An ignorant age transfers its own language and manners to the most distant times.

<sup>52</sup> *Quodam modo*, says Athenæ. He was probably received by Michael Comnenus, the archbishop who had defended Athens against the tyrant Leo Scaurus (Nicaeus in Baldwin).

<sup>53</sup> Michael was the brother of the last man Nicaeus, and his successor at Athens is still extant in MS. in the Bodleian Library (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 106.)

<sup>54</sup> *Kurios, or Grand sire!*

<sup>55</sup> *Quodam modo*, says Athenæ. He was probably received by Michael Comnenus, the archbishop who had defended Athens against the tyrant Leo Scaurus (Nicaeus in Baldwin).

<sup>50</sup> The Catalan war is most copiously related by Puchner, in the sixth, ninth, and tenth books of his *historia de la catalunya*. Necephorus (for error 1. vol. 2. p. 13) is more concise and complete. Ducange, who adopts these adventures as French, has limited their footings with his usual diligence. Hist. de C. P. l. vi. c. 22. 46. He quotes an Armenian history, which I have not with pleasure, and which the Spaniards extend to a model of style and composition. (Traduction de los catalanes. Arzobispos católicos. Tomo 5.º. Græcos: Barcelona, 1625, in quarto. Madrid, 1777, in octavo.) Don Francisco de Moncada, Conde de Gomara, my platée Cæsar or Sultan, he may transcribe the Greek or Latin in interrogatives, but he never quotes his authorities, and I cannot discern any national records of the exploits of his countrymen.

<sup>51</sup> See the fabulous history of Ducange, whose accurate table of the French dynasties communicates the thirty-five passages in which he mentions the dukes of Athens.

<sup>52</sup> He is twice mentioned by Villehardouin with honour (Nov. 1. 1.

ried the widows and daughters of the slain; and during fourteen years, the great company was the terror of the Grecian states. Their factions drove them to acknowledge the sovereignty of the house of Arragon; and during the remainder of the fourteenth century, Athens, as a government or an appanage, was successively bestowed by the kings of Sicily. After the French and Catalans, the third dynasty was that of the Accaioli, a family, plebeian at Florence, potent at Naples, and sovereign in Greece. Athens, which they embellished with new buildings, became the capital of a state, that extended over Thebes, Argos, Corinth, Delphi, and a part of Thessaly; and their reign was finally determined by Mahomet the Second, who strangled the last duke, and educated his sons in the discipline and religion of the seraglio.

Athens,<sup>56</sup> though no more than the shadow of her former self, still contains about eight or ten thousand inhabitants: of these, three fourths are Greeks in religion and language; and the Turks, who compose the remainder, have relaxed, in their intercourse with the citizens, somewhat of the pride and gravity of their national character. The olive-tree, the gift of Minerva, flourishes in Attica; nor has the honey of Mount Hymettus lost any part of its exquisite flavour;<sup>57</sup> but the languid trade is monopolised by strangers; and the agriculture of a barren land is abandoned to the vagrant Walachians. The Athenians are still distinguished by the subtlety and acuteness of their understandings: but these qualities, unless ennobled by freedom, and enlightened by study, will degenerate into a low and selfish cunning: and it is a proverbial saying of the country, "From the Jews of Thessalonica, the Turks of Negropont, and the Greeks of Athens, good Lord deliver us!" This artful people has eluded the tyranny of the Turkish bashaws, by an expedient which alleviates their servitude and aggravates their shame. About the middle of the last century, the Athenians chose for their protector the Kilar Aga, or chief black eunuch of the seraglio. This Ethiopian slave, who possesses the sultan's ear, condescends to accept the tribute of thirty thousand crowns: his lieutenant, the Waywode, whom he annually confirms, may reserve for his own about five or six thousand more; and such is the policy of the citizens, that they seldom fail to remove and punish an oppressive governor. Their private differences are decided by the archbishop, one of the richest prelates of the Greek church, since he possesses a revenue of one thousand pounds sterling; and by a tribunal of the eight *geronti* or elders, chosen in the eight quarters of the city: the noble families

cannot trace their pedigree above three hundred years; but their principal members are distinguished by a grave dememour, a fur cap, and the lofty appellation of *archon*. By some, who delight in the contrast, the modern language of Athens is represented as the most corrupt and barbarous of the seventy dialects of the vulgar Greek: <sup>58</sup> this picture is too darkly coloured; but it would not be easy, in the country of Plato and Demosthenes, to find a reader, or a copy, of their works. The Athenians walk with supine indifference among the glorious ruins of antiquity; and such is the debasement of their character, that they are incapable of admiring the genius of their predecessors.<sup>59</sup>

## CHAP. LXIII.

*Civil Wars, and Ruin of the Greek Empire.—Reigns of Andronicus, the Elder and Younger, and John Palaeologus.—Regency, Revolt, Reign, and Abdication of John Cantacuzene.—Establishment of a Genoese Colony at Pera or Galata.—Their Wars with the Empire and City of Constantinople.*

THE long reign of Andronicus<sup>1</sup> Superstition of the Elder is chiefly memorable by the times. the disputes of the Greek church, the invasion of the Catalans, and the rise of the Ottoman power. He is celebrated as the most learned and virtuous prince of the age; but such virtue, and such learning, contributed neither to the perfection of the individual, nor to the happiness of society. A slave of the most abject superstition, he was surrounded on all sides by visible and invisible enemies; nor were the flames of hell less dreadful to his fancy, than those of a Catalan or Turkish war. Under the reign of the Palaeologi, the choice of the patriarch was the most important business of the state; the heads of the Greek church were ambitious and fanatic monks; and their vices or virtues, their learning or ignorance, were equally mischievous or contemptible. By his intemperate discipline, the patriarch Athanasius<sup>2</sup> excited the hatred of the clergy and people; he was heard to declare, that the sinner should swallow the last dregs of the cup of penance; and the foolish tale was propagated of his punishing a sacrilegious ass that had tasted the lettuce of a convent garden. Driven from the throne by the universal clamour, Athanasius composed, before his retreat, two papers of a very opposite cast. His public testament was in the tone of charity and resignation; the private codicil breathed the direst anathemas against the authors of his disgrace, whom he

<sup>56</sup> Athens, is extracted from Wheeler (Trad. Athen. passim). The first of these 1765; and nearly years had not produced much difference in the translation.

<sup>57</sup> The ancients, or at least the Athenians, believed that all the bees in the world had been procured from Mount Hymettus. They taught, that health might be procured, and are allowed, by the external use of oil, and the internal use of honey. (Athen. lib. ix. c. 2. p. 1050.) 1094. edit. Nodding.

<sup>58</sup> The same, however, Grace Prefat. p. 84, who quotes for it neither Theodosius Zygomalas, a modern grammarian. Yet Epist. (tom. ii.

p. 104.) and Wheeler (p. 355), no incompetent judges, entertain a more favourable opinion of the Attic dialect.

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excluded for ever from the communion of the Holy Trinity, the angels, and the saints. This last paper he enclosed in an earthen pot, which was placed, by his order, on the top of one of the pillars in the dome of St. Sophia, in the distant hope of discovery and revenge. At the end of four years, some youths, climbing by a ladder in search of pigeons' nests, detected the fatal secret; and, as Andronicus felt himself touched and bound by the excommunication, he trembled on the brink of the abyss which had been so treacherously dug under his feet. A synod of bishops was instantly convened to debate this important question: the rashness of these clandestine anathemas was generally condemned; but as the knot could be untied only by the same hand, as that hand was now deprived of the crosier, it appeared that this posthumous decree was irrevocable by any earthly power. Some faint testimonies of repentance and pardon were extorted from the author of the mischief; but the conscience of the emperor was still wounded, and he desired, with no less ardour than Athanasius himself, the restoration of a patriarch, by whom alone he could be healed. At the dead of night, a monk rudely knocked at the door of the royal bedchamber, announcing a revelation of plague and famine, of inundations and earthquakes. Andronicus started from his bed, and spent the night in prayer, till he felt, or thought that he felt, a slight motion of the earth. The emperor on foot led the bishops and monks to the cell of Athanasius, and, after a proper resistance, the saint, from whom this message had been sent, consented to absolve the prince, and govern the church of Constantinople. Untamed by disgrace, and hardened by solitude, the shepherd was again odious to the flock, and his enemies contrived a singular, and, as it proved, a successful, mode of revenge. In the night they stole away the foot-stool or foot-cloth of his throne, which they secretly replaced with the decoration of a satirical picture. The emperor was painted with a bridle in his mouth, and Athanasius leading the tractable beast to the feet of Christ. The authors of the libel were detected and punished; but as their lives had been spared, the Christian priest in sullen indignation retired to his cell; and the eyes of Andronicus, which had been opened for a moment, were again closed by his successor.

If this transaction be one of the most curious and important of a reign of fifty years, I cannot at least accuse the brevity of my materials, since I reduce into some few pages the enormous folios of Pachymer,<sup>3</sup> Cantacuzene,<sup>4</sup> and Nicephorus Gregoras,<sup>5</sup> who have composed the prolix and languid story of the times. The name and situation of the emperor John Cantacuzene might inspire the most lively curiosity. His memorials of forty years extend from the revolt of the younger Andronicus to his own abdication

of the empire; and it is observed, that, like Moses and Cæsar, he was the principal actor in the scenes which he describes. But in this eloquent work we should vainly seek the sincerity of an hero or a penitent. Retired in a cloister from the vices and passions of the world, he presents not a confession, but an apology, of the life of an ambitious statesman. Instead of unfolding the true counsels and characters of men, he displays the smooth and specious surface of events, highly varnished with his own praises and those of his friends. Their motives are always pure; their ends always legitimate: they conspire and rebel without any views of interest; and the violence which they inflict or suffer is celebrated as the spontaneous effect of reason and virtue.

After the example of the first of the Palæologi, the elder Andronicus associated his son Michael to the honours of the purple, and from the age of eighteen to his premature death, that prince was acknowledged, above twenty-five years, as the second emperor of the Greeks.<sup>6</sup> At the head of an army, he excited neither the fears of the enemy, nor the jealousy of the court; his modesty and patience were never tempted to compute the years of his father; nor was that father compelled to repent of his liberality either by the virtues or vices of his son. The son of Michael was named Andronicus from his grandfather, to whose early favour he was introduced by that nominal resemblance. The blossoms of wit and beauty increased the fondness of the elder Andronicus; and, with the common vanity of age, he expected to realise in the second, the hope which had been disappointed in the first, generation. The boy was educated in the palace as an heir and a favourite; and in the oaths and acclamations of the people, the *august triad* was formed by the names of the father, the son, and the grandson. But the younger Andronicus was speedily corrupted by his infant greatness, while he beheld with puerile impatience the double obstacle that hung, and might long hang, over his rising ambition. It was not to acquire fame, or to diffuse happiness, that he so eagerly aspired: wealth and impunity were in his eyes the most precious attributes of a monarch; and his first indiscreet demand was the sovereignty of some rich and fertile island, where he might lead a life of independence and pleasure. The emperor was offended by the loud and frequent intemperance which disturbed his capital: the sums which his parsimony denied were supplied by the Genoese usurers of Pera; and the oppressive debt, which consolidated the interest of a faction, could be discharged only by a revolution. A beautiful female, a matron in rank, a prostitute in manners, had instructed the younger Andronicus in the rudiments of love; but he had reason to suspect the nocturnal visits of a rival;

First disputes between the elder and younger Andronicus. A. D. 1320.

<sup>3</sup> Pachymer, in seven books, 377 folio pages, describes the first twenty-six years of Andronicus the Elder; and marks the date of his composition by the current news or lie of the day (A. D. 1308). Either death or disgust prevented him from resuming the pen.

<sup>4</sup> After an interval of twelve years, from the conclusion of Pachymer, Cantacuzenus takes up the pen; and his first book (c. 1.—59. p. 9.—130.) relates the civil war, and the eight last years of the elder Andronicus. The ingenious comparison with Moses and Cæsar, is fancied by his French translator, the president Cousin.

<sup>5</sup> Nicephorus Gregoras more briefly includes the entire life and

of Andronicus the Elder (c. 1.—106.—291.) This

is the only work of the elder Andronicus which has been preserved. The younger Andronicus is mentioned in the history of the emperor Michael Palæologus (c. 1.—106.—291.) This is the only work of the younger Andronicus which has been preserved.

and a stranger passing through the street was pierced by the arrows of his guards, who were placed in ambush at her door. That stranger was his brother, prince Manuel, who languished and died of his wound; and the emperor Michael, their common father, whose health was in a declining state, expired on the eighth day, lamenting the loss of both his children.<sup>7</sup> However guiltless in his intention, the younger Andronicus might impute a brother's and a father's death to the consequence of his own vices; and deep was the sigh of thinking and feeling men, when they perceived, instead of sorrow and repentance, his ill-dissembled joy on the removal of two odious competitors. By these melancholy events, and the increase of his disorders, the mind of the elder emperor was gradually alienated; and, after many fruitless reproofs, he transferred on another grandson<sup>8</sup> his hopes and affection. The change was announced by the new oath of allegiance to the reigning sovereign, and the person whom he should appoint for his successor; and the acknowledged heir, after a repetition of insults and complaints, was exposed to the indignity of a public trial. Before the sentence, which would probably have condemned him to a dungeon or a cell, the emperor was informed that the palace courts were filled with the armed followers of his grandson; the judgment was softened to a treaty of reconciliation; and the triumphant escape of the prince encouraged the ardour of the younger faction.

Three civil wars between the two emperors.  
A. D. 1321,  
April 26.—  
A. D. 1328,  
May 24.

Yet the capital, the clergy, and the senate, adhered to the person, or at least to the government, of the old emperor; and it was only in the provinces, by flight, and revolt, and foreign succour, that the malecontents could hope to vindicate their cause and subvert his throne. The soul of the enterprise was the great domestic John Cantacuzene: the sally from Constantinople is the first date of his actions and memorials; and if his own pen be most descriptive of his patriotism, an unfriendly historian has not refused to celebrate the zeal and ability which he displayed in the service of the young emperor. That prince escaped from the capital under the pretence of hunting; erected his standard at Adrianople; and, in a few days, assembled fifty thousand horse and foot, whom neither honour nor duty could have armed against the barbarians. Such a force might have saved or commanded the empire; but their counsels were discordant, their motions were slow and doubtful, and their progress was checked by intrigue and negotiation. The quarrel of the two Andronici was protracted, and suspended, and renewed, during a ruinous period of seven years. In the first treaty, the relics of the Greek empire were divided: Constantinople, Thessalonica, and the islands, were left to the elder, while the younger acquired the

sovereignty of the greatest part of Thrace, from Philippi to the Byzantine limit. By the second treaty, he stipulated the payment of his troops, his immediate coronation, and an adequate share

Coronation of the younger Andronicus.  
A. D. 1325,  
Feb. 2.

of the power and revenue of the state. The third civil war was terminated by the surprise of Constantinople, the final retreat of the old emperor, and the sole reign of his victorious grandson. The reasons of this delay may be found in the characters of the men and of the times. When the heir of the monarchy first pleaded his wrongs and his apprehensions, he was heard with pity and applause: and his adherents repeated on all sides the inconsistent promise, that he would increase the pay of the soldiers and alleviate the burdeus of the people. The grievances of forty years were mingled in his revolt; and the rising generation was fatigued by the endless prospect of a reign, whose favourites and maxims were of other times. The youth of Andronicus had been without spirit, his age was without reverence: his taxes produced an annual revenue of five hundred thousand pounds; yet the richest of the sovereigns of Christendom was incapable of maintaining three thousand horse and twenty galleys, to resist the destructive progress of the Turks.<sup>9</sup> "How different," said the younger Andronicus, "is my situation from that of the son of Philip!" "Alexander might complain, that his father would leave him nothing to conquer: alas! my grandsire will leave me nothing to lose." But the Greeks were soon admonished, that the public disorders could not be healed by a civil war; and that their young favourite was not destined to be the saviour of a falling empire. On the first repulse, his party was broken by his own levity, their intestine discord, and the intrigues of the ancient court, which tempted each malecontent to desert or betray the cause of rebellion. Andronicus the Younger was touched with remorse, or fatigued with business, or deceived by negotiation: pleasure rather than power was his aim; and the licence of maintaining a thousand hounds, a thousand hawks, and a thousand huntsmen, was sufficient to sully his fame and disarm his ambition.

Let us now survey the catastrophe of this busy plot, and the final situation of the principal actors.<sup>10</sup> The age of Andronicus was consumed in civil discord; and, amidst the events of war and treaty, his power and reputation continually decayed, till the fatal night in which the gates of the city and palace were opened, without resistance, to his grandson. His principal commander scorned the repeated warnings of danger; and retiring to rest in the vain security of ignorance, abandoned the feeble monarch, with some priests and pages, to the terrors of a sleepless night. These terrors were quickly realised by the hostile shouts, which pro-

The elder Andronicus abdicates the government.  
A. D. 1328,  
May 24.

<sup>7</sup> We are indebted to Nicephorus Gregoras (v. filii. c. 1.) for the knowledge of this tragic adventure, while Cantacuzene more discreetly conceals the vices of Andronicus the Younger, of which he writes thus: "The emperor Michael, after a long illness, died on the eighth day of the month of April."

<sup>8</sup> I. e. c. 1, 2, 3.  
<sup>9</sup> See Nicephorus Gregoras, l. viii. c. 6. The younger Andronicus

complained, that in four years and four months a sum of 350,000 byzants of gold was due to him for the expenses of his household. (Cantacuzene, l. viii. c. 10.)

<sup>10</sup> It is not probable that his text has been corrupted by ignorant transcribers.

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claimed the titles and victory of Andronicus the Younger; and the aged emperor, falling prostrate before an image of the Virgin, despatched a suppliant message to resign the sceptre, and to obtain his life at the hands of the conqueror. The answer of his grandson was decent and pious; at the prayer of his friends, the younger Andronicus assumed the sole administration; but the elder still enjoyed the name and pre-eminence of the first emperor, the use of the great palace, and a pension of twenty-four thousand pieces of gold, one half of which was assigned on the royal treasury, and the other on the fishery of Constantinople. But his impotence was soon exposed to contempt and oblivion; the vast silence of the palace was disturbed only by the cattle and poultry of the neighbourhood, which roved with impunity through the solitary courts; and a reduced allowance of ten thousand pieces of gold<sup>11</sup> was all that he could ask, and more than he could hope. His calamities were embittered by the gradual extinction of sight: his confinement was rendered each day more rigorous; and during the absence and sickness of his grandson, his inhuman keepers, by the threats of instant death, compelled him to exchange the purple for the monastic habit and profession. The monk *Antony* had renounced the pomp of the world: yet he had occasion for a coarse fur in the winter season, and as wine was forbidden by his confessor, and water by his physician, the sherbet of Egypt was his common drink. It was not without difficulty that the late emperor could procure three or four pieces to satisfy these simple wants; and if he bestowed the gold to relieve the more painful distress of a friend, the sacrifice is of some weight in the scale of humanity and religion. Four years

His death.  
A. D. 1332,  
Feb. 13.  
after his abdication, Andronicus or Antony expired in a cell, in the seventy-fourth year of his age: and the last strain of adulation could only promise a more splendid crown of glory in heaven than he had enjoyed upon earth.<sup>12</sup>

Nor was the reign of the younger, more glorious or fortunate than that of the elder, Andronicus.<sup>13</sup> He gathered the fruits of ambition; but the taste was transient and bitter. In the supreme station he lost the remains of

his early popularity, and the defects of his character became still more conspicuous to the world. The public reproach urged him to march in person against the Turks; nor did his courage fail in the hour of trial, but a defeat and a wound were the only trophies of his expedition in Asia, which confirmed the establishment of the Ottoman monarchy. The abuses of the evil government attained their full maturity and perfection: his neglect of forms, and the confusion of national dresses, are deplored by the Greeks as the fatal symptoms of the decay of the empire. Andronicus was old before his time: the intemperance of youth had accelerated the infirmities of age; and after being rescued from a dangerous malady by nature, or physic, or the Virgin, he was snatched away before he had accomplished his forty-fifth year. He was twice married; and as the progress of the Latins in arms and arts had softened the prejudices of the Byzantine court, his two wives were chosen in the princely houses of Germany and Italy. The first, Agnes at home, Irene in Greece, was daughter of the duke of Brunswick. Her father<sup>14</sup> was a petty lord<sup>15</sup> in the poor and savage regions of the north of Germany; yet he derived some revenue from his silver mines;<sup>16</sup> and his family is celebrated by the Greeks as the most ancient and noble of the Teutonic name.<sup>18</sup> After the death of this childish princess, Andronicus sought in marriage Jane, the sister of the count of Savoy,<sup>19</sup> and his suit was preferred to that of the French king.<sup>20</sup> The count respected in his sister the superior majesty of a Roman empress; her retinue was composed of knights and ladies; she was regenerated and crowned in St. Sophia, under the more orthodox appellation of Anne; and, at the nuptial feast, the Greeks and Italians vied with each other in the martial exercises of tilts and tournaments.

The empress Anne of Savoy survived her husband; their son, John Palæologus, was left an orphan and an emperor, in the ninth year of his age; and his weakness was protected by the first and most deserving of the Greeks. The long and cordial friendship of his father for John Cantacuzene is alike honourable to the prince and the sub-

Reign of John  
Palæologus.  
A. D. 1341,  
June 15—  
A. D. 1391.

Fortune of  
John Can-  
tacuzene.

<sup>11</sup> I have endeavoured to reconcile the 25,000 pieces of Cantacuzene (L. ix. c. 1.) with the 10,000 of Nicephorus Gregoras (L. ix. c. 2.), the one of whom wished to soften, the other to magnify, the hardships of the old emperor.

<sup>12</sup> The retreat, of his to the scaffold or irening, a prostitute

<sup>13</sup> to praise!

<sup>14</sup> The sole reign of Andronicus the Younger is described by Cantacuzene (L. ii. c. 1—10) p. 1—152, and Nicephorus Gregoras (L. ix. c. 7—11) p. c. 11 p. 262—361.

<sup>15</sup> Agnes, or Irene, was the daughter of Duke Henry the Wonderful, the chief of the house of Brunswick, and the fourth in descent from the famous Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and conqueror of the Slavi on the Baltic coast. Her brother Henry was surnamed the Greck, from his two journeys into the East, but these journeys, according to his sister's marriage, and I am acquainted how Agnes was discovered in the heart of Germany, and recommended to the Byzantine court (Ramus, *Memoirs of the House of Brunswick*, p. 126—137).

<sup>16</sup> Henry the Wonderful was the founder of the branch of Grubow. p. 287. He resided in the one than a sixth part of the burgh, which the Grubow their great nests. The frequent partitions among brothers had almost ruined the princely house.

<sup>17</sup> The royal author of the *Memoirs of Brandenburg* will teach us, how justly, in a much later period, the north of Germany deserved the epithets of poor and barbarous (*Essai sur les Mœurs, &c.*). In the year 1366, in the woods of Lunenburg, some wild people of the Yened race were allowed to bury alive their inhuman and useless parents (Ramus, p. 176).

<sup>18</sup> The version of Tacitus, that Germany was destitute of the precious metals, must be taken, even in his own time, with some limitation (*Germania*, c. 5. *Annal.* vi. 26.). According to *Sponer* (Hist. & Germanicæ Prærogative, tom. i. p. 71.), *argentum* in the Germanic montibus, imperante Otthone magno (A. D. 965) primum apertis, *luporum* enim in montibus habitantibus, &c.

<sup>19</sup> bet of the house of Brunswick.

<sup>20</sup> Cantacuzene has given a most honourable testimony, *πρὸς τὴν Γερμανίαν* (Germania, c. 5. *Annal.* vi. 26.). *τοὺς ἰδιώτας* (the natives) employ the *εὐρίστη* for the *δ*, and the *αὐτὸν* for the *β*, and the whole will read in the Italian idiom di Brunswich, *τον παρ αὐτοῦ ἐπιφανέστατον, καὶ λαμπροτέρου πατρὸς τοῦδε ἀποφύλακτον ἀνερπύλακτον τοῦ γένους*. The phrase is in a small, and pleasing to an English ear.

<sup>21</sup> Anne, or Jane, was one of the four daughters of Amelée the Great, by a second marriage, and half-sister of his successor Edward count of Savoy (Anderson's *Tables*, p. 650). See Cantacuzene (L. ii. c. 10—42).

<sup>22</sup> That king, of the fact be true, must have been Charles the Fur, who in five years (1521—1526) was married to three wives (Anderson, p. 645). Anne of Savoy arrived at Constantinople in February, 1526.

ject. It had been formed amidst the pleasures of their youth; their families were almost equally noble;<sup>21</sup> and the recent lustre of the purple was amply compensated by the energy of a private education. We have seen that the young emperor was saved by Cantacuzene from the power of his grandfather; and, after six years of civil war, the same favourite brought him back in triumph to the palace of Constantinople. Under the reign of Andronicus the Younger, the great domestic ruled the emperor and the empire; and it was by his valour and conduct that the isle of Lesbos and the principality of Ætolia were restored to their ancient allegiance. His enemies confess, that, among the public robbers, Cantacuzene alone was moderate and abstemious; and the free and voluntary account which he produces of his own wealth<sup>22</sup> may sustain the presumption that it was devolved by inheritance, and not accumulated by rapine. He does not indeed specify the value of his money, plate, and jewels; yet, after a voluntary gift of two hundred vases of silver, after much had been secreted by his friends and plundered by his foes, his forfeit treasures were sufficient for the equipment of a fleet of seventy galleys. He does not measure the size and number of his estates; but his granaries were heaped with an incredible store of wheat and barley; and the labour of a thousand yoke of oxen might cultivate, according to the practice of antiquity, about sixty-two thousand five hundred acres of arable land.<sup>23</sup> His pastures were stocked with two thousand five hundred brood mares, two hundred camels, three hundred mules, five hundred asses, five thousand horned cattle, fifty thousand hogs, and seventy thousand sheep;<sup>24</sup> a precious record of rural opulence, in the last period of the empire, and in a land, most probably in Thrace, so repeatedly wasted by foreign and domestic hostility. The favour of Cantacuzene was above his fortune. In the moments of familiarity, in the hour of sickness, the emperor was desirous to level the distance between them, and pressed his friend to accept the diadem and purple. The virtue of the great domestic, which is attested by his own pen, resisted the dangerous proposal; but the last testament of Andronicus the Younger named him the guardian of his son, and the regent of the empire.

Had the regent found a suitable return of obedience and gratitude, perhaps he would have acted with pure and zealous fidelity in the service of his pupil.<sup>25</sup> A guard of five hundred soldiers watched over his person and the palace: the funeral of the late emperor was decently performed; the capital was silent and submis-

sive; and five hundred letters, which Cantacuzene despatched in the first month, informed the provinces of their loss and their duty. The prospect of a tranquil minority was blasted by the great duke or admiral Apocaucus;<sup>26</sup> and to exaggerate his perfidy, the Imperial historian is pleased to magnify his own imprudence, in raising him to that office against the advice of his more sagacious sovereign. Bold and subtle, rapacious and profuse, the avarice and ambition of Apocaucus were by turns subservient to each other; and his talents were applied to the ruin of his country. His arrogance was heightened by the command of a naval force and an impregnable castle, and under the mask of oaths and flattery he secretly conspired against his benefactor. The female court of the empress was <sup>by the empress Anne of Savoy</sup> bribed and directed: he encouraged Anne of Savoy to assent, by the law of nature, the tutelage of her son; the love of power was disguised by the anxiety of maternal tenderness; and the founder of the Paleologi had instructed his posterity to dread the example of a perfidious guardian. The patriarch John of <sup>by the patriarch</sup> Apri was a proud and feeble old man, encompassed by numerous and hungry kindred. He produced an obsolete epistle of Andronicus, which bequeathed the prince and people to his pious care: the fate of his predecessor Arsenius prompted him to prevent, rather than punish, the crimes of an usurper; and Apocaucus smiled at the success of his own flattery, when he beheld the Byzantine priest assuming the state and temporal claims of the Roman pontiff.<sup>27</sup> Between three persons so different in their situation and character, a private league was concluded: a shadow of authority was restored to the senate; and the people was tempted by the name of freedom. By this powerful confederacy, the great domestic was assaulted at first with clandestine, at length with open, arms. His prerogatives were disputed; his opinions slighted; his friends persecuted; and his safety was threatened both in the camp and city. In his absence on the public service, he was accused of treason; proscribed as an enemy of the church and state; and delivered, with all his adherents, to the sword of justice, the vengeance of the people, and the power of the devil: his fortunes were confiscated; his aged mother was cast into prison; all his past services were buried in oblivion; and he was driven by injustice to perpetrate the crime of which he was accused.<sup>28</sup> From the review of his preceding conduct, Cantacuzene appears to have been guiltless of any treasonable designs; and the only suspicion of his innocence must arise from the vehemence of his protestations, and the sub-

<sup>21</sup> The noble race of the Cantacuzeni (illustrated from the 13th century in the Byzantine annals) was drawn from the Tabularii of France, the heroes of those romances which, in the 14th century, were translated and read by the Greeks (Boucagge, *Ann. Byzant.* p. 256).

<sup>22</sup> See Cantacuzene (l. ii. c. 21. 30. 36.).

<sup>23</sup> *Sicilia*, in Gaul, or Catalonia, in Italy or Spain, allow two sokes of oxen, two drivers, and six labourers, for two hundred m. gr. (25) English acres, of trade land, and three more acres must be added if there be much underwood (Cataluña en Re. l. i. c. 1. p. 111. edit. Gessner).

<sup>24</sup> In this enumeration (l. ii. c. 20.) the French translation of the president Cousin is baffled with three papal, and counted errors. He omits the 1000 sokes of working oxen. He is incorrect in the *πεντακισμύρια πρόβατα*, by the number of fifteen hundred. He

confounds individuals with children, and is Cantacuzene no more than *Savoy*. See not so in the original text.

<sup>25</sup> See the emperor's address to the senate (l. ii. c. 20.), and the whole progress of the civil war in this, as well as in the following books. See also in that of Nicetas (Gregory of Antioch, l. vi. c. 9. p. 115. 119.).

<sup>26</sup> He died and the next day he died of the plague, as placed on the field of battle, and was buried in the church of St. George, with his adherents, and the whole of the army, by the emperor's order. See the account of the emperor's death in the *Ann. Byzant.* l. ii. c. 24. p. 119. 120.

<sup>27</sup> See Gregory of Antioch (l. vi. c. 9. p. 115. 119.) and the emperor's address to the senate (l. ii. c. 20. p. 111. 112.). See also the account of the emperor's death in the *Ann. Byzant.* l. ii. c. 24. p. 119. 120.



lime purity which he ascribes to his own virtue. While the empress and the patriarch still affected the appearances of harmony, he repeatedly solicited the permission of retiring to a private, and even a monastic, life. After he had been declared a public enemy, it was his fervent wish to throw himself at the feet of the young emperor, and to receive without a murmur the stroke of the executioner: it was not without reluctance that he listened to the voice of reason, which inculcated the sacred duty of saving his family and friends, and proved that he could only save them by drawing the sword and assuming the Imperial title.

In the strong city of Demotica, his peculiar domain, the emperor assumed the purple. Cantacuzene assumes the purple. A. D. 1341. Oct. 26. John Cantacuzenus was invested with the purple buskins: his right leg was clothed by his noble kinsmen, the left by the Latin chiefs, on whom he conferred the order of knighthood. But even in this act of revolt, he was still studious of loyalty; and the titles of John Paleologus and Anne of Savoy were proclaimed before his own name and that of his wife Irene. Such vain ceremony is a thin disguise of rebellion, nor are there perhaps any *personal* wrongs that can authorise a subject to take arms against his sovereign: but the want of preparation and success may confirm the assurance of the usurper, that this decisive step was the effect of necessity rather than of choice. Constantinople adhered to the young emperor: the king of Bulgaria was invited to the relief of Adrianople: the principal cities of Thrace and Macedonia, after some hesitation, renounced their obedience to the great domestic; and the leaders of the troops and the provinces were induced, by their private interest, to prefer the loose dominion of a woman and a priest. The army of Cantacuzene, in sixteen divisions, was stationed on the banks of the Melas to tempt or intimidate the capital: it was dispersed by treachery or fear; and the officers, more especially the mercenary Latins, accepted the bribes, and embraced the service, of the Byzantine court. After this loss, the rebel emperor (he fluctuated between the two characters) took the road of Thessalonica with a chosen remnant; but he failed in his enterprise on that important place; and he was closely pursued by the great duke, his enemy Apocaucus, at the head of a superior power by sea and land. Driven from the coast, in his march, or rather flight, into the mountains of Servia, Cantacuzene assembled his troops, to scrutinise those who were worthy and willing to accompany his broken fortunes. A base majority bowed and retired; and his trusty band was diminished to two thousand; and at last to five hundred volunteers. The *crat* 28 or despot of the Servians, received him with generous hospitality; but the ally was insensibly degraded to a suppliant, an hostage, a captive; and, in this miserable dependence, he waited at the door of the barbarian, who could dispose of the life and

liberty of a Roman emperor. The most tempting offers could not persuade the cral to violate his trust; but he soon inclined to the stronger side; and his friend was dismissed without injury to a new vicissitude of hopes and perils. Near six years the flame of discord burnt with various success and unabated rage: the cities were distracted by the faction of the nobles and the plebeians; the Cantacuzeni and Paleologi; and the Bulgarians, the Servians, and the Turks, were invoked on both sides as the instruments of private ambition and the common ruin. The regent deplored the calamities, of which he was the author and victim: and his own experience might dictate a just and lively remark on the different nature of foreign and civil war. "The former," said he, "is the external warmth of summer, always tolerable, and often beneficial; the latter is the deadly heat of a fever, which consumes without a remedy the vitals of the constitution."<sup>28</sup>

The introduction of barbarians and savages into the contests of civilised nations is a measure pregnant with shame and mischief, which the interest of the moment may compel, but which is reprobated by the best principles of humanity and reason. It is the practice of both sides to accuse their enemies of the guilt of the first alliances; and those who fail in their negotiations are loudest in their censure of the example which they envy, and would gladly imitate. The Turks of Asia were less barbarous, perhaps, than the shepherds of Bulgaria and Servia; but their religion rendered them the implacable foes of Rome and Christianity. To acquire the friendship of their emirs, the two factions vied with each other in baseness and profusion: the dexterity of Cantacuzene obtained the preference; but the succour and victory were dearly purchased by the marriage of his daughter with an infidel, the captivity of many thousand Christians, and the passage of the Ottomans into Europe, the last and fatal stroke in the fall of the Roman empire. The inclining scale was decided in his favour by the death of Apocaucus, the just, though singular, retribution of his crimes. A crowd of nobles or plebeians, whom he feared or hated, had been seized by his orders in the capital and the provinces; and the old palace of Constantine was assigned for the place of their confinement. Some alterations in raising the walls, and narrowing the cells, had been ingeniously contrived to prevent their escape, and aggravate their misery; and the work was incessantly pressed by the daily visits of the tyrant. His guards watched at the gate, and as he stood in the inner court, to overlook the architects, without fear or suspicion, he was assaulted and laid breathless on the ground, by two resolute prisoners of the Paleologian race,<sup>29</sup> who were armed with sticks and animated by despair. On the rumour of revenge and liberty, the captive multitude broke

<sup>28</sup> The princes of Servia (Ducanes, F and Dalmatians, &c. c. 2, 3, 4, 5) were styled Despots in Greek, and Crat, or the native name (Ducanes, Gloss. Grec. p. 731). That title, the equivalent of king, appears in the Hittite inscriptions. <sup>29</sup> The Turks (Lennet, p. 113) were of Padoashah for the emperor. In the text, the name is given as former is the

The civil war.  
A. D. 1341.  
—1347.

Victory of  
Cantacuzene.

their fetters, fortified their prison, and exposed from the battlements the tyrant's head, presuming on the favour of the people and the clemency of the empress. Anne of Savoy might rejoice in the fall of an haughty and ambitious minister, but while she delayed to resolve or to act, the populace, more especially the mariners, were excited by the widow of the great duke to a sedition, an assault, and a massacre. The prisoners (of whom the far greater part were guiltless or inglorious of the deed) escaped to a neighbouring church; they were slaughtered at the foot of the altar; and in his death the monster was not less bloody and venomous than in his life. Yet his talents alone upheld the cause of the young emperor; and his surviving associates, suspicious of each other, abandoned the conduct of the war, and rejected the fairest terms of accommodation. In the beginning of the dispute, the empress felt and complained, that she was deceived by the enemies of Cantacuzene: the patriarch was employed to preach against the forgiveness of injuries; and her promise of immortal hatred was sealed by an oath, under the penalty of excommunication.<sup>31</sup> But Anne soon learned to hate without a teacher: she beheld the misfortunes of the empire with the indifference of a stranger: her jealousy was exasperated by the competition of a rival empress; and on the first symptoms of a more yielding temper, she threatened the patriarch to convene a synod, and degrade him from his office. Their incapacity and discord would have afforded the most decisive advantage; but the civil war was protracted by the weakness of both parties; and the moderation of Cantacuzene has not escaped the reproach of timidity and indolence. He successively recovered the provinces and cities; and the realm of his pupil was measured by the walls of Constantinople; but the metropolis alone counterbalanced the rest of the empire; nor could he attempt that important conquest till he had secured in his favour the public voice and a private correspondence. An Italian, of the name of Faccioliati,<sup>32</sup> had succeeded to the office of great duke: the ships, the guards, and the golden gate, were subject to his command; but his humble ambition was bribed to become the instrument of treachery; and the revolution was accomplished without danger or bloodshed. Destitute of the powers of resistance, or the hope of relief, the inflexible Anne would have still defended the palace, and have smiled to behold the capital in flames rather than in the possession of a rival. She yielded to the prayers of her friends and enemies; and the treaty was dictated by the conqueror, who professed a loyal and zealous attachment to the son of his benefactor. The marriage of his daughter with John Paleologus was at length consummated: the hereditary right of the pupil

was acknowledged; but the sole administration during ten years was vested in the guardian. Two emperors and three empresses were seated on the Byzantine throne; and a general amnesty quieted the apprehensions, and confirmed the property, of the most guilty subjects. The festival of the coronation and nuptials was celebrated with the appearances of concord and magnificence, and both were equally fallacious. During the late troubles, the treasures of the state, and even the furniture of the palace, had been alienated or embezzled: the royal banquet was served in pewter or earthenware; and such was the proud poverty of the times, that the absence of gold and jewels was supplied by the paltry artifices of glass and gilt leather.<sup>33</sup>

I hasten to conclude the personal history of John Cantacuzene.<sup>34</sup> He triumphed and reigned; but his reign and triumph were clouded by the discontent of his own and the adverse faction. His followers might style the general amnesty, an act of pardon for his enemies, and of oblivion for his friends;<sup>35</sup> in his cause their estates had been forfeited or plundered; and as they wandered naked and hungry through the streets, they cursed the selfish generosity of a leader, who, on the throne of the empire, might relinquish without merit his private inheritance. The adherents of the empress blushed to hold their lives and fortunes by the precarious favour of an usurper; and the thirst of revenge was concealed by a tender concern for the succession, and even the safety, of her son. They were justly alarmed by a petition of the friends of Cantacuzene, that they might be released from their oath of allegiance to the Paleologi, and intrusted with the defence of some cautionary towns; a measure supported with argument and eloquence; and which was rejected (says the Imperial Historian) "by my sublime, and almost incredible, virtue." His repose was disturbed by the sound of plots and seditions; and he trembled, lest the lawful prince should be stolen away by some foreign or domestic enemy, who would inscribe his name and his wrongs in the banners of rebellion. As the son of Andronicus advanced in the years of manhood, he began to feel and to act for himself; and his rising ambition was rather stimulated than checked by the imitation of his father's vices. If we may trust his own professions, Cantacuzene laboured with honest industry to correct these sordid and sensual appetites, and to raise the mind of the young prince to a level with his fortune. In the Servian expedition, the two emperors showed themselves in cordial harmony to the troops and provinces; and the younger colleague was initiated by the elder in the mysteries of war and government. After the conclusion of the peace, Paleologus was left at Thessalonica, a royal residence, and a frontier station, to

Reign of John Cantacuzene, A.D. 1347, Jan. 8—A.D. 1355, January.

He re-enters Constantinople. A.D. 1347, January 8.

<sup>31</sup> Cantacuzene accuses the patriarch, and spurs the emperor, the number of his sovereigns (l. 11, 24, 31, 32) and whom Nic. Gregorius expresses a particular animosity (l. xv. 11, 12, xv. 53). It is true, that they do not speak exactly of the same time.

<sup>32</sup> The traitor and treason are revealed by Nic. Gregorius (l. xv. 32).

<sup>33</sup> The emperor Cantacuzene, l. xv. 11, expresses his anxiety, and Nic. Gregorius (l. xv. 11) the complaints of his court, who are not to be exact. I have sent them the words of our poor sufferers after the restoration.

<sup>34</sup> From his return to Constantinople, Cantacuzene continues his

history, and that of the emperor, and based the reign of Cantacuzene (Matthew, A.D. 1347, p. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

secure by his absence the peace of Constantinople, and to withdraw his youth from the temptations of a luxurious capital. But the distance weakened the powers of control, and the son of Andronicus was surrounded with artful or unthinking companions, who taught him to hate his guardian, to deplore his exile, and to vindicate his rights. A private treaty with the cæsar or despot of Servia was soon followed by an open revolt; and Cantacuzene, on the throne of the elder Andronicus, defended the cause of age and prerogative, which in his youth he had so vigorously attacked. At his request, the empress-mother undertook the voyage of Thessalonica, and the office of mediation: she returned without success; and unless Anne of Savoy was instructed by adversity, we may doubt the sincerity, or at least the fervour, of her zeal. While the regent grasped the sceptre with a firm and vigorous hand, she had been instructed to declare, that the ten years of his legal administration would soon elapse; and that after a full trial of the vanity of the world, the emperor Cantacuzene sighed for the repose of a cloister, and was ambitious only of an heavenly crown. Had these sentiments been genuine, his voluntary abdication would have restored the peace of the empire, and his conscience would have been relieved by an act of justice.

John Palæologus takes up arms against him. A.D. 1335.

Palæologus alone was responsible for his future government; and whatever might be his vices, they were surely less formidable than the calamities of a civil war, in which the barbarians and infidels were again invited to assist the Greeks in their mutual destruction. By the arms of the Turks, who now struck a deep and everlasting root in Europe, Cantacuzene prevailed in the third contest in which he had been involved; and the young emperor, driven from the sea and land, was compelled to take shelter among the Latins of the isle of Tenedos. His insolence and obstinacy provoked the victor to a step which must render the quarrel irreconcilable: and the association of his son Matthew, whom he invested with the purple, established the succession in the family of the Cantacuzeni. But Constantinople was still attached to the blood of her ancient princes, and this last injury accelerated the restoration of the rightful heir. A noble Genoese espoused the cause of Palæologus, obtained a promise of his sister, and achieved the revolution with two galleys and two thousand five hundred auxiliaries. Under the pretence of distress, they were admitted into the lesser port; a gate was opened, and the Latin shout of "Long life and victory to the emperor, John Palæologus!" was answered by a general rising in his favour. A numerous and loyal party yet adhered to the standard of Can-

tacuzene: but he asserts in his history (does he hope for belief?), that his tender conscience rejected the assurance of conquest; that, in free obedience to the voice of religion and philosophy, he descended from the throne, and embraced with pleasure the monastic habit and profession.<sup>36</sup> So soon as he ceased to be a prince, his successor was not unwilling that he should be a saint: the remainder of his life was devoted to piety and learning: in the cells of Constantinople and Mount Athos, the monk Joasaph was respected as the temporal and spiritual father of the emperor; and if he issued from his retreat, it was as the minister of peace, to subdue the obstinacy, and solicit the pardon, of his rebellious son.<sup>37</sup>

Yet in the cloister, the mind of Cantacuzene was still exercised by theological war. He sharpened a controversial pen against the Jews and Mahometans;<sup>38</sup> and in every state he defended with equal zeal the divine light of Mount Thabor, a memorable question which consummates the religious follies of the Greeks. The fakirs of India,<sup>39</sup> and the monks of the Oriental church, were alike persuaded, that in total abstraction of the faculties of the mind and body, the purer spirit may ascend to the enjoyment and vision of the Deity. The opinion and practice of the monasteries of Mount Athos<sup>40</sup> will be best represented in the words of an abbot, who flourished in the eleventh century. "When thou art alone in thy cell," says the ascetic teacher, "shut thy door, and seat thyself in a corner; raise thy mind above all things vain and transitory; recline thy beard and chin on thy breast; turn thy eyes and thy thought towards the middle of thy belly, the region of the navel; and search the place of the heart, the seat of the soul. At first, all will be dark and comfortless; but if you persevere day and night, you will feel an ineffable joy; and no sooner has the soul discovered the place of the heart, than it is involved in a mystic and ethereal light." This light, the production of a distempered fancy, the creature of an empty stomach and an empty brain, was adored by the Quietists as the pure and perfect essence of God himself; and as long as the folly was confined to Mount Athos, the simple solitaries were not inquisitive how the divine essence could be a material substance, or how an immaterial substance could be perceived by the eyes of the body. But in the reign of the younger Andronicus, these monasteries were visited by Barlaam,<sup>41</sup> a Calabrian monk, who was equally skilled in philosophy and theology; who possessed the languages of the Greeks and Latins; and whose versatile genius could maintain their

<sup>36</sup> The awkward apology of Cantacuzene (l. c. 50.—52.), who relates, with visible confusion, his own downfall, may be supplied by the less accurate, but more honest, narratives of Mithra Velluti (l. c. 46) in the script. *Revue Ital.* tom. xiv. p. 265 and Duca (c. 30, 31).

<sup>37</sup> Cantacuzene, in the year 1375, was honoured with a letter from the pope (Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* tom. xv. p. 299). His death is placed by respectable authority on the 20th of November, 1341. *Ducange, Fam. Byzant.* p. 260, 61. But if he were of the age of his companion Andronicus the Younger, he must have lived 116 years, a rare instance of longevity, which in so illustrious a person would have attracted universal notice.

<sup>38</sup> His four discourses, or books, were printed at Basil 1453 (Fabric. *Biblioth. Græc.* tom. vi. p. 473). He composed them to satisfy a pro-

selyte who was assaulted with letters from his friends of Isaphan. Cantacuzene had read the Koran: but I understand from Maracci, that he adopts the vulgar prejudices and fables against Mahomet and his religion.

<sup>39</sup> See the *Voyages* de Bernier, tom. i. p. 197.  
<sup>40</sup> Mosheim, *Institut. Hist. Eccl.* p. 224, 225. Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* tom. ix. p. 22, 23, 107, 111, &c. The former unfolds the causes with the judgment of a philosopher, the latter transcribes and translates with the prejudices of a Catholic priest.

<sup>41</sup> Bissop in *Camden Angl.* *Lectures*, tom. i. p. 563.—568.) has investigated the character and story of Barlaam. The duplicate of his pictures had inspired some doubts of the identity of his person. See likewise Fabricius (*Biblioth. Græc.* tom. x. p. 427.—437.).

opposite creeds, according to the interest of the moment. The indiscretion of an ascetic revealed to the curious traveller the secrets of mental prayer; and Barlaam embraced the opportunity of ridiculing the Quietists, who placed the soul in the navel; of accusing the monks of Mount Athos of heresy and blasphemy. His attack compelled the more learned to renounce or dissemble the simple devotion of their brethren; and Gregory Palamas introduced a scholastic distinction between the essence and operation of God. His inaccessible essence dwells in the midst of an uncreated and eternal light; and this beatific vision of the saints had been manifested to the disciples on Mount Thabor, in the transfiguration of Christ. Yet this distinction could not escape the reproach of polytheism; the eternity of the light of Thabor was fiercely denied; and Barlaam still charged the Palamites with holding two eternal substances, a visible and an invisible God. From the rage of the monks of Mount Athos, who threatened his life, the Calabrian retired to Constantinople, where his smooth and specious manners introduced him to the favour of the great domestic and the emperor. The court and the city were involved in this theological dispute, which flamed amidst the civil war; but the doctrine of Barlaam was disgraced by his flight and apostasy: the Palamites triumphed; and their adversary, the patriarch John of Apri, was deposed by the consent of the adverse factions of the state. In the character of emperor and theologian, Cantacuzene presided in the synod of the Greek church, which established, as an article of faith, the uncreated light of Mount Thabor; and, after so many insults, the reason of mankind was slightly wounded by the addition of a single absurdity. Many rolls of paper or parchment have been blotted; and the impatient sectaries, who refused to subscribe the orthodox creed, were deprived of the honours of Christian burial; but in the next age the question was forgotten; nor can I learn that the axe or the faggot were employed for the extirpation of the Barlaamite heresy.<sup>42</sup>

For the conclusion of this chapter, I have reserved the Genoese establishment at Pera or Galata, which shook the throne of Cantacuzene, and betrayed the debility of the Greek empire. The Genoese, who, after the recovery of Constantinople, were seated in the suburb of Pera or Galata, received that honourable fief from the bounty of the emperor. They were indulged in the use of their laws and magistracies; but they submitted to the duties of vassals and subjects: the forcible word of *hegemon*<sup>43</sup> was borrowed from the Latin jurisprudence; and their *podesta*, or chief, before he entered on his office, saluted the emperor with loyal acclamations and vows of fidelity. Genoa sealed a firm alliance with the Greeks; and, in

case of a defensive war, a supply of fifty empty galleys, and a succour of fifty galleys completely armed and manned, was promised by the republic to the empire. In the revival of a naval force, it was the aim of Michael Palæologus to deliver himself from a foreign aid; and his vigorous government contained the Genoese of Galata within those limits which the insolence of wealth and freedom provoked them to exceed. A sailor threatened that they should soon be masters of Constantinople, and slew the Greek who resented this national affront; and an armed vessel, after refusing to salute the palace, was guilty of some acts of piracy in the Black Sea. Their countrymen threatened to support their cause; but the long and open village of Galata was instantly surrounded by the Imperial troops; till, in the moment of the assault, the prostrate Genoese implored the clemency of their sovereign. The defenceless situation which secured their obedience, exposed them to the attack of their Venetian rivals, who, in the reign of the elder Andronicus, presumed to violate the majesty of the throne. On the approach of their fleets, the Genoese, with their families and effects, retired into the city: their empty habitations were reduced to ashes; and the feeble prince, who had viewed the destruction of his suburb, expressed his resentment, not by arms, but by ambassadors. This misfortune, however, was advantageous to the Genoese, who obtained, and imperceptibly abused, the dangerous licence of surrounding Galata with a strong wall; of introducing into the ditch the waters of the sea; of erecting lofty turrets; and of mounting a train of military engines on the rampart. The narrow bounds in which they had been circumscribed, were insufficient for the growing colony; each day they acquired some addition of landed property; and the adjacent hills were covered with their villas and castles, which they joined and protected by new fortifications.<sup>44</sup> The navigation and trade of the Euxine was the patrimony of the Greek emperors, who commanded the narrow entrance, the gates, as it were, of that inland sea. In the reign of Michael Palæologus, their prerogative was acknowledged by the sultan of Egypt, who solicited and obtained the liberty of sending an annual ship for the purchase of slaves in Circassia and the Lesser Tartary: a liberty pregnant with mischief to the Christian cause; since these youths were transformed by education and discipline into the formidable Mamalukes.<sup>45</sup> From the colony of Pera, the Genoese engaged with superior advantage in the lucrative <sup>their trade</sup> trade of the Black Sea; and their <sup>and insolence</sup> industry supplied the Greeks with fish and corn; two articles of food almost equally important to a superstitious people. The spontaneous bounty of nature appears to have bestowed the harvests of the Ukraine, the produce of a rude and

<sup>42</sup> See Cantacuzene (l. ii. c. 79, 10, l. iii. c. 5, 25, 24, 25), and Nic. Gregor. (l. xi. c. 10, l. x. c. 3, 2, &c.), whose fact books, from the time to the death, are almost confined to a subject so interesting to the authors. Bower on Vit. Nic. Gregor. is, from the unpublished books, and Fabricius (lib. ii. c. 10, p. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>43</sup> The establishment and progress of the Genoese at Pera, or Galata, is described by the ancient Byzantine historians, l. i. p. 65, 191 from Nic. Gregor. l. xi. c. 10, l. x. c. 3, 2, &c. The Genoese, from the time to the death, are almost confined to a subject so interesting to the authors. Bower on Vit. Nic. Gregor. is, from the unpublished books, and Fabricius (lib. ii. c. 10, p. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

savage husbandry; and the endless exportation of salt-fish and caviar is annually renewed by the enormous sturgeons that are caught at the mouth of the Don or Tanais, in their last station of the rich mud and shallow water of the Mæotis.<sup>46</sup> The waters of the Oxus, the Caspian, the Volga, and the Don, opened a rare and laborious passage for the gems and spices of India; and, after three months' march, the caravans of Carizme met the Italian vessels in the harbours of Crimæa.<sup>47</sup> These various branches of trade were monopolised by the diligence and power of the Genoese. Their rivals of Venice and Pisa were forcibly expelled; the natives were awed by the castles and cities, which arose on the foundations of their humble factories; and their principal establishment of Caffa<sup>48</sup> was besieged without effect by the Tartar powers. Destitute of a navy, the Greeks were oppressed by these haughty merchants, who fed, or famished, Constantinople, according to their interest. They proceeded to usurp the customs, the fishery, and even the toll, of the Bosphorus; and while they derived from these objects a revenue of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, a remnant of thirty thousand was reluctantly allowed to the emperor.<sup>49</sup> The colony of Pera or Galata acted, in peace and war, as an independent state; and, as it will happen in distant settlements, the Genoese podesta too often forgot that he was the servant of his own masters.

These usurpations were encouraged by the weakness of the elder Andronicus, and by the civil wars that afflicted his age and the minority of his grandson. The talents of Cantacuzene were employed to the ruin, rather than the restoration, of the empire; and after his domestic victory, he was condemned to an ignominious trial, whether the Greeks or the Genoese should reign in Constantinople. The merchants of Pera were offended by his refusal of some contiguous lands, some commanding heights, which they proposed to cover with new fortifications; and in the absence of the emperor, who was detained at Demotica by sickness, they ventured to brave the debility of a female reign. A Byzantine vessel, which had presumed to fish at the mouth of the harbour, was sunk by these audacious strangers; the fishermen were murdered. Instead of suing for pardon, the Genoese demanded satisfaction; required, in an haughty strain, that the Greeks should renounce the exercise of navigation; and encountered with regular arms the first sallies of the popular indignation. They instantly occupied the debatable land; and by the labour of a whole people, of either sex and of every age, the wall was raised, and the ditch was sunk, with incredible speed. At the same time, they attacked and burnt two Byzantine galleys; while the three others, the remainder of the Imperial navy,

escaped from their hands, the habitations without the gates, or along the shore, were pillaged and destroyed; and the care of the regent, of the empress Irene, was confined to the preservation of the city. The return of Cantacuzene dispelled the public consternation; the emperor inclined to peaceful counsels; but he yielded to the obstinacy of his enemies, who rejected all reasonable terms, and to the ardour of his subjects, who threatened, in the style of Scripture, to break them in pieces like a potter's vessel. Yet they reluctantly paid the taxes, that he imposed for the construction of ships, and the expenses of the war; and as the two nations were masters, the one of the land, the other of the sea, Constantinople and Pera were pressed by the evils of a mutual siege. The merchants of the colony, who had believed that a few days would terminate the war, already murmured at their losses; the succours from their mother-country were delayed by the factions of Genoa; and the most cautious embraced the opportunity of a Rhodian vessel to remove their families and effects from the scene of hostility.

In the spring, the Byzantine fleet, <sup>Destruction of his fleet A.D. 1349.</sup> seven galleys and a train of smaller vessels, issued from the mouth of the harbour, and steered in a single line along the shore of Pera; unskilfully presenting their sides to the beaks of the adverse squadron. The crews were composed of peasants and mechanics; nor was their ignorance compensated by the native courage of barbarians: the wind was strong, the waves were rough; and no sooner did the Greeks perceive a distant and inactive enemy, than they leaped headlong into the sea, from a doubtful, to an inevitable, peril. The troops that marched to the attack of the lines of Pera were struck at the same moment with a similar panic; and the Genoese were astonished, and almost ashamed, at their double victory. Their triumphant vessels, crowned with flowers, and dragging after them the captive galleys, repeatedly passed and repassed before the palace: the only virtue of the emperor was patience; and the hope of revenge his sole consolation. Yet the distress of both parties interposed a temporary agreement; and the shame of the empire was disguised by a thin veil of dignity and power. Summoning the chiefs of the colony, Cantacuzene affected to despise the trivial object of the debate; and, after a mild reproof most liberally granted the lands, which had been previously resigned to the seeming custody of his officers.<sup>50</sup>

But the emperor was soon solicited to violate the treaty, and to join his arms with the Venetians, the perpetual enemies of Genoa and her colonies. While he compared the reasons of peace and war, his moderation was provoked by a wanton insult of the inhabitants of Pera,

<sup>46</sup> Chardin (Voyages en Perse, tom. i. p. 48.) was assured at Caffa, that these fishes were sometimes twenty-four or twenty-six feet long, weighed eight or nine hundred pounds, and yielded three or four quintals of caviar. The corn of the Bosphorus had supplied the

hemis. . . . . tom. iii. p. 515, 514. Vinsge di . . . . . 16 land or water carriage could only united under a wise and powerful monarch.

<sup>48</sup> Nic. Gregoras (l. xiii. c. 12.) is judicious and well-informed on

the trade and colonies of the Black Sea. Chardin describes the present ruins of Caffa, where, in forty days, he saw above 400 sail employed in the corn and fish trade (Voyages en Perse, tom. i. p. 46-48.).

<sup>49</sup> See Nic. Gregoras, l. xvi. c. 1.

<sup>50</sup> The events of this war are related by Cantacuzene (l. iv. c. 11.) with obscurity and confusion, and by Nic. Gregoras (l. xvi. c. 1-7.) in a clear and honest narrative. The trust was less reasonable than the promise for the defeat of the fleet.

who discharged from their rampart a large stone that fell in the midst of Constantinople. On his just complaint, they coldly blamed the imprudence of their engineer; but the next day the insult was repeated, and they exulted in a second proof that the royal city was not beyond the reach of their artillery. Cantacuzene instantly signed his treaty with the Venetians; but the weight of the Roman empire was scarcely felt in the balance of these opulent and powerful republics.<sup>51</sup> From the Straits of Gibraltar to the mouth of the Tanais, their fleets encountered each other with various success; and a memorable battle was fought in the narrow sea, under the walls of Constantinople. It would not be an easy task to reconcile the accounts of the Greeks, the Venetians, and the Genoese;<sup>52</sup> and while I depend on the narrative of an impartial historian,<sup>53</sup> I shall borrow from each nation the facts that redound to their own disgrace, and the honour of their foes. The Venetians, with their allies the Catalans, had the advantage of number; and their fleet, with the poor addition of eight Byzantine galleys, amounted to seventy-five sail; the Genoese did not exceed sixty-four; but in those times their ships of war were distinguished by the superiority of their size and strength. The names and families of their naval commanders, Pisani, and Doria, are illustrious in the annals of their country; but the personal merit of the former was eclipsed by the fame and abilities of his rival. They engaged in tempestuous weather; and the tumultuary conflict was continued from the dawn to the extinction of light. The enemies of the Genoese applaud their prowess: the friends of the Venetians are dissatisfied with their behaviour; but all parties agree in praising the skill and boldness of the Catalans, who, with many wounds, sustained the brunt of the action. On the separation of the fleets, the event might appear doubtful; but the thirteen Genoese galleys, that had been sunk or taken, were compensated by a double loss of the allies; of fourteen Venetians, ten Catalans, and two Greeks; and even the grief of the conquerors expressed the assurance and habit of more decisive victories. Pisani confessed his defeat, by retiring into a fortified harbour, from whence, under the pretext of the orders of the senate, he steered with a broken and flying squadron for the Isle of Candia, and abandoned to his rivals the sovereignty of the sea. In a public epistle,<sup>54</sup> addressed to the doge and senate, Petrarca employs his eloquence to reconcile the maritime powers, the two luminaries of Italy. The orator celebrates the valour and victory of the Genoese, the first of men in the exercise of naval war: he drops a tear on the misfortunes of their Venetian brethren; but he exhorts them to pursue with fire and sword the base and perfidious Greeks; to purge the metropolis of the East from the heresy with

which it was infected. Deserted by their friends, the Greeks were incapable of resistance; and three months after the battle, the emperor Cantacuzene solicited and subscribed a treaty, which forever banished the Venetians and Catalans, and granted to the Genoese a monopoly of trade, and almost a right of dominion. The Roman empire (I smile in transcribing the name) might soon have sunk into a province of Genoa, if the ambition of the republic had not been checked by the ruin of her freedom and naval power. A long contest of one hundred and thirty years was determined by the triumph of Venice; and the factions of the Genoese compelled them to seek for domestic peace under the protection of a foreign lord, the duke of Milan, or the French king. Yet the spirit of commerce survived that of conquest; and the colony of Pera still awed the capital and navigated the Euxine, till it was involved by the Turks in the final servitude of Constantinople itself.

## CHAP. LXIV.

*Conquests of Zingis Khan and the Moguls from China to Poland. — Escape of Constantinople and the Greeks. — Origin of the Ottoman Turks in Bithynia. — Reigns and Victories of Othman, Orchan, Amurath the First, and Bajazet the First. — Foundation and Progress of the Turkish Monarchy in Asia and Europe. — Danger of Constantinople and the Greek Empire.*

FROM the petty quarrels of a city and her suburbs, from the cowardice and discord of the falling Greeks, I shall now ascend to the victorious Turks; whose domestic slavery was ennobled by martial discipline, religious enthusiasm, and the energy of the national character. The rise and progress of the Ottomans, the present sovereigns of Constantinople, are connected with the most important scenes of modern history; but they are founded on a previous knowledge of the great eruption of the Moguls and Tartars; whose rapid conquests may be compared with the primitive convulsions of nature, which have agitated and altered the surface of the globe. I have long since asserted my claim to introduce the nations, the immediate or remote authors of the fall of the Roman empire; nor can I refuse myself to those events, which, from their uncommon magnitude, will interest a philosophic mind in the history of blood.<sup>1</sup>

From the spacious highlands between China, Sileria, and the Caspian Sea, the tide of emigration and war has repeatedly been poured. These ancient seats of the Huns and Turks were occupied in the twelfth century by many pastoral

Their treaty  
with the  
emperor.  
May 6.

Zingis Khan,  
first emperor  
of the Moguls  
and Tartars.  
A. D. 1206  
— 1227.

51. This second war is darkly told by Cantacuzene (l. vi. c. 18. p. 24, 25. c. 73.), who wishes to disguise what he is so desirous to represent this sort of Nicæa, Georgias, which is still in MS. at Paris.

52. Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. c. 114.) refers to the most ancient Chronicles of Venice (Cronica, the continuation of Ambrase Padoanus, tom. vi. p. 121, 122.) and Genoa (Cronica, the continuation of Ambrase Padoanus, tom. vi. p. 121, 122.) both which I have diligently consulted in his great Collection of the Histories of Italy.

53. See the Chronicle of Matteo Villani of Florence, l. vi. c. 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, in Muratori's Collection, tom. xiv.

54. The Abbé de Sade's Mémoires sur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. ii. p. 257, 258, represents this letter which he has copied from a MS. in the library of the Duke of Milan. Petrarque speaks with his astonishment and grief at the defeat and despair of the first emperor of the Mongols (p. 257, 258).

1. The reader is invited to review chapters xxvi, xxvii, and xxviii; the numbers of pastoral nomads, the conquests of Attila, and the Huns, which were compared at a time when I entertained the wish, rather than the hope, of concluding my history.







reduction of Otrar, Cogende, Bochara, Samarcand, Carizme, Herat, Merou, Nisabour, Balch, and Candahar; and the conquest of the rich and populous countries of Transoxiana, Carizme, and Chorasán. The destructive hostilities of Attila and the Huns have long since been elucidated by the example of Zingis and the Moguls; and in this more proper place I shall be content to observe, that, from the Caspian to the Indus, they ruined a tract of many hundred miles, which was adorned with the habitations and labours of mankind, and that five centuries have not been sufficient to repair the ravages of four years. The Mogul emperor encouraged or indulged the fury of his troops; the hope of future possession was lost in the ardour of rapine and slaughter; and the cause of the war exasperated their native fierceness by the pretence of justice and revenge. The downfall and death of the sultan Moliammed, who expired unpitied and alone, in a desert island of the Caspian Sea, is a poor atonement for the calamities of which he was the author. Could the Carizmian empire have been saved by a single hero, it would have been saved by his son Gelaiddin, whose active valour repeatedly checked the Moguls in the career of victory. Retreating, as he fought, to the banks of the Indus, he was oppressed by their innumerable host, till, in the last moment of despair, Gelaiddin spurred his horse into the waves, swam one of the broadest and most rapid rivers of Asia, and extorted the admiration and applause of Zingis himself. It was in this camp that the Mogul conqueror yielded with reluctance to the murmurs of his weary and wealthy troops, who sighed for the enjoyment of their native land. Incumbered with the spoils of Asia, he slowly measured back his footsteps, betrayed some pity for the misery of the vanquished, and declared his intention of rebuilding the cities which had been swept away by the tempest of his arms. After he had repassed the Oxus and Jaxartes, he was joined by two generals, whom he had detached with thirty thousand horse, to subdue the western provinces of Persia. They had trampled on the nations which opposed their passage, penetrated through the gates of Derbend, traversed the Volga and the desert, and accomplished the circuit of the Caspian Sea, by an expedition which had never been attempted, and has never been repeated. The return of Zingis was signalled by the overthrow of the rebellious or independent kingdoms of Tartary; and he died in the fulness of years and

glory, with his last breath exhorting and instructing his sons to achieve the conquest of the Chinese empire.

His death.  
A.D. 1227.

On the death of the Mogul ruler the six coasts of Zingis.

The harem of Zingis was composed of five hundred wives and concubines; and of his numerous

progeny, four sons, illustrious by their birth and merit, exercised under their father the principal offices of peace and war. Toudi was his great huntsman, Zagatai<sup>21</sup> his judge, Oetui his minister, and Tuli his general; and their names and actions are often conspicuous in the history of his conquests. Firmly united for their own and the public interest, the three brothers and their families were content with dependent sceptres; and Oetui, by general consent, was proclaimed great khan, or emperor of the Moguls and Tartars. He was succeeded by his son Gayuk, after whose death the empire devolved to his cousins Mangou and Cublai, the sons of Tuli, and the grandsons of Zingis. In the sixty-eight years of his four first successors, the Mogul subdued almost all Asia, and a large portion of Europe. Without confining myself to the order of time, without expatiating on the detail of events, I shall present a general picture of the progress of their arms; I. In the East; II. In the South; III. In the West; and IV. In the North.

I. Before the invasion of Zingis, Of the northern China was divided into two empires of the North and South;<sup>22</sup> and the difference of origin and interest was smoothed by a general conformity of laws, language, and national manners. The Northern empire, which had been dismembered by Zingis, was finally subdued seven years after his death. After the loss of Peking, the emperor had fixed his residence at Kaifong, a city many leagues in circumference, and which contained, according to the Chinese annals, fourteen hundred thousand families of inhabitants and fugitives. He escaped from thence with only seven horsemen, and made his last stand in a third capital, till at length the hopeless monarch, protesting his innocence and accusing his fortune, ascended a funeral pile, and gave orders, that, as soon as he had stabbed himself, the fire should be kindled by his attendants. The dynasty of the Song, the native and ancient sovereigns of the whole empire, survived about forty-five years the fall of the Northern usurpers; and the perfect conquest was reserved for the arms of Cublai. During this interval, the Moguls were often diverted by foreign wars; and, if the Chinese seldom dared to meet their victors in the field, their passive courage presented an endless succession of cities to storm and of millions to slaughter. In the attack and defence of places, the engines of antiquity and the Greek fire were alternately employed: the use of gunpowder in cannon and bombs appears as a familiar practice;<sup>23</sup> and the sieges were conducted by the Mahometans and Franks, who had been liberally invited into the service of Cublai. After passing the great river, the troops and artillery were conveyed along a series

<sup>21</sup> Zagatai gave his name to his dominions of Maurendahar, or Transoxiana; and the Moguls of Hindostan, who migrated from that country, are styled Zagatai by the Persians. Thus, or an etymology, and the singular example of Uzbek, Nogai, &c. may warn us not absolutely to reject the derivations of a national, from a personal, name.

<sup>22</sup> In Marco Polo, and the Oriental geographers, the names of Cuhay and Manga distinguish the northern and southern empires, were those of the great khan, and, after China had been found, of the sixteenth century, in their

<sup>23</sup> I depend on the knowledge and history of the Pare Gaudai, who

of canals, till they invested the royal residence of Hamcheu, or Quinsay, in the country of silk, the most delicious climate of China. The emperor, a defenceless youth, surrendered his person and sceptre; and before he was sent in exile into Tartary, he struck nine times the ground with his forehead, to adore in prayer or thanksgiving the mercy of the great khan.

Of the southern. A. D. 1279. Yet the war (it was now styled a rebellion) was still maintained in the

southern provinces from Hamcheu to Canton; and the obstinate remnant of independence and hostility was transported from the land to the sea. But when the fleet of the *Song* was surrounded and oppressed by a superior armament, their last champion leaped into the waves with his infant emperor in his arms. "It is more glorious," he cried, "to die a prince, than to live a slave." An hundred thousand Chinese imitated his example; and the whole empire from Tonkin to the great wall submitted to the dominion of Cublai. His boundless ambition aspired to the conquest of Japan: his fleet was twice shipwrecked; and the lives of an hundred thousand Moguls and Chinese were sacrificed in the fruitless expedition. But the circumjacent kingdoms, Corea, Tonkin, Cochin-China, Pegu, Bengal, and Thibet, were reduced in different degrees of tribute and obedience by the effort or terror of his arms. He explored the Indian Ocean with a fleet of a thousand ships: they sailed in sixty-eight days, most probably to the isle of Borneo, under the equinoctial line; and though they returned not without spoil or glory, the emperor was dissatisfied that the savage king had escaped from their hands.

Of Persia and the empire of the caliphs. A. D. 1258. II. The conquest of Hindostan by the Moguls was reserved in a later period for the house of Timour; but that of Iran, or Persia, was achieved by Holagou Khan, the grandson of Zingis, the brother and lieutenant of the two successive emperors, Mangou and Cublai. I shall not enumerate the crowd of sultans, emirs, and atabeks, whom he trampled into dust: but the extirpation of the *Assassins*, or *Ismaelians*<sup>24</sup> of Persia, may be considered as a service to mankind. Among the hills to the south of the Caspian, these odious sectaries had reigned with impunity above an hundred and sixty years; and their prince, or Imam, established his lieutenant to lead and govern the colony of Mount Libanus, so famous and formidable in the history of the crusades<sup>25</sup>. With the fanaticism of the Koran the *Ismaelians* had blended the Indian transmigration, and the visions of their own prophets; and it was their first duty to devote their souls and bodies in blind obedience to the vicar of God. The daggers of his missionaries were felt both in the East and West: the Christians and the Moslems enumerate, and perhaps multiply, the illustrious victims that were sacrificed to the zeal, avarice, or resentment of the *old man* (as he was corruptly styled) of the mountain-

But these daggers, his only arms, were broken by the sword of Holagou, and not a vestige is left of the enemies of mankind, except the word *assassin*, which, in the most odious sense, has been adopted in the languages of Europe. The extinction of the *Abbasides* cannot be indifferent to the spectators of their greatness and decline. Since the fall of their Seljukian tyrants, the caliphs had recovered their lawful dominion of Bagdad and the Arabian Irak; but the city was distracted by theological factions, and the commander of the faithful was lost in a haram of seven hundred concubines. The invasion of the Moguls he encountered with feeble arms and haughty embassies. "On the divine decree," said the caliph Mostasem, "is founded the throne of the sons of Abbas; and their foes shall surely be destroyed in this world and in the next. Who is this Holagou that dares to arise against them? If he be desirous of peace, let him instantly depart from the sacred territory; and perhaps he may obtain from our clemency the pardon of his fault." This presumption was cherished by a perfidious vizir, who assured his master, that, even if the barbarians had entered the city, the women and children, from the terraces, would be sufficient to overwhelm them with stones. But when Holagou touched the phantom, it instantly vanished into smoke. After a siege of two months, Bagdad was stormed and sacked by the Moguls: and their savage commander pronounced the death of the caliph Mostasem, the last of the temporal successors of Maïomet; whose noble kinsmen, of the race of Abbas, had reigned in Asia above five hundred years. Whatever might be the designs of the conqueror, the holy cities of Mecca and Medina<sup>26</sup> were protected by the Arabian desert; but the Moguls spread beyond the Tigris and Euphrates, pillaged Aleppo and Damascus, and threatened to join the Franks in the deliverance of Jerusalem. Egypt was lost, had she been defended only by her feeble offspring: but the Mamalukes had breathed in their infancy the keenness of a Scythian air, equal in valour, superior in discipline, they met the Moguls in many a well-fought field; and drove back the stream of hostility to the eastward of the Euphrates. But it overflowed with resistless violence the kingdoms of Armenia and Anatolia, of which the former of Armenia. was possessed by the Christians, A. D. 1012-1272, and the latter by the Turks. The sultans of Iconium opposed some resistance to the Mogul arms, till Azzadin sought a refuge among the Greeks of Constantinople, and his feeble successors, the last of the Seljukian dynasty, were finally extirpated by the khans of Persia.

III. No sooner had Octai subverted the northern empire of China, Of Kozak, Russia, Persia, Hungary, &c. than he resolved to visit with his arms the most remote countries of the West. Fifteen hundred thousand Moguls

<sup>24</sup> Ali that can be known of the Assassins of Persia and Syria, were poured from the country, and even profane, erudition of M. Falconet, in two *memoires* read before the Academy of Inscriptions (tom. xvi. p. 127-170.)

<sup>25</sup> The *Ismaelians* of Syria, 10,000 *Assassins*, had attacked at

founded ten castles in the hills above Tortosa. About the year 1270, they were extirpated by the Mamalukes.

<sup>26</sup> As a proof of the ignorance of the Chinese in foreign travels, I must observe, that some of their historians, and the Chinese of Fuzigai (a name for Medina, the country of Maïomet) (tom. x. p. 12.)

and Tartars were inscribed on the military roll: of these the great khan selected a third, which he intrusted to the command of his nephew Batou, the son of Tuli, who reigned over his father's conquests to the north of the Caspian Sea. After a festival of forty days, Batou set forward on this great expedition; and such was the speed and ardour of his innumerable squadrons, than in less than six years they had measured a line of ninety degrees of longitude, a fourth part of the circumference of the globe. The great rivers of Asia and Europe, the Volga and Kama, the Don and Borysthènes, the Vistula and Danube, they either swam with their horses, or passed on the ice, or traversed in leathern boats, which followed the camp, and transported their wagons and artillery. By the first victories of Batou, the remains of national freedom were eradicated in the immense plains of Turkestan and Kipzac.<sup>27</sup> In his rapid progress, he overran the kingdoms, as they are now styled, of Astracan and Cazan; and the troops which he detached towards Mount Caucasus, explored the most secret recesses of Georgia and Circassia. The civil discord of the great dukes, or princes, of Russia, betrayed their country to the Tartars. They spread from Livonia to the Black Sea, and both Moscow and Kiow, the modern and the ancient capitals, were reduced to ashes; a temporary ruin, less fatal than the deep, and perhaps indelible, mark, which a servitude of two hundred years has imprinted on the character of the Russians. The Tartars ravaged with equal fury the countries which they hoped to possess, and those which they were hastening to leave. From the permanent conquest of Russia, they made a deadly, though transient, inroad into the heart of Poland, and as far as the borders of Germany. The cities of Lublin and Cracow were obliterated: they approached the shores of the Baltic; and in the battle of Lignitz, they defeated the dukes of Silesia, the Polish palatines, and the great master of the Teutonic order, and filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain. From Lignitz, the extreme point of their western march, they turned aside to the invasion of Hungary; and the presence or spirit of Batou inspired the host of five hundred thousand men: the Carpathian hills could not be long impervious to their divided columns; and their approach had been fondly disbelieved till it was irresistibly felt. The king, Bela the Fourth, assembled the military force of his counts and bishops; but he had alienated the nation by adopting a vagrant horde of forty thousand families of Comans, and these savage guests were provoked to revolt by the suspicion of treachery and the murder of their prince. The whole country north of the Danube was lost in a day, and depopulated in a summer; and the ruins of cities and churches were overspread with the bones of the natives, who expiated the sins of their Turkish ancestors.

An ecclesiastic, who fled from the sack of Waradin, describes the calamities which he had seen, or suffered; and the sanguinary rage of sieges and battles is far less atrocious than the treatment of the fugitives, who had been allured from the woods under a promise of peace and pardon, and who were coolly slaughtered as soon as they had performed the labours of the harvest and vintage. In the winter, the Tartars passed the Danube on the ice, and advanced to Gran or Strigonium, a German colony, and the metropolis of the kingdom. Thirty engines were planted against the walls; the ditches were filled with sacks of earth and dead bodies; and after a promiscuous massacre, three hundred noble matrons were slain in the presence of the khan. Of all the cities and fortresses of Hungary, three alone survived the Tartar invasion, and the unfortunate Bela hid his head among the islands of the Adriatic.

The Latin world was darkened by this cloud of savage hostility: a Russian fugitive carried the alarm to Sweden; and the remote nations of the Baltic and the ocean trembled at the approach of the Tartars,<sup>28</sup> whom their fear and ignorance were inclined to separate from the human species. Since the invasion of the Arabs in the eighth century, Europe had never been exposed to a similar calamity; and if the disciples of Mahomet would have oppressed her religion and liberty, it might be apprehended that the shepherds of Scythia would extinguish her cities, her arts, and all the institutions of civil society. The Roman pontiff attempted to appease and convert these invincible Pagans by a mission of Franciscan and Dominican friars; but he was astonished by the reply of the khan, that the sons of God and of Zingis were invested with a divine power to subdue or extirpate the nations; and that the pope would be involved in the universal destruction, unless he visited in person, and as a suppliant, the royal horde. The emperor Frederic the Second embraced a more generous mode of defence; and his letters to the kings of France and England, and the princes of Germany, represented the common danger, and urged them to arm their vassals in this just and rational crusade.<sup>29</sup> The Tartars themselves were awed by the fame and valour of the Franks: the town of Neustadt in Austria was bravely defended against them by fifty knights and twenty crossbows; and they raised the siege on the appearance of a German army. After wasting the adjacent kingdoms of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, Batou slowly retreated from the Danube to the Volga to enjoy the rewards of victory in the city and palace of Serai, which started at his command from the midst of the desert.

IV. Even the poor and frozen regions of the North attracted the arms of the Moguls: Sheibani

Of Siberia.

A. D. 1212.

See.

<sup>27</sup> The *Dniele Kipzack*, or plain of Kipzak, extends on either side of the Volga, in a boundless spine towards the Juk and Borysthènes, and is supposed to contain the primitive name and nation of the Cossacks.

<sup>28</sup> In the year 1253, the inhabitants of Gothia (Sweden) and Frise were prevented, by their fear of the Tartars, from sending, as usual, their ships to the herring-fishery on the coast of England, and as there was no exportation, forty or fifty of these fish were sold for a shilling (Matthew Paris, p. 790). It is whimsical enough, that the orders of a Mogul khan, who reigned on the borders of China, should have lowered the price of herrings in the English market.

<sup>29</sup> I shall copy his characteristic or flattening epithets of the different countries of Europe. *Furens ac terrens ad arma Germani, strepens militum gentrix et alumna Franca, bellicosa et audax Hispania, &c.*



and the khans of Iran or Persia. By their distance and power these royal lieutenants had soon been released from the duties of obedience; and after the death of Cbluai, they scorned to accept a sceptre or a title from his unworthy successors. According to their respective situation, they maintained the simplicity of the pastoral life, or assumed the luxury of the cities of Asia; but the princes and their hordes were alike disposed for the reception of a foreign worship. After some hesitation between the Gospel and the Koran, they conformed to the religion of Mahomet; and while they adopted for their brethren the Arabs and Persians, they renounced all intercourse with the ancient Moguls, the idolaters of China.

In this shipwreck of nations, some surprise may be excited by the escape of the Roman empire, whose relics, at the time of the Mogul invasion, were dismembered by the Greeks and Latins. Less potent than Alexander, they were pressed, like the Macedonian, both in Europe and Asia, by the shepherds of Scythia; and had the Tartars undertaken the siege, Constantinople must have yielded to the fate of Pekin, Samareand, and Bagdad. The glorious and voluntary retreat of Batou from the Danube was insulted by the vain triumph of the Franks and Greeks;<sup>34</sup> and in a second expedition, death surprised him in full march to attack the capital of the Cæsars. His brother Borgia carried the Tartar arms into Bulgaria and Thrace; but he was diverted from the Byzantine war by a visit to Novogorod, in the fifty-seventh degree of latitude, where he numbered the inhabitants and regulated the tributes of Russia. The Mogul khan formed an alliance with the Mamalukes against his brethren of Persia: three hundred thousand horse penetrated through the gates of Derbend; and the Greeks might rejoice in the first example of domestic war. After the recovery of Constantinople, Michael Paleologus,<sup>35</sup> at a distance from his court and army, was surprised and surrounded, in a Thracian castle, by twenty thousand Tartars. But the object of their march was a private interest: they came to the deliverance of Azzadin, the Turkish sultan; and were content with his person and the treasure of the emperor. Their general Noga, whose name is perpetuated in the hordes of Astracan, raised a formidable rebellion against Menzo Timour, the third of the khans of Kipzak; obtained in marriage Maria the natural daughter of Paleologus; and guarded the dominions of his friend and father. The subsequent invasions of a Scythian cast were those of outlaws and fugitives: and some thousands of Alani and Comans, who had been driven from their native seats, were reclaimed from a vagrant life, and enlisted in the service of

Escape of Constantinople and the Greek empire from the Moguls. A.D. 1210-1304.

the empire. Such was the influence in Europe of the invasion of the Moguls. The first terror of their arms secured, rather than disturbed, the peace of the Roman Asia. The sultan of Iconium solicited a personal interview with John Vataces; and his artful policy encouraged the Turks to defend their barrier against the common enemy.<sup>36</sup> That barrier indeed was soon overthrown; and the servitude and ruin of the Seljukians exposed the nakedness of the Greeks. The formidable Holagou threatened to march to Constantinople at the head of four hundred thousand men; and the groundless panic of the citizens of Nice will present an image of the terror which he had inspired. The accident of a procession, and the sound of a doleful litany, "From the fury of the Tartars, good Lord, deliver us!" had scattered the hasty report of an assault and massacre. In the blind credulity of fear, the streets of Nice were crowded with thousands of both sexes, who knew not from what or to whom they fled; and some hours elapsed before the firmness of the military officers could relieve the city from this imaginary foe. But the ambition of Holagou and his successors was fortunately diverted by the conquest of Bagdad, and a long vicissitude of Syrian wars; their hostility to the Moslems inclined them to unite with the Greeks and Franks;<sup>37</sup> and their generosity or contempt had offered the kingdom of Anatolia as the reward of an Armenian vassal. The fragments of the Seljukian monarchy were disputed by the emirs who had occupied the cities or the mountains; but they all confessed the supremacy of the khans of Persia; and he often interposed his authority, and sometimes his arms, to check their depredations, and to preserve the peace and balance of his Turkish frontier. The death of Cazan,<sup>38</sup> one of the greatest and most accomplished princes of the house of Zingis, removed this salutary control; and the decline of the Moguls gave a free scope to the rise and progress of the Ottoman empire.<sup>39</sup>

After the retreat of Zingis, the sultan Gelaeddin of Carizme had returned from India to the possession and defence of his Persian kingdoms. In the space of eleven years, that hero fought in person fourteen battles; and such was his activity, that he led his cavalry in seventeen days from Teilis to Kerman, a march of a thousand miles. Yet he was oppressed by the jealousy of the Moslem princes, and the innumerable armies of the Moguls; and after his last defeat, Gelaeddin perished ignobly in the mountains of Kurdistan. His death dissolved a veteran and adventurous army, which included under the name of Carizmians or Corasmins many Turkman hordes, that had attached themselves to the

like-wise, the Armenian prince, celebrates their friendship for himself and his nation.

Character of Cazan Khan, the rival and conqueror of Gengis Khan. In the conclusion of his history the arrival of 30,000 Tartars or successors of Cazan to restrain the

The origin of the Ottoman dynasty is illustrated by the critical learning of M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. IV. p. 323-337) and d'Anville (Empire Turc, p. 11-22), two inhabitants of Paris, from whom the Orientals may learn the history and geography of their own country.

<sup>34</sup> Some repulse of the Moguls in Hungary (Matthew Paris, p. 545, 546) might perhaps be the consequence of the union and victory of the kings of the Franks on the confines of Bulgaria. Avelaractus (Ibnat. p. 310) after forty years, beyond the Euphrates, might be easily deceived.

<sup>35</sup> See Pachymer, l. iii. c. 25, and l. ix. c. 26, 27, and the false alarm at Nice, l. iii. c. 27. Nicephorus Gregoras, l. ix. c. 6.

<sup>36</sup> G. Acropolita, p. 36, 37. Nic. Greg. l. iii. c. 6, l. iv. c. 5.

<sup>37</sup> Avelaractus, who wrote in the year 1265, declares, that the Moguls, since the fabulous defeat of Batou, had not attacked either the Franks or Greeks, and of this he is a competent witness. Hayton,

Decline of the Mogul khans of Persia. A.D. 1201, May 31.

Origin of the Ottomans. A.D. 1240, &c.

sultan's fortune. The bolder and more powerful chiefs invaded Syria, and violated the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem: the more humble engaged in the service of Aladin, sultan of Iconium; and among these were the obscure fathers of the Ottoman line. They had formerly pitched their tents near the southern banks of the Oxus, in the plains of Mahan and Nesa; and it is somewhat remarkable, that the same spot should have produced the first authors of the Parthian and Turkish empires. At the head, or in the rear, of a Carizmian army, Soliman Shah was drowned in the passage of the Euphrates: his son Ortothogrul became the soldier and subject of Aladin, and established at Surgut, on the banks of the Sangar, a camp of four hundred families or tents, whom he governed fifty-two years both in peace

Reuen of  
Othman  
A.D. 1299  
—1326.

and war. He was the father of Thaman, or Athman, whose Turkish name has been melted into the appellation of the caliph Othman; and if we describe that pastoral chief as a shepherd and a robber, we must separate from those characters all idea of ignominy and baseness. Othman possessed, and perhaps surpassed, the ordinary virtues of a soldier; and the circumstances of time and place were propitious to his independence and success. The Seljukian dynasty was no more; and the distance and decline of the Mogul khans soon enfranchised him from the control of a superior. He was situate on the verge of the Greek empire: the Koran sanctified his *gazi*, or holy war, against the infidels; and their political errors unlocked the passes of Mount Olympus, and invited him to descend into the plains of Bithynia. Till the reign of Palæologus, these passes had been vigilantly guarded by the militia of the country, who were repaid by their own safety and an exemption from taxes. The emperor abolished their privilege and assumed their office; but the tribute was rigorously collected, the custody of the passes was neglected, and the hardy mountaineers degenerated into a trembling crowd of peasants without spirit or discipline. It was on the twenty-seventh of July, in the year twelve hundred and ninety-nine of the Christian era, that Othman first invaded the territory of Nicomedia;<sup>40</sup> and the singular accuracy of the date seems to disclose some foresight of the rapid and destructive growth of the monster. The annals of the twenty-seven years of his reign would exhibit a repetition of the same incidents; and his hereditary troops were multiplied in each campaign by the accession of captives and volunteers. Instead of retreating to the hills, he maintained the most useful and defensible posts; fortified the towns and castles which he had first pillaged; and renounced the pastoral life for the baths and

palaces of his infant capitals. But it was not till Othman was oppressed by age and infirmities, that he received the welcome news of the conquest of Prusa, which had been surrendered by famine or treachery to the arms of his son Othman. The glory of Othman is chiefly founded on that of his descendants; but the Turks have transcribed or composed a royal testament of his last counsels of justice and moderation.<sup>41</sup>

From the conquest of Prusa, we may date the true era of the Ottoman empire. The lives and possessions of the Christian subjects were redeemed by a tribute or ransom of thirty thousand crowns of gold ; and the city, by the labours of Orchan, assumed the aspect of a Mahometan capital ; Prusa was decorated with a mosch, a college, and an hospital, of royal foundation ; the Seljukian coin was changed for the name and impression of the new dynasty ; and the most skilful professors, of human and divine knowledge, attracted the Persian and Arabian students from the ancient schools of Oriental learning. The office of vizir was instituted for Aladin, the brother of Orchan ; and a different habit distinguished the citizens from the peasants, the Moslems from the infidels. All the troops of Othman had consisted of loose squadrons of Turkman cavalry ; who served without pay and fought without discipline ; but a regular body of infantry was first established and trained by the prudence of his son. A great number of volunteers was enrolled with a small stipend, but with the permission of living at home, unless they were summoned to the field ; their rude manners, and seditious temper, disposed Orchan to educate his young captives as his soldiers and those of the prophet ; but the Turkish peasants were still allowed to mount on horse back, and follow his standard, with the appellation and the hopes of *freedomen*. By these arts he formed an army of twenty-five thousand Moslems ; a train of battering engines was framed for the use of sieges ; and the first successful experiment was made on the cities of Nice and Nicomedia. He conquest

Orchan granted a safe-conduct to all who were desirous of departing with their families and effects; but the widows of the slain were given in marriage to the conquerors; and the sacrilegious plunder, the books, the vases, and the images, were sold or ransomed at Constantinople. The emperor Andronicus the Younger was vanquished and wounded by the son of Othman <sup>12</sup> he subdued the whole province or Kingdom of Bithynia, as far as the shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont; and the Christians confessed the justice and clemency of a reign, which claimed the voluntary attachment of the Turks of Asia. Yet Orchan was

40 See Pachymer, l. x. c. 25, 26; l. xii. c. 33, 34, 36, and concerning the guard of the mountain, l. i. c. 3; Nicphorus Gregoras, l. vii. c. 1. and the 1st book of Leontius Chalcandyles, the

[illegible]

dedicated in the year 1660 to Sultan Mustafa, and a valuable argument of the original history. In the life of the Kingless, Dr. Johnson praises Kunitas, the General History of the Turks to the present Year, London, 1675, as the best of histories, and says, "it is in the nature of those country men, for a little water, thirteen hundred flocks of geese and hares, in other words, thirteen hundred flocks of gold and silver, to furnish the historians with intricate and philosophical sentences, though he relates the battle and heroic flight of the younger Andronicus, the flight of the Turkish despotism, and the fall of the city of Constantinople, and the manner in which the Turkish empire was first raised up, and afterwards enlarged, and at length dissolved by the Turkish despotism." The Turkish despotism, as a new element of the Turkish despotism.



recommended another ally of his own nation ; not more sincere or zealous than himself, but more able to afford a prompt and powerful succour, by his situation along the Propontis and in the front of Constantinople. By the prospect

Marriage of  
Orchan with a  
Greek princess.  
A. D. 1516.

Marriage of Orchan with a more advantageous treaty,  
the Turkish prince of Bithynia was  
A. D. 1516. detached from his engagements  
with Anne of Savoy; and the pride of Orchan  
dictated the most solemn protestations, that if  
he could obtain the daughter of Cantacuzene,  
he would invariably fulfil the duties of a subject  
and a son. Parental tenderness was silenced  
by the voice of ambition; the Greek clergy  
connived at the marriage of a Christian princess  
with a sectary of Mahomet; and the father of  
Theodora describes, with shameful satisfaction,  
the dishonour of the purple.<sup>49</sup> A body of  
Turkish cavalry attended the ambassadors, who  
disembarked from thirty vessels before his camp  
of Selybria. A stately pavilion was erected,  
in which the empress Irene passed the night  
with her daughters. In the morning, Theodora  
ascended a throne, which was surrounded with  
curtains of silk and gold: the troops were  
under arms; but the emperor alone was on  
horseback. At a signal the curtains were sud-  
denly withdrawn, to disclose the bride, or the  
victim, encircled by kneeling eunuchs and hy-  
meneal torches: the sound of flutes and trumpets  
proclaimed the joyful event; and her pretended  
happiness was the theme of the nuptial song,  
which was chanted by such poets as the age  
could produce. Without the rites of the church,  
Theodora was delivered to her barbarous lord;  
but it had been stipulated, that she should pre-  
serve her religion in the haram of Bursa; and  
her father celebrates her charity and devotion in  
this ambiguous situation. After his peaceful  
establishment on the throne of Constantinople,  
the Greek emperor visited his Turki ally, who  
with four sons, by various wives, expected him  
at Sentari, on the Asiatic shore. The two  
princes partook, with seeming cordiality, of the  
pleasures of the banquet and the chase; and  
Theodora was permitted to repass the Bos-  
phorus, and to enjoy some days in the society of  
her mother. But the friendship of Orchan was  
subservient to his religion and interest; and in  
the Genoese war he joined without a blush the  
enemies of Cantacuzene.

Establishment  
of the Ottomans  
in Europe.  
A.D. 1253.

In the treaty with the empress Anne, the Ottoman prince had inserted a singular condition, that it should be lawful for him to sell his prisoners at Constantinople, or transport them into Asia. A naked crowd of Christians of both sexes and every age, of priests and monks, of matrons and virgins, was exposed in the public market; the whip was frequently used to quicken the charity of redemption; and the indigent Greeks deplored the fate of their brethren, who were led away to the worst evils of temporal and spiritual

bondage.<sup>57</sup> Cantacuzene was reduced to subscribe the same terms; and their execution must have been still more pernicious to the empire: a body of ten thousand Turks had been detached to the assistance of the empress Anne; but the entire forces of Orchan were exerted in the service of his father. Yet these calamities were of a transient nature; as soon as the storm had passed away, the fugitives might return to their habitations; and at the conclusion of the civil and foreign wars, Europe was completely evacuated by the Moslems of Asia. It was in his last quarrel with his pupil that Cantacuzene inflicted the deep and deadly wound, which could never be healed by his successors, and which is poorly expiated by his theological dialogues against the prophet Mahomet. Ignorant of their own history, the modern Turks confound their first and their final passage of the Hellespont,<sup>58</sup> and describe the son of Orchan as a nocturnal robber, who, with eighty companions, explores by stratagem an hostile and unknown shore. Soliman, at the head of ten thousand horse, was transported in the vessels, and entertained as the friend, of the Greek emperor. In the civil wars of Romania, he performed some service and perpetrated more mischief; but the Chersonesus was insensibly filled with a Turkish colony; and the Byzantine court solicited in vain the restitution of the fortresses of Thrace. After some artful delays between the Ottoman prince and his son, their ransom was valued at sixty thousand crowns, and the first payment had been made, when an earthquake shook the walls and cities of the provinces; the dismantled places were occupied by the Turks; and Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont, was rebuilt and repeopled by the policy of Soliman. The abdication of Cantacuzene dissolved the feeble bands of domestic alliance; and his last advice admonished his countrymen to decline a rash contest, and to compare their own weakness with the numbers and valour, the discipline and enthusiasm, of the Moslems. His prudent counsels were despised by the headstrong vanity of youth, and soon justified by the victories of the Ottomans. But as he practised in the field the exercise of the *jerid*, Soliman was killed by a fall from his horse; and the aged Orchan wept and expired on the tomb of his valiant son.

Death of Orchan and his son Soliman.

Death of Or-  
chan and his  
son Soliman.

But the Greeks had not time to rejoice in the death of their enemies; and the Turkish cimeter was wielded with the same spirit by Amorath the First, the son of Orchan, and the brother of Sohman. By the pale and fainting light of the Byzantine annals,<sup>2d</sup> we can discern, that he subdued without resistance the whole province of Romania or Thrace, from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus, and the verge of the capital; and that Adrianople was

The reign and  
European con-  
quests of  
Anurath I.  
A. D. 1700-1789,  
Sept.

49 See Cantacuzene, I, no. c. 9. Nicephorus Gregoras, who, for the light of Mount Thabor, brands the emperor with the names of tyrant and Herod, excuses, rather than blames, this Turkish marriage, and alleges the passion and power of Orhan, *οὐρανός, αἰνέουσι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὅν τι Περίουτος* [Turkish] *ἡγεμονία Σελτζούκ* (I, v. 5). He afterwards celebrates his kingdom and armies. See his reign in Cantacuz. v 24-50.

40) The most lively and concise picture of this captivity may be found in the history of Ducak (c. 8), who fairly describes what Caracene confuses with a guilty blush:

51 In the passage, and the first conquests in Europe, Cantemir (p. 27, A.) gives a marvellous detail of Turkish games, nor can I not better satisfied with the consideration p. 11, A. They forget to consult the manuscript's record, the 17th book of Cantemir's. I likewise regret the last books, which are still manuscript, of Nicéphore Grecus.

12. After the conclusion of art, nature and Gregor's, there followed a dark interval of mutual recriminations. George Bernard Shaw, Marcel Proust, and Thomas Mann, all three wrote after the taking of Constantinople.



chosen for the royal seat of his government and religion in Europe. Constantinople, whose decline is almost coeval with her foundation, had often, in the lapse of a thousand years, been assaulted by the barbarians of the East and West; but never till this fatal hour had the Greeks been surrounded, both in Asia and Europe, by the arms of the same hostile monarchy. Yet the prudence or generosity of Amurath postponed for a while this easy conquest; and his pride was satisfied with the frequent and humble attendance of the emperor John Palæologus and his four sons, who followed at his summons the court and camp of the Ottoman prince. He marched against the Slavonian nations between the Danube and the Adriatic, the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians; and these warlike tribes, who had so often insulted the majesty of the empire, were repeatedly broken by his destructive inroads. Their countries did not abound either in gold or silver; nor were their rustic hamlets and townships enriched by commerce, or decorated by the arts of luxury. But the natives of the soil have been distinguished in every age by their hardness of mind and body; and they were converted by a prudent institution into the firmest and most faithful supporters of the Ottoman greatness.<sup>53</sup> The vizir of Amurath reminded his sovereign that, according to the Mahometan law, he was entitled to a fifth part of the spoil and captives; and that the duty might easily be levied, if vigilant officers were stationed at Gallipoli, to watch the passage, and to select for his use the stoutest and most beautiful of the Christian youth. The advice was followed; the edict was proclaimed; many thousands of the European captives were educated in religion and arms; and the new militia was consecrated and named by a celebrated dervish. Standing in the front of their ranks, he stretched the sleeve of his gown over the head of the foremost soldier, and his blessing was delivered in these words. "Let them be

<sup>The Janizaries.</sup> "called Janizaries (*Yengi chern*, or "new soldiers"); may their countenance be ever bright! their hand victorious! "their sword keen! may their spear always "hang over the heads of their enemies" and "where-soever they go, may they return with a "white face!"<sup>54</sup> Such was the origin of these haughty troops, the terror of the nations, and sometimes of the sultans themselves. Their valour has declined, their discipline is relaxed, and their tumultuary array is incapable of contending with the order and weapons of modern tactics; but at the time of their institution, they possessed a decisive superiority in war; since a regular body of infantry, in constant exercise and pay, was not maintained by any of the princes of Christendom. The Janizaries fought with the zeal of proselytes against their idolatrous

countrymen; and in the battle of Cossova, the league and independence of the Slavonian tribes was finally crushed. As the conqueror walked over the field, he observed that the greatest part of the slain consisted of beardless youths; and listened to the flattering reply of his vizir, that age and wisdom would have taught them not to oppose his irresistible arms. But the sword of his Janizaries could not defend him from the dagger of despair; a Servian soldier started from the crowd of dead bodies, and Amurath was pierced in the belly with a mortal wound. The grandson of Othman was mild in his temper, modest in his apparel, and a lover of learning and virtue: but the Moslems were scandalised at his absence from public worship; and he was corrected by the firmness of the mufti, who dared to reject his testimony in a civil cause: a mixture of servitude and freedom not unfrequent in Oriental history.<sup>55</sup>

The character of Bajazet, the son and successor of Amurath, is strongly expressed in his surname <sup>The reign of Bajazet I. A.D. 1389—1403. March 9.</sup> *Ildeirin*, or the Lightning; and he might glory in an epithet, which was drawn from the fiery energy of his soul and the rapidity of his destructive march. In the fourteen years of his reign,<sup>56</sup> he incessantly moved at the head of his armies, from Boursa to Adrianople, from the Danube to the Euphrates; and, though he strenuously laboured for the propagation of the law, he invaded, with impartial ambition, the Christian and Mahometan princes of Europe and Asia. From Angora to Amasia <sup>His conquests from the Euphrates to the Danube.</sup> and Erzeroum, the northern regions of Anatolia were reduced to his obedience: he stripped of their hereditary possessions, his brother emirs of Ghermian and Caramania, of Aidin and Saraklian; and after the conquest of Iconium the ancient kingdom of the Seljukians again revived in the Ottoman dynasty. Nor were the conquests of Bajazet less rapid or important in Europe. No sooner had he imposed a regular form of servitude on the Servians and Bulgarians, than he passed the Danube to seek new enemies and new subjects in the heart of Moldavia.<sup>57</sup> Whatever yet adhered to the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, acknowledged a Turkish master: an obsequious bishop led him through the gates of Thermopylae into Greece; and we may observe, as a singular fact, that the widow of a Spanish chief, who possessed the ancient seat of the oracle of Delphi, deserved his favour by the sacrifice of a beauteous daughter. The Turkish communication between Europe and Asia had been dangerous and doubtful, till he stationed at Gallipoli a fleet of galleys, to command the Hellespont and intercept the Latin succours of Constantinople. While the monarch indulged his passions in a boundless range of injustice and cruelty, he imposed on his sol-

as it were, between two attendants, an ambassador's arms, when he is

erim Bayazet, is contained in Hydontides, and the *Amir* is lightning, is an example, that

the conquerors and poets of every age have felt the truth of a saying which denotes the sublime from the principle of terror.

<sup>57</sup> Cantemir, who celebrates the victories of Bajazet at Nicopolis, at the Balkan, &c. &c. has also mentioned the conquest of the principality of Moldavia, which has been long promised, and is still unpublished.

<sup>53</sup> See Cantemir, p. 57—41. with his own large and curious annotations.

<sup>54</sup> *White* and *black* face are common and proverbial expressions of

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riers the most rigid laws of modesty and abstinence; and the harvest was peaceably reaped and sold within the precincts of his camp. Provoked by the loose and corrupt administration of justice, he collected in a house the judges and lawyers of his dominions, who expected that in a few moments the fire would be kindled to reduce them to ashes. His ministers trembled in silence. But an Ethiopian bulloon presumed to insinuate the true cause of the evil; and future venality was left without excuse, by annexing an adequate salary to the office of cadi.<sup>55</sup> The humble title of emir was no longer suitable to the Ottoman greatness; and Bajazet condescended to accept a patent of sultan from the caliphs who served in Egypt under the yoke of the Mamalukes.<sup>56</sup> A last and frivolous homage that was yielded by force to opinion; by the Turkish conquerors to the house of Abbas and the successors of the Arabian prophet. The ambition of the sultan was inflamed by the obligation of deserving this august title, and he turned his arms against the kingdom of Hungary, the perpetual theatre of the Turkish victories and defeats. Sigismund, the Hungarian king, was the son and brother of the emperors of the West: his cause was that of Europe and the church; and, on the report of his danger, the bravest knights of France and Germany were eager to march under his standard and that of the cross. In the battle of Nicopolis, Bajazet defeated a confederate army of an hundred thousand Christians, who had proudly boasted, that if the sky should fall, they could uphold it on their lances. The far greater part were slain or driven into the Danube; and Sigismund, escaping to Constantinople by the river and the Black Sea, returned after a long circuit to his exalted kingdom.<sup>57</sup> In the pride of victory Bajazet threatened that he would besiege Buda; that he would subdue the adjacent countries of Germany and Italy; and that he would feed his horse with a bushel of oats on the altar of St. Peter at Rome. His progress was checked, not by the miraculous interposition of the apostle, not by a crusade of the Christian powers, but by a long and painful fit of the gout. The disorders of the moral, are sometimes corrected by those of the physical, world; and an acrimonious humour falling on a single fibre of one man, may prevent or suspend the misery of nations.

Such is the general idea of the Hungarian war; but the disastrous adventure of the French has procured us some numerials which illustrate the victory and character of Bajazet.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Le Beauve. *Annal. Turc.* p. 718, 719. The venality of the cadis, his long term of office, and the ease, and the trust the observations of our travellers, as may consult the feeling of the Turks themselves (D'Hierbelot, *Biblioth. orientale*, p. 217, 217, 220, 220).

<sup>56</sup> The fact, which is attested, by the Arabic history of Ben Schoua, *de l'Etat, de l'Empire, et de l'Empire* (p. 11, 11).

<sup>57</sup> He was born in 1392, and died in 1413. He was invited to Hungary to compose an eloquent history of that kingdom. Yet, if it is to be exact and useful, I should give the preference to some homely chronicler of the time and country.

<sup>61</sup> I should not complain of the labour of this work, if my materials were always derived from such books as the *Chronique de France* (vol. iv. p. 67, 68, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

The duke of Burgundy, sovereign of Flanders, and uncle of Charles the Sixth, yielded to the ardour of his son, John count of Nevers; and the fearless youth was accompanied by four princes, his cousins, and those of the French monarch. Their inexperience was guided by the Sire de Coucy, one of the best and oldest captains of Christendom;<sup>62</sup> but the constable, admiral, and marshal of France<sup>63</sup> commanded an army which did not exceed the number of a thousand knights and squires. These splendid names were the source of presumption and the bane of discipline. So many might aspire to command, that none were willing to obey; their national spirit despised both their enemies and their allies; and in the persuasion that Bajazet would fly, or must fall, they began to compute how soon they should visit Constantinople and deliver the holy sepulchre. When their scouts announced the approach of the Turks, the gay and thoughtless youths were at table, already heated with wine; they instantly clasped their armour, mounted their horses, rode full speed to the vanguard, and resented as an affront the advice of Sigismund, which would have deprived them of the right and honour of the foremost attack. The battle of Nicopolis would not have been lost, if the French would have obeyed the prudence of the Hungarians: but it might have been gloriously won, had the Hungarians imitated the valour of the French. They dispersed the first line, consisting of the troops of Asia, forced a rampart of stakes, which had been planted against the cavalry; broke, after a bloody conflict, the Janizaries themselves; and were at length overwhelmed by the numerous squadrons that issued from the woods, and charged on all sides this handful of intrepid warriors. In the speed and secrecy of his march, in the order and evolutions of the battle, his enemies felt and admired the military talents of Bajazet. They accuse his cruelty in the use of victory. After reserving the count of Nevers, and four and twenty lords, whose birth and riches were attested by his Latin interpreters, the remainder of the French captives, who had survived the slaughter of the day, were led before his throne; and, as they refused to abjure their faith, were successively beheaded in his presence. The sultan was exasperated by the loss of his bravest Janizaries; and if it be true, that, on the eve of the engagement, the French had massacred their Turkish prisoners,<sup>64</sup> they might impute to themselves the consequences of a just retaliation. A knight, whose life had been spared, was permitted to return to Paris, that he might relate the deplorable tale, and solicit the ransom of the noble captives. In

they are dry and desiccated, if compared with the pleasant humidity of France.

<sup>62</sup> An accurate Memoir on the Life of Enguerrand VII. Sire de Coucy, has been given by the Baron de Zurlauben. *Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xvi. His rank and possessions were equally considerable in France and England. And, in 1375, he led an army of adventures into Switzerland, to recover a large patrimony which he claimed in right of his grandmother, the daughter of the emperor Albert I. of Austria (Münner, *Voyage dans la Suisse Occidentale*, tom. i. p. 118, 119).

<sup>63</sup> That military office, so respectable at present, was still more contemptible when it was created between two provinces (Dumol, *Hist. de la Monarchie Française*, tom. i. p. 11). One of these, the marshal of France, was the title of Bonaparte, who, after he had defeated the army of Austria, and secured the coast of Asia, and died on the field of Austerlitz.

<sup>64</sup> The French Count de la Roche de Verre quotes an *Hist. Anecdote* of St. Denis, l. xiv. c. 10, li. *Œuvre de Maistre*, tom. i. p. 210.

the mean while, the count of Nevers, with the princes and barons of France, were dragged along in the marches of the Turkish camp, exposed as a grateful trophy to the Moslems of Europe and Asia, and strictly confined at Boursa, as often as Bajazet resided in his capital. The sultan was pressed each day to expiate with their blood the blood of his martyrs; but he had pronounced that they should live, and either for mercy or destruction his word was irrevocable. He was assured of their value and importance by the return of the messenger, and the gifts and intercessions of the kings of France and of Cyprus. Lusignan presented him with a gold salt-cellar of curious workmanship, and of the price of ten thousand ducats; and Charles the Sixth despatched by the way of Hungary a cast of Norwegian hawks, and six horse-loads of scarlet cloth, of fine linen of Rheims, and of Arras tapestry, representing the battles of the great Alexander. After much delay, the effect of distance rather than of art, Bajazet agreed to accept a ransom of two hundred thousand ducats for the count of Nevers and the surviving princes and barons: the marshal Boucicault, a famous warrior, was of the number of the fortunate; but the admiral of France had been slain in the battle; and the constable, with the Sire de Coucy, died in the prison of Boursa. This heavy demand, which was doubled by incidental costs, fell chiefly on the duke of Burgundy, or rather on his Flemish subjects, who were bound by the feudal laws to contribute for the knighthood and captivity of the eldest son of their lord. For the faithful discharge of the debt, some merchants of Genoa gave security to the amount of five times the sum; a lesson to those warlike times, that commerce and credit are the links of the society of nations. It had been stipulated in the treaty, that the French captives should swear never to bear arms against the person of their conqueror; but the ungenerous restraint was abolished by Bajazet himself. "I despise," said he to the heir of Burgundy, "thy oaths and thy arms. Thou art young, and mayest be ambitious of effacing the disgrace or misfortune of thy first chivalry. Assemble thy powers, proclaim thy design, and be assured that Bajazet will rejoice to meet thee a second time in a field of battle." Before their departure, they were indulged in the freedom and hospitality of the court of Boursa. The French princes admired the magnificence of the Ottoman, whose hunting and hawking equipage was composed of seven thousand huntsmen and seven thousand falconers.<sup>65</sup> In their presence, and at his command, the belly of one of his chamberlains was cut open, on a complaint against him for drinking the goat's milk of a poor woman. The strangers were astonished by this act of justice; but it was the justice of a sultan who disdains to balance the weight of evidence, or to measure the degrees of guilt.

After his enfranchisement from an oppressive guardian, John Palæologus remained thirty-six years, the helpless, and, as it should seem, the careless spectator of the public ruin.<sup>66</sup> Love, or rather lust, was his only vigorous passion; and in the embraces of the wives and virgins of the city, the Turkish slave forgot the dishonour of the emperor of the *Romans*. Andronicus, his eldest son, had formed, at Adrianople, an intimate and guilty friendship with Sauzes, the son of Amurath; and the two youths conspired against the authority and lives of their parents. The presence of Amurath in Europe soon discovered and dissipated their rash counsels; and, after depriving Sauzes of his sight, the Ottoman threatened his vassal with the treatment of an accomplice and an enemy, unless he inflicted a similar punishment on his own son. Palæologus trembled and obeyed; and a cruel precaution involved in the same sentence the childhood and innocence of John the son of the criminal. But the operation was so mildly, or so unskillfully, performed, that the one retained the sight of an eye, and the other was afflicted only with the infirmity of squinting. Thus excluded from the succession, the two princes were confined in the tower of Anema; and the piety of Manuel, the second son of the reigning monarch, was rewarded with the gift of the Imperial crown. But at the end of two years, the turbulence of the Latins and the levity of the Greeks produced a revolution; and the two emperors were buried in the tower from whence the two prisoners were exalted to the throne. Another period of two years afforded Palæologus and Manuel the means of escape: it was contrived by the magic, or subtlety, of a monk, who was alternately named the angel or the devil; they fled to Scutari; their adherents armed in their cause; and the two Byzantine factions displayed the ambition and animosity with which Cesar and Pompey had disputed the empire of the world. The Roman world was now contracted to a corner of Thrace, between the Propontis and the Black Sea, about fifty miles in length and thirty in breadth; a space of ground not more extensive than the lesser principalities of Germany or Italy, if the remains of Constantinople had not still represented the wealth and populousness of a kingdom. To restore the public peace, it was found necessary to divide this fragment of the empire; and while Palæologus and Manuel were left in possession of the capital, almost all that lay without the walls was ceded to the blind princes, who fixed their residence at Rhodosto and Selybria. In the tranquil slumber of royalty, the passions of John Palæologus survived his reason and his strength; he deprived his favourite and heir of a blooming princess of Trebizond; and while the feeble emperor laboured to consummate his nuptials, Manuel, with an hundred of the noblest Greeks,

The emperor John Palæologus  
A.D. 1355,  
Jan. 5—  
A.D. 1391.

Discord of the Greeks.

<sup>65</sup> Sherrefeldin Ali (Hist. de Timur Bec, l. v. c. 13.) allows Bajazet a part in the murder of his son. A part in the murder of his son.

as African lions (idem, l. vi. c. 15.). Bajazet was particularly fond of

from the red in

was sent on a peremptory summons to the Ottoman *porte*. They served with honour in the wars of Bajazet; but a plan of fortifying Constantinople excited his jealousy: he threatened their lives; the new works were instantly demolished; and we shall bestow a praise, perhaps above the merit of Palæologus, if we impute this last humiliation as the cause of his death.

The emperor Manuel A. D. 1201 1125, event was communicated to Manuel, who escaped with speed and secrecy from the palace of Boursa to the Byzantine throne. Bajazet affected a proud indifference at the loss of this valuable pledge; and while he pursued his conquests in Europe and Asia, left the emperor to struggle with his blind cousin John of Selybria, who, in eight years of civil war, asserted his right of primogeniture. At length the ambition of the victorious sultan pointed to the conquest of Constantinople; but he listened to the advice of his vizir, who represented, that such an enterprise might unite the powers of Christendom in a second and more formidable crusade. His epistle to the emperor

was conceived in these words: "By the divine clemency, our invincible cimeter has reduced to our obedience almost all Asia, with many and large countries in Europe, excepting only the city of Constantinople; for beyond the walls thou hast nothing left. Resign that city, stipulate thy reward; or tremble, for thyself and thy unhappy people, at the consequences of a rash refusal." But his ambassadors were instructed to soften their tone, and to propose a treaty, which was subscribed with submission and gratitude. A truce of ten years was purchased by an annual tribute of thirty thousand crowns of gold: the Greeks deplored the public toleration of the law of Mahomet, and Bajazet enjoyed the glory of establishing a Turkish cadli, and founding a royal mosque in the metropolis of the Eastern church.<sup>77</sup> Yet this truce was soon violated by the restless sultan: in the cause of the prince of Selybria, the lawful emperor, an army of Ottomans again threatened Constantinople; and the distress of Manuel implored the protection of the king of France. His plaintive embassy obtained much pity and some relief; and the conduct of the succour was intrusted to the marshal Boucicault;<sup>78</sup> whose religious chivalry was inflamed by the desire of revenging his captivity on the infidels. He sailed with four ships of war, from Aigues-mortes to the Hellespont; forced the passage, which was guarded by seventeen Turkish galleys; landed at Constantinople a supply of six hundred men at arms and sixteen hundred archers; and reviewed them in the adjacent plain, without condescending to number or array the multitude of Greeks. By his presence, the

blockade was raised both by sea and land ; the flying squadrons of Bajazet were driven to a more respectful distance ; and several castles in Europe and Asia were stormed by the emperor and the marshal, who fought with equal valour by each other's side. But the Ottomans soon returned with an increase of numbers ; and the intrepid Boucicault, after a year's struggle, resolved to evacuate a country, which could no longer afford either pay or provisions for his soldiers. The marshal offered to conduct Manuel to the French court, where he might solicit in person a supply of men and money ; and advised in the mean while, that, to extinguish all domestic discord, he should leave his blind competitor on the throne. The proposal was embraced the prince of Selybria was introduced to the capital ; and such was the public misery, that the lot of the exile seemed more fortunate than that of the sovereign. Instead of applauding the success of his vassal, the Turkish sultan claimed the city as his own ; and on the refusal of the emperor John, Constantinople was more closely pressed by the calamities of war and famine. Against such an enemy, prayers and resistance were alike unavailing ; and the savage would have devoured his prey, if, in the fatal moment, he had not been overthrown by another savage stronger than himself. By the victory of Timour or Tamerlane, the fall of Constantinople was delayed about fifty years ; and this important, though accidental, service may justly introduce the life and character of the Mogul conqueror.

CHAP. LXV.

*Elevation of Timour, or Tamerlane, to the Throne of Samarcand. — His Conquests in Persia, Georgia, Tartary, Russia, India, Syria, and Anatolia. — His Turkish War. — Defeat and Captivity of Bajazet. — Death of Timour. — Civil War of the Sons of Bajazet. — Restoration of the Turkish Monarchy by Mahomet the First. — Siege of Constantinople by Amurath the Second.*

THE conquest and monarchy of the world was the first object of the ambition of TIMOUR. To live in the memory and esteem of future ages, was the second wish of his magnanimous spirit. All the civil and military transactions of his reign were diligently recorded in the journals of his secretaries.<sup>1</sup> The authentic narrative was revised by the persons best informed of each particular transaction; and it is believed in the empire and family of Timour, that the monarch himself composed the *commentaries*<sup>2</sup> of his life, and the *institutions*<sup>3</sup> of his government.<sup>4</sup> But these

HISTORIES OF  
TIMOTHY, OR  
TURNERFAME.

67 Castemur, p. 50-53. Of the Greeks, Ducas alone (c. 17, 15) acknowledges the Turkish *cahıs* at Constantinople. Yet even Ducas dissembles the mosque

68 Mémoires du bon Messire Jean le Maingre, dit *Boucicaut*, Mar-  
chal de France, partie I<sup>re</sup>, c. 70. 71

1 These journals were communicated to Shereefuddin, or Cherefidin Alt, a native of Yezdi, who composed in the Persian language a history of Timour P. . . .

2 These Commentaries are written in French, but Mr. White gives some hope that they may be imported and translated by his friend Minor Dace, who is resident in the East of this "empire" and is thus in a position of an interesting and experienced person.

7 I am ignorant whether the original positioner, in the Turk  
 Man language, be still extant. I therefore cannot write a  
 translation, and most valuable index was put in the hands of the

the six other members of Major F. A. "Red" Weaver's patrol, the post-war. He was the first to be transported to the United States by French POWs (NVA) and Major Weaver was the first to be added to the list of "American" POWs. He was the first to be added to the list of "American" POWs. He was the first to be added to the list of "American" POWs.





the footsteps of man; and their daily subsistence was often trusted to the fortune of the chace. At length the armies encountered each other; but the treachery of the standard-bearer, who, in the heat of action, reversed the Imperial standard of Kipzak, determined the victory of the Zagatais; and Toctamish (I speak the language of the Institutions) gave the tribe of Touthi to the wind of desolation.<sup>18</sup> He fled to the Christian duke of Lithuania; again returned to the banks of the Volga; and, after fifteen battles with a domestic rival, at last perished in the wilds of Siberia. The pursuit of a flying enemy carried Timour into the tributary provinces of Russia: a duke of the reigning family was made prisoner amidst the ruins of his capital; and Yeletz, by the pride and ignorance of the Orientals, might easily be confounded with the genuine metropolis of the nation. Moscow trembled at the approach of the Tartar, and the resistance would have been feeble, since the hopes of the Russians were placed in a miraculous image of the Virgin, to whose protection they ascribed the casual and voluntary retreat of the conqueror. Ambition and prudence recalled him to the south, the desolate country was exhausted, and the Mogul soldiers were enriched with an immense spoil of precious furs, of linen of Antioch,<sup>19</sup> and of ingots of gold and silver.<sup>20</sup> On the banks of the Don, or Tanais, he received an humble deputation from the consuls and merchants of Egypt,<sup>21</sup> Venice, Genoa, Catalonia, and, Biscay, who occupied the commerce and city of Tana, or Azoph, at the mouth of the river. They offered their gifts, admired his magnificence, and trusted his royal word. But the peaceful visit of an emir, who explored the state of the magazines and harbour, was speedily followed by the destructive presence of the Tartars. The city was reduced to ashes; the Moslems were pillaged and dismissed; but all the Christians, who had not fled to their ships, were condemned either to death or slavery.<sup>22</sup> Revenge prompted him to burn the cities of Serai and Astrachan, the monuments of rising civilisation; and his vanity proclaimed, that he had penetrated to the region of perpetual daylight, a strange phenomenon, which authorised his Mahometan doctors to dispense with the obligation of evening prayer.<sup>23</sup>

III. Of Hindostan. A. D. 1398, 1399. III. When Timour first proposed to his princes and emirs the invasion of India or Hindostan,<sup>24</sup> he was answered by a murmur of discontent: "The rivers! and the mountains and deserts! and the soldiers clad in armour! and the elephants,

"destroyers of men!" But the displeasure of the emperor was more dreadful than all these terrors; and his superior reason was convinced, that an enterprise of such tremendous aspect was safe and easy in the execution. He was informed by his spies of the weakness and anarchy of Hindostan: the soubahs of the provinces had erected the standard of rebellion; and the perpetual infancy of sultan Mahmoud was despised even in the haram of Delhi. The Mogul army moved in three great divisions; and Timour observes with pleasure, that the ninety-two squadrons of a thousand horse most fortunately corresponded with the ninety-two names or epithets of the prophet Mahomet.

Between the Jihoon and the Indus they crossed one of the ridges of mountains, which are styled by the Arabian geographers The stony girdles of the earth. The highland robbers were subdued or extirpated; but great numbers of men and horses perished in the snow; the emperor himself was let down a precipice on a portable scaffold, the ropes were one hundred and fifty cubits in length; and, before he could reach the bottom, this dangerous operation was five times repeated. Timour crossed the Indus at the ordinary passage of Attok; and successively traversed, in the footsteps of Alexander, the Punjab, or five rivers,<sup>25</sup> that fall into the master-stream. From Attok to Delhi, the high road measures no more than six hundred miles; but the two conquerors deviated to the south-east; and the motive of Timour was to join his grandson, who had achieved by his command the conquest of Moultan. On the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, on the edge of the desert, the Macedonian hero halted and wept: the Mogul entered the desert, reduced the fortress of Batnir, and stood in arms before the gates of Delhi, a great and flourishing city, which had subsisted three centuries under the dominion of the Mahometan kings. The siege, more especially of the castle, might have been a work of time; but he tempted, by the appearance of weakness, the sultan Mahmoud and his vizir to descend into the plain, with ten thousand cuirassiers, forty thousand of his foot-guards, and one hundred and twenty elephants, whose tusks are said to have been armed with sharp and poisoned daggers. Against these monsters, or rather against the imagination of his troops, he condescended to use some extraordinary precautions of fire and a ditch, of iron spikes and a rampart of bucklers; but the event taught the Moguls to smile at their own fears; and, as soon as these unwieldy animals were routed, the inferior species

<sup>18</sup> Institutions of Timour, p. 115, 125. Mr White, the editor, bestows some amplification on the superfluous account of Sherfeddin, i. m. c. 15, 14, who was ignorant of the designs of Timour, and the true springs of action.

<sup>19</sup> The furs of Russia are more credit than the ingots. But the linen of Antioch has never been famous, and Antioch was in ruins. I suspect that it was some manufacture of Europe, which the Hæmæ merchants had imported by the way of Novogorod.

<sup>20</sup> M. l'evêque Hist. de Russie, tom. ii. p. 217. Vie de Timour, p. 61-67, but to the French version of the Institutions has corrected the error of Sherfeddin, and marked the true limit of Timour's conquests. His arguments are superfluous, and a simple appeal to the Russian annals is sufficient to prove that Moscovy, who six years before had been taken by Toctamish, escaped the arms of a more formidable invader.

<sup>21</sup> The consuls of Venice, as mentioned in Barbaro's letters, were then resident at Kaniuso, or Kaniuso.

<sup>22</sup> The city of Azoph is described by Sherfeddin (i. m. c. 55) and much more particularly by the author of an Italian chronicle (Andreas

de Redibus de Quero, in Chron. Tarvisiano, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. vi. p. 802, 803.) He had conversed with the Mirans, two Timour brothers, one of whom had been sent a deputy to the camp of Timour, and the other had lost at Azoph three sons and 19,000 lieutenants.

<sup>23</sup> Sherfeddin only says, l. m. c. 15, that the rays of the setting, and those of the rising, sun, were scarcely separated by any interval; a problem which may be solved in the latitude of Moscow (the 56th degree), with the aid of the aurora borealis, and a long summer twilight. But a day of forty days, Khoudieramid Dierbollet (p. 380) would rigorously confine us within the polar circle.

<sup>24</sup> For the Indian war, see the Institutions, p. 165-179, the fourth book of Sherfeddin, and the history of Ferishta in Dow, vol. ii. p. 126, which throws a general light on the affairs of Hindostan.

<sup>25</sup> The rivers of the Punjab, the five eastern branches of the Indus, have been laid down for the first time with truth and accuracy in Major Rennel's incomparable map of Hindostan. In his Critical Memoir he illustrates with judgment and learning the marches of Alexander and Timour.





of the secrecy of the haram is an unpardonable offence among the Turkish nations;<sup>31</sup> and the political quarrel of the two monarchs was embittered by private and personal resentment. Yet in his first expedition, Timour was satisfied with the siege and destruction of Siwas or Sebaste, a strong city on the borders of Anatolia; and he revenged the indiscretion of the Ottoman, on a garrison of four thousand Armenians, who were buried alive for the brave and faithful discharge of their duty. As a Musilman he seemed to respect the pious occupation of Bajazet, who was still engaged in the blockade of Constantinople: and after this salutary lesson, the Mogul conqueror checked his pursuit, and turned aside to the invasion of Syria and Egypt. In these transactions, the Ottoman prince, by the Orientals, and even by Timour, is styled the *Kaiser of Roum*, the Caesar of the Romans: a title which, by a small anticipation, might be given to a monarch who possessed the provinces, and threatened the city, of the successors of Constantine.<sup>32</sup>

The military republic of the Mamalukes still reigned in Egypt and Syria; but the dynasty of the Turks was overthrown by that of the Circassians;<sup>33</sup> and their favourite Barkok, from a slave and a prisoner, was raised and restored to the throne. In the midst of rebellion and discord, he braved the menaces, corresponded with the enemies, and detained the ambassadors, of the Mogul, who patiently expected his decease, to revenge the crimes of the father on the feeble reign of his son Farage. The Syrian emirs<sup>34</sup> were assembled at Aleppo to repel the invasion: they confided in the fame and discipline of the Mamalukes, in the temper of their swords and lances of the purest steel of Damascus, in the strength of their walled cities, and in the populousness of sixty thousand villages; and instead of sustaining a siege, they threw open their gates, and arrayed their forces in the plain. But these forces were not cemented by virtue and union; and some powerful emirs had been seduced to desert or betray their more loyal companions. Timour's front was covered with a line of Indian elephants, whose turlets were filled with archers and Greek fire: the rapid evolutions of his cavalry completed the dismay and disorder; the Syrian crowds fell back on each other; many thousands were stifled or slaughtered in the entrance of the great street; the Moguls entered with the fugitives; and, after a short defence, the citadel, the impregnable citadel of Aleppo, was surrendered by cowardice or treachery. Among the suppliants and captives, Timour distinguished the doctors of the law, whom he invited to the dangerous honour of a personal conference.<sup>35</sup> — The Mogul prince

was a zealous Musulman; but his Persian schools had taught him to revere the memory of Ali and Hosein; and he had imbibed a deep prejudice against the Syrians, as the enemies of the son of the daughter of the apostle of God. To these doctors he proposed a captious question, which the casuists of Bochara, Samarcand, and Herat, were incapable of resolving. "Who are the true martyrs, of those who are slain on my side, or on that of my enemies?" But he was silenced, or satisfied, by the dexterity of one of the cadhis of Aleppo, who replied in the words of Mahomet himself, that the motive, not the ensign, constitutes the martyr; and that the Moslems of either party, who fight only for the glory of God, may deserve that sacred appellation. The true succession of the caliphs was a controversy of a still more delicate nature, and the frankness of a doctor, too honest for his situation, provoked the emperor to exclaim, "Ye are as false as those of Damascus: Moawiyah was an usurper, Yezid a tyrant, and Ali alone is the lawful successor of the prophet." A prudent explanation restored his tranquillity; and he passed to a more familiar topic of conversation. "What is your age?" said he to the cadhi. "Fifty years." — "It would be the age of my eldest son: you see me here (continued Timour) a poor, lame, decrepit mortal." Yet by my arm has the Almighty been pleased to subdue the kingdoms of Iran, Touran, and the Indies. I am not a man of blood; and God is my witness, that in all my wars I have never been the aggressor, and that my enemies have always been the authors of their own calamity." During this peaceful conversation, the streets of Aleppo streamed with blood, and re-echoed with the cries of mothers and children, with the shrieks of violated virgins. The rich plunder that was abandoned to his soldiers might stimulate their avarice; but their cruelty was enforced by the peremptory command of producing an adequate number of heads, which, according to his custom, were curiously piled in columns and pyramids; the Moguls celebrated the feast of victory, while the surviving Moslems passed the night in tears and in chains. I shall not dwell on the march of the destroyer from Aleppo to Damascus, where he was rudely encountered, and almost overthrown, by the armies of Egypt. A retrograde motion was imputed to his distress and despair: one of his nephews deserted to the enemy; and Syria rejoiced in the tale of his defeat, when the sultan was driven by the revolt of the Mamalukes to escape with precipitation and shame to his palace of Cairo. Abandoned by their prince, the inhabitants of Damascus still defended their walls; and Timour consented to raise the siege, if they would adorn his retreat with a gift or ransom; each article of nine pieces. But no sooner had

Sack of Aleppo,  
A. D. 1400,  
Nov. 11.

<sup>31</sup> The common delicacy of the Orientals, in never peering of their eyes at the women in company.

<sup>32</sup> I have been led by the cadhi and his aman to have been coined five years afterwards (D'Hérichy, p. 724).

<sup>33</sup> See the reign of Barkok in the *Pharmazie*, by M. de Guignes (tom. i. lxxxv.), who, from the *Chah-nama* of Abolghasani, Ferishta, and Antaki, has added some facts to our common stock of materials.

<sup>34</sup> For these recent and domestic transactions, Arabshah, though a parti-  
an, is a credit witness: tom. i. c. 64, 68, tom. ii. c. 1, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

he introduced himself into the city, under colour of a truce, than he perfidiously violated the treaty; imposed a contribution of ten millions of gold; and animated his troops to chastise the posterity of those Syrians who had executed, or approved, the murder of the grandson of Mahomet. A family which had given honourable burial to the head of Hosein, and a colony of artificers, whom he sent to labour at Samarcand, were alone reserved in the general massacre; and, after a period of seven centuries, Damascus was reduced to ashes, because a Tartar was moved by religious zeal to avenge the blood of an Arab. The losses and fatigues of the campaign obliged Timour to renounce the conquest of Palestine and Egypt; but in his return to the Euphrates, he delivered Aleppo to the flames; and justified his pious motive by the pardon and reward of two thousand sectaries of Ali, who were desirous to visit the tomb of his son. I have expatiated on the personal anecdotes which mark the character of the Mogul hero; but I shall briefly mention, that he erected on the ruins of Bagdad a pyramid of ninety thousand heads; again visited Georgia; encamped on the banks of the Araxes; and proclaimed his resolution of marching against the Ottoman emperor. Conscious of the importance of the war, he collected his forces from every province; eight hundred thousand men were enrolled on his military list;<sup>37</sup> but the splendid commands of five, and ten, thousand horse, may be rather expressive of the rank and pension of the chiefs, than of the genuine number of effective soldiers.<sup>38</sup> In the pillage of Syria, the Moguls had acquired immense riches; but the delivery of their pay and arrears for seven years, more firmly attached them to the Imperial standard.

During this diversion of the Mogul arms, Bajazet had two years to collect his forces for a more serious encounter. They consisted of four hundred thousand horse and foot,<sup>39</sup> whose merit and fidelity were of an unequal complexion. We may discriminate the Janizaries, who have been gradually raised to an establishment of forty thousand men; a national cavalry, the Spahis of modern times; twenty thousand cuirassiers of Europe, clad in black and impenetrable armour; the troops of Anatolia, whose princes had taken refuge in the camp of Timour; and a colony of Tartars, whom he had driven from Kipzak, and to whom Bajazet had assigned a settlement in the plains of Adrianople. The fearless confidence of the sultan urged him to meet his an-

tagonist; and, as if he had chosen that spot for revenge, he displayed his banners near the ruins of the unfortunate Suvas. In the mean while, Timour moved from the Araxes through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia; his boldness was secured by the wisest precautions; his speed was guided by order and discipline; and the woods, the mountains, and the rivers, were diligently explored by the flying squadrons, who marked his road and preceded his standard. Firm in his plan of fighting in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, he avoided their camp; dexterously inclined to the left; occupied Casarea; traversed the salt desert and the river Halys; and invested Angora: while the sultan, immovable and ignorant in his post, compared the Tartar swiftness to the crawling of a snail; and he returned on the wings of indignation to the relief of Angora; and as both generals were alike impatient for action, the plains round that city were the scene of a memorable battle, which has immortalised the glory of Timour and the shame of Bajazet. For this signal victory the Mogul emperor was indebted to himself, to the genius of the moment, and the discipline of thirty years. He had improved the tactics, without violating the manners, of his nation,<sup>41</sup> whose force still consisted in the missile weapons, and rapid evolutions, of a numerous cavalry. From a single troop to a great army, the mode of attack was the same; a foremost line first advanced to the charge, and was supported in a just order by the squadrons of the great vanguard. The general's eye watched over the field, and at his command the front and rear of the right and left wings successively moved forwards in their several divisions, and in a direct or oblique line: the enemy was pressed by eighteen or twenty attacks; and each attack afforded a chance of victory. If they all proved fruitless or unsuccessful, the occasion was worthy of the emperor himself, who gave the signal of advancing to the standard and main body, which he led in person.<sup>42</sup> But in the battle of Angora, the main body itself was supported, on the flanks and in the rear, by the bravest squadrons of the reserve, commanded by the sons and grandsons of Timour. The conqueror of Hindostan ostentatiously showed a line of elephants, the trophies, rather than the instruments, of victory; the use of the Greek fire was familiar to the Moguls and Ottomans: but had they borrowed from Europe the recent invention of gunpowder and cannon, the artificial thunder, in the hands of either nation, must have turned the fortune of the day.<sup>43</sup> In that day Bajazet displayed the

Battle of Angora, A. D. 1402, July 28.

and Bagdad, A. D. 1401, July 25.

Involute Anatoli, A. D. 1402.

<sup>36</sup> The marches and occupations of Timour between the Syrian and Ottoman wars, are recorded by Macretidein (l. vi. c. 29-35) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 15-18).

<sup>37</sup> This number, 800,000 was extracted by Arabshah, or rather by Ebn Schowkan, exatnator of Timour, on the faith of a Syrian officer (tom. i. p. 147); and it is not excessive enough, that a Greek historian (Plerzo, l. i. c. 22) adds no more than 200,000 men. Plerzo reckons 100,000; another Latin contemporary (from Turcoman, and Murad, tom. vi. p. 100) 1,000,000; and the enormous sum of 1,000,000 is quoted by a foreign writer, who was present at the battle of Angora (Huet, l. ii. c. 10, p. 82).

<sup>38</sup> Timour, in his last moments, had it designed to calculate his troops, his soldiers, or his horses.

<sup>39</sup> A warlike nation, whose efforts were directed by the Great Mogul.

<sup>40</sup> The number of troops which he led against the Ottoman army, is not stated in the German or other histories. It is evident, that the Moguls were in more than a million.

<sup>41</sup> It is not necessary to remark the differences between Angora and the preceding battle, which was fought on the banks of the Araxes, or between Angora and the battle of Kipzak, to which the Turkish writers refer, as being the same.

<sup>42</sup> The Turkish writers, in general, do not mention the fact of Bajazet's being present in person. A better account is given by the French historian, who has preserved the Turkish version of the battle.

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qualities of a soldier and a chief; but his genius sunk under a stronger ascendancy; and, from various motives, the greatest part of his troops failed him in the decisive moment. His rigour and avarice had provoked a mutiny among the Turks; and even his son Soliman too hastily withdrew from the field. The forces of Anatolia, loyal in their revolt, were drawn away to the banners of their lawful princes. His Tartar allies had been tempted by the letters and emissaries of Timour; <sup>44</sup> who reproached their ignoble servitude under the slaves of their fathers; and offered to their hopes the dominion of their new, or the liberty of their ancient, country. In the right wing of Bajazet the cuirassiers of Europe charged, with faithful hearts and irresistible arms; but these men of iron were soon broken by an artful flight and headlong pursuit: and the Janizaries, alone, without cavalry or missile weapons, were encompassed by the circle of the Mogul hunters. Their valour was at length oppressed by heat, thirst, and the weight of numbers; and the unfortunate sultan, afflicted with the gout in his hands and feet, was transported from the field on the fleetest of his horses.

Defeat and  
captivity of  
Bajazet.

He was pursued and taken by the titular khan of Zagatai; and after his capture, and the defeat of the Ottoman powers, the kingdom of Anatolia submitted to the conqueror, who planted his standard at Kiotahia, and dispersed on all sides the ministers of rapine and destruction. Muza Mehmed Sultan, the eldest and best beloved of his grandsons, was despatched to Bursa, with thirty thousand horse; and such was his youthful ardour, that he arrived with only four thousand at the gates of the capital, after performing in five days a march of two hundred and thirty miles. Yet fear is still more rapid in its course: and Soliman, the son of Bajazet, had already passed over to Europe with the royal treasure. The spoil, however, of the palace and city was immense: the inhabitants had escaped; but the buildings, for the most part of wood, were reduced to ashes. From Bursa, the grandson of Timour advanced to Nice, even yet a fair and flourishing city; and the Mogul squadrons were only stopped by the waves of the Propontis. The same success attended the other nizams and emirs in their excursions: and Smyrna, defended by the zeal and courage of the Rhodian knights, alone deserved the presence of the emperor himself. After an obstinate defence, the place was taken by storm; all that breathed was put to the sword; and the heads of the Christian heroes were launched from the engines, on board of two carracks, or great ships of Europe, that rode at anchor in the harbour. The Moslems of Asia rejoiced in their deliverance from a dangerous and domestic foe, and a parallel was drawn between the two rivals, by observing that Timour, in fourteen days, had reduced a fortress which had sustained seven years the siege, or at least the blockade, of Bajazet. <sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Timour has described this secret and important negotiation with the Tartars, which is accordingly preserved by the poetical licence of the Arabian (tom. i. c. 12. p. 211. *Tarikh Amshir*), the Persian (p. 221.), and Persian historians (Khawassir, apud D'Herbelot, p. 282.).

<sup>45</sup> For the war of Anatolia or Romya, I add some hints in the Instructions, to the various narratives of Sherefeddin (l. i. c. 14. p. 51.) and Arabalah (tom. i. c. 20. p. 5.). On this part only of Timour's

The *iron cage*, in which Bajazet was imprisoned by Tamerlane, so long and so often repeated as a moral lesson, is now rejected as a fable by the modern writers, who smile at the vulgar credulity. <sup>46</sup> They appeal with confidence to the Persian history of Sherefeddin Ali, which has been given to our curiosity in a French version, and from which I shall collect and abridge a more specious narrative of this memorable transaction. No sooner was Timour informed that the captive Ottoman was at the door of his tent, than he

The story of his iron cage

disproved by the Persian historian of Timour.

graciously stepped forwards to receive him, seated him by his side, and mingled with just reproaches a soothing pity for his rank and misfortune. "Alas!" said the emperor, "the decree of fate is now accomplished by your own fault: it is the web which you have woven, the thorns of the tree which yourself have planted. I wished to spare, and even to assist the champion of the Moslems: you braved our threats; you despised our friendship; you forced us to enter your kingdom with our invincible armies. Behold the event. Had you vanquished, I am not ignorant of the fate which you reserved for myself and my troops. But I disdain to retaliate: your life and honour are secure; and I shall express my gratitude to God by my clemency to man." The royal captive showed some signs of repentance, accepted the humiliation of a robe of honour, and embraced with tears his son Mousa, who, at his request, was sought and found among the captives of the field. The Ottoman princes were lodged in a splendid pavilion; and the respect of the guards could be surpassed only by their vigilance. On the arrival of the haram from Bursa, Timour restored the queen Despina and her daughter to their father and husband; but he piously required, that the Serbian princess, who had hitherto been indulged in the profession of Christianity, should embrace without delay the religion of the prophet. In the feast of victory, to which Bajazet was invited, the Mogul emperor placed a crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand, with a solemn assurance of restoring him with an increase of glory to the throne of his ancestors. But the effect of this promise was disappointed by the sultan's untimely death: amidst the care of the most skilful physicians, he expired of an apoplexy at Akshehr, the Antioch of Pisidia, about nine months after his defeat. The victor dropped a tear over his grave; his body, with royal pomp, was conveyed to the mausoleum which he had erected at Bursa; and his son Mousa, after receiving a rich present of gold and jewels, of horses and arms, was invested by a patent in red ink with the kingdom of Anatolia.

Such is the portrait of a generous conqueror, which has been extracted from his own memoirs, and dedicated to his son and grandson, nineteen years after his decease; <sup>47</sup> and, at a time when the truth was remembered by thou-

history, it is lawful to quote the Turks (Contempr, p. 55-55. *Amal*, *Leucanay*, p. 520. 522.) and the Greeks (Phranza, l. i. c. 29. *Ducas*, c. 13-17. *Tricorandides*, l. i. c. 10.).

<sup>46</sup> The sceptum of Voltaire, *Essai sur l'histoire* (narrative, c. 88.) is ready in this, as on every occasion, to reject a popular tale, and to diminish the magnitude of vice and virtue, and on most occasions to his unreflexion is reason his

<sup>47</sup> See the History of Sherefeddin (l. i. c. 19. 52. 53. 60.) This

sands, a manifest falsehood would have implied a satire on his real conduct. Weighty indeed is this evidence, adopted by all the Persian histories; <sup>48</sup> yet flattery, more especially in the East, is base and audacious; and the harsh and ignominious treatment of Bajazet is attested by a chain of witnesses, some of whom shall be produced in the order of their time and country.

1. The reader has not forgot the <sup>attested, 1. by the French;</sup> garrison of French, whom the marshal Boucault left behind him for the defence of Constantinople. They were on the spot to receive the earliest and most faithful intelligence of the overthrow of their great adversary; and it is more than probable, that some of them accompanied the Greek embassy to the camp of Tamerlane. From their account, the hardships of the prison and death of Bajazet are affirmed by the marshal's servant and historian, within the distance of seven years. <sup>49</sup> 2. The

<sup>2 by the Italians;</sup> name of Poggius the Italian <sup>50</sup> is deservedly famous among the revivers of learning in the fifteenth century. His elegant dialogue on the vicissitudes of fortune <sup>51</sup> was composed in his fiftieth year, twenty-eight years after the Turkish victory of Tamerlane; <sup>52</sup> whom he celebrates as not inferior to the illustrious barbarians of antiquity. Of his exploits and discipline Poggius was informed by several ocular witnesses; nor does he forget an example so apposite to his theme as the Ottoman monarch, whom the Scythian confined like a wild beast in an iron cage, and exhibited a spectacle to Asia. I might add the authority of two Italian chronicles, perhaps of an earlier date, which would prove at least that the same story, whether false or true, was imported into Europe with the first tidings of the revolution. <sup>53</sup> 3. At

<sup>3 by the Arabs;</sup> the time when Poggius flourished at Rome, Ahmed Ebn Arabshah composed at Damascus the florid and malevolent history of Timour, for which he had collected materials in his journeys over Turkey and Tattary. <sup>54</sup> Without any possible correspondence between the Latin and the Arabian writer, they agree in the fact of the iron cage; and their agreement is a striking proof of their common veracity. Ahmed Arabshah likewise relates another outrage, which Bajazet endured, of a more domestic and tender nature. His indiscreet mention of women and divorces was deeply resented by the jealous Tartar: in the feast of victory, the wine was served by female cupbearers, and the sultan beheld his own concubines and wives confounded among the slaves, and exposed without

a veil to the eyes of intemperance. To escape a similar indignity, it is said, that his successors, except in a single instance, have abstained from legitimate nuptials; and the Ottoman practice and belief, at least in the sixteenth century, is attested by the observing Busbequius, <sup>55</sup> ambassador from the court of Vienna to the great Soliman. 4. Such is the separation of language, that the testimony of a Greek is not less independent than that of a Latin or an Arab. I suppress the names of Chalcondyles and Ducas, who flourished in a later period, and who speak in a less positive tone; but more attention is due to George Phranza, <sup>56</sup> protovestiare of the last emperors, and who was born a year before the battle of Angora. Twenty-two years after that event, he was sent ambassador to Amurath the Second; and the historian might converse with some veteran janizaries, who had been made prisoners with the sultan, and had themselves seen him in his iron cage. 5. The last evidence, in every sense, is <sup>5 by the Turks.</sup> that of the Turkish annals, which have been consulted or transcribed by Leunclavius, Pocock, and Cantemir. <sup>57</sup> They unanimously deplore the captivity of the iron cage; and some credit may be allowed to national historians, who cannot stigmatise the Tartar without uncovering the shame of their king and country.

From these opposite premises, a <sup>Probable conclusion.</sup> fair and moderate conclusion may be deduced. I am satisfied that Sherefeddin Ali has faithfully described the first ostentatious interview, in which the conqueror, whose spirits were harmonised by success, affected the character of generosity. But his mind was insensibly alienated by the unseasonable arrogance of Bajazet; the complaints of his enemies, the Anatolian princes, were just and vehement; and Timour betrayed a design of leading his royal captive in triumph to Samarcand. An attempt to facilitate his escape, by digging a mine under the tent, provoked the Mogul emperor to impose a harsher restraint; and in his perpetual marches, an iron cage on a wagon might be invented, not as a wanton insult, but as a rigorous precaution. Timour had read in some fabulous history a similar treatment of one of his predecessors, a king of Persia; and Bajazet was condemned to represent the person, and expiate the guilt, of the Roman Caesar. <sup>58</sup> But the strength of his mind and <sup>Death of Bajazet.</sup> body fainted under the trial, and <sup>1477.</sup> his premature death might, with- <sup>March 9.</sup>

work was finished at Shiraz, in the year 1121, and dedicated to sultan Farukhan, the son of Shorokh, the son of Timour, who reigned in Faristan on his father's life-time.

<sup>48</sup> After the perusal of Khondemir, Ebn Schouhan, See the learned D'Hieret (Histoire Orientale, p. 822) may affirm, that this fable is not mentioned in the most authentic histories, but his denial of the visible testimony of Arabshah, leaves some room to suspect his accuracy.

10 Et fut lui même (Bajazet) pris, et mené en prison, en laquelle

(from v. p. 305-308.) Poggius was born in the year 1400, and died in 1470.

<sup>51</sup> The dialogue de Varietate Fortune (of which a complete and elegant edition has been published at Paris in 1725, in 8vo.) was composed a short time before the death of pope Martin V. (p. 3.) and consequently about the end of the year 1450.

<sup>52</sup> See a splendid and elegant edition of Tamerlane, p. 36-39. (see enim noni) says Poggius, qui tuere in ejus castra . . . . .

vaunt cepit, excoque in modum fore occlusum per omnem Asiam circumdedit, et in domo sua circumdedit, et in domo sua circumdedit.

<sup>53</sup> The Chronicon Turanicum of Murad, Sultan Rerum Italianarum, tom. 2, p. 300, & the Acta et Epistolae (tom. 1, p. 974.) The two authors, Andre de Rubens de Chiro, and James de Balazet, were both of noble families, and both christians, the one of Trevis, the other of Ferrara. The evidence of the latter is the most positive.

<sup>54</sup> See Arabshah, tom. 1, c. 28-31. He travelled in regiones Rumicae, A. H. 894, D. 1473, July 17, tom. 1, c. 2, p. 15.

<sup>55</sup> Busbequius in negotio Turco, c. 10, p. 12. Yet his respectable authority is somewhat shaken by the subsequent marriages of Amurath II. with a Serbian, and of Mahomet II. with an Asiatic princess. Cantemir, p. 57-58.

<sup>56</sup> See the testimony of George Phranza, l. 1, c. 29, and his life in Hystories de Script. Byzant. pars. c. 10. Chalcondyles and Ducas speak in general terms of Bajazet's chain.

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<sup>58</sup> The evidence of the latter is the most positive.

out injustice, be ascribed to the severity of Timour. He warred not with the dead; a tear and a sepulchre were all that he could bestow on a captive who was delivered from his power; and if Mousa, the son of Bajazet, was permitted to reign over the ruins of Bursa, the greatest part of the province of Anatolia had been restored by the conqueror to their lawful sovereigns.

From the Irish and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, Asia was in the hand of Timour; his armies were invincible, his ambition was boundless, and his zeal might aspire to conquer and convert the Christian kingdoms of the West, which already trembled at his name. He touched the utmost verge of the land; but an insuperable, though narrow, sea rolled between the two continents of Europe and Asia;<sup>59</sup> and the lord of so many *tomans*, or myriads, of horse, was not master of a single galley. The two passages of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, of Constantinople and Gallipoli, were possessed, the one by the Christians, the other by the Turks. On this great occasion, they forgot the difference of religion, to act with union and firmness in the common cause: the double straits were guarded with ships and fortifications; and they separately withheld the transports which Timour demanded of either nation, under the pretence of attacking their enemy. At the same time they soothed his pride with tributary gifts and suppliant embassies, and prudently tempted him to retreat with the honours of victory. Soliman, the son of Bajazet, implored his clemency for his father and himself; accepted, by a red patent, the investiture of the kingdom of Romania, which he already held by the sword; and reiterated his ardent wish, of casting himself in person at the feet of the king of the world. The Greek emperor<sup>60</sup> (either John or Manuel) submitted to pay the same tribute which he had stipulated with the Turkish sultan, and ratified the treaty by an oath of allegiance, from which he could absolve his conscience so soon as the Mogul arms had retired from Anatolia. But the fears and fancy of nations ascribed to the ambitious Tamerlane a new design of vast and romantic compass; a design of subduing Egypt and Africa, marching from the Nile to the Atlantic Ocean, entering Europe by the Straits of Gibraltar, and, after imposing his yoke on the kingdoms of Christendom, of returning home by the deserts of Russia and Tartary. This remote, and perhaps imaginary, danger was averted by the submission of the sultan of Egypt—the honours of the prayer and the coin, attested at Cairo the supremacy of Timour; and a rare gift of a *ganyff*, or camelopard, and nine ostriches, represented at Samarcand the tribute of the African world. Our imagination is not less astonished by the

portrait of a Mogul, who, in his camp, before Smyrna, meditates, and almost accomplishes, the invasion of the Chinese empire.<sup>61</sup> Timour was urged to this enterprise by national honour and religious zeal. The torrents which he had shed of Musulman blood could be expiated only by an equal destruction of the infidels; and as he now stood at the gates of paradise, he might best secure his glorious entrance by demolishing the idols of China, founding moschs in every city, and establishing the profession of faith in one God, and his prophet Mahomet. The recent expulsion of the house of Zingis was an insult on the Mogul name; and the disorders of the empire afforded the fairest opportunity for revenge. The illustrious Hongvou, founder of the dynasty of *Ming*, died four years before the battle of Angora; and his grandson, a weak and unfortunate youth, was burnt in his palace, after a million of Chinese had perished in the civil war.<sup>62</sup> Before he evacuated Anatolia, Timour despatched beyond the Sihoon a numerous army, or rather colony, of his old and new subjects, to open the road, to subdue the Pagan Calmucks and Mungals, and to found cities and magazines in the desert; and, by the diligence of his lieutenant, he soon received a perfect map and description of the unknown regions, from the source of the Irish to the wall of China. During these preparations, the emperor achieved the final conquest of Georgia; passed the winter on the banks of the Araxes; appeased the troubles of Persia; and slowly returned to his capital, after a campaign of four years and nine months.

On the throne of Samarcand,<sup>63</sup> he displayed, in a short repose, his magnificence and power; listened to the complaints of the people; distributed a just measure of rewards and punishments; employed his riches in the architecture of palaces and temples; and gave audience to the ambassadors of Egypt, Arabia, India, Tartary, Russia, and Spain, the last of whom presented a suit of tapestry which eclipsed the pencil of the Oriental artists. The marriage of six of the emperor's grandsons was esteemed an act of religion as well as of paternal tenderness; and the pomp of the ancient caliphs was revived in their nuptials. They were celebrated in the gardens of Canighul, decorated with innumerable tents and pavilions, which displayed the luxury of a great city, and the spoils of a victorious camp. Whole forests were cut down to supply fuel for the kitchens; the plain was spread with pyramids of meat, and vases of every liquor, to which thousands of guests were courteously invited: the orders of the state, and the nations of the earth, were marshalled at the royal banquet; nor were the ambassadors of Europe (says the haughty Persian) excluded from the feast; since even the *cavases*, the smallest of fish, find their place in

H. s. triumph at Samarcand. A. D. 1404, July. A. D. 1405, January 8.

<sup>59</sup> Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 25) describes, like a curious traveller, the straits of Geydon and Constantinople. To acquire a just idea of these events, I have compared the narratives and productions of the Greeks, Turks, Greeks, and Arabs. The various and contradictory mentions the hostile union of the Christians and Ottomans. See Timour, p. 90.

<sup>60</sup> Since the name of Manuel had been transferred to the sultan of Roum, the Greek prince at Constantinople, when Timour, in 1403, was confederated with the Christian empire of falling. The sultan, Manuel, under the title of Timour, who is obtained by correcting the name of the Greek prince at Constantinople, p. 90.

<sup>61</sup> See Sherifeddin, l. v. c. 1, who marks, in a just itinerar, the road to China, which Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 55), points in vague and rhetoric colours.

<sup>62</sup> See Sherifeddin, l. v. c. 1, 70. In the 15th part of the Relations de Thevenot, D'Albe, Hist. de la Chine (tom. i. p. 507, 508, 510, edition), and for the chronology of the Chinese emperors, De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 71, 72.

<sup>63</sup> For the return, triumph, and death of Timour, see Sherifeddin (l. vi. c. 1—30) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 55—57).

the ocean.<sup>64</sup> The public joy was testified by illuminations and masquerades; the trades of Samarcand passed in review; and every trade was emulous to execute some quaint device, some marvellous pageant, with the materials of their peculiar art. After the marriage-contracts had been ratified by the cadhis, the bridegrooms and their brides retired to the nuptial chambers; nine times, according to the Asiatic fashion, they were dressed and undressed; and at each change of apparel, pearls and rubies were showered on their heads, and contemptuously abandoned to their attendants. A general indulgence was proclaimed: every law was relaxed, every pleasure was allowed; the people was free, the sovereign was idle; and the historian of Timour may remark, that, after devoting fifty years to the attainment of empire, the only happy period of his life were the two months in which he ceased to exercise his power. But he was soon awakened to the cares of government and war.

The standard was unfurled for the invasion of China, the emirs made their report of two hundred thousand, the select and veteran soldiers of Iran and Touman; their baggage and provisions were transported by five hundred great wagons, and an immense train of horses and camels; and the troops might prepare for a long absence, since more than six months were employed in the tranquil journey of a caravan from Samarcand to Peking. Neither age, nor the severity of the winter, could retard the impatience of Timour: he mounted on horseback, passed the Sihoon on the ice, marched seventy-six parasangs, three hundred miles, from his capital, and pitched his last camp in the neighbourhood of Otrar, where he was expected by the angel of

His death on the  
road to China.  
A.D. 1105,  
April 1.

His death on the road to China, A. D. 1165, April 1.

death. Fatigue, and the immoderate use of iced water, accelerated the progress of his fever; and the conqueror of Asia expired in the seventieth year of his age, thirty-five years after he had ascended the throne of Zagatai. His designs were lost; his armies were disbanded; China was saved, and fourteen years after his decease, the most powerful of his children sent an embassy of friendship and commerce to the court of Peking.<sup>65</sup>

Character and  
merits of Timour

The fame of Timour has pervaded the East and West; his posterity is still invested with the Imperial title and the admiration of his subjects, who revered him almost as a deity, may be justified in some degree by the praise or confession of his bitterest enemies.<sup>66</sup> Although he was lame of an hand and foot, his form and stature were not unworthy of his rank; and his vigorous health, so essential to him-self and to the world, was corroborated by temperance and exercise. In his familiar discourse he was grave and modest, and if he was ignorant of the Arabic language, he spoke with fluency and elegance the Persian and Turkish idioms. It was his delight to con-

verse with the learned on topics of history and science; and the amusement of his leisure hours was the game of chess, which he improved or corrupted with new refinements.<sup>67</sup> In his religion, he was a zealous, though not perhaps an orthodox, Musulman;<sup>68</sup> but his sound understanding may tempt us to believe, that a superstitious reverence for omens and prophecies, for saints and astrologers, was only affected as an instrument of policy. In the government of a vast empire, he stood alone and absolute, without a rebel to oppose his power, a favourite to seduce his affections, or a minister to mislead his judgment. It was his firmest maxim, that whatever might be the consequence, the word of the prince should never be disputed or recalled; but his foes have maliciously observed, that the commands of anger and destruction were more strictly executed than those of beneficence and favour. His sons and grandsons, of whom Timour left six and thirty at his decease, were his first and most submissive subjects; and whenever they deviated from their duty, they were corrected, according to the laws of Zingis, with the bastinado, and afterwards restored to honour and command. Perhaps his heart was not devoid of the social virtues; perhaps he was not incapable of loving his friends and pardoning his enemies; but the rules of morality are founded on the public interest; and it may be sufficient to applaud the *wisdom* of a monarch, for the liberality by which he is not impoverished, and for the justice by which he is strengthened and enriched. To maintain the harmony of authority and obedience, to chastise the proud, to protect the weak, to reward the deserving, to banish vice and idleness from his dominions, to secure the traveller and merchant, to restrain the depredations of the soldier, to cherish the labours of the husbandman, to encourage industry and learning, and, by an equal and moderate assessment, to increase the revenue, without increasing the taxes, are indeed the duties of a prince; but, in the discharge of these duties, he finds an ample and immediate recompence. Timour might boast, that, at his accession to the throne, Asia was the prey of anarchy and rapine; whilst under his prosperous monarchy, a child, fearless and unhurt, might carry a purse of gold from the East to the West. Such was his confidence of merit, that from this reformation he derived an excuse for his victories, and a title to universal dominion. The four following observations will serve to appreciate his claim to the public gratitude; and perhaps we shall conclude, that the Mogul emperor was rather the scourge than the benefactor of mankind. 1. If some partial disorders, some local oppressions, were healed by the sword of Timour, the remedy was far more pernicious than the disease. By their rapine, cruelty, and discord, the petty tyrants of Persia might afflict their subjects; but whole nations

from the court of Herat, to which place they returned in 1122 from

64 Shereshfeldin, *Ustye* 213.  
most potent sovereigns of Russia. As the king of Castile, and the current extract Mariva, Hist. Hesp. p. 186.  
discount at Hist. de Lumin. 18.  
to have been some correspondence with the court of Charles VII. King of Velye et Univers. Hist. Ann. p. 276.  
65 See the translation of the Persian account of the Arab embassy, a curious and original piece on the title page of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The primary ground of this is in the *Ustye* 213.  
Lumin. Hist. formerly text. It was in the year 1123 that they de-  
parted from the court of the king of Castile.

From Arabic *ṭarq* 'the way'. The bright or softer colours are borrowed from Sanskrit, e.g. *ṭarq* 'the way'.

were crushed under the footsteps of the reformer. The ground which had been occupied by flourishing cities, was often marked by his abominable trophies, by columns, or pyramids, of human heads. Astracan, Carizme, Delhi, Ispahan, Bagdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Boursa, Smyrna, and a thousand others, were sacked, or burnt, or utterly destroyed, in his presence, and by his troops; and perhaps his conscience would have been startled, if a priest or philosopher had dared to number the millions of victims whom he had sacrificed to the establishment of peace and order.<sup>62</sup> 2. His most destructive wars were rather inroads than conquests. He invaded Turkestan, Kipzak, Russia, Hindostan, Syria, Anatolia, Armenia, and Georgia, without a hope or a desire of preserving those distant provinces. From thence he departed laden with spoil; but he left behind him neither troops to awe the contumacious, nor magistrates to protect the obedient, natives. When he had broken the fabric of their ancient government, he abandoned them to the evils which his invasion had aggravated or caused, nor were these evils compensated by any present or possible benefits. 3. The kingdoms of Transoxiana and Persia were the proper field which he laboured to cultivate and adorn, as the perpetual inheritance of his family. But his peaceful labours were often interrupted, and sometimes blasted, by the absence of the conqueror. While he triumphed on the Volga or the Ganges, his servants, and even his sons, forgot their master and their duty. The public and private injuries were poorly redressed by the tardy rigour of enquiry and punishment; and we must be content to praise the *Institutions* of Timour, as the specious idea of a perfect monarchy. 4. Whatsoever might be the blessings of his administration, they evaporated with his life. To reign, rather than to govern, was the ambition of his children and grandchildren;<sup>70</sup> the enemies of each other and of the people. A fragment of the empire was upheld with some glory by Sharokh, his youngest son; but after his decease, the scene was again involved in darkness and blood; and before the end of a century, Transoxiana and Persia were trampled by the Uzbeks from the north, and the Turkmen of the black and white sheep. The race of Timour would have been extinct, if an hero, his descendant in the fifth degree, had not fled before the Uzbek arms to the conquest of Hindostan. His successors (the great Moguls)<sup>71</sup> extended their sway from the mountains of Cashmir to Cape Comorin, and from Candahar to the Gulf of Bengal. Since the reign of Aurungzebe, their empire has been dissolved; their treasures of Delhi have been rifled by a Persian robber; and the richest of their kingdoms is now possessed by a company of Christian merchants, of a remote island in the Northern Ocean.

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M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iv. l. xx.), Fraser's History of Nadir Shah, p. 1-62. The story of Timour's descendants is un-

Far different was the fate of the Ottoman monarchy. The massy trunk was bent to the ground, but

no sooner did the hurricane pass away, than it again rose with fresh vigour and more lively vegetation. When Timour, in every sense, had evacuated Anatolia, he left the cities without a palace, a treasure, or a king. The open country was over-spread with hordes of shepherds and robbers of Tartar or Turkman origin; the recent conquests of Bajazet were restored to the emirs, one of whom, in base revenge, demolished his sepulchre; and his five sons were eager, by civil discord, to consume the remnant of their patrimony. I shall enumerate their names in the order of their age and actions.<sup>72</sup> 1. It is doubtful, whether I relate the story of the true *Mustapha*, or of an impostor who personated that lost prince. He fought by his father's side in the battle of Angora: but when the captive sultan was permitted to enquire for his children, Mousa alone could be found; and the Turkish historians, the slaves of the triumphant faction, are persuaded that his brother was confounded among the slain. If *Mustapha* escaped from that disastrous field, he was concealed twelve years from his friends and enemies; till he emerged in Thessaly, and was hailed by a numerous party, as the son and successor of Bajazet. His first defeat would have been his last, had not the true, or false, *Mustapha* been saved by the Greeks, and restored, after the decease of his brother Mahomet, to liberty and empire. A degenerate mind seemed to argue his spurious birth: and if, on the throne of Adrianople, he was adored as the Ottoman sultan, his flight, his fetters, and an ignominious gibbet, delivered the impostor to popular contempt. A similar character and claim was asserted by several rival pretenders; thirty persons are said to have suffered under the name of *Mustapha*; and these frequent executions may perhaps insinuate, that the Turkish court was not perfectly secure of the death of the lawful prince. 2. After

his father's captivity, *Isa*<sup>73</sup> reigned for some time in the neighbourhood of Angora, Sinope, and the Black Sea; and his ambassadors were dismissed from the presence of Timour with fair promises and honourable gifts. But their master was soon deprived of his province and life, by a jealous brother, the sovereign of Anasias; and the final event suggested a pious allusion, that the law of Moses and Jesus, of *Isa* and *Mousa*, had been abrogated by the greater *Mahomet*. 3. *Soliman* is not numbered in the list of the Turkish emperors: yet he checked the victorious progress of the Moguls; and after their departure, united for a while the thrones of Adrianople and Boursa. In war he was brave,

perfectly told, and the second and third parts of Sherefeddin are unknown.

72 Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 26, whose testimony on this occasion is weighty and valuable. The existence of *Isa* (unknown to the Turks) is likewise confirmed by Sherefeddin (l. i. c. 57).

sons of Bajazet.  
A. D. 1403-1421.

1. *Mustapha*;

2. *Isa*;

3. *Soliman*,  
A. D. 1403-1419;

*Mustapha*,  
p. 30-39  
and best

active, and fortunate : his courage was softened by clemency ; but it was likewise inflamed by presumption, and corrupted by intemperance and idleness. He relaxed the nerves of discipline, in a government where either the subject or the sovereign must continually tremble : his vices alienated the chiefs of the army and the law ; and his daily drunkenness, so contemptible in a prince and a man, was doubly odious in a disciple of the prophet. In the slumber of intoxication he was surprised by his brother Mousa ; and as he fled from Adrianople towards the Byzantine capital, Soliman was overtaken and slain in a bath, after a reign of seven years and

ten months. 4. The investiture of Mousa degraded him as the slave of the Moguls: his tributary kingdom of Anatolia was confined within a narrow limit, nor could his broken militia and empty treasury contend with the lardy and veteran bands of the sovereign of Romania. Mousa fled in disguise from the palace of Boursa; traversed the Propontis in an open boat; wandered over the Walachian and Servian hills; and after some vain attempts, ascended the throne of Adrianople, so recently stained with the blood of Soliman. In a reign of three years and a half, his troops were victorious against the Christians of Hungary and the Morea; but Mousa was ruined by his timorous disposition and unseasonable clemency. After resigning the sovereignty of Anatolia, he fell a victim to the perfidy of his ministers, and the superior ascendant of his brother Mahomet. 5. The final victory of Mahomet was the just

recompence of his prudence and moderation. Before his father's captivity, the royal youth had been intrusted with the government of Amasia, thirty days' journey from Constantinople, and the Turkish frontier against the Christians of Trebizond and Georgia. The castle, in Asiatic warfare, was esteemed impregnable; and the city of Amasia,<sup>74</sup> which is equally divided by the river Iris, rises on either side in the form of an amphitheatre, and represents on a smaller scale the image of Bagdad. In his rapid career, Timour appears to have overlooked this obscure and contumacious angle of Anatolia; and Mahomet, without provoking the conqueror, maintained his silent independence, and chased from the province the last stragglers of the Tartar host. He relieved himself from the dangerous neighbourhood of Isa; but in the contests of their more powerful brethren, his firm neutrality was respected; till, after the triumph of Mousa, he stood forth the heir and avenger of the unfortunate Soliman. Mahomet obtained Anatolia by treaty, and Rumania by arms; and the soldier who presented him with the head of Mousa, was rewarded as the benefactor of his king and country. The

eight years of his sole and peaceful reign were usefully employed in banishing the vices of civil discord, and restoring on a firmer basis the fabric of the Ottoman monarchy. His last care was the choice of two vizirs, Bajazet and Ibrahim,<sup>75</sup> who might guide the youth of his son Amurath; and such was their union and prudence, that they concealed above forty days the emperor's death, till the arrival of his successor in the palace of Boursa. A new war was kindled in Europe by the prince, or impostor, Mustapha; the first vizir lost his army and his head; but the more fortunate Ibrahim, whose name and family are still revered, extinguished the last pretender to the throne of Bajazet, and closed the scene of domestic hostility.

In these conflicts, the wisest Turks, and indeed the body of the nation, were strongly attached to the unity of the empire; and Romania and Anatolia, so often torn asunder by private ambition, were animated by a strong and invincible tendency of cohesion. Their efforts might have instructed the Christian powers; and had they occupied, with a confederate fleet, the Straits of Gallipoli, the Ottomans, at least in Europe, must have been speedily annihilated. But the schism of the West, and the factions and wars of France and England, diverted the Latins from this generous enterprise: they enjoyed the present respite, without a thought of futurity; and were often tempted by a momentary interest to serve the common enemy of their religion. A colony of Genoese,<sup>76</sup> which had been planted at Phocæa<sup>77</sup> on the Ionian coast, was enriched by the lucrative monopoly of alum;<sup>78</sup> and their tranquillity, under the Turkish empire, was secured by the annual payment of tribute. In the last civil war of the Ottomans, the Genoese governor, Adorno, a bold and ambitious youth, embraced the party of Amurath; and undertook, with seven stout galleys, to transport him from Asia to Europe. The sultan and five hundred guards embarked on board the admiral's ship, which was manned by eight hundred of the bravest Franks. His life and liberty were in their hands; nor can we, without reluctance, applaud the fidelity of Adorno, who, in the midst of the passage, knelt before him, and gratefully accepted a discharge of his arrears of tribute. They landed in sight of Mustapha and Gallipoli: two thousand Italians, armed with lances and battle-axes, attended Amurath to the conquest of Adrianople; and this venal service was soon repaid by the ruin of the commerce and colony of Phocæa.

If Timour had generously marched at the request, and to the relief, of the Greek emperor, he might be entitled to the praise and gratitude of the Christians.<sup>79</sup> But a Musulman, who carried

State of the Greek empire, A.D. 1402-1425.

74 Arabshah, loc. citat. Abulfeda, Geograph. tab. xvii. p. 302.  
Busbequius, epist. i. p. 96, 97. in Itinere t. P. et Amasino

75 The virtues of Ibrahim are praised by a contemporary Greek (Ducas, c. 25). His descendants are the sole nobles in Turkey: they content themselves with the administration of his pious endowments, are excluded from public offices, and receive two annual visits from the sultan (Dionysius, 30 ff.).

[illegible]

Geographical Index of his last and learned French translator, M. Laplacier (item vi p. 299).

75. Thucydides is not enumerated by Pliny (Hist. Nat. *xxxv. 52*) among the places productive of alum, he reckons Egypt as the first, and the island of Melos, where alum mines are described by Tournefort (note a little later), a traveller and chemist. After the loss of Thucydides the Germans in 1454 found that useful mineral.

[illegible]



into Georgia the sword of persecution, and respected the holy warfare of Bajazet, was not disposed to pity or succour the idolaters of Europe. The Tartar followed the impulse of ambition; and the deliverance of Constantinople was the accidental consequence. When Manuel abdicated the government, it was his prayer, rather than his hope, that the ruin of the church and state might be delayed beyond his unhappy days; and after his return from a western pilgrimage, he expected every hour the news of the sad catastrophe. On a sudden, he was astonished and rejoiced by the intelligence of the retreat, the overthrow, and the captivity of the Ottoman. Manuel<sup>80</sup> immediately sailed from Modon in the Morea, ascended the throne of Constantinople, and dismissed his blind competitor to an easy exile in the isle of Lesbos. The ambassadors of the son of Bajazet were soon introduced to his presence; but their pride was fallen, their tone was modest; they were awed by the just apprehension, lest the Greeks should open to the Moguls the gates of Europe. Soliman saluted the emperor by the name of father; solicited at his hands the government or gift of Romania; and promised to deserve his favour by inviolable friendship, and the restitution of Thessalonica, with the most important places along the Strymon, the Propontis, and the Black Sea. The alliance of Soliman exposed the emperor to the enmity and revenge of Mausa; the Turks appeared in arms before the gates of Constantinople; but they were repulsed by sea and land; and unless the city was guarded by some foreign mercenaries, the Greeks must have wondered at their own triumph. But, instead of prolonging the division of the Ottoman powers, the policy or passion of Manuel was tempted to assist the most formidable of the sons of Bajazet. He concluded a treaty with Mahomet, whose progress was checked by the insuperable barrier of Gallipoli: the sultan and his troops were transported over the Bosphorus; he was hospitably entertained in the capital; and his successful sally was the first step to the conquest of Romania. The ruin was suspended by the prudence and moderation of the conqueror: he faithfully discharged his own obligations and those of Soliman, respected the laws of gratitude and peace; and left the emperor guardian of his two younger sons, in the vain hope of saving them from the jealous cruelty of their brother Amurath. But the execution of his last testament would have offended the national honour and religion: and the divan unanimously pronounced, that the royal youths should never be abandoned to the custody and education of a Christian dog. On this refusal, the Byzantine councils were divided: but the age and caution of Manuel yielded to the presumption of his son John; and they unsheathed a dangerous weapon of revenge, by dismissing the true or false Mustapha, who had long been detained as a captive and hostage,

and for whose maintenance they received an annual pension of three hundred thousand aspers.<sup>81</sup> At the door of his prison, Mustapha subscribed to every proposal; and the keys of Gallipoli, or rather of Europe, were stipulated as the price of his deliverance. But no sooner was he seated on the throne of Romania, than he dismissed the Greek ambassadors with a smile of contempt, declaring, in a pious tone, that, at the day of judgment, he would rather answer for the violation of an oath, than for the surrender of a Musulman city into the hands of the infidels. The emperor was at once the enemy of the two rivals, from whom he had sustained, and to whom he had offered, an injury; and the victory of Amurath was followed, in the ensuing spring, by the siege of Constantinople.<sup>82</sup>

The religious merit of subduing the city of the Cæsars, attracted from Asia a crowd of volunteers, who aspired to the crown of martyrdom: their military ardour was inflamed by the promise of rich spoils and beautiful females; and the sultan's ambition was consecrated by the presence and prediction of Seid Bechar, a descendant of the prophet,<sup>83</sup> who arrived in the camp, on a mule, with a venerable train of five hundred disciples. But he might blush, if a fanatic could blush, at the failure of his assurances. The strength of the walls resisted an army of two hundred thousand Turks: their assaults were repelled by the sallies of the Greeks and their foreign mercenaries; the old resources of defence were opposed to the new engines of attack; and the enthusiasm of the dervish, who was snatched to heaven in visionary converse with Mahomet, was answered by the credulity of the Christians, who beheld the Virgin Mary, in a violet garment, walking on the rampart and animating their courage.<sup>84</sup> After a siege of two months, Amurath was recalled to Bourra by a domestic revolt, which had been kindled by Greek treachery, and was soon extinguished by the death of a guiltless brother. While he led his Janizaries to new conquests in Europe and Asia, the Byzantine empire was indulged in a servile and precarious respite of thirty years. Manuel sunk into the grave; and John Palæologus was permitted to reign, for an annual tribute of three hundred thousand aspers, and the dereliction of almost all that he held beyond the suburbs of Constantinople.

In the establishment and restoration of the Turkish empire, the first merit must doubtless be assigned to the personal qualities of the sultans; since, in human life, the most important scenes will depend on the character of a single actor. By some shades of wisdom and virtue, they may be discriminated from each other; but, except in a single instance, a period of nine reigns,

See of Constantinople by Amurath II. A.D. 1422, June 10, August 21.

The emperor John Palæologus II. A.D. 1425, July 21—A.D. 1448, Oct. 51.

Hereditary succession and grant of the Ottomans.

<sup>80</sup> For the reigns of Manuel and John, of Mahomet I. and Amurath II., see the Ottoman history of Cantemir (p. 71—201) and the three Greeks, Chalcondyles, Phranza, and Ducas, who is still superior to his rivals.

<sup>81</sup> The Turkish asper (from the Greek ἀσπρὸν) is, or was, a piece of gold or silver money, at present much debased, but which was formerly equivalent to the fifth part, at least, of a Venetian ducat or sequin; and the 200,000 aspers, a precisely accurate or exact tribute, may be computed at 2000 sterling (Leunclav. Pandect. Turc. p. 105—108).

<sup>82</sup> For the siege of Constantinople in 1422, see the particular and contemporary narrative of John Caninas, published by Leo Allatius, at the end of his edition of *Urologia* (p. 148—169).

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Cantemir, p. 80. Caninus, who describes Seid Bechar without name him, supposes that the friend of Mahomet arrived in his attire the privilege of a prophet, and that the farest of the Greek monks were promoted to the suit and his disciples.

<sup>84</sup> For this miraculous apparition, the Greeks appeal to the Musulman saint; but who will bear testimony for Seid Bechar?

and two hundred and sixty-five years, is occupied, from the elevation of Othman to the death of Soliman, by a rare series of warlike and active princes, who impressed their subjects with obedience and their enemies with terror. Instead of the slothful luxury of the seraglio, the heirs of royalty were educated in the council and the field: from early youth they were intrusted by their fathers with the command of provinces and armies; and this manly institution, which was often productive of civil war, must have essentially contributed to the discipline and vigour of the monarchy. The Ottomans cannot style themselves, like the Arabian caliphs, the descendants or successors of the apostle of God; and the kindred which they claim with the Tartar khans of the house of Zingis, appears to be founded in flattery rather than in truth.<sup>85</sup> Their origin is obscure; but their sacred and indefeasible right, which no time can erase, and no violence can infringe, was soon and unalterably implanted in the minds of their subjects. A weak or vicious sultan may be deposed and strangled; but his inheritance devolves to an infant or an idiot: nor has the most daring rebel presumed to ascend the throne of his lawful sovereign.<sup>86</sup> While the transient dynasties of Asia have been continually subverted by a crafty vizir in the palace or a victorious general in the camp, the Ottoman succession has been confirmed by the practice of five centuries, and is now incorporated with the vital principle of the Turkish nation.

**Education and discipline of the Turks.** To the spirit and constitution of that nation, a strong and singular influence may however be ascribed.

The primitive subjects of Othman were the four hundred families of wandering Turkomans, who had followed his ancestors from the Oxus to the Sangar; and the plains of Anatolia are still covered with the white and black tents of their rustic brethren. But this original drop was dissolved in the mass of voluntary and vanquished subjects, who, under the name of Turks, are united by the common ties of religion, language, and manners. In the cities, from Erzeroum to Belgrade, that national appellation is common to all the Moslems, the first and most honourable inhabitants; but they have abandoned, at least in Romania, the villages, and the cultivation of the land, to the Christian peasants. In the vigorous age of the Ottoman government, the Turks were themselves excluded from all civil and military honours; and a servile class, an artificial people, was raised by the discipline of education to obey, to conquer, and to command.<sup>87</sup> From the time of Orchan and the first Amurath, the sultans were persuaded that a government of the sword must be renewed in each generation with new soldiers; and that such soldiers must be sought, not in effe-

minate Asia, but among the hardy and warlike natives of Europe. The provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Servia, became the perpetual seminary of the Turkish army; and when the royal fifth of the captives was diminished by conquest, an inhuman tax, of the fifth child, or of every fifth year, was rigorously levied on the Christian families. At the age of twelve or fourteen years, the most robust youths were torn from their parents; their names were enrolled in a book; and from that moment they were clothed, taught, and maintained, for the public service. According to the promise of their appearance, they were selected for the royal schools of Boura, Pera, and Adrianople, intrusted to the care of the bashaws, or dispersed in the houses of the Anatolian peasantry. It was the first care of their masters to instruct them in the Turkish language: their bodies were exercised by every labour that could fortify their strength. they learned to wrestle, to leap, to run, to shoot with the bow, and afterwards with the musket; till they were drafted into the chambers and companies of the Janizaries, and severely trained in the military or monastic discipline of the order. The youths most conspicuous for birth, talents, and beauty, were admitted into the inferior class of *Ayamoghlans*, or the more liberal rank of *Iechoghlans*, of whom the former were attached to the palace, and the latter to the person of the prince. In four successive schools, under the rod of the white eunuchs, the arts of horsemanship and of darning the javelin were their daily exercise, while those of a more studious cast applied themselves to the study of the Koran, and the knowledge of the Arabic and Persian tongues. As they advanced in seniority and merit, they were gradually dismissed to military, civil, and even ecclesiastical employments: the longer their stay, the higher was their expectation; till, at a mature period, they were admitted into the number of the forty agas, who stood before the sultan, and were promoted by his choice to the government of provinces and the first honours of the empire.<sup>88</sup> Such a mode of institution was admirably adapted to the form and spirit of a despotic monarchy. The ministers and generals were, in the strictest sense, the slaves of the emperor, to whose bounty they were indebted for their instruction and support. When they left the seraglio, and suffered their beards to grow as the symbol of enfranchisement, they found themselves in an important office, without faction or friendship, without parents and without heirs, dependent on the hand which had raised them from the dust, and which, on the slightest displeasure, could break in pieces these statues of glass, as they are aptly termed by the Turkish proverb.<sup>89</sup> In the slow and painful steps of education, their characters and talents were unfolded to a discern-

GA. REP. D. COMM. (1970-1971) WITH THAT HE WOULD assume the title  
of "senator".  
He was slain at  
presumed to  
tyrants, and  
Murder, &c.

p. 281. This political here it was a good wlog, and justified against the French ambassador the revolution of England. *Memoir, Hist. des Croisades*, tome. II, p. 131. His prescriptive indicates the singular exception of continuing offices in the same families.

of the Ottoman policy, and the transmutation of Christian children into Turkish soldiers.

55 This sketch of the Turkish education and discipline is chiefly borrowed from Rieu's *State of the Ottoman Empire*, the *Statistical and Descriptive Inquiry*, *Compendium of the Turkish Marches* by Hogg, 1774, in fact, and a description of the *Serail*, &c. approved by Mr. Creeves, but all of which are trustworthy, and inserted in the second volume of my work.

<sup>50</sup> From a series of cases, not the case of *Van der Vorst*, p. 173, it may be inferred that the *procurator* is not a *procurator*.



the younger Andronicus, was less a slave in his temper and situation; and the conquest of Bithynia by the Turks admonished him to seek a temporal and spiritual alliance with the Western princes. After a separation and silence of fifty years, a secret agent, the monk Barlaam, was despatched to pope Benedict the Twelfth; and his artful instructions appear to have been drawn by the master-hand of the great domestic.<sup>1</sup>

The arguments for a ruse and union. "Most holy father," was he commissioned to say, "the emperor is not less desirous than yourself of an union between the two churches: but in this delicate transaction, he is obliged to respect his own dignity and the prejudices of his subjects. The ways of union are twofold; force, and persuasion. Of force, the inefficacy has been already tried; since the Latins have subdued the empire, without subduing the minds of the Greeks. The method of persuasion, though slow, is sure and permanent. A deputation of thirty or forty of our doctors would probably agree with those of the Vatican, in the love of truth and the unity of belief; but on their return, what would be the use, the recompence of such agreement? the scorn of their brethren, and the reproaches of a blind and obstinate nation. Yet that nation is accustomed to reverence the general councils, which have fixed the articles of our faith; and if they reprobate the decrees of Lyons, it is because the Eastern churches were neither heard nor represented in that arbitrary meeting. For this salutary end, it will be expedient, and even necessary, that a well-chosen legate must be sent into Greece, to convene the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; and, with their aid, to prepare a free and universal synod. But at this moment," continued the subtle agent, "the empire is assaulted and endangered by the Turks, who have occupied four of the greatest cities in Anatolia. The Christian inhabitants have expressed a wish of returning to their allegiance and religion; but the forces and revenues of the emperor are insufficient for their deliverance: and the Roman legate must be accompanied, or preceded, by an army of Franks, to expel the infidels, and open a way to the holy sepulchre." If the suspicious Latins should require some pledge, some previous effect of the sincerity of the Greeks, the answers of Barlaam were perspicuous and rational. "1. A general synod can alone consummate the union of the churches; nor can such a synod be held till the three Oriental patriarchs, and a great number of bishops, are enfranchised from the Mahometan yoke. 2. The Greeks are alienated by a long series of oppression and injury: they must be reconciled by some act of bro-

“therly love, some effectual succour, which may  
“fortify the authority and arguments of the  
“emperor, and the friends of the union. 3. If  
“some difference of faith or ceremonies should  
“be found incurable, the Greeks however are  
“the disciples of Christ; and the Turks are  
“the common enemies of the Christian name.  
“The Armenians, Cyprians, and Rhodians, are  
“equally attacked; and it will become the piety  
“of the French princes to draw their swords in  
“the general defence of religion. 4. Should  
“the subjects of Andronicus be treated as the  
“worst of schismatics, of heretics, of Pagans, a  
“judicious policy may yet instruct the powers  
“of the West to embrace an useful ally, to  
“uphold a sinking empire, to guard the con-  
“fines of Europe; and rather to join the  
“Greeks against the Turks, than to expect the  
“union of the Turkish arms with the troops  
“and treasures of captive Greece.” The rea-  
“sons, the offers, and the demands, of Andro-  
“nicus, were cluded with cold and stately indif-  
“ference. The kings of France and Naples  
“declined the dangers and glory of a crusade:  
“the pope refused to call a new synod to deter-  
“mine old articles of faith, and his regard for  
“the obsolete claims of the Latin emperor and  
“clergy engaged him to use an offensive super-  
“scription; “To the *moderator*<sup>2</sup> of the Greeks,  
“and the persons who style themselves the pa-  
“triarchs of the Eastern churches.” For such  
“an embassy, a time and character less propitious  
“could not easily have been found. Benedict  
“the Twelfth<sup>3</sup> was a dull peasant, perplexed with  
“scruples, and immersed in sloth and wine: his  
“pride might enrich with a third crown the papal  
“tiara, but he was alike unfit for the regal and  
“the pastoral office.

After the decease of Andronicus, while the Greeks were distracted by intestine war, they could not presume to agitate a general union of the Christians. But as soon as Cantacuzene had subdued and pardoned his enemies, he was anxious to justify, or at least to extenuate, the introduction of the Turks into Europe; and the nuptials of his daughter with a Musulman prince. Two officers of state, with a Latin interpreter, were sent in his name to the Roman court, which was transplanted to Avignon, on the banks of the Rhone, during a period of seventy years; they represented the hard necessity which had urged him to embrace the alliance of the miscreants, and edifying sounds by his command the specious and edifying sounds of union and crusade. Pope Clement the Sixth,<sup>4</sup> the successor of Benedict, received them with hospitality and honour, acknowledged the innocence of their sovereign, excused his distress, applauded his magnanimity, and displayed a clear knowledge of the state and revolutions of the Greek empire.

1. This curious instruction was transcribed (I believe) from the Vatican archives, by Hieronymus Bayanus, in his continuation of the *Annals of Baronius* (Antwerp, 1666-1677, in six volumes in folio). I have contented myself with the *Atla Fleury* (Hist. Ecclesiastiq. e. ton. xx. p. 1-3.), whose abstracts I have always found to be clear, accurate, and important.

2 The unmarkedness of this title is borne out by means of: and *mo'end* or, as synonymous to *mo'end*, *qur'end* is a word of Persian origin, and even in the most recent editions of the *qur'an* it is found, not in the Glossary of Darius, but in the *Thesaurus* of Herbert Spencer.

[illegible]

which he had imbibed from the honest accounts of a Savoyard lady, an attendant of the empress Anne.<sup>5</sup> If Clement was ill endowed with the virtues of a priest, he possessed however the spirit and magnificence of a prince, whose liberal hand distributed benefices and kingdoms with equal facility. Under his reign Avignon was the seat of pomp and pleasure: in his youth he had surpassed the licentiousness of a baron; and the palace, nay, the bed-chamber of the pope, was adorned, or polluted, by the visits of his female favourites. The wars of France and England were adverse to the holy enterprise; but his vanity was amused by the splendid idea; and the Greek ambassadors returned with two Latin bishops, the ministers of the pontiff. On their arrival at Constantinople, the emperor and the nuncios admired each other's piety and eloquence: and their frequent conferences were filled with mutual praises and promises, by which both parties were amused, and neither could be deceived. "I am delighted," said the devout Cantacuzene, "with the project of our holy war, which must redound to my personal glory, as well as to the public benefit of Christendom. My dominions will give a free passage to the armies of France: my troops, my galleys, my treasures, shall be consecrated to the common cause; and happy would be my fate, could I deserve and obtain the crown of martyrdom. Words are insufficient to express the ardour with which I sigh for the re-union of the scattered members of Christ. If my death could avail, I would gladly present my sword and my neck: if the spiritual phoenix could arise from my ashes, I would erect the pile, and kindle the flame with my own hands." Yet the Greek emperor presumed to observe, that the articles of faith which divided the two churches had been introduced by the pride and precipitation of the Latins: he disclaimed the servile and arbitrary steps of the first Palæologus; and firmly declared, that he would never submit his conscience unless to the decrees of a free and universal synod. "The situation of the times," continued he, "will not allow the pope and myself to meet either at Rome or Constantinople; but some maritime city may be chosen on the verge of the two empires, to unite the bishops, and to instruct the faithful of the East and West." The nuncios seemed content with the proposition; and Cantacuzene affects to deplore the failure of his hopes, which were soon overthrown by the death of Clement. And the different temper of his successor. His own life was prolonged, but it was prolonged in a cloister; and, except by his prayers, the humble monk was incapable of directing the counsels of his pupil or the state.<sup>6</sup>

Yet of all the Byzantine princes, that pupil, John Palæologus, was the best disposed to embrace, to believe, and to obey, the shepherd of the West. His mother, Anne of Savoy, was baptized in the

bosom of the Latin church: her marriage with Andronicus imposed a change of name, of apparel, and of worship, but her heart was still faithful to her country and religion; she had formed the infancy of her son, and she governed the emperor, after his mind, or at least his stature, was enlarged to the size of man. In the first year of his deliverance and restoration, the Turks were still masters of the Hellespont; the son of Cantacuzene was in arms at Adrianople; and Palæologus could depend neither on himself nor on his people. By his mother's advice, and in the hope of foreign aid, he abjured the rights both of the church and state; and the act of slavery,<sup>7</sup> subscribed in purple ink, and sealed with the golden bull, was privately intrusted to an Italian agent. The first article of the treaty is an oath of fidelity and obedience to Innocent the Sixth and his successors, the supreme pontiffs of the Roman and Catholic church. The emperor promises to entertain with due reverence their legates and nuncios; to assign a palace for their residence, and a temple for their worship; and to deliver his second son Manuel as the hostage of his faith. For these condescensions he requires a prompt succour of fifteen galleys, with five hundred men at arms, and a thousand archers, to serve against his Christian and Musulman enemies. Palæologus engages to impose on his clergy and people the same spiritual yoke; but as the resistance of the Greeks might be justly foreseen, he adopts the two effectual methods of corruption and education. The legate was empowered to distribute the vacant benefices among the ecclesiastics who should subscribe the creed of the Vatican: three schools were instituted to instruct the youth of Constantinople in the language and doctrine of the Latins; and the name of Andronicus, the heir of the empire, was enrolled as the first student. Should he fail in the measures of persuasion or force, Palæologus declares himself unworthy to reign; transferred to the pope all regal and paternal authority; and invests Innocent with full power to regulate the family, the government, and the marriage of his son and successor. But this treaty was neither executed nor published: the Roman galleys were a vain and imaginary aid; the submission of the Greeks; and it was only by the secrecy, that their sovereign escaped the dishonour of this fruitless humiliation.

The tempest of the Turkish arms soon burst on his head; and, after the loss of Adrianople and Romania, he was enclosed in his capital, the vassal of the haughty Amurath, with the miserable hope of being the last devoured by the savage. In this abject state, Palæologus embraced the resolution of embarking for Venice, and casting himself at the feet of the pope. He was the first of the Byzantine princes who had ever visited the unknown regions of the West, yet in them alone he could seek consolation or relief: and with less violation of his dignity he

<sup>5</sup> Trevis of Lodi.  
<sup>6</sup> Palæologus I.  
 with Anna of V.  
 A. D. 1369.

<sup>6</sup> Her name most probably corresponds with Zorger. She had a eunuch, and a slave, and a dog, who were with her to the very end of her life. Her piety was not without its fruits. She died in the year 1380, and was buried in the church of the Holy Spirit at Constantinople.

<sup>7</sup> See the whole in relation to Cantacuzene's reign, where it is

Visit of John  
 Palæologus  
 to the pope at  
 Rome.

A. D. 1369,  
 October 15, &c.

the process in the security of his house, and the fact of the anti-  
 christianity of the emperor.

<sup>7</sup> See the whole in relation to Cantacuzene's reign, where it is

might appear in the sacred college than at the Ottoman *Porte*. After a long absence, the Roman pontiff was returning from Avignon to the banks of the Tyber; Urban the Fifth,<sup>8</sup> of a mild and virtuous character, encouraged or allowed the pilgrimage of the Greek prince; and, within the same year, enjoyed the glory of receiving in the Vatican the two Imperial shadows who represented the majesty of Constantine and Charlemagne. In this suppliant visit, the emperor of Constantinople, whose vanity was lost in his distress, gave more than could be expected of empty sounds and formal submissions. A previous trial was imposed; and in the presence of four cardinals, he acknowledged, as a true Catholic, the supremacy of the pope, and the double procession of the Holy Ghost. After this purification he was introduced to a public audience in the church of St. Peter; Urban, in the midst of the cardinals, was seated on his throne; the Greek monarch, after three genuflexions, devoutly kissed the feet, the hands, and at length the mouth, of the holy father, who celebrated high mass in his presence, allowed him to lead the bridle of his mule, and treated him with a sumptuous banquet in the Vatican. The entertainment of Palæologus was friendly and honourable; yet some difference was observed between the emperors of the East and West;<sup>9</sup> nor could the former be entitled to the rare privilege of chanting the Gospel in the rank of a deacon.<sup>10</sup> In favour of his proselyte, Urban strove to rekindle the zeal of the French king, and the other powers of the West; but he found them cold in the general cause, and active only in their domestic quarrels. The last hope of the emperor was in an English mercenary, John Hawkwood,<sup>11</sup> or Acuto, who, with a band of adventurers, the white brotherhood, had ravaged Italy from the Alps to Calabria; sold his services to the hostile states; and incurred a just excommunication by shooting his arrows against the papal residence. A special licence was granted to negotiate with the outlaw, but the forces, or the spirit, of Hawkwood were unequal to the enterprise; and it was for the advantage, perhaps, of Palæologus to be disappointed of a succour, that must have been costly, that could not be effectual, and which might have been dangerous.<sup>12</sup> The disconsolate Greek<sup>13</sup> prepared for his return, but even his return was impeded by a most ignominious obstacle. On his arrival at Venice, he had borrowed large sums at exorbitant usury; but his coffers were

empty, his creditors were impatient, and his person was detained as the best security for the payment. His eldest son Andronicus, the regent of Constantinople, was repeatedly urged to exhaust every resource; and, even by stripping the churches, to extricate his father from captivity and disgrace. But the unnatural youth was insensible of the disgrace, and secretly pleased with the captivity of the emperor; the state was poor, the clergy were obstinate; nor could some religious scruple be wanting to excuse the guilt of his indifference and delay. Such undutiful neglect was severely reprov'd by the piety of his brother Manuel, who instantly sold or mortgaged all that he possessed, embarked for Venice, relieved his father, and pledged his own freedom to be responsible for the debt. On his return to Constantinople, the parent and king distinguished his two sons with suitable rewards; but the faith and manners of the slothful Palæologus had not been improv'd by his Roman pilgrimage; and his apostasy or conversion, devoid of any spiritual or temporal effects, was speedily forgotten by the Greeks and Latins.<sup>14</sup>

Thirty years after the return of Palæologus, his son and successor, Manuel, from a similar motive, but on a larger scale, again visited the countries of the West. In a preceding chapter I have related his treaty with Bajazet, the violation of that treaty, the siege or blockade of Constantinople, and the French succour under the command of the gallant Boucicault.<sup>15</sup> By his ambassadors, Manuel had solicited the Latin powers; but it was thought that the presence of a distressed monarch would draw tears and supplies from the hardest barbarians;<sup>16</sup> and the monarch who advised the journey, prepared the reception of the Byzantine prince. The land was occupied by the Turks; but the navigation of Venice was safe and open: Italy received him as the first, or, at least, as the second of the Christian princes; Manuel was pitied as the champion and confessor of the faith; and the dignity of his behaviour prevented that pity from sinking into contempt. From Venice he proceeded to Padua and Pavia; and even the duke of Milan, a secret ally of Bajazet, gave him safe and honourable conduct to the verge of his dominions.<sup>17</sup> On the confines of France<sup>18</sup> the royal officers undertook the care of his person, journey, and expenses; and two

8 See the two first original Lives of Urban V. in Martene, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i. par. p. 627, 628, 629, 630. For the historical Annals of Spandau (tom. i. p. 373, A. D. 1366, Nov. 7) and Raynaldus (Floury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xx. p. 175, 174). Yet, in some variations, I suspect the papal writers of slightly magnifying the genuflexions of Palaeologus.

9. *Pavlo* minus quam a fuisse Imperator Romanorum. Yet this title of Imperator Germanicus was no longer equated with *Urbis* V. p. 623.).

10 It was conceded to the witnesses of Charles' age, and to them only on Christmas day. On that day, however, the "superstitious" dances were content to serve the purpose as he had done with the boys and the girls. Charles' age might have been 17, though even the property of A. D. 1768, November 1, for the whole year. He seems to have had a small value on the privilege, and the time of the year, and the time of the year.

<sup>12</sup> This torrent of English has not been noted by any other scholar.

France and leads after the peace of Breitenburg in 1763. Yet the expedition of Münster (1762-63) was not a failure either, for it had established a common cause against the European coalition and a

the original historians. Nor do I find more in credit the Italian  
 historians separated from Italy, who have taken on the contents

14 If *return* in 13 would then generate of Mammals, Sept 25, 1971, abundance. Page 1323 of 1319. The author was in 1971 for the case of *var* and *ppm* in 1971 of *Andromeda*.

reactions, as observed by the primary radical  $\text{C}_2\text{H}_5\text{O}^\bullet$  and  $\text{C}_2\text{H}_5^\bullet$ .

The following table shows the number of persons who have been convicted of crimes in the State of New York, from 1880 to 1890, and the number of persons who have been sentenced to the State Prison, from 1880 to 1890, by the State of New York.

to the fact that the French writers, in the last century, had not yet discovered the value of the  $\log$  function, and that the  $\log$  function was not yet known to the French writers.

thousand of the richest citizens, in arms and on horseback, came forth to meet him as far as Charenton, in the neighbourhood of the capital. At the gates of Paris, he was saluted by the chancellor and the parliament; and Charles the Sixth, attended by his princes and nobles, welcomed his brother with a cordial embrace. The successor of Constantine was clothed in a robe of white silk, and mounted on a milk-white steed; a circumstance, in the French ceremonial, of singular importance: the white colour is considered as the symbol of sovereignty; and, in a late visit, the German emperor, after an haughty demand and a peevish refusal, had been reduced to content himself with a black courser. Manuel was lodged in the Louvre; a succession of feasts and balls, the pleasures of the banquet and the chase, were ingeniously varied by the politeness of the French, to display their magnificence, and amuse his grief: he was indulged in the liberty of his chapel; and the doctors of the Sorbonne were astonished, and possibly scandalised, by the language, the rites, and the vestments, of his Greek clergy. But the slightest glance on the state of the kingdom must teach him to despair of any effectual assistance. The unfortunate Charles, though he enjoyed some lucid intervals, continually relapsed into furious or stupid insanity: the reins of government were alternately seized by his brother and uncle, the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, whose factious competition prepared the miseries of civil war. The former was a gay youth, dissolved in luxury and love: the latter was the father of John count of Nevers, who had so lately been ransomed from Turkish captivity; and, if the fearless son was ardent to revenge his defeat, the more prudent Burgundy was content with the cost and peril of the first experiment. When Manuel had satiated the curiosity, and perhaps fatigued the patience, of the French, he resolved on a visit to the adjacent island. In his progress from Dover, he was entertained at Canterbury with due reverence by the prior and monks of St. Austin; and, on Blackheath, king Henry the Fourth, with the English court, saluted the Greek hero (I copy our old historian), who, during many days, was lodged and treated in London as emperor of the East.<sup>19</sup> But the state of England was still more adverse to the design of the holy war. In the same year, the hereditary sovereign had been deposed and murdered: the reigning prince was a successful usurper, whose ambition was punished by jealousy and remorse: nor could Henry of Lancaster withdraw his person or forces from the defence of a throne incessantly shaken by conspiracy and rebellion. He pitied, he praised, he feasted, the emperor of

of England,  
A. D. 1393,  
December.

Manuel was lodged in the Louvre; a succession of feasts and balls, the pleasures of the banquet and the chase, were ingeniously varied by the politeness of the French, to display their magnificence, and amuse his grief: he was indulged in the liberty of his chapel; and the doctors of the Sorbonne were astonished, and possibly scandalised, by the language, the rites, and the vestments, of his Greek clergy. But the slightest glance on the state of the kingdom must teach him to despair of any effectual assistance. The unfortunate Charles, though he enjoyed some lucid intervals, continually relapsed into furious or stupid insanity: the reins of government were alternately seized by his brother and uncle, the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, whose factious competition prepared the miseries of civil war. The former was a gay youth, dissolved in luxury and love: the latter was the father of John count of Nevers, who had so lately been ransomed from Turkish captivity; and, if the fearless son was ardent to revenge his defeat, the more prudent Burgundy was content with the cost and peril of the first experiment. When Manuel had satiated the curiosity, and perhaps fatigued the patience, of the French, he resolved on a visit to the adjacent island. In his progress from Dover, he was entertained at Canterbury with due reverence by the prior and monks of St. Austin; and, on Blackheath, king Henry the Fourth, with the English court, saluted the Greek hero (I copy our old historian), who, during many days, was lodged and treated in London as emperor of the East.<sup>19</sup> But the state of England was still more adverse to the design of the holy war. In the same year, the hereditary sovereign had been deposed and murdered: the reigning prince was a successful usurper, whose ambition was punished by jealousy and remorse: nor could Henry of Lancaster withdraw his person or forces from the defence of a throne incessantly shaken by conspiracy and rebellion. He pitied, he praised, he feasted, the emperor of

Constantinople; but if the English monarch assumed the cross, it was only to appease his people, and perhaps his conscience, by the merit or semblance of this pious intention.<sup>20</sup> Satisfied, however, with gifts and honours, Manuel returned to Paris; and, after a residence of two years in the West, shaped his course through Germany and Italy, embarked at Venice, and patiently expected, in the Morea, the moment of his ruin or deliverance. Yet he had escaped the ignominious necessity of offering his religion to public or private sale. The Latin church was distracted by the great schism: the kings, the nations, the universities, of Europe, were divided in their obedience between the popes of Rome and Avignon; and the emperor, anxious to conciliate the friendship of both parties, abstained from any correspondence with the indignant and unpopular rivals. His journey coincided with the year of the jubilee; but he passed through Italy without desiring, or deserving, the plenary indulgence which abolished the guilt or penance of the sins of the faithful. The Roman pope was offended by this neglect; accused him of irreverence to an image of Christ; and exhorted the princes of Italy to reject and abandon the obstinate schismatic.<sup>21</sup>

His return  
to Greece.  
A. D. 1402.

During the period of the crusades, the Greeks beheld with astonishment and terror the perpetual stream of emigration that flowed, and continued to flow, from the unknown climates of the West. The visits of their last emperors removed the veil of separation, and they disclosed to their eyes the powerful nations of Europe, whom they no longer presumed to brand with the name of barbarians. The observations of Manuel, and his more inquisitive followers, have been preserved by a Byzantine historian of the times:<sup>22</sup> his scattered ideas I shall collect and abridge; and it may be amusing enough, perhaps instructive, to contemplate the rude pictures of Germany, France, and England, whose ancient and modern state are so familiar to our minds. I. GERMANY (says the Greek Chalcondyles) is of ample latitude from Vienna to the Ocean; and it stretches (a strange geography) from Prague in Bohemia to the river Tartessus, and the Pyrenean mountains.<sup>23</sup> The soil, except in figs and olives, is sufficiently fruitful; the air is salubrious; the bodies of the natives are robust and healthy; and these cold regions are seldom visited with the calamities of pestilence, or earthquakes. After the Scythians or Tartars, the Germans are the most numerous of nations; they are brave and patient, and were they united under a single head, their force would be irresistible. By the gift of the pope,

Greek knowledge  
and descriptions

of Germany;

<sup>19</sup> A short note of Manuel in England, is extracted by H. Hody from a MS. at Lambeth (de Graecis illustribus, p. 114). C. P. Imperator, duo varoque et horrendis Paganorum in-sultibus corruatus, ut p. 100. sequens textum triumphalem persequitur Anglorum Regem (statuere decrevit, &c.). Rex (scilicet Edwardus III.) p. 764. I. m. h. m. p. r. a. t. i. o. n. e. s. u. p. e. r. i. o. r. u. m. d. e. c. i. t. u. m. t. a. n. t. u. m. b. e. n. e. f. i. c. i. u. m. d. e. l. o. n. d. o. n. i. a. n. s. e. p. e. r. m. i. t. t. i. t. d. i. e. c. t. u. m. g. l. o. r. i. o. s. e. p. r. o. e. x. p. r. e. s. b. e. n. e. f. i. c. i. u. m. s. o. l. v. e. n. s. e. t. u. m. p. e. n. s. i. t. t. a. n. t. u. m. h. i. s. t. o. r. i. o. d. o. n. a. t. u. m. He repeats the same in his 11. d. c. l. i. x. N. o. t. a. t. i. o. n. e. 372. p.

<sup>20</sup> Shakepeare, again, ends the play of Henry IV. with that prince's vow of a crusade, and his belief that he should die in Jerusalem.

<sup>21</sup> This fact is preserved in the H. de France, p. 13. 179. 1478, published by M. Martin (Paris, 1766, c. 1. p. 17). The same is related, when the Greek text is referred to, which was probably a work of sculpture.

<sup>22</sup> The Greek and Turkish history of Laonicus Chalcondyles ends with the winter of 1165, and the abrupt conclusion seems to mark, that he laid down his pen in the same year. We know that he was an Athenian, and that some contemporaries of the same name contributed to the revival of the Greek language in Italy. But in his

41—50

<sup>23</sup> I shall not animadvert on the geographical errors of Chalcondyles. In this instance, he perhaps followed, and my task, Herodotus (l. iii. c. 73), whose text may be explained (Herodotus de rebus, tom. ii. p. 213, 220), or whose ignorance may be excused. If the modern Greeks never read Strabo, or any of their lesser geographers?

they have acquired the privilege of choosing the Roman emperor; <sup>94</sup> nor is any people more devoutly attached to the faith and obedience of the Latin patriarch. The greatest part of the country is divided among the princes and prelates; but Strasburgh, Cologne, Hanhurg, and more than two hundred free cities, are governed by sige and equal laws, according to the will, and for the advantage, of the whole community. The use of duels, or single combats on foot, prevails among them in peace and war; their industry excels in all the mechanic arts, and the Germans may boast of the invention of gunpowder and cannon, which is now diffused over the greatest part of the world. II. The king-

part of the world. II. The kingdom of FRANCE is spread above fifteen or twenty days' journey from Germany to Spain, and from the Alps to the British Ocean; containing many flourishing cities, and among these Paris, the seat of the king, which surpasses the rest in riches and luxury. Many princes and lords alternately wait in his palace, and acknowledge him as their sovereign; the most powerful are the dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy, of whom the latter possesses the wealthy province of Flanders, whose harbours are frequented by the ships and merchants of our own, and the more remote, seas. The French are an ancient and opulent people: and their language and manners, though somewhat different, are not dissimilar from those of the Italians. Vain of the Imperial dignity of Charlemagne, of their victories over the Saracens, and of the exploits of their heroes, Oliver and Rowland;<sup>25</sup> they esteem themselves the first of the Western nations; but this foolish arrogance has been recently humbled by the unfortunate events of their wars against the English, the inhabitants of the British island. III. BRITAIN,

of the British Island. THE DUTCH, in the ocean, and opposite to the shores of Flanders, may be considered either as one, or as three islands; but the whole is united by a common interest, by the same manners, and by a similar government. The measure of its circumference is five thousand stadia: the land is overspread with towns and villages, though destitute of wine, and not abounding in fruit-trees, it is fertile in wheat and barley; in honey and wool; and much cloth is manufactured by the inhabitants. In populousness and power, in riches and luxury, London,<sup>26</sup> the metropolis of the isle, may claim a pre-eminence over all the cities of the West. It is situate on the Thames, a broad and rapid river, which at the distance of thirty miles falls into the Gallic Sea; and the daily flow and ebb of the tide affords a safe entrance and departure to the vessels of commerce. The king is the head of a power-

ful and turbulent aristocracy; his principal vassals hold their estates by a free and unalterable tenure; and the laws define the limits of his authority and their obedience. The kingdom has been often afflicted by foreign conquest and domestic sedition; but the natives are bold and hardy, renowned in arms and victorious in war. The form of their shields or targets is derived from the Italians, that of their swords from the Greeks; the use of the long bow is the peculiar and decisive advantage of the English. Their language bears no affinity to the idioms of the continent: in the habits of domestic life, they are not easily distinguished from their neighbours of France; but the most singular circumstance of their manners is their disregard of conjugal honour and of female chastity. In their mutual visits, as the first act of hospitality, the guest is welcomed in the embraces of their wives and daughters: among friends they are lent and borrowed without shame: nor are the islanders offended at this strange commerce, and its inevitable consequences.<sup>47</sup> Informed as we are of the customs of old England, and assured of the virtue of our mothers, we may smile at the credulity, or resent the injustice, of the Greek, who must have confounded a modest salute<sup>48</sup> with a criminal embrace. But his credulity and injustice may teach an important lesson; to distrust the accounts of foreign and remote nations, and to suspend our belief of every tale that deviates from the laws of nature and the character of man.<sup>49</sup>

After his return, and the victory of Timour, Manuel reigned many years in prosperity and peace. As long as the sons of Bajazet solicited his friendship and spared his dominions, he was satisfied with the national religion; and his leisure was employed in composing twenty theological dialogues for its defence. The appearance of the Byzantine ambassadors at the council of Constantine<sup>29</sup> announces the restoration of the Turkish power, as well as of the Latin church; the conquest of the sultans, Mahomet and Amurath, reconciled the emperor to the Vatican; and the siege of Constantinople almost tempted him to acquiesce in the double procession of the Holy Ghost. When Martin the Fifth ascended without a rival the chair of St. Peter, a friendly intercourse of letters and embassies was revived between the East and West. Ambition on one side, and distress on the other, dictated the same decent language of charity and peace: the artful Greek expressed a desire of marrying his six sons to Italian princesses; and the Roman, not less artful, despatched the daughter of the marquis of Montferrat, with

24. A citizen of new Rome, while new Rome survived, would have scorned to dignify the German *ἄρξ* with the titles of *βασιλεὺς* or *διοκράτωρ* *Ῥωμαίων*, but all pride was extinct in the bosom of *ῥητορδοξίαι*, and he described the Byzantine prince, and his subject, by the proper, though humble, names of *Ἕλληνας*, and *βασιλεὺς Ἑλληνῶν*.

2) Most of the old romances were translated in the sixteenth century into French prose, and soon became the favourite amusement of the knights and ladies in the court of Charles VI. If a Greek believed in the exploits of Rowland and Oliver, he may surely be excused, since the monks of St. Denis, the national historians, have inserted the fables of archbishop Turpin in their Chronicles of France.

Tables of an archbishop Turpin in their chronicles or I ranse  
 ὅτι τοῦτον . . . οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνάγκας τε προσηλόντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει  
 ταύτῃ παλαιά + νέωσι, οὕτως τε αὖτε πρὸς αὐτὴν εὐχρηστικὰς συνέσεις καὶ  
 πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διέτασσιν. Even since the time of Eusebius (the mid-  
 fourth cent.), London appears to have maintained this preoccupation of  
 wealth and magnificence, and her gradual increase has, at last, kept  
 pace with the general improvement of Europe.

27. If the double sense of the verb *eva* (ocular, and in utero geno) be emotional, the context and poetic horror of Chalcandyles can leave no doubt of his meaning and mistake in 191.

25 Erasmus (*Epist. Frodo Andrelini*) has a pretty passage on the English fashion of kissing strangers on their arrival and departure, from whence, however, he draws no moral at all, and none.

20) Perhaps we may apply this remark to the community of wives among the old Britons, as it is supposed by Caesar and Dion (Dion Cassius, 2, lxxviii, p. 1007) to have been as odious an institution. The *Asperitas* of Othobare, so certain at first, is become less visible and scoldish, in proportion as we have studied the manners of that gentle and amorous people.

for the ecclesiastical history of the times, the *Annals of Sponanus*, the *Recherches de Lapon*, the *xv* and *xvii* and *xviii* volumes of the *History*, or rather the *Continuation*, of Henry



a company of noble virgins, to soften, by their charms, the obstinacy of the schismatics. Yet under this mask of zeal, a discerning eye will perceive that all was hollow and insincere in the court and church of Constantinople. According to the vicissitudes of danger and repose, the emperor advanced or retreated; alternately instructed and disavowed his ministers; and escaped from an importunate pressure by urging the duty of enquiry, the obligation of collecting the sense of his patriarchs and bishops, and the impossibility of convening them at a time when the Turkish arms were at the gates of his capital. From a review of the public transactions it will appear, that the Greeks insisted on three successive measures, a succour, a council, and a final re-union; while the Latins eluded the second, and only promised the first, as a consequential and voluntary reward of the third. But we have an opportunity of unfolding the most secret intentions

of Manuel, as he explained them in a private conversation without artifice or disguise. In his declining age, the emperor had associated John Palæologus, the second of the name, and the eldest of his sons, on whom he devolved the greatest part of the authority and weight of government. One day, in the presence only of the historian Phranza,<sup>31</sup> his favourite chamberlain, he opened to his colleague and successor the true principle of his negotiations with the pope.<sup>32</sup> "Our last resource," said Manuel, "against the Turks is their fear of our union with the Latins, of the warlike nations of the West, who may arm for our relief and for their destruction. As often as you are threatened by the miscreants, present this danger before their eyes. Propose a council; consult on the means; but ever delay and avoid the convocation of an assembly, which cannot tend either to our spiritual or temporal emolument. The Latins are proud; the Greeks are obstinate; neither party will recede or retract; and the attempt of a perfect union will confirm the schism, alienate the churches, and leave us, without hope or defence, at the mercy of the barbarians." Inpatient of this salutary lesson, the royal youth arose from his seat, and departed in silence; and the wise monarch continues Phranza, casting his eyes on me, thus resumed his discourse. "My son deems himself a great and heroic prince, but, alas! our miserable age does not afford scope for heroism or greatness. His daring spirit might have suited the happier times of our ancestors; but the present state requires not an emperor, but a cautious steward of the last relics of our fortunes. Well do I remember the fifty expectations which he built on our alliance with Mustapha; and much do I fear, that his rash courage will urge the ruin of our house, and that even religion may precipitate our down-

"fal." Yet the experience and authority of Manuel preserved the peace, and eluded the council; till, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and in the habit of a monk, he terminated his career, dividing his precious moveables among his children and the poor, his physicians and his favourite servants. Of his six sons,<sup>33</sup> Andronicus the Second was invested with the principality of Thessalonica, and died of a leprosy soon after the sale of that city to the Venetians and its final conquest by the Turks. Some fortunate incidents had restored Peloponnesus, or the Morea, to the empire; and in his more prosperous days, Manuel had fortified the narrow isthmus of six miles<sup>34</sup> with a stone wall and one hundred and fifty-three towers. The wall was overthrown by the first blast of the Ottomans: the fertile peninsula might have been sufficient for the four younger brothers, Theodore and Constantine, Demetrius and Thomas; but they wasted in domestic contests the remains of their strength; and the least successful of the rivals were reduced to a life of dependence in the Byzantine palace.

The eldest of the sons of Manuel, John Palæologus the Second, was acknowledged, after his father's death, as the sole emperor of the Greeks. He immediately proceeded to repudiate his wife, and to contract a new marriage with the princess of Trebizond; beauty was in his eyes the first qualification of an empress; and the clergy had yielded to his firm assurance, that unless he might be indulged in a divorce, he would retire to a cloister, and leave the throne to his brother Constantine. The first, and in truth the only, victory of Palæologus, was over a Jew,<sup>35</sup> whom, after a long and learned dispute, he converted to the Christian faith; and this momentous conquest is carefully recorded in the history of the times. But he soon resumed the design of uniting the East and West; and, regardless of his father's advice, listened, as it should seem with sincerity, to the proposal of meeting the pope in a general council beyond the Adriatic. This dangerous project was encouraged by Martin the Fifth, and coldly entertained by his successor Eugenius, till, after a tedious negotiation, the emperor received a summons from a Latin assembly of a new character, the independent prelates of Basil, who styled themselves the representatives and judges of the Catholic church.

The Roman pontiff had fought and conquered in the cause of ecclesiastical freedom; but the victorious clergy were soon exposed to the tyranny of their deliverer; and his sacred character was invulnerable to those arms which they found so keen and effectual against the civil magistrate. Their great charter, the right of election, was anni-

<sup>31</sup> From his early youth, George Phranza, or Phranza, was employed in the service of the great emperor. He is called by the Greek writers, *Βασιλικὸς ἀρχαῖος*, and is the father of a family which has since been ennobled from a high rank, and has the honour of having produced a pope, who reigned in the year 1522. Phranza is mentioned in the history of the emperor John, and in the history of the emperor Manuel.

<sup>32</sup> See Phranza, l. i. c. 17. While the emperor Manuel was at the Greek court, he was visited by the emperor of the East, and the emperor of the West, who were both present at the coronation of the emperor Manuel.

tion. Though last, Simonides, *Εὐαγγέλιον*, 1004, so deficient in accuracy, and in the edition of the Biblioth. Græc. tom. vi. p. 63, 636.

<sup>33</sup> See Phranza, l. i. c. 17. The eldest of the sons of Manuel, John Palæologus the Second, was acknowledged, after his father's death, as the sole emperor of the Greeks.

<sup>34</sup> The wall of Manuel, which was built by the emperor Manuel, was destroyed by the Turks, and the wall of the emperor Manuel was destroyed by the Turks.

hiliated by appeals, evaded by trusts or commendams, disappointed by reversionary grants, and superseded by previous and arbitrary reservations.<sup>35</sup> A public auction was instituted in the court of Rome: the cardinals and favourites were enriched with the spoils of nations; and every country might complain that the most important and valuable benefices were accumulated on the heads of aliens and absentees. During their residence at Avignon, the ambition of the popes subsided in the meaner passions of avarice<sup>37</sup> and luxury; they rigorously imposed on the clergy the tributes of first-fruits and tithes; but they freely tolerated the impunity of vice, disorder, and corruption.

A. D. 1378-1392. These manifold scandals were aggravated by the great schism of the West, which continued above fifty years. In the furious conflicts of Rome and Avignon, the vices of the rivals were mutually exposed; and their precarious situation degraded their authority, relaxed their discipline, and multiplied their wants and exactions. To heal the

Council of Pisa, A.D. 1199, of the year 1199, and Constance<sup>38</sup> were successively convened; but these great assemblies, conscious of their strength, resolved to vindicate the privileges of the Christian aristocracy. From a personal sentence against two pontiffs, whom they rejected, and a third, their acknowledged sovereign, whom they deposed, the fathers of Constance proceeded to examine the nature and limits of the Roman supremacy; nor did they separate till they had established the authority, above the pope, of a general council. It was enacted, that, for the government and reformation of the church, such assemblies should be held at regular intervals; and that each synod, before its dissolution, should appoint the time and place of the subsequent meeting. By the influence of the court of Rome, the next convocation at Sienna was easily eluded; but the bold and vigorous proceedings of the council of

Basil<sup>99</sup> had almost been fatal to the reigning pontiff, Eugenius the Fourth. A just suspicion of his design prompted the fathers to hasten the promulgation of their first decree, that the representatives of the church-militant on earth were invested with a divine and spiritual jurisdiction over all Christians, without excepting the pope; and that a general council could not be dissolved, prorogued, or transferred, unless by their free deliberation and consent. On the notice that Eugenius had fulminated a bull for that purpose, they ventured to summon, to admonish, to threaten, to censure, the contumacious suc-

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cessor of St. Peter. After many delays, to allow time for repentance, they finally declared, that, unless he submitted within the term of sixty days, he was suspended from the exercise of all temporal and ecclesiastical authority. And to mark their jurisdiction over the prince as well as the priest, they assumed the government of Avignon, annulled the alienation of the sacred patrimony, and protected Rome from the imposition of new taxes. Their boldness was justified, not only by the general opinion of the clergy, but by the support and power of the first monarchs of Christendom: the emperor Sigismund declared himself the servant and protector of the synod; Germany and France adhered to their cause; the duke of Milan was the enemy of Eugenius; and he was driven from the Vatican by an insurrection of the Roman people. Rejected at the same time by his temporal and spiritual subjects, submission was his only choice: by a most humiliating bull, the pope repealed his own acts, and ratified those of the council; incorporated his legates and cardinals with that venerable body; and *seemed* to resign himself to the decrees of the supreme legislature. Their fame pervaded the countries of the East; and it was in their presence that Sigismund received the ambassadors of the Turkish sultan,<sup>40</sup> who laid at his feet twelve large vases, filled with robes of silk and pieces of gold.

The fathers of Basil aspired to  
 the glory of reducing the Greeks,  
 as well as the Bohemians, within the pale of  
 the church; and their deputies invited the em-  
 peror and patriarch of Constantinople to unite  
 with an assembly which possessed the confidence  
 of the Western nations. Palaeologus was not  
 averse to the proposal; and his ambassadors  
 were introduced with due honours into the  
 Catholic senate. But the choice of the place  
 appeared to be an insuperable obstacle, since he  
 refused to pass the Alps, or the sea of Sicily,  
 and positively required that the synod should be  
 adjourned to some convenient city in Italy, or  
 at least on the Danube. The other articles of  
 this treaty were more readily stipulated; it was  
 agreed to defray the travelling expenses of the  
 emperor, with a train of seven hundred per-  
 sons,<sup>41</sup> to remit an immediate sum of eight  
 thousand ducats;<sup>42</sup> for the accommodation of the  
 Greek clergy; and in his absence to grant a  
 supply of ten thousand ducats, with three hun-  
 dred archers and some galleys, for the protection  
 of Constantinople. The city of Avignon ad-  
 vanced the funds for the preliminary expenses;  
 and the embarkation was prepared at Marseilles  
 with some difficulty and delay.

[illegible]

John Palæologus  
embarks in the  
pope's galleys.  
A.D. 1457,  
Nov. 24.

In his distress, the friendship of Palæologus was disputed by the ecclesiastical powers of the West ; but the dexterous activity of a prevailed over the slow debates and temper of a republic. The decrees of usually tended to circumscribe the of the pope, and to erect a supreme tribunal in the church. Eugene patient of the yoke ; and the union might afford a decent pretence a rebellious synod from the Rhine. The independence of the fathers they passed the Alps : Savoy or which they succeeded with reluctance, at Constantinople as situate far pillars of Hercules ;<sup>43</sup> the emperor were apprehensive of the dangers of migration ; they were offended by an aration, that after suppressing the of the Bohemians, the council would the *old* heresy of the Greeks,<sup>44</sup> of Eugenius, all was smooth, and and respectful : and he invited the onarch to heal by his presence the e Latin, as well as of the Eastern, rary, near the coast of the Adriatic, d for their amicable interview ; and ndulgence of forgery and theft, a decree was procured, which transmod, with its own consent, to that Nine galleys were equipped for t Venice, and in the isle of Candia ; e anticipated the slower vessels of a Roman admiral was commissioned, and destroy ;<sup>45</sup> and these priestly ight have encountered each other seas where Athens and Sparta had attended for the pre-eminence of ulted by the impertinuity of the o were ready to fight for the possi- ble person, Palæologus he-itated t his palace and country on a niment. His father's advice still memory : and reason must sug- ce the Latins were divided among ey could never unite in a foreign nion. d dissuaded the unreasonable s advice was impartial, since he e council ; and it was enforced by elief, that the German Cæsar would reek his heir and successor in the West.<sup>46</sup> Even the Turkish sultan

was a counsellor whom it might be unsafe to trust, but whom it was dangerous to offend. Amurath was unskilled in the disputes, but he was apprehensive of the union, of the Christians. From his own treasures, he offered to relieve the wants of the Byzantine court; yet he declared with seeming magnanimity, that Constantinople should be secure and inviolate, in the absence of her sovereign.<sup>47</sup> The resolution of Palæologus was decided by the most splendid gifts and the most specious promises: he wished to escape for a while from a scene of danger and distress; and after dismissing with an ambiguous answer the messengers of the council, he declared his intention of embarking in the Roman galleys. The age of the patriarch Joseph was more susceptible of fear than of hope; he trembled at the perils of the sea, and expressed his apprehension, that his feeble voice, with thirty perhaps of his orthodox brethren, would be oppressed in a foreign land by the power and numbers of a Latin synod. He yielded to the royal mandate, to the flattering assurance, that he would be heard as the oracle of nations, and to the secret wish of learning from his brother of the West, to deliver the church from the yoke of kings.<sup>48</sup> The five *cross-bearers*, or dignitaries, of St. Sophia, were bound to attend his person; and one of these, the great ecclesiarch or preacher, Sylvester Syropulus,<sup>49</sup> has composed a free and curious history<sup>50</sup> of the *false* union.<sup>51</sup> Of the clergy that reluctantly obeyed the summons of the emperor and the patriarch, submission was the first duty, and patience the most useful virtue. In a chosen list of twenty bishops, we discover the metropolitan titles of Heraclea and Cyzicus, Nice and Nicomedia, Ephesus and Trebizond, and the personal merit of Mark and Bessarion, who, in the confidence of their learning and eloquence, were promoted to the episcopal rank. Some monks and philosophers were named to display the science and sanctity of the Greek church; and the service of the choir was performed by a select band of singers and musicians. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, appeared by their genuine or fictitious deputies; the primate of Russia represented a national church, and the Greeks might contend with the Latins in the extent of their spiritual empire. The precious vases of St. Sophia were exposed to the winds and waves, that the patriarch might officiate with

[illegible]

43. The duke (in 26-31) attests his own indignation, and that of his own troops, and the like denunciations, who excused the rash decision, could neither deny nor justify an act so monstrous.

44. Consequently, the poet's nephew and natural, expressly declared, *the duke's* excuse was that the duke's troops were as he was *sovereign* (26-31). But, as he himself said, *that was not the reason*. The naval victory of the signal was less pure victory, and, till the hostile squadron appeared, both parties tried to conceal their quarrel from the troops.

45. Scrupulus mentions the hopes of P'ia-t'ien (p. 36), and the last advice of Ssu-ma (p. 37). At first, the weak emperor was unfilled of his friend's death, had he known it sooner, he would have been much less so.

... was of the  
... program  
... Turkish  
... mentioned by Symonin (p. 1), and Amrath  
... word He might threaten (p. 122, 219), but he never at-  
... the city

18 The reader will smile at the simplicity with which he imparted these homilies to his favourites. ταυτην πληροφοριαν σχησεν ηλπιζε και δε ο τον Παπα ελευθερωσαι τι εκκλινει απο τη αποστολη αυτου δοτικας παρα τον βασιλεως (μ. 12). Yet it would have been difficult for him to have understood the issue of Gregory VII.

19 The Christian name of Sylvester is borrowed from the Latin *caesdr*. In modern Greek, *caesdr*, as a diminutive, is added to the end of words, not as any reasoning of Caesdrion, the editor, excuse his changing into *Synagros* (*Syngr*), because the *Synagros* of his own manuscript, whose name is subscribed with his own hand in the title of the council of Florence. Why might not the author be of Syrian extraction?

54) From the conclusion of the history, I should fix the date to the year 1111, four years after the synod, when the great eccl<sup>i</sup>-arch had abdicated his office (sectio xii. p. 750-750.). His passions were cooled by time and retirement, and, although Synopulus is often partial, he is never intemperate.

is highly interesting; *erate*.

51 *Pera iudiorum monita non tunc inter Graecos et Latinos* (Hagen Coma-  
mune, 1604, in folio), was first published with a base and florid versifica-  
tion by Robert T. Neuchamp, a chaplain to Charles II, in his exile. The  
text of the treatise, which preached a polemic title, for the beginning  
of the original is wanted, and the polemic title may be raised with the best of  
the Byzantine writers for the merits of his native land, and even of  
his style, but he is excluded from the orthodox collections of the  
councils.

becoming splendour ; whatever gold the emperor could procure, was expended in the massy ornaments of his bed and chariot ;<sup>52</sup> and while they affected to maintain the prosperity of their ancient fortune, they quarrelled for the division of fifteen thousand ducats, the first alms of the Roman pontiff. After the necessary preparations, John Palæologus, with a numerous train, accompanied by his brother Demetrius, and the most respectable persons of the church and state, embarked in eight vessels with sail and oars, which steered through the Turkish Straits of Gallipoli to the Archipelago, the Morea, and the Adriatic Gulf.<sup>53</sup>

After a tedious and troublesome navigation of seventy-seven days, this religious squadron cast anchor before Venice; and their reception proclaimed the joy and magnificence of that powerful republic. In the command of the world, the modest Augustus had never claimed such honours from his subjects as were paid to his feeble successor by an independent state. Seated on the poop, on a lofty throne, he received the visit, or, in the Greek style, the *adoration*, of the doge and senators.<sup>34</sup> They sailed in the Bucentaur, which was accompanied by twelve stately galleys: the sea was over-spread with innumerable gondolas of pomp and pleasure; the air resounded with music and acclamations; the mariners, and even the vessels, were dressed in silk and gold; and in all the emblems and pageants, the Roman eagles were blended with the lions of St. Mark. The triumphal procession, ascending the great canal, passed under the bridge of the Rialto; and the Eastern strangers gazed with admiration on the palaces, the churches, and the populousness of a city, that seems to float on the bosom of the waves.<sup>35</sup> They sighed to behold the spoils and trophies with which it had been decorated after the sack of Constantinople. After an hospitable entertainment of fifteen days, Palæologus pursued his journey by land and water from Venice to Ferrara: and, on this occasion, the pride of the Vatican was tempered by policy to indulge the ancient dignity of the emperor of the East.

He made his entry on a *black* horse; but a milk-white steed, whose trappings were embroidered with golden eagles, was led before him; and the canopy was borne over his head by the princes of Este, the sons or kinsmen of Nicholas, marquis of the city, and a sovereign more powerful than himself.<sup>56</sup> Palaologus did not alight till he reached the bottom of the staircase: the pope advanced to the door of the apartment; refused his proffered genuflection; and, after a paternal embrace, conducted the

emperor to a seat on his left hand. Nor would the patriarch descend from his galley, till a ceremony, almost equal, had been stipulated between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople. The latter was saluted by his brother with a kiss of union and charity; nor would any of the Greek ecclesiastics submit to kiss the feet of the Western primate. On the opening of the synod, the place of honour in the centre was claimed by the temporal and ecclesiastical chiefs; and it was only by alleging that his predecessors had not assisted in person at Nice or Chalcedon, that Eugenius could evade the ancient precedents of Constantine and Marcian. After much debate, it was agreed that the right and left sides of the church should be occupied by the two nations; that the solitary chair of St. Peter should be raised the first of the Latin line; and that the throne of the Greek emperor, at the head of his clergy, should be equal and opposite to the second place, the vacant seat of the emperor of the West.<sup>37</sup>

But as soon as festivity and form had given place to a more serious treaty, the Greeks were dissatisfied with their journey, with themselves, and with the pope. The artful pencil of his emissaries had painted him in a prosperous state; at the head of the princes and prelates of Europe, obedient at his voice, to believe and to arm. The thin appearance of the universal synod of Ferrara betrayed his weakness; and the Latins opened the first session with only five archbishops, eighteen bishops, and ten abbots, the greatest part of whom were the subjects or countrymen of the Italian pontiff. Except the duke of Burgundy, none of the potentates of the West condescended to appear in person, or by their ambassadors; nor was it possible to suppress the judicial acts of Basil against the dignity and person of Eugenius, which were finally concluded by a new election. Under these circumstances, a truce or delay was asked and granted, till Palæologus could expect from the consent of the Latins some temporal reward for an unpopular union; and, after the first session, the public proceedings were adjourned above six months. The emperor, with a chosen band of his favourites and *Janizaries*, fixed his summer residence at a pleasant spacious monastery, six miles from Ferrara; forgot, in the pleasures of the chace, the distress of the church and state; and persisted in destroying the game, without listening to the just complaints of the marquis or the husbandman.<sup>58</sup> In the mean while, his unfortunate Greeks were exposed to all the miseries of exile and poverty; for the support of each

Council of the  
Greeks and Latins at Ferrara  
and Florence.  
A. D. 1458,  
Oct. 8—  
A. D. 1459,  
July 6.

52 Scytopolus (p. 633) simply expresses his intention in *οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς*, and the Latin of Crælius may add a statement of his first par phrase: *Et pompâ circumductus noster Imperator Italicis populis adque deamuratus Iupiter crederetur, aut et rous exequenta* (p. 633).

to Varnie  
and that the  
before the

[illegible]

most splendid of the Christian cities. For the spoils of Constantinople at Venice, see Symonds, *l.c.* 87.

of Venice, see *Symposium*, p. 17.

57 The Latin vulgar was provoked to laughter at the strange dresses of the Greek, and deeply envied the length of their garments, their sleeves, and their hems, nor was the emperor distinguished, except by the purple colour, and his diadem or corona with a jewel on the top.

[illegible]



While they were lost in a cloud of dust and darkness, the pope and emperor were desirous of a seeming union, which could alone accomplish the purposes of their interview; and the obstinacy of public dispute was softened by the arts of private and personal negotiation. The patriarch Joseph had sunk under the weight of age and infirmities; his dying voice breathed the counsels of charity and concord, and his vacant benefice might tempt the hopes of the ambitious clergy. The ready and active obedience of the archbishops of Russia and Nice, of Isidore and Bessarion, was prompted and recompensed by their speedy promotion to the dignity of cardinals. Bessarion, in the first debates, had stood forth the most strenuous and eloquent champion of the Greek church; and if the apostate, the bastard, was reprobated by his country,<sup>65</sup> he appears in ecclesiastical story a rare example of a patriot who was recommended to court-favour by loud opposition and well-timed compliance. With the aid of his two spiritual coadjutors, the emperor applied his arguments to the general situation and personal characters of the bishops, and each was successively moved by authority and example. Their revenues were in the hands of the Turks, their persons in those of the Latins; an episcopal treasure, three robes and forty ducats, was soon exhausted; <sup>66</sup> the hopes of their return still depended on the ships of Venice and the alms of Rome; and such was their indigence, that their arrears, the payment of a debt, would be accepted as a favour, and might operate as a bribe.<sup>67</sup> The danger and relief of Constantinople might excuse some prudent and pious dissimulation; and it was insinuated, that the obstinate heretics who should resist the consent of the East and West, would be abandoned in a hostile land to the revenge or justice of the Roman pontiff.<sup>68</sup> In the first private assembly of the Greeks, the formulary of union was approved by twenty-four, and rejected by twelve, members; but the five *cross-bearers* of St. Sophia, who aspired to represent the patriarch, were disqualified by ancient discipline; and their right of voting was transferred to an obsequious train of monks, grammarians, and profane laymen. The will of the monarch produced a false and servile unanimity, and no more than two patriots had courage to speak their own sentiments and those of their country. Demetrius, the emperor's brother, retired to Venice, that he might not be witness of the union; and Mark of Ephesus, mistaking perhaps his pride for his conscience, disclaimed all communion with the Latin heretics, and avowed himself the champion and confessor of the orthodox creed.<sup>69</sup> In the treat-

between the two nations, several forms of consent were proposed, such as might satisfy the Latins, without dishonouring the Greeks: and they weighed the scruples of words and syllables, till the theological balance trembled with a slight preponderance in favour of the Vatican. It was agreed (I must entreat the attention of the reader), that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, as from one principle and one substance; that he proceeds *by* the Son, being of the same nature and substance, and that he proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, by one *inspiration* and production. It is less difficult to understand the articles of the preliminary treaty; that the pope should defray all the expenses of the Greeks in their return home; that he should annually maintain two galleys and three hundred soldiers for the defence of Constantinople; that all the ships which transported pilgrims to Jerusalem should be obliged to touch at that port; that as often as they were required, the pope should furnish ten galleys for a year, or twenty for six months; and that he should powerfully solicit the princes of Europe, if the emperor had occasion for land-forces.

The same year, and almost the same day, were marked by the deposition of Eugenius at Basil; and, at Florence, by his re-union of the Greeks and Latins. In the former synod (which he styled indeed an assembly of damns), the pope was branded with the guilt of simony, perjury, tyranny, heresy, and schism; <sup>70</sup> and declared to be inexcusable in his vices, unworthy of any title, and incapable of holding any ecclesiastical office. In the latter he was received as the true and holy vicar of Christ, who, after a separation of six hundred years, had reconciled the Catholics of the East and West, in one fold, and under one shepherd. The act of union was subscribed by the pope, the emperor, and the principal members of both churches; even by those who, like Syropulus, <sup>71</sup> had been deprived of the right of voting. Two copies might have sufficed for the East and West; but Eugenius was not satisfied, unless four authentic and similar transcripts were signed and attested as the monuments of his victory. <sup>72</sup> On a memorable day, the 6th of July, the successors of St. Peter and Constantine ascended their thrones; the two nations assembled in the cathedral of Florence; their representatives, cardinal Julian and Bessarion archbishop of Nice, appeared in the pulpit, and, after reading in their respective tongues the act of union, they mutually embraced, in the name and the presence of their applauding brethren. The pope and his mini-

Fugerus  
deposed at  
Basl.  
A. D. 1179,  
June 25.

Re union of  
the Greeks at  
Florence  
A. D. 1478,  
1479.

65 See the polite altercation of Mark and Bessarion in Syropoulos (p. 237), who never dissembles the vices of his own party, and fairly praises the virtues of the Latins.

66 For the poverty of the Greek bishops, see a remarkable passage of Lucas (c. 31.). One had possessed, for his whole property, three old gowns, &c. By teaching one and twenty years in his monastery, Bessarion himself had collected forty gold dinars, but of these the archbishop had expended twenty-eight in his ravage from Peloponnesus, and the remainder at Constantinople (Symonides, p. 127).

67 Syropulus denies that the Greeks received any money in fire they had subscribed the act of union (p. 287). Yet he relates some suspicious circumstances, and their bribery and corruption are positively

69) I had forgot brother pugilist and orthodox protester a few white bound, who usually lay quiet on the face of the emperor's decree, but who barked most furiously while the act of union was revealing.

without being silenced by the soothing or the lashes of the royal attendants (*Synopol* p. 257, 258).

(7) From the original lives in the copies, in which the *Compendium* (tom. iii p. ii. tom. xiv), the manners of Eugenius IV appear to have been decent, and even exemplary. His situation, exposed to the world and to his enemies, was a restraint, and is a pledge

71 Syropulus, rather than subscribe, would have assisted, as the least evil, at the ceremony of the union. He was compelled to do both, and the great ecclesiarch poorly excuses his submission to the emperor (p. 200, 202).

[illegible]

sters then officiated according to the Roman liturgy; the creed was chanted with the addition of *filioque*; the acquiescence of the Greeks was poorly excused by their ignorance of the harmonious, but inarticulate, sounds; <sup>73</sup> and the more scrupulous Latins refused any public celebration of the Byzantine rite. Yet the emperor and his clergy were not totally unmindful of national honour. The treaty was ratified by their consent: it was tacitly agreed that no innovation should be attempted in their creed or ceremonies: they spared, and secretly respected, the generous firmness of Mark of Ephesus; and, on the decease of the patriarch, they refused to elect his successor, except in the cathedral of St. Sophia.

In the distribution of public and private rewards, the liberal pontiff exceeded their hopes and his promises: the Greeks, with less pomp and pride, returned by the same road of Ferrara and Venice; and their reception at Constantinople was such as will be described in the following chapter. <sup>74</sup> The success of the first trial encouraged Eugenius to repeat the same edifying scenes; and the deputies of the Armenians, the Maronites, the Jacobites of Syria and Egypt, the Nestorians and the Ethiopians, were successively introduced, to kiss the feet of the Roman pontiff, and to announce the obedience and the orthodoxy of the East. These Oriental embassies, unknown in the countries which they presumed to represent, <sup>75</sup> diffused over the West the fame of Eugenius; and a clamour was artfully propagated against the remnant of a schism in Switzerland and Savoy, which alone impeded the harmony of the Christian world. The vigour of opposition was succeeded by the lassitude of despair: the council of Basil was silently dissolved, and Fœlix, renouncing the tiara, again withdrew to the devout or delicious hermitage of Ripaille. <sup>76</sup> A general peace was secured by mutual acts of oblivion and indemnity: all ideas of reformation subsided; the popes continued to exercise and abuse their ecclesiastical despotism; nor has Rome been since disturbed by the mischiefs of a contested election. <sup>77</sup>

The journeys of three emperors were unavailing for their temporal, or perhaps their spiritual, salvation; but they were productive of a beneficial consequence; the revival of the Greek learning in Italy, from whence it was

propagated to the last nations of the West and North. In their lowest servitude and depression, the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity; of a musical and prolific language, that gives a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy. Since the barriers of the monarchy, and even of the capital, had been trampled under foot, the various barbarians had doubtless corrupted the form and substance of the national dialect; and ample glossaries have been composed, to interpret a multitude of words of Arabic, Turkish, Slavonian, Latin, or French origin. <sup>78</sup> But a purer idiom was spoken in the court and taught in the college; and the flourishing state of the language is described, and perhaps embellished, by a learned Italian, <sup>79</sup> who, by a long residence and noble marriage, <sup>80</sup> was naturalised at Constantinople about thirty years before the Turkish conquest. "The vulgar speech," says Philéppus, <sup>81</sup> "has been depraved by the people, and infected by the multitude of strangers and merchants, who every day flock to the city and mingle with the inhabitants. It is from the disciples of such a school that the Latin language received the versions of Aristotle and Plato, so obscure in sense, and in spirit so poor. But the Greeks who have escaped the contagion, are those whom we follow; and they alone are worthy of our imitation. In familiar discourse, they still speak the tongue of Aristophanes and Euripides, of the historians and philosophers of Athens; and the style of their writings is still more elaborate and correct. The persons who, by their birth and offices, are attached to the Byzantine court, are those who maintain, with the least alloy, the ancient standard of elegance and purity; and the native graces of language most conspicuously shine among the noble matrons, who are excluded from all intercourse with foreigners. With foreigners, do I say? They live retired and sequestered from the eyes of their fellow-citizens. Seldom are they seen in the streets; and when they leave their houses, it is in the dusk of evening, on visits to the churches and their nearest kindred. On these occasions, they are on horseback, covered with a veil, and encompassed by their parents, their husbands, or their servants." <sup>82</sup>

Among the Greeks, a numerous and opulent

Some Persæ words may be found in Xenophon, and some Latin ones in Plautus; and such is the inevitable effect of war and commerce, but the form and substance of the language were not affected by this slight alloy.

<sup>79</sup> The life of Francis Philéppus, a sophist, proud, restless, and rapacious, has been recently composed by Lancelotti (*Memories of Francis Philéppus*, de Fontenay, tom. x. p. 691, 731.) and Dandolo (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, tom. viii. p. 282-293) for the most part from his own letters. His elaborate writings, and those of his

of Greece and the emperors of Constantinople.

<sup>82</sup> Philéppus, absolutely exact, charges the Greek or Oriental jealousy on the narrowness of ancient Rome.

Their return to Constantinople. A.D. 1449, Feb. 1.

Final peace of the church. A.D. 1449.

State of the Greek language at Constantinople. A.D. 1500-1535.

<sup>73</sup> *Hæc. A. d. c. armis, et non dictis* (S. suppl. p. 297.)

<sup>74</sup> In the autumn, the Greeks arrived at Bologna with the ambassadors of England, and after some questions and answers, these unhappy strangers laughed at the pretended union of Florence (Synop. p. 507.)

<sup>75</sup> No nations, or rather so feeble, are those remnants of the Nestorians, Jacobites, &c. that I have turned over, without success, the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Assemanus, a faithful slave of the Vatican.

<sup>76</sup> Ripaille is situated near Thonon in Savoy, on the southern side of the lake of Geneva. It is now a garden and vine; and Mr. Addison (Travels into Italy, vol. i. p. 117, 118, of 1685) visited it, and his works have celebrated the pleasure of the founder. Jeanes Sylvius, and the fathers of Basil, applauded the austere life of the dual hermit, but the French and Italian prelates most unkindly attest the popular opinion of his luxury.

<sup>77</sup> In this account of the councils of Br. th. Ferrara, and Florence, I have consulted the original act, which fill the sixth and seventh tomes of the edition of Venice, and are closed by the periphrasis, though partly, by a copy of Augustin Patricius, an Italian of the xvth century. They are degraded and corrupted by Papirius Montephaque (Ecles. tom. x.) and the continuator of Henry tom. xvi. and the respect of the Gallican church for the adverse parties confirms their members to an awkward mediocrity.

<sup>78</sup> In the first attempt, Meursius collected 7700 Greek and Latin words, to which, in a second attempt, he added 1800 more, yet what pentades elegantes, dædala, &c. to Fortius, Du Rieu, Fœtius, the Ballandats, &c. (Fabric. Bibl. Græc. tom. x. p. 101, &c.)

clergy was dedicated to the service of religion—their monks and bishops have ever been distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their manners; nor were they diverted, like the Latin priests, by the pursuits and pleasures of a secular, and even military, life. After a large deduction for the time and talents that were lost in the devotion, the laziness, and the discord, of the church and cloister, the more inquisitive and ambitious minds would explore the sacred and profane erudition of their native language. The ecclesiastics presided over the education of youth; the schools of philosophy and eloquence were perpetuated till the fall of the empire; and it may be affirmed, that more books and more knowledge were included within the walls of Constantinople, than could be dispersed over the extensive countries of the West.<sup>51</sup>

### Comparison of the Greeks and Latins.

Comparison of the Greeks and Latins. But an important distinction has been already noticed: the Greeks were stationary or retrograde, while the Latins were advancing with a rapid and progressive motion. The nations were excited by the spirit of independence and emulation; and even the little world of the Italian states contained more people and industry than the decreasing circle of the Byzantine empire. In Europe, the lower ranks of society were relieved from the yoke of feudal servitude; and freedom is the first step to curiosity and knowledge. The use, however rude and corrupt, of the Latin tongue had been preserved by superstition; the universities, from Bologna to Oxford,<sup>54</sup> were peopled with thousands of scholars; and their misguided ardour might be directed to more liberal and manly studies. In the resurrection of science, Italy was the first that cast away her shroud; and the eloquent Petrarch, by his lessons and his example, may justly be applauded as the first habinger of day. A purer style of composition, a more generous and rational strain of sentiment, flowed from the study and imitation of the writers of ancient Rome; and the disciples of Cicero and Virgil approached, with reverence and love, the sanctuary of their Grecian masters. In the sack of Constantinople, the French, and even the Venetians, had despised and destroyed the works of Lysippus and Homer: the monuments of art may be annihilated by a single blow; but the immortal mind is renewed and multiplied by the copies of the pen; and such copies it was the ambition of Petrarch and his friends to possess and understand. The arms of the Turks undoubtedly pressed the flight of the Muses; yet we may tremble at the thought, that Greece might have been overwhelmed, with her schools and libraries, before Europe had emerged from the deluge of barbarism, that the seeds of science might have been scattered by the winds, before

87. See the state of learning in this article and elsewhere, in the learned and judicious *Modern Theatrical Hist.* vol. 3, p. 171-174, 409-414.

148. At the end of the 19th century, there existed in Europe a utility university, and of these, the most famous was the University of Leipzig. There were 1000 in proportion to their scientific, biological, natural and technical faculties, and the same was the case in the year 1877, the number at OMS had increased from 200 to 600 students. Henry's history of Great Britain, vol. 5, p. 1750. Yet even this decrease is much superior to the present list of the members of the university.

53 Of these writers, who professedly treat of the restoration of the Greek learning in Italy, the two principal are Thomas, Dr. Hagen, and Hody (de Graecis Illustribus, Linguae Graecae Literarum, *historia et incrementum in auro rebus*, London, 1742, in three volumes), and Lascaris (historia della Letteratura Italiana, tom. v. p. 264-277, tom. vi. p. 112-115). The Oxford professor is a laborious scholar, but the

the Italian soil was prepared for their cultivation.

The most learned Italians of the fifteenth century have confessed and applauded the restoration of Greek literature, after a long oblivion of many hundred years.<sup>55</sup> Yet in that country, and beyond the Alps, some names are quoted; some profound scholars, who in the darkest ages were honourably distinguished by their knowledge of the Greek tongue; and national vanity has been loud in the praise of such rare examples of erudition.

Without scrutinising the merit of individuals, truth must observe, that their science is without a cause, and with out an effect; that it was easy for them to satisfy themselves, and their more ignorant contemporaries; and that the idiom, which they had so marvellously acquired, was transcribed in few manuscripts, and was not taught in any university of the West. In a corner of Italy, it faintly existed as the popular, or at least as the ecclesiastical, dialect.<sup>85</sup> The first impression of the Doric and Ionic colonies has never been completely erased. The Calabrian churches were long attached to the throne of Constantinople; and the monks of St. Basil pursued their studies in Mount Athos and the schools of the East. Calabria was the native country of Barlaam, who has already appeared as a sectary and an ambassador; and Barlaam was the first who revived, beyond the Alps, the

LESSONS of  
Barlaam.  
D. 1359.

memory, or at least the writings, of Homer.<sup>87</sup> He is described, by Petrarch and Boccaccio,<sup>88</sup> as a man of a diminutive stature, though truly great in the measure of learning and genius; of a piercing discernment, though of a slow and painful elocution. For many ages (as they affirm) Greece had not produced his equal in the knowledge of history, grammar, and philosophy; and his merit was celebrated in the attestations of the princes and doctors of Constantinople. One of these attestations is still extant; and the emperor Cantacuzene, the protector of his adversaries, is forced to allow, that Euclid, Aristotle, and Plato, were familiar to that profound and subtle logician.<sup>89</sup> In the court of Avignon, he formed an intimate connection with Petrarch,<sup>90</sup> the first of the Latin scholars; and the desire of mutual instruction was the principle of their literary commerce. The Tuscan applied himself with eager curiosity and assiduous diligence to the study of the Greek Language; and in a labourous struggle with the dryness and difficulty of the first rudiments, he began to reach the sense, and to feel the spirit, of poets and philosophers, whose minds were congenial to his own. But he was soon deprived

... vision of the future, the superiority of a modern and national

87 In earlier years, between the French and Germans, the men of all creeds and nations have not only met, but, in that respect,

the two bodies and non-adjacent regions, respectively, the  $\alpha$ -subsequence was  $149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155$ . Since there is a set of B values, the  $\beta$ -subsequence is  $150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951,$

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of Venice and the elegance of Florence. His Italian friends were deaf to his importunity ; he depended on their curiosity and indulgence, and embarked on a second voyage ; but on his entrance into the Adriatic, the ship was assailed by a tempest, and the unfortunate teacher, who like Ulysses had fastened himself to the mast, was struck dead by a flash of lightning. The humane Petrarch dropped a tear on his disaster ; but he was most anxious to learn whether some copy of Euripides or Sophocles might not be saved from the hands of the mariners.<sup>45</sup>

Foundation of the law  
gauge in Italy  
by Manuel  
Chrysoloras.  
A. D. 1390-1415.

But the faint rudiments of Greek learning, which Pefarch had encouraged and Boccace had planted, soon withered and expired. The succeeding generation was content for a while with the improvement of Latin eloquence ; nor was it before the end of the fourteenth century, that a new and perpetual flame was rekindled in Italy.<sup>66</sup> Previous to his own journey, the emperor Manuel de-patched his envoys and orators to implore the compassion of the Western princes. Of these envoys, the most conspicuous, or the most learned, was Manuel Chrysoloras,<sup>67</sup> of noble birth, and whose Roman ancestors are supposed to have migrated with the great Constantine. After visiting the courts of France and England, where he obtained some contributions and more promises, the envoy was invited to assume the office of a professor ; and Florence had again the honour of this second invitation. By his knowledge, not only of the Greek, but of the Latin tongue, Chrysoloras deserved the stipend, and surpassed the expectation, of the republic. His school was frequented by a crowd of disciples of every rank and age ; and one of these, in a general history, has described his motives and his success. “ At “ that time,” says Iliovard Aretin,<sup>68</sup> “ I was “ a student of the civil law ; but my soul was “ inflamed with the love of letters ; and I be- “ stowed some application on the sciences of “ logic and rhetoric. On the arrival of Manuel, “ I hesitated whether I should desert my legal “ studies, or relinquish this golden opportunity ; “ and thus, in the ardour of youth, I com- “ muned with my own mind— Wilt thou be “ wanting to thyself and thy fortune? Wilt “ thou refuse to be introduced to a familiar “ converse with Homer, Plato, and Demos- “ thenes? with those poets, philosophers, and “ orators, of whom such wonders are related, and “ who are celebrated by every age as the great “ masters of human science? Of professors and “ scholars in civil law, a sufficient supply will

95 Leontius, or Leo Pilatus, is sufficiently made known by Hedy (p. 2—11.) and the Abbé de Bado (Vie de l'Etranger, tom. iii. p. 625—631. 670—673) who has very happily caught the lively and dramatic manner of his original.

gree, the use of their native tongue.

of Theodoras, was a linguist, an orator, and an historian, the secretary of four successive popes, and the chancellor of the Republic of Florence, where he died A. D. 1444, at the age of seventy-five, from the Bubonic Plague. See, *ibid.*, p. 130, &c. Turabochi, *ibid.*, p. 73-74.

"always be found in our universities; but a  
"teacher, and such a teacher, of the Greek lan-  
"guage, if he once be suffered to escape, may  
"never afterwards be retrieved. Convinced by  
"these reasons, I gave myself to Chrysoloras,  
"and so strong was my passion, that the lessons  
"which I had imbibed in the day were the con-  
"stant subject of my nightly dreams."<sup>99</sup> At the  
same time and place, the Latin classics were ex-  
plained by John of Ravenna, the domestic pupil  
of Petrarch:<sup>100</sup> the Italians, who illustrated their  
age and country, were formed in this double  
school; and Florence became the fruitful se-  
minary of Greek and Roman erudition.<sup>101</sup> The  
presence of the emperor recalled Chrysoloras  
from the college to the court; but he afterwards  
taught at Pavia and Rome with equal industry  
and applause. The remainder of his life, about  
fifteen years, was divided between Italy and  
Constantinople, between embassies and lessons.  
In the noble office of enlightening a foreign  
nation, the grammarian was not unmindful of  
a more sacred duty to his prince and country;  
and Emanuel Chrysoloras died at Constance  
on a public mission from the emperor to the  
council.

After his example, the restoration of the Greek letters in Italy was prosecuted by a series of emigrants, who were destitute of fortune, and endowed with learning, or at least with language. From the terror or oppression of the Turkish arms, the natives of Thessalonica and Constantinople escaped to a land of freedom, curiosity, and wealth. The synod introduced into Florence the lights of the Greek church and the oracles of the Platonic philosophy: and the fugitives who adhered to the union, had the double merit of renouncing their country, not only for the Christian, but for the Catholic, cause. A patriot, who sacrifices his party and conscience to the allurement of favour, may be possessed however of the private and social virtues: he no longer hears the reproachful epithets of slave and apostate; and the consideration which he acquires among his new associates, will restore in his own eyes the dignity of his character. The prudent conformity of Besarion was rewarded with the Roman Cardinal Besarion, &c. purple: he fixed his residence in Italy, and the Greek cardinal, the titular patriarch of Constantinople, was respected as the chief and protector of his nation: his abilities were exercised in the legations of Bologna, Venice, Germany, and France; and his election to the chair of St. Peter floated for a moment on the uncertain breath of a conclave.<sup>103</sup> His ecclesi-

<sup>69</sup> See the passage in *Archæ. Commentario Rerum suo Tempore in Italia gestarum*, apud Hoenem, p. 28, 70.

100) In this domestic discipline, Petrarch, who loved the youth often compuncts of the eager curiosity, restless temper, and proud feelings, who announce the genius and glory of a rarer age (Memorias sur Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 700-701).

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work. See likewise further on, in the list of the parts of the edition.

<sup>10</sup> The cost of the ...



powerful St. Ignace continued to reign the master of the church and school.

They have taken up arms and the leaders of the movement are the Greeks. Yet it is not because of the soil that they were so successful, supported by the aid of the Persians. They were divided into many independent states, and at that time, it was the custom of princes and republics to vie with each other in the encouragement and reward of

literature. The time of Nicholas the Fifth<sup>11</sup> has not been adequate to his merits. From a plenary on-

He justified himself by his virtue and learning, the character of the man prevailed over the mistakes of the paper, and he disposed the members who were so prejudiced against the Republic, to the Hon. Assembly, in favour of the Republic.

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the example of the Remyaopothi was preceded or imi-

and without a title. Cincinnatus of Medullus was the father of a line of princes, whose name and name are almost extinct, with the restoration

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

of mining, his credit was enrolled into fame; his powers were devoted to the service of mankind; he corresponded at once with Camp and Commerce, and a car of Indian spices and Chinese goods was soon reported in the same manner. The general education of his grand-

Italy was not only a patron, but an active participant in the literary race. Her patronage was extended to relief, and her poets and scholars were delightfully spent in the Italian sanctuary. He encouraged the great poet Demetrius Chalcocondyles and Angelo Poliziano, and his active secretary Janus Liliensis returned from the East with a treasure of two hundred manuscripts, four one of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe.<sup>12</sup> The rest of Italy was not only a land of refuge and the progress of

1. The first is the exclusive property of their own literature, and the examples of Greece were not copied, but studied and improving themselves, which they have retained. After a short residence in foreign teachers, the tide of civilization subsided, but the language of Constantinople, Vienna, Italy and the Alps; and the slaves of France, Germany, and England, transported to their country the sacred fire which they had kindled in the schools of Florence and Rome. In the productions of the mind, as in those of the soul, the gifts of nature are excelled by industry and skill. The Greek authors, forgotten on the banks of the Bessus, have been illustrated on those of the Elbe and the Thames; and Bosphorus or Gazi might have given the more or less of the laborious; the luxury of Rome, the taste of Persians, the refinement of Sages, the education of Sages, the spirit of the noble school of Bent-

By the same process, it is known that this world art has been copied by Aidos, and his numerous successors, to perpetuate and multiply the works of antiquity.<sup>10</sup> A single manuscript imported from Greece is revised in ten thousand copies; and each copy is fairer than the original. In this form, Homer and Plato would peruse with more satisfaction their own writings; and their scholars must resign the prize to the labours of our Western editors.

Before the revival of classic literature, the barbarians in Europe were immersed in ignorance; and their vulgar tongues were marked with the

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On 11/11/1963, the following information was obtained from the Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.:

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1. The first group of variables includes the variables that are used in the first stage of the analysis. These variables are the variables that are used to explain the dependent variable in the first stage of the analysis.

rudeness and poverty of their manners. The students of the more perfect idioms of Rome and Greece were introduced to a new world of light and science; to the society of the free and polished nations of antiquity; and to a familiar converse with those immortal men who spoke the sublime language of eloquence and reason. Such an intercourse must tend to refine the taste, and to elevate the genius of the moderns; and yet, from the first experiment, it might appear that the study of the ancients had given fetters, rather than wings, to the human mind. However laudable, the spirit of imitation is of a servile cast; and the first disciples of the Greeks and Romans were a colony of strangers in the midst of their age and country. The minute and laborious diligence which explored the antiquities of remote times, might have improved or adorned the present state of society: the critic and metaphysician were the slaves of Aristotle; the poets, historians, and orators, were proud to repeat the thoughts and words of the Augustan age; the works of nature were observed with the eyes of Pliny and Theophrastus; and some Pagan votaries professed a secret devotion to the gods of Homer and Plato.<sup>117</sup> The Italians were oppressed by the strength and number of their ancient auxiliaries: the century after the deaths of Petrarch and Boccaccio was filled with a crowd of Latin imitators, who decently repose on our shelves; but in that æra of learning, it will not be easy to discern a real discovery of science, a work of invention or eloquence, in the popular language of the country.<sup>118</sup> But as soon as it had been deeply saturated with the celestial dew, the soil was quickened into vegetation and life; the modern idioms were refined; the classics of Athens and Rome inspired a pure taste and a generous emulation; and in Italy, as afterwards in France and England, the pleasing reign of poetry and fiction was succeeded by the light of speculative and experimental philosophy. Genius may anticipate the season of maturity; but in the education of a people, as in that of an individual, memory must be exercised, before the powers of reason and fancy can be expanded. nor may the artist hope to equal or surpass, till he has learned to imitate, the works of his predecessors.

## CHAP. LXVII.

*Schism of the Greeks and Latins. — Reign and Character of Amurath the Second. — Crusade of Ladislaus King of Hungary. — His Defeat and Death. — John Huniades. — Scanderbeg.*

117 I will select three singular examples of this excessive enthusiasm. 1. At the synod of Florence, p. 10, 16. [1] The said, in familiar conversation to George of Trebizond, that if a sect of time mankind would unanimously renounce the Gospel, and the forum for a religion similar to that of the Gauls (Jean Albert, apud Fabricium, tom. x. p. 751.). 2. Paul II. renewed the doubt as a dilemma, which had been founded by Pontanus Latus; and the principal members were accused of heresy, impiety, and Paganism (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. part. i. n. 81.). 3. In the same manner, the emperor and his courtiers.

in the sportive play of

118 The scholar Boccaccio died in the year 1375; and we cannot place before 1490 the composition of the Morgante Maggioro of Pulci,

— Constantine Palæologus, last Emperor of the East.

The respective merits of Rome and Constantinople are compared <sup>Comparison of Rome and Constantinople.</sup> and celebrated by an eloquent Greek, the father of the Italian schools.<sup>1</sup> The view of the ancient capital, the seat of his ancestors, surpassed the most sanguine expectations of Emanuel Chrysoloras; and he no longer blained the exclamation of an old sophist, that Rome was the habitation, not of men, but of gods! Those gods, and those men, had long since vanished; but to the eye of liberal enthusiasm, the majesty of ruin restored the image of her ancient prosperity. The monuments of the consuls and Cæsars, of the martyrs and apostles, engaged on all sides the curiosity of the philosopher and the Christian; and he confessed, that in every age the arms and the religion of Rome were destined to reign over the earth. While Chrysoloras admired the venerable beauties of the mother, he was not forgetful of his native country, her fairest daughter, her Imperial colony; and the Byzantine patriot expatiates with zeal and truth on the eternal advantages of nature, and the more transitory glories of art and dominion, which adorned, or had adorned, the city of Constantine. Yet the perfection of the copy still redounds (as he modestly observes) to the honour of the original, and parents are delighted to be renewed, and even excelled, by the superior merit of their children. “Constantinople,” says the orator, “is situate on a commanding point, between Europe and Asia, between the Archipelago and the Euxine. By her interposition, the two seas, and the two continents, are united for the common benefit of nations; and the gates of commerce may be shut or opened at her command. The harbour, encompassed on all sides by the sea and the continent, is the most secure and capacious in the world. The walls and gates of Constantinople may be compared with those of Babylon: the towers are many; each tower is a solid and lofty structure; and the second wall, the outer fortification, would be sufficient for the defence and dignity of an ordinary capital. A broad and rapid stream may be introduced into the ditches; and the artificial island may be encompassed, like Athens,<sup>2</sup> by land or water.” Two strong and natural causes are alleged for the perfection of the model of new Rome. The royal founder reigned over the most illustrious nations of the globe; and in the accomplishment of his designs, the power of the Romans was combined with the art and science of the Greeks. Other cities have been reared to maturity by accident and time; their

and the Orlando Innamorato of Boyardo (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. part. ii. p. 174–177.).

1 The epistle of Manuel Chrysoloras to the emperor John Palæologus will not offend the eye or ear of a classical student (videlicet Grotius de Antiquitate C. P. p. 167–126.). The superscription appears a chronological remark, that John Palæologus II. was associated in the empire before the year 1411, the date of Chrysoloras's death. A still earlier date, at least 1408, is deduced from the age of his youngest sons, Theodorus and Thomas, who were both Porphyrogeniti (Bucurgen, tom. v. p. 214–217.).

2 Somebody observed that the city of Athens might be circumnavigated (ὡς ἐνταῦθα πάλιν ὡς Ἀθήνας διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ παραπλάγιος πειρώμεθα). But what may be true in a rhetorical sense of Constantinople, cannot be applied to the situation of Athens, five miles from the sea, and not intersected or surrounded by any navigable streams.

beauties are mingled with disorder and deformity; and the inhabitants, unwilling to remove from their natal spot, are incapable of correcting the errors of their ancestors, and the original vices of situation or climate. But the free idea of Constantinople was formed and executed by a single mind; and the primitive model was improved by the obedient zeal of the subject's and successors of the first monarch. The adjacent isles were stored with an inexhaustible supply of marble; but the various materials were transported from the most remote shores of Europe and Asia; and the public and private buildings, the palaces, churches, aqueducts, cisterns, porticoes, columns, baths, and hippodromes, were adapted to the greatness of the capital of the East. The superfluity of wealth was spread along the shores of Europe and Asia; and the Byzantine territory, as far as the Euxine, the Hellespont, and the long wall, might be considered as a populous suburb and a perpetual garden. In this flattering picture, the past and the present, the times of prosperity and decay, are artfully confounded; but a sigh and a confession escape from the orator, that his wretched country was the shadow and sepulchre of its former self. The works of ancient sculpture had been defaced by Christian zeal or barbaric violence; the fairest structures were demolished; and the marbles of Paros or Numidia were burnt for lime, or applied to the meanest uses. Of many a statue, the place was marked by an empty pedestal; of many a column, the size was determined by a broken capital; the tombs of the emperors were scattered on the ground; the stroke of time was accelerated by storms and earthquakes; and the vacant space was adorned, by vulgar tradition, with fabulous monuments of gold and silver. From these wonders, which lived only in memory or belief, he distinguishes, however, the porphyry pillar, the column and colossus of Justinian,<sup>3</sup> and the church, more especially the dome, of St. Sophia; the best conclusion, since it could not be described according to its merits, and after it no other object could deserve to be mentioned. But he forgets, that a century before, the trembling fabrics of the colossus and the church had been saved and supported by the timely care of Andronicus the Elder. Thirty years after the emperor had fortified St. Sophia with two new buttresses or pyramids, the eastern hemisphere suddenly gave way; and the images, the altars, and the sanctuary, were crushed by the falling ruin. The mischief indeed was speedily repaired; the rubbish was cleared by the incessant labour of every rank and age; and the poor remains of riches and industry were consecrated by the Greeks to the most stately and venerable temple of the East.<sup>4</sup>

The last hope of the falling city and empire

<sup>3</sup> Nicephorus Gregoras has described the Colossus of Justinian (l. vii. 12.), but his measures are false and inconsistent. The editor Bower consulted his friend Girardon; and the sculptor gave him the following description of the statue. That of Justinian was still

prepped by Andronicus in 1311. The Greeks, in their pompous rhetoric, exalt the beauty and holiness of the church, an earthly heaven, the abode of angels, and of God himself, &c.

was placed in the harmony of the mother and daughter, in the maternal tenderness of Rome, and the filial obedience of Constantinople. In the synod of Florence, the Greeks and Latins had embraced, and subscribed, and promised; but these signs of friendship were purdious or fruitless;<sup>5</sup> and the baseless fabric of the union vanished like a dream.<sup>6</sup> The emperor and his prelates returned home in the Venetian galleys; but as they touched at the Morea and the isles of Corfu and Lesbos, the subjects of the Latins complained that the pretended union would be an instrument of oppression. No sooner did they land on the Byzantine shore, than they were saluted, or rather assailed, with a general murmur of zeal and discontent. During their absence, above two years, the capital had been deprived of its civil and ecclesiastical rulers: fanaticism fermented in anarchy; the most furious monks reigned over the conscience of women and bigots; and the hatred of the Latin name was the first principle of nature and religion. Before his departure for Italy, the emperor had flattered the city with the assurance of a prompt relief and a powerful succour; and the clergy, confident in their orthodoxy and science, had promised themselves and their flocks an easy victory over the blind shepherds of the West. The double disappointment exasperated the Greeks; the conscience of the subscribing prelates was awakened; the hour of temptation was past; and they had more to dread from the public resentment, than they could hope from the favour of the emperor or the pope. Instead of justifying their conduct, they deplored their weakness, professed their contrition, and cast themselves on the mercy of God and of their brethren. To the reproachful question, What had been the event or the use of their Italian synod? they answered with sighs and tears, "Alas! we have made a new faith; we have exchanged piety for impiety; we have betrayed the immaculate sacrifice; and we are become *Azymites*." (The *Azymites* were those who celebrated the communion with unleavened bread; and I must retract or qualify the praise which I have bestowed on the growing philosophy of the times.) "Alas! we have been seduced by distress, by fraud, and by the hopes and fears of a transitory life. The hand that has signed the union should be cut off; and the tongue that has pronounced the Latin creed deserves to be torn from the root." The best proof of their repentance was an increase of zeal for the most trivial rites and the most incomprehensible doctrines; and an absolute separation from all, without excepting their prince, who preserved some regard for honour and consistency. After the decease of the patriarch Joseph, the archbishops of Hera-

The Greek schism after the council of Florence. A.D. 1110-1148.

to the last of whom writes with truth and freedom. Among the moderns we may distinguish the container of Fleury (tom. xxi. p. 538, sec. 401. 421, &c.) and Spandanus (A.D. 1340-50). The sense of the latter is drowned in pregnant and passion, as soon as Rome and religion are concerned.



engaged in war till he was justified by a previous and adequate provocation; the victorious sultan was disarmed by submission; and in the observance of treaties, his word was inviolate and sacred.<sup>12</sup> The Hungarians were commonly the aggressors; he was provoked by the revolt of Scanderbeg; and the perfidious Caramanian was twice vanquished, and twice pardoned, by the Ottoman monarch. Before he invaded the Morea, Thebes had been surprised by the despot: in the conquest of Thessalonica, the grandson of Bajazet might dispute the recent purchase of the Venetians; and after the first siege of Constantinople, the sultan was never tempted, by the distress, the absence, or the injuries of Palæologus, to extinguish the dying light of the Byzantine empire.

But the most striking feature in the life and character of Amurat, is the double abdication of the Turkish throne; and, were his motives debased by an alloy of superstition, we must praise the royal philosopher,<sup>13</sup> who at the age of forty could discern the vanity of human greatness. Resigning the sceptre to his son, he retired to the pleasant residence of Magnesia; but he retired to the society of saints and hermits. It was not till the fourth century of the Hegira, that the religion of Mahomet had been corrupted by an institution so adverse to his genius; but in the age of the crusaders, the various orders of dervishes were multiplied by the example of the Christian, and even the Latin, monks.<sup>14</sup> The lord of nations submitted to fast, and pray, and turn round in endless rotation with the fanatics, who mistook the giddiness of the head for the illumination of the spirit.<sup>15</sup> But he was soon awakened from this dream of enthusiasm by the Hungarian invasion; and his obedient son was the foremost to urge the public danger and the wishes of the people. Under the banner of their veteran leader, the Janizaries fought and conquered; but he withdrew from the field of Varna, again to pray, to fast, and to turn round with his Magnesian brethren. These pious occupations were again interrupted by the danger of the state. A victorious army disdained the inexperience of their youthful ruler; the city of Adrianople was abandoned to rapine and slaughter; and the unanimous divan implored his presence to appease the tumult, and prevent the rebellion, of the Janizaries. At the well-known voice of their master, they trembled and obeyed; and the reluctant sultan was compelled to support his splendid servitude, till, at the end of four years, he was relieved by the angel of death. Age or disease, misfortune or caprice,

have tempted several princes to descend from the throne ; and they have had leisure to repent of their irretrievable step. But Amurath alone, in the full liberty of choice, after the trial of empire and solitude, has *repeated* his preference of a private life.

After the departure of his Greek brethren, Eugenius had not been unmindful of their temporal interest; and his tender regard for the Byzantine empire was animated by a just apprehension of the Turks, who approached, and might soon invade, the borders of Italy. But the spirit of the crusades had expired; and the coldness of the Franks was not less unreasonable than their headlong passion. In the eleventh century, a fanatic monk could precipitate Europe on Asia for the recovery of the holy sepulchre; but in the fifteenth, the most pressing motives of religion and policy were insufficient to unite the Latins in the defence of Christendom. Germany was an inexhaustible storehouse of men and arms;<sup>16</sup> but that complex and languid body required the impulse of a vigorous hand; and Frederic the Third was alike impotent in his personal character and his Imperial dignity. A long war had impaired the strength, without satiating the animosity, of France and England;<sup>17</sup> but Philip, duke of Burgundy, was a vain and magnificent prince; and he enjoyed, without danger or expense, the adventurous piety of his subjects, who sailed, in a gallant fleet, from the coast of Flanders to the Hellespont. The maritime republics of Venice and Genoa were less remote from the scene of action; and their hostile fleets were associated under the standard of St. Peter. The kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, which covered as it were the interior pole of the Latin church, were the most nearly concerned to oppose the progress of the Turks. Arms were the patrimony of the Scythians and Sarmatians, and these nations might appear equal to the contest, could they point, against the common foe, those swords that were so wantonly drawn in bloody and domestic quarrels. But the same spirit was adverse to concord and obedience: a poor country and a limited monarch are incapable of maintaining a standing force; and the loose bodies of Polish and Hungarian horse were not armed with the sentiments and weapons which, on some occasions, have given irresistible weight to the French chivalry. Yet, on this side, the designs of the Roman pontiff, and the eloquence of cardinal Julian, his legate, were promoted by the circumstances of the times;<sup>18</sup> by the union of the two crowns on the head of Ladislaus,<sup>19</sup> a young and

Eugenius forms a league against the Turks.  
A. D. 1445.

<sup>12</sup> See Chalmers (I vii, p. 186-198), Davis (p. 75), and Martin Barberis on V. T. S. Underhill, p. 114. Underhill's death, which took place in the Garrison of St. Ignace, he was a lesson and example to his son Melvin, etc.

15 Voltaire (*Essai sur l'Histoire Générale*, c. 80, p. 283, 284) admires *le Paganisme Romain* which has preserved the same principle as a Christian prince for returning to a monastery.<sup>2</sup> In this way, Voltaire was a little far from the point about

14 See the articles, *Dorsch, Fisher, Mason, Rhoten*, in D.H. Fischer's *Bibliography Annual*. Yet the subject is so periodically treated from the Persian and Arabic writers. It is among the Turkist at these centers have principally flourished.

[illegible]

So the first two conditions are satisfied. For the third condition, let  $\mathbf{v} = (v_1, \dots, v_n) \in \mathbb{R}^n$  be a vector. Then  $\mathbf{v} \in \mathcal{V}$  if and only if  $\mathbf{v} \in \mathcal{V}_1$  and  $\mathbf{v} \in \mathcal{V}_2$ . Since  $\mathcal{V}_1$  and  $\mathcal{V}_2$  are subspaces,  $\mathcal{V}$  is a subspace of  $\mathbb{R}^n$ . Therefore,  $\mathcal{V}$  is a subspace of  $\mathbb{R}^n$ .

tom (p. 518). At the siege of Nizya, on the Rhine, in 1474, the pikes, musketeers, and cross-bowmen, sent their respective quarrels, and the pikes their bolts, in great numbers, to the king of France. Monsieur d'Almeida sent his pikes plus grande munition, 1400 horses, moutons, and men, with 1200 wagons. The united armies, on the king of England, and the duke of Burgundy, were only equalled one-third of this formidable host. Monsieur de Plessy de Gramont, 1476 (p. 21). At the siege of Prague, above 600000 footmen are mentioned in *l'histoire de la guerre*, and admirable discipline, by the powers

12. It was not till the year 1414 that France and England could agree to settle their mutual claims (see Rymer's *Fœdera*, and the chronicles of the reigns of Henry V. and Charles VI. of France, and Henry V. of England).

[illegible]

$\frac{1}{2} \left( \frac{1}{2} \right) = \frac{1}{4}$



ambitious soldier; by the valour of an hero, whose name, the name of John Huniades, was already popular among the Christians, and formidable to the Turks. An endless treasure of pardons and indulgences was scattered by the legate; many private warriors of France and Germany enlisted under the holy banner; and the crusade derived some strength, or at least some reputation, from the new allies both of Europe and Asia. A fugitive despot of Servia exaggerated the distress and ardour of the Christians beyond the Danube, who would unanimously rise to vindicate their religion and liberty. The Greek emperor,<sup>20</sup> with a spirit unknown to his fathers, engaged to guard the Bosphorus, and to sally from Constantinople at the head of his national and mercenary troops. The sultan of Caramania<sup>21</sup> announced the retreat of Amurath, and a powerful division in the heart of Anatolia; and if the fleets of the West could occupy at the same moment the Straits of the Hellespont, the Ottoman monarchy would be dismembered and destroyed. Heaven and earth must rejoice in the perdition of the miscreants; and the legate, with prudent ambiguity, instilled the opinion of the invisible, perhaps the visible, aid of the Son of God, and his divine mother.

*Ladislaus king of Poland and Hungary marches against them.*

Of the Polish and Hungarian diets, a religious war was the unanimous cry; and Ladislaus, after passing the Danube, led an army of his confederate subjects as far as Sophia, the capital of the Bulgarian kingdom. In this expedition they obtained two signal victories, which were justly ascribed to the valour and conduct of Huniades. In the first, with a vanguard of ten thousand men, he surprised the Turkish camp; in the second, he vanquished and made prisoner the most renowned of their generals, who possessed the double advantage of ground and numbers.

The approach of winter, and the natural and artificial obstacles of Mount Hæmus, arrested the progress of the hero, who measured a narrow interval of six days' march from the foot of the mountains to the hostile towers of Adrianople, and the friendly capital of the Greek empire. The retreat was undisturbed; and the entrance into Buda was at once a military and religious triumph. An ecclesiastical procession was followed by the king and his warriors on foot. he nicely balanced the merits and rewards of the two nations: and the pride of conquest was blended with the humble temper of Christianity. Thirteen bashaws, nine standards, and four thousand captives, were unquestionable trophies: and as all were willing to believe, and none were present to contradict, the crusaders multiplied, with unblushing confidence, the myriads of Turks whom they had left on the field of battle.<sup>22</sup>

or to distinguish him from his rival the infant Ladislaus of Austria. Their competition for the crown of Hungary is described by Calimachus l. i. p. 447-1360, Boninus (Decad. in. l. ix.), Spondanus, and Gentius.

<sup>20</sup> The Greek historians, Phranza, Chalcondyles, and Ducis, do not ascribe to their prince a very active part in this crusade, which he

is false. But the situation and correspondence of the knights of Rhodes must connect them with the sultan of Caramania.

<sup>22</sup> In their letters to the emperor Frederic III. the Hungarians say 30,000 Turks in one battle, but the modest Julian red

The most solid proof, and the most salutary consequence, of victory, was a deputation from the divan to solicit peace, to restore Servia, to ransom the prisoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontier. By this treaty, the rational objects of the war were obtained: the king, the despot, and Huniades himself, in the diet of Segedin, were satisfied with public and private emolument; a truce of ten years was concluded; and the followers of Jesus and Mahomet, who swore on the Gospel and the Koran, attested the word of God as the guardian of truth and the avenger of perfidy. In the place of the Gospel, the Turkish ministers had proposed to substitute the Eucharist, the real presence of the Catholic deity; but the Christians refused to profane their holy mysteries; and a superstitious conscience is less forcibly bound by the spiritual energy, than by the outward and visible symbols, of an oath.<sup>23</sup>

During the whole transaction, the cardinal legate had observed a sul-  
*Violation of the peace. A. D. 1444.*  
 len silence, unwilling to approve, and unable to oppose, the consent of the king and people. But the diet was not dissolved before Julian was fortified by the welcome intelligence, that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy, were masters of the Hellespont; and that the allies, informed of the victory, and ignorant of the treaty, of Ladislaus, impatiently waited for the return of his victorious army. "And is it thus," exclaimed the cardinal,<sup>24</sup> "that you will desert their expectations and your own fortune? It is to them, to your God, and your fellow-Christians, that you have pledged your faith; and that prior obligation annuls a rash and sacrilegious oath to the enemies of Christ. His vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff; without whose sanction you can neither promise nor perform. In his name I absolve your perjury and sanctify your arms: follow my footsteps in the paths of glory and salvation; and if still ye have scruples, devote on my head the punishment and the sin." This mischievous casuistry was seconded by his respectable character, and the levity of popular assemblies: war was resolved on the same spot where peace had so lately been sworn; and, in the execution of the treaty, the Turks were assaulted by the Christians; to whom, with some reason, they might apply the epithet of Infidels. The falsehood of Ladislaus to his word and oath was palliated by the religion of the times: the most perfect, or at least the most popular, excuse would have been the success of his arms and the deliverance of the Eastern church. But the same treaty which should have bound his con-

slaughter to 6000 or even 2000 infidels (Æneas Sylvius, in Europ. c. 5. and epist. 44. 81. apud Spondanum).

<sup>25</sup> See the origin of the Turkish war, and the first expedition of Ladislaus, in the 9th and 10th books of the mid Decad of Bonnius, who, in his division and style, copies Livy with tolerable suc-

cess. But they all

of the age. But they all

science, had diminished his strength. On the proclamation of the peace, the French and German volunteers departed with indignant murmurs; the Poles were exhausted by distant warfare, and perhaps disgusted with foreign command; and their palatines accepted the first licence, and hastily retired to their provinces and castles. Even Hungary was divided by faction, or restrained by a laudable scruple; and the relics of the crusade that marched in the second expedition were reduced to an inadequate force of twenty thousand men. A Walachian chief, who joined the royal standard with his vassals, presumed to remark that their numbers did not exceed the hunting retinue that sometimes attended the sultan; and the gift of two horses of matchless speed might admonish Ladislaus of his secret foresight of the event. But the despot of Servia, after the restoration of his country and children, was tempted by the promise of new realms; and the inexperience of the king, the enthusiasm of the legate, and the martial presumption of Huniades himself, were persuaded that every obstacle must yield to the invincible virtue of the sword and the cross. After the passage of the Danube, two roads might lead to Constantinople and the Hellespont; the one direct, abrupt, and difficult, through the mountains of Hæmus; the other more tedious and secure, over a level country, and along the shores of the Euxine; in which their flanks, according to the Scythian discipline, might always be covered by a moveable fortification of wagons. The latter was judiciously preferred: the Catholics marched through the plains of Bulgaria, burning, with wanton cruelty, the churches and villages of the Christian natives; and their last station was at Warnæ, near the sea-shore; on which the defeat and death of Ladislaus have bestowed a memorable name.<sup>25</sup>

It was on this fatal spot, that, instead of finding a confederate fleet to second their operations, they were alarmed by the approach of Amurath himself, who had issued from his Magnesian solitude, and transported the forces of Asia to the defence of Europe. According to some writers, the Greek emperor had been awed, or seduced, to grant the passage of the Bosphorus, and an indelible stain of corruption is fixed on the Genoese, or the pope's nephew, the Catholic admiral, whose mercenary connivance betrayed the guard of the Hellespont. From Adrianople, the sultan advanced by hasty marches at the head of sixty thousand men; and when the cardinal, and Huniades, had taken a nearer survey of the numbers and order of the Turks, these ardent warriors proposed the tardy and impracticable measure of a retreat. The king

alone was resolved to conquer or die; and his resolution had almost been crowned with a glorious and salutary victory. The princes were opposite to each other in the centre; and the Beglikbegs, or generals of Anatolia and Romania, commanded on the right and left, against the adverse divisions of the despot and Huniades. The Turkish wings were broken on the first onset; but the advantage was fatal; and the rash victors, in the heat of the pursuit, were carried away far from the annoyance of the enemy, or the support of their friends. When Amurath beheld the flight of his squadrons, he despaired of his fortune and that of the empire: a veteran Janizary seized his horse's bridle; and he had the magnanimity to pardon and reward the soldier who dared to perceive the terror, and arrest the flight, of his sovereign. A copy of the treaty, the monument of Christian perfidy, had been displayed in the front of battle; and it is said, that the sultan in his distress, lifting his eyes and his hands to heaven, implored the protection of the God of truth; and called on the prophet Jesus himself to avenge the impious mockery of his name and religion.<sup>26</sup> With inferior numbers and disordered ranks, the king of Hungary rushed forwards in the confidence of victory, till his career was stopped by the impenetrable phalanx of the Janizaries. If we may credit the Ottoman annals, his horse was pierced by the javelin of Amurath;<sup>27</sup> he fell among the  
Death of  
Ladislaus.
spears of the infantry; and a Turkish soldier proclaimed with a loud voice, "Hungarians, behold the head of your king!" The death of Ladislaus was the signal of their defeat. On his return from an intemperate pursuit, Huniades deplored his error and the public loss: he strove to rescue the royal body, till he was overwhelmed by the tumultuous crowd of the victors and vanquished; and the last efforts of his courage and conduct were exerted to save the remnant of his Walachian cavalry. Ten thousand Christians were slain in the disastrous battle of Warnæ: the loss of the Turks, more considerable in numbers, bore a smaller proportion to their total strength; yet the philosophic sultan was not ashamed to confess, that his ruin must be the consequence of a second and similar victory. At his command a column was erected on the spot where Ladislaus had fallen; but the modest inscription, instead of accusing the rashness, recorded the valour, and bewailed the misfortune, of the Hungarian youth.<sup>28</sup>

Before I lose sight of the field of  
The cardinal  
Julian.
Warnæ, I am tempted to pause on the character and story of two principal actors, the cardinal Julian and John Huniades. Julian<sup>29</sup> Casarini was born of a noble family of Rome: his studies had embraced both the Latin

probably affirms, superententibus Janizariis, telorum multitudine,

<sup>25</sup> Warnæ, under the Grecian name of Odesous, was a colony of the Milesians, which they denominated from the hero Ixos Cælarus, tom. i. p. 374. D'Anville, tom. i. p. 312. According to Arrian's Perplus of the Euxine (p. 24, 25) in the 1st volume of Hudson's Geography, it was crossed by the sea in the 1st of June from the city of the or p. 20. host (suppose, with more simplicity, an appeal to food and his prophet Jesus, which is likewise insinuated by Callimachus (l. i. p. 516) Spandan. A. D. 1444, No. 8.)  
<sup>27</sup> A critic will here distrust these epithets of a warrior as general, so difficult for a man to obtain, so easy for a poet to bestow (Cæsar, p. 90) 516. Callimachus, l. i. p. 317. more simply and

the first is a small tract of Felix Petrus, character of Segura de... (Cæsar, p. 710-722) represents the... the... authority.  
<sup>29</sup> M. de la Harpe describes the origin (Hist. de France de Bâle,



A. D. 1101  
— 1115, &c.

both entitled to our notice, since they occupied of the Ottoman arms delayed the rum of the Greek empire. John Castriot, the father of Scanderbeg,<sup>6</sup> was the hereditary prince of a small district of Epirus or Albania, between the mountains and the Adriatic Sea. Unable to contend with the sultan's power, Castriot submitted to the hard conditions of peace and tribute: he delivered his four sons as the pledges of his fidelity; and the Christian youths, after receiving the mark of circumcision, were instructed in the Mahometan religion, and trained in the arms and arts of Turkish policy.<sup>7</sup> The three elder brothers were confounded in the crowd of slaves; and the poison to which their deaths are ascribed, cannot be verified or disproved by any positive evidence. Yet the suspicion is in a great measure removed by the kind and paternal treatment of George Castriot, the fourth brother, who, from his tender youth, displayed the strength and spirit of a soldier. The successive overthrow of a Tartar and two Persians, who carried a proud defiance to the Turkish court, recommended him to the favour of Amurath, and his Turkish appellation of Scanderbeg (*Iskender beg*), or the lord Alexander, is an indelible memorial of his glory and servitude. His father's principality was reduced into a province; but the loss was compensated by the rank and title of Sanjak, a command of five thousand horse, and the prospect of the first dignities of the empire. He served with honour in the wars of Europe and Asia; and we may smile at the art or credulity of the historian, who supposes, that in every encounter he spared the Christians, while he fell with a thundering arm on his Musulman foes. The glory of Humiades is without reproach; he fought in the defence of his religion and country; but the enemies who applaud the patriot, have branded his rival with the name of traitor and apostate. In the eyes of the Christians, the rebellion of Scanderbeg is justified by his father's wrongs, the ambiguous death of his three brothers, his own degradation, and the slavery of his country; and they adore the generous, though tardy, zeal, with which he asserted the faith and independence of his ancestors. But he had inhaled from his ninth year the doctrines of the Koran; he was ignorant of the Gospel; the religion of a soldier is determined by authority and habit; nor is it easy to conceive what new illumination at the age of forty<sup>8</sup> could be poured into his soul. His motives would be less exposed to the suspicion of interest or revenge, had he broken his chain from the moment that he was sensible of its weight, but a long oblivion had surely impaired his original right; and every year of obedience and reward had cemented the mutual bond of the sultan and his subject. If Scanderbeg had long harboured the belief of Christianity and the intention of revolt, a worthy

mind must condemn the base dissimulation, that  
 could serve only to betray, that could promise  
 only to be forsworn, that could actively join in  
 the temporal and spiritual perdition of so many  
 thousands of his unhappy brethren. Shall we  
 praise a secret correspondence with Huniades,  
 while he commanded the vanguard of the Turk-  
 ish army? shall we excuse the desertion of his  
 standard, a treacherous desertion, which aban-  
 doned the victory to the enemies of his benefac-  
 tor? In the confusion of a defeat, the eye of Scanderbeg was fixed on  
 the Reis Effendi or principal secre-  
 tary: with the dagger at his breast,  
 he extorted a firman or patent for the govern-  
 ment of Albania; and the murder of the guiltless  
 scribe and his train prevented the consequences  
 of an immediate discovery. With some bold  
 companions, to whom he had revealed his de-  
 sign, he escaped in the night, by rapid marches,  
 from the field of battle to his paternal mountains.  
 The gates of Croya were opened to the royal  
 mandate; and no sooner did he command the  
 fortress, than George Castriot dropped the mask  
 of dissimulation; aljured the prophet and the  
 sultaa, and proclaimed himself the avenger of his  
 family and country. The names of religion and  
 liberty provoked a general revolt: the Albanians,  
 a martial race, were unanimous to live and die  
 with their hereditary prince; and the Ottoman  
 garrisons were indulged in the choice of mar-  
 tyrdom or baptism. In the assembly of the  
 states of Epirus, Scanderbeg was elected general  
 of the Turkish war; and each of the allies en-  
 gaged to furnish his respective proportion of  
 men and money. From these contributions,  
 from his patrimonial estate, and from the valu-  
 able salt-pits of Selina, he drew an annual  
 revenue of two hundred thousand ducats; and  
 the entire sum, exempt from the demands of  
 luxury, was strictly appropriated to the public  
 use. His manners were popular; but his dis-  
 cipline was severe; and every superfluous  
 vice was banished from his camp: his example  
 strengthened his command; and under his con-  
 duct, the Albanians were invincible in their own  
 opinion and that of their enemies.

The bravest adventurers of France  
 and Germany were allured by his fame and re-  
 tained in his service: his standing militia con-  
 sisted of eight thousand horse and seven thousand  
 foot; the horses were small, the men were ac-  
 tive: but he viewed with a discerning eye the  
 difficulties and resources of the mountains; and,  
 at the blaze of the beacons, the whole nation  
 was distributed in the strongest posts. With  
 such unequal arms Scanderbeg resisted twenty-  
 three years the powers of the Ottoman empire;  
 and two conquerors, Amurath the Second, and  
 his greater son, were repeatedly baffled by a  
 rebel, whom they pursued with seeming con-  
 tempt and implacable resentment. At the head

H. s. revolt  
 of the  
 Turks.  
 A. D. 1445,  
 Nov. 28.

His valour;

who have deserved, without wearing, a royal crown. Belshazzar, Napoleonists of a crown. William first prince of Orange. Alexander duke of Parma, John Humilis, and George Gastrol, of Saxony.

[illegible]

of sixty thousand horse and forty thousand Janizaries, Amurath entered Albania; he might ravage the open country, occupy the defenceless towns, convert the churches into moschis, circumcise the Christian youths, and punish with death his adult and obstinate captives; but the conquests of the sultan were confined to the petty fortress of Sfetigrade; and the garrison, invincible to his arms, was oppressed by a paltry artifice and a superstitious scruple.<sup>40</sup> Amurath retired with shame and loss from the walls of Croya, the castle and residence of the Castriots; the march, the siege, the retreat, were harassed by a vexatious, and almost invisible, adversary;<sup>41</sup> and the disappointment might tend to embitter, perhaps to shorten, the last days of the sultan.<sup>42</sup> In the fulness of conquest, Mahomet the Second still felt at his bosom this domestic thorn: his lieutenants were permitted to negotiate a truce; and the Albanian prince may justly be praised as a firm and able champion of his national independence. The enthusiasm of chivalry and religion has ranked him with the names of Alexander and Pyrrhus; nor would they blush to acknowledge their intrepid countryman: but his narrow dominion, and slender powers, must leave him at an humble distance below the heroes of antiquity, who triumphed over the East and the Roman legions. His splendid achievements, the bashaws whom he encountered, the armies that he discomfited, and the three thousand Turks who were slain by his single hand, must be weighed in the scales of suspicious criticism. Against an illiterate enemy, and in the dark solitude of Epirus, his partial biographers may safely indulge the latitude of romance; but their fictions are exposed by the light of Italian history; and they afford a strong presumption against their own truth, by a fabulous tale of his exploits, when he passed the Adriatic with eight hundred horse to the succour of the king of Naples.<sup>43</sup> Without disparagement to his fame, they might have owned, that he was finally oppressed by the Ottoman powers: in his extreme danger he applied to pope Pius the Second for a refuge in the ecclesiastical state; and his resources were almost exhausted, since Scanderbeg died a fugitive at Lissus, on the Venetian territory.<sup>44</sup> His sepulchre was soon violated by the Turkish conquerors: but the Janizaries, who wore his bones enchased in a bracelet, declared by this superstitious amulet their involuntary reverence for his valour. The instant ruin of his country may redound to the hero's glory; yet, had he balanced the consequences of submission and resistance, a patriot perhaps would have declined the unequal contest which must depend on the

life and genius of one man. Scanderbeg might indeed be supported by the rational, though fallacious, hope, that the pope, the king of Naples, and the Venetian republic, would join in the defence of a free and Christian people, who guarded the sea-coast of the Adriatic, and the narrow passage from Greece to Italy. His infant son was saved from the national shipwreck; the Castriots<sup>45</sup> were invested with a Neapolitan dukedom, and their blood continues to flow in the noblest families of the realm. A colony of Albanian fugitives obtained a settlement in Calabria, and they preserve at this day the language and manners of their ancestors.<sup>46</sup>

In the long career of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I have reached at length the last reign of the princes of Constantinople, who so feebly sustained the name and majesty of the Cæsars. On the decease of John Palæologus, who survived about four years the Hungarian crusade,<sup>47</sup> the royal family, by the death of Andronicus and the monastic profession of Isidore, was reduced to three princes, Constantine, Demetrius, and Thomas, the surviving sons of the emperor Manuel. Of these the first and the last were far distant in the Morea; but Demetrius, who possessed the domain of Selybria, was in the suburbs, at the head of a party: his ambition was not chilled by the public distress; and his conspiracy with the Turks and the schismatics had already disturbed the peace of his country. The funeral of the late emperor was accelerated with singular and even suspicious haste: the claim of Demetrius to the vacant throne was justified by a trite and flimsy sophism, that he was born in the purple, the eldest son of his father's reign. But the empress-mother, the senate and soldiers, the clergy and people, were unanimous in the cause of the lawful successor; and the despot Thomas, who, ignorant of the change, accidentally returned to the capital, asserted with becoming zeal the interest of his absent brother. An ambassador, the historian Phranza, was immediately despatched to the court of Adrianople. Amurath received him with honour and dismissed him with gifts; but the gracious approbation of the Turkish sultan announced his supremacy, and the approaching downfall of the Eastern empire. By the hands of two illustrious deputies, the Imperial crown was placed at Sparta on the head of Constantine. In the spring he sailed from the Morea, escaped the encounter of a Turkish squadron, enjoyed the acclamations of his subjects, celebrated the festival of a new reign, and exhausted by his donatives the trea-

Constantine  
the last of the  
Roman or Greek  
emperors.  
A. D. 1448,  
Nov. 13.  
A. D. 1453,  
May 29.

and death.  
A. D. 1477,  
Jan. 17.

<sup>40</sup> There were two Dibras, the upper and lower, the Bulgarian and Albanian: the former, 70 miles from Croya (l. i. p. 17), was contiguous to the fortress of Sfetigrade, whose inhabitants refused to drink from a well into which a dead dog had traitorously been cast (l. v. p. 159, 160.). We want a good map of Epirus.

<sup>41</sup> Compare the Turkish narrative of Cantemir (p. 92) with the pompous and prolix declamation in the 18th, 19th and 20th books of the Albanian priest, who has been copied by the tribe of strangers and moderns.

<sup>42</sup> In honour of his hero, Barletius (l. vi. p. 188–192.) kills the sultan, by disease indeed, under the walls of Croya. But this audacious fiction is disproved by the Greeks and Turks, who agree in the time and manner of Amurath's death at Adrianople.

<sup>43</sup> See the marvels of his Calabria expedition in the 18th and 19th books of Marinus Barletius, which may be refuted by the testimony or silence of Muratori (Annali d'Italia tom. xiii. p. 591.), and his original authors (Joh. Simonetti de Rebus Francisci scortia, in Muratori, 3. script. Rerum Ital. tom. xxi. p. 725. et alios). The Albanian

emperor, under the name of Stradiots, soon became famous in the wars of Italy (Mémoires de Comines, l. viii. c. 5.).

<sup>44</sup> Spandanus, from the best evidence, and the most rational criticism, declares from a spurious epistle of Eugenius IV. to the king of Ethiopia.

Swinnburne (Travels  
rhentic; but instead  
A. D. 1419, No. 7)  
of for  
assigns seven or eight years to the reign of the last Constantine, which  
he derives from a spurious epistle of Eugenius IV. to the king of  
Ethiopia.

sure, or rather the indigence, of the state. The emperor immediately resigned to his brothers the possession of the Morea; and the brittle friendship of the two princes, Demetrius and Thomas, was confirmed in their mother's presence by the frail security of oaths and embraces. His next occupation was the choice of a consort. A daughter of the doge of Venice had been proposed; but the Byzantine nobles objected the distance between an hereditary monarch and an elective magistrate; and in their subsequent distress, the chief of that powerful republic was not unmindful of the affront. Constantine afterwards hesitated between the royal families of Trebizond and Georgia; and the embassy of Phranza represents in his public and private life the last days of the Byzantine empire.<sup>48</sup>

The *protovestiare*, or great chamberlain, Phranza sailed from Constantinople as the minister of a bridegroom; and the relics of wealth and luxury were applied to his pompous appearance. His numerous retinue consisted of nobles and guards, of physicians and monks: he was attended by a band of music; and the term of his costly embassy was protracted above two years. On his arrival in Georgia or Iberia, the natives from the towns and villages flocked around the strangers; and such was their simplicity, that they were delighted with the effects, without understanding the cause, of musical harmony. Among the crowd, was an old man, above a hundred years of age, who had formerly been carried away a captive by the barbarians,<sup>49</sup> and who amused his hearers with a tale of the wonders of India,<sup>50</sup> from whence he had returned to Portugal by an unknown sea.<sup>51</sup> From this hospitable land, Phranza proceeded to the court of Trebizond, where he was informed by the Greek prince of the recent decease of Amurath. Instead of rejoicing in the deliverance, the experienced statesman expressed his apprehension, that an ambitious youth would not long adhere to the sage and pacific system of his father. After the sultan's decease, his Christian wife, Maria,<sup>52</sup> the daughter of the Servian despot, had been honourably restored to her parents; on the fame of her beauty and merit, she was recommended by the ambassador as the most worthy object of the royal choice; and Phranza recapitulates and refutes the specious objections that might be raised against the proposal. The majesty of the purple would ennoble an unequal alliance; the bar of affinity might be removed by liberal alms and the dispensation of the church; the disgrace of Turkish nuptials had been repeatedly overlooked; and, though the fair Maria was near fifty years of age, she might yet hope to give an heir to the empire. Con-

stantine listened to the advice, which was transmitted in the first ship that sailed from Trebizond; but the factions of the court opposed his marriage; and it was finally prevented by the pious vow of the sultana, who ended her days in the monastic profession. Reduced to the first alternative, the choice of Phranza was decided in favour of a Georgian princess; and the vanity of her father was dazzled by the glorious alliance. Instead of demanding, according to the primitive and national custom, a price for his daughter, he offered a portion of fifty-six thousand, with an annual pension of five thousand, ducats; and the services of the ambassador were repaid by an assurance, that, as his son had been adopted in baptism by the emperor, the establishment of his daughter should be the peculiar care of the empress of Constantinople. On the return of Phranza, the treaty was ratified by the Greek monarch, who with his own hand impressed three vermilion crosses on the golden bull, and assured the Georgian envoy, that in the spring his galleys should conduct the bride to her Imperial palace. But Constantine embraced his faithful servant, not with the cold approbation of a sovereign, but with the warm confidence of a friend, who, after a long absence, is impatient to pour his secrets into the bosom of his friend. "Since the death of my mother and of <sup>State of the Byzantine court.</sup> Cantacuzene, who alone advised me without interest or passion,<sup>54</sup> I am sur- rounded," said the emperor, "by men whom I can neither love, nor trust, nor esteem. You are not a stranger to Lucas Notaras, the great admiral; obstinately attached to his own sentiments, he declares, both in private and public, that his sentiments are the absolute measure of my thoughts and actions. The rest of the courtiers are swayed by their personal or factious views: and how can I consult the monks on questions of policy and marriage? I have yet much employment for your diligence and fidelity. In the spring you shall engage one of my brothers to solicit the succour of the Western powers; from the Morea you shall sail to Cyprus on a particular mission; and from thence proceed to Georgia to receive and conduct the future empress." "Your commands," replied Phranza, "are irresistible; but deem, great sir," he added, with a serious smile, "to consider, that if I am thus perpetually absent from my family, my wife may be tempted either to seek another husband, or to throw herself into a monastery." After laughing at his apprehensions, the emperor more gravely consoled him by the pleasing assurance that *this* should be his last service abroad, and that he destined for his son

<sup>48</sup> Phranza, p. 11. <sup>49</sup> The happy and pious Indians lived an hundred and fifty years, and some of them were above two hundred years of age. <sup>50</sup> The happy and pious Indians lived an hundred and fifty years, and some of them were above two hundred years of age. <sup>51</sup> The happy and pious Indians lived an hundred and fifty years, and some of them were above two hundred years of age. <sup>52</sup> Maria's first husband was the Tatar monarch's first son, who was killed by the Tartars.

<sup>53</sup> The happy and pious Indians lived an hundred and fifty years, and some of them were above two hundred years of age. <sup>54</sup> The happy and pious Indians lived an hundred and fifty years, and some of them were above two hundred years of age.

<sup>55</sup> The happy and pious Indians lived an hundred and fifty years, and some of them were above two hundred years of age. <sup>56</sup> The happy and pious Indians lived an hundred and fifty years, and some of them were above two hundred years of age.

<sup>57</sup> The happy and pious Indians lived an hundred and fifty years, and some of them were above two hundred years of age. <sup>58</sup> The happy and pious Indians lived an hundred and fifty years, and some of them were above two hundred years of age.

the old and incompatible error which places the source of the Nile in India.

<sup>52</sup> Cantemir (p. 83.), who styles her the daughter of Lazarus Orla, and the Helen of the servants, places her marriage with Amurath in the year 1424. It will not easily be believed, that in six and twenty years' cohabitation, the sultan corpus evis non detigit. After the taking of Constantinople, she fled to Mahomet II. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 24.).

<sup>53</sup> The classical reader will recollect the offers of Agamemnon (Iliad, l. v. 141.), and the general practice of augury.

<sup>54</sup> Cantacuzene (I am ignorant of his relation to the emperor of the name) was a great domestic, a firm adherent of the Greek error, and a brother of the present of Servia, whom he visited with the character of ambassador (Simplicius, p. 27, 28. 12.).

Hope, is spurious or wonderful. But this new geography is sullied by



In the reign of Amurath, he twice tasted of royalty, and twice descended from the throne: his tender age was incapable of opposing his father's restoration, but never could he forgive the vizirs who had recommended that salutary measure. His nuptials were celebrated with the daughter of a Turkman emir: and, after a festival of two months, he departed from Adrianople with his bride, to reside in the government of Magnesia. Before the end of six weeks he was recalled by a sudden message from the divan, which announced the decease of Amurath, and the mutinous spirit of the Janizaries. His speed and vigour commanded their obedience: he passed the Hellespont with a chosen guard; and at the distance of a mile from Adrianople, the vizirs and emirs, the imams and eadlis, the soldiers and the people, fell prostrate before the new sultan. They affected to weep, they affected to rejoice; he ascended the throne at the age of twenty-one years, and removed the cause of sedition by the death, the inevitable death, of his infant brothers.<sup>9</sup> The ambassadors of Europe and Asia soon appeared to congratulate his accession and solicit his friendship; and to all he spoke the language of moderation and peace. The confidence of the Greek emperor was revived by the solemn oaths and fair assurances with which he sealed the ratification of the treaty: and a rich domain on the banks of the Strymon was assigned for the annual payment of three hundred thousand aspers, the pension of an Ottoman prince, who was detained at his request in the Byzantine court. Yet the neighbours of Mahomet might tremble at the severity with which a youthful monarch reformed the pomp of his father's household: the expenses of luxury were applied to those of ambition, and an useless train of seven thousand filioners was either dismissed from his service, or enlisted in his troops. In the first summer of his reign, he visited with an army the Asiatic provinces; but after humbling the pride, Mahomet accepted the submission, of the Caramanian, that he might not be diverted by the smallest obstacle from the execution of his great design.<sup>10</sup>

The Mahometan, and more especially the Turkish casuists, have pronounced that no promise can bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion; and that the sultan may abrogate his own treaties and those of his predecessors. The justice and magnanimity of Amurath had scorned this immoral privilege; but his son, though the proudest of men, could stoop from ambition to the basest arts of dissimulation and deceit. Peace was on his lips,

while war was in his heart: he incessantly sighed for the possession of Constantinople; and the Greeks, by their own indiscretion, afforded the first pretence of the fatal rupture.<sup>11</sup> Instead of labouring to be forgotten, their ambassadors pursued his camp, to demand the payment, and even the increase, of their annual stipend: the divan was importuned by their complaints, and the vizir, a secret friend of the Christians, was constrained to deliver the sense of his brethren. "Ye foolish and miserable Romans," said Calil, "we know your devices, and ye are ignorant of your own danger! the scrupulous Amurath is no more; his throne is occupied by a young conqueror, whom no laws can bind, and no obstacles can resist: and if you escape from his hands, give praise to the divine clemency, which yet delays the chastisement of your sins. Why do ye seek to affright us by vain and indirect menaces? Release the fugitive Orchan, crown him sultan of Romania; call the Hungarians from beyond the Danube; arm against us the nations of the West; and be assured, that you will only provoke and precipitate your ruin." But if the fears of the ambassadors were alarmed by the stern language of the vizir, they were soothed by the courteous audience and friendly speeches of the Ottoman prince; and Mahomet assured them that on his return to Adrianople, he would redress the grievances, and consult the true interests, of the Greeks. No sooner had he repassed the Hellespont, than he issued a mandate to suppress their pension, and to expel their officers from the banks of the Strymon: in this measure he betrayed an hostile mind; and the second order announced, and in some degree commenced, the siege of Constantinople. In the narrow pass of the Bosphorus, an Asiatic fortress had formerly been raised by his grandfather: in the opposite situation, on the European side he resolved to erect a more formidable castle; and a thousand masons were commanded to assemble in the spring on a spot named Asomaton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis.<sup>12</sup> Persuasion is the resource of the feeble; and the feeble can seldom persuade: the ambassadors of the emperor attempted, without success, to divert Mahomet from the execution of his design. They represented, that his grandfather had solicited the permission of Manuel to build a castle on his own territories; but that this double fortification, which would command the strait, could only tend to violate the alliance of the nations; to intercept the Latins who traded in the Black Sea, and perhaps to annihilate the subsistence of the city. "I form no enterprise," replied the perfidious

<sup>9</sup> Calapin, one of these royal infants, was saved from his cruel brother, and baptized at Rome, under the name of Callistus, or Callistus. The emperor Frederick III. was no Christian with an estate in Austria, where he ended his life, and Cusiman, who in his youth conversed with the aged prince at Vienna, applauds his piety and wisdom (de Cesaribus, p. 62, 63).

<sup>10</sup> See the accession of Mahomet II. in Ducas (c. 53), Florinus (l. i. c. 35, l. iii. c. 2), Chalcocondyles (l. vi. p. 129), and Canten (l. vi. p. 26).

<sup>11</sup> Before I enter on the siege of Constantinople, I shall observe, that except the short history of Canten and Ippolitus, I have not been able to obtain any Turkish account of this conquest: such an account as we possess of the siege of Rhodes by Soliman II. (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvi. p. 723, 724). I must therefore depend on the Greeks, whose prejudices, in some degree, are softened by their distress. Our standard texts are those of Ducas (c. 34-42), Florinus (l. iii. c. 7-20), Chalcocondyles (l. vi. p. 201-214), and Leonardus Chalcas (Historia C. P. a Turco ex-

nate, Norimbergae, 1541, in 4to. 20 leaves). The last of these writers is the earliest in date, since it was composed in the year of the siege, the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1453, only seventy-nine days after the loss of the city, and in the first confusion of grief and mourning. Some give (1) to ad. 74 (157).

though critically reviewed by Spaldman (A. D. 1155, No. 1-2). The hearsay notions of Montreuil and the distant Latins, I shall take leave to disregard.

<sup>12</sup> The situation of the fortress, and the topography of the Bosphorus, are best learned from Peter (Collas) de Bosphoro Thracico, l. iii. c. 15, 16, Laonicus (l. i. c. 15, 16), and a constant Voyage dans le Levant, tom. ii. lettre xv. p. 415, 416; but I must repeat the remark, that the Turkish account of the Turkish conquest of the city is not to be trusted. The reader may turn back to ch. vi.



sultan, "against the city; but the empire of Constantinople is measured by her walls. "Have you forgot the distress to which my father was reduced, when you formed a league with the Hungarians; when they invaded our country by land, and the Hellespont was occupied by the French galleys? Amurath was compelled to force the passage of the Bosphorus; and your strength was not equal to your malevolence. I was then a child at Adrianople; the Moslems trembled; and for a while the *Gabours*<sup>13</sup> insulted our disgrace. "But when my father had triumphed in the field of Warn, he vowed to erect a fort on the western shore, and that vow it is my duty to accomplish. Have ye the right, have ye the power, to control my actions on my own ground? For that ground is my own: as far as the shores of the Bosphorus, Asia is inhabited by the Turks, and Europe is deserted by the Romans. Return, and inform your king, that the present Ottoman is far different from his predecessors; that his resolutions more pass their wishes; and that he performs more than they could resolve. Return in safety—but the next who delivers a similar message may expect to be flayed alive." After this declaration, Constantine, the first of the Greeks in spirit as in rank,<sup>14</sup> had determined to unsheath the sword, and to resist the approach and establishment of the Turks on the Bosphorus. He was disarmed by the advice of his civil and ecclesiastical ministers, who recommended a system less generous, and even less prudent, than his own, to approve their patience and long-suffering, to brand the Ottoman with the name and guilt of an aggressor, and to depend on chance and time for their own safety, and the destruction of a fort which could not long be maintained in the neighbourhood of a great and populous city. Amidst hope and fear, the fears of the wise, and the hopes of the credulous, the winter rolled away; the proper business of each man, and each hour, was postponed; and the Greeks shut their eyes against the impending danger, till the arrival of the spring and the sultan decided the assurance of their ruin.

He builds a  
fortress on  
the Bosphorus.  
A. D. 1522,  
March.

Of a master who never forgives, the orders are seldom disobeyed. On the twenty-sixth of March, the appointed spot of Asomaton was covered with an active swarm of Turkish artificers; and the materials by sea and land were diligently transported from Europe and Asia.<sup>15</sup> The lime had been burnt in Cataplurygia; the timber was cut down in the woods of Heraclea and Nicomedia; and the stones were dug from the Anatolian quarries. Each of the thousand masons was assisted by two workmen; and a measure of two cubits was marked for their daily task. The fortress<sup>16</sup> was built in a trian-

gular form; each angle was flanked by a strong and massy tower; one on the declivity of the hill, two along the sea-shore: a thickness of twenty-two feet was assigned for the walls, thirty for the towers; and the whole building was covered with a solid platform of lead. Mahomet himself pressed and directed the work with indefatigable ardour: his three vizirs claimed the honour of finishing their respective towers; the zeal of the cadhis emulated that of the Janizaries; the meanest labour was ennobled by the service of God and the sultan; and the diligence of the multitude was quickened by the eye of a despot, whose smile was the hope of fortune, and whose frown was the messenger of death. The Greek emperor beheld with terror the irresistible progress of the work; and vainly strove, by flattery and gifts, to assuage an implacable foe, who sought, and secretly fomented, the slightest occasion of a quarrel. Such occasions must soon and inevitably be found. The ruins of stately churches, and even the marble columns which had been consecrated to St. Michael the archangel, were employed without scruple by the profane and rapacious Moslems; and some Christians, who presumed to oppose the removal, received from their hands the crown of martyrdom. Constantine had solicited a Turkish guard to protect the fields and harvests of his subjects: the guard was fixed; but their first order was to allow free pasture to the mules and horses of the camp, and to defend their brethren if they should be molested by the natives. The retinue of an Ottoman chief had left their horses to pass the night among the ripe corn: the damage was felt; the insult was resented; and several of both nations were slain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet listened with joy to the complaint; and a detachment was commanded to exterminate the guilty village: the guilty had fled; but forty innocent and unsuspecting reapers were massacred by the soldiers. Till this provocation, Constantinople had been open to the visits of commerce and curiosity: on the first alarm the gates were shut; but the emperor, still anxious for peace, released on the third day his Turkish captives;<sup>17</sup> and expressed, in a last message, the firm resignation of a Christian and a soldier. "Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission, can secure peace, pursue," said he to Mahomet, "your impious warfare. My trust is in God alone: if it should please him to mollify your heart, I shall rejoice in the happy change; if he delivers the city into your hands, I submit without a murmur to his holy will. But until the Judge of the earth shall pronounce between us, it is my duty to live and die in the defence of my people." The sultan's answer was hostile and de-

The Turkish  
war,  
June.

Sept. 1;

<sup>13</sup> The opprobrious name which the Turks bestow on the infidels is expressed *Kafoors* by Ducas, and *Gouurs* by Feencavius and the moderns. The former term is derived by Ducange (*Gloss. Græc.*) from *καφός* = filthy.

the Greek historians.

<sup>16</sup> In the dimensions of this fortress, the old castle of Europe, as described by the ancients, was not less than 1000 feet long, and 500 feet high, unless they could return before sunset.

ous of his  
the city

cisive: his fortifications were completed; and before his departure for Adrianople, he stationed a vigilant Aga and four hundred Janizaries, to levy a tribute of the ships of every nation that should pass within the reach of their cannon. A Venetian vessel, refusing obedience to the new lords of the Bosphorus, was sunk with a single bullet. The master and thirty sailors escaped in the boat; but they were dragged in chains to the *Porte*: the chief was impaled; his companions were beheaded, and the historian Ducas<sup>18</sup> beheld, at Demotica, their bodies exposed to the wild beasts. The siege of Constantinople was deferred till the ensuing spring; but an Ottoman army marched into the Morea to divert the force of the brothers of

Constantine. At this era of calamity, one of these princeps, the despot Thomas, was blessed or afflicted with the birth of a son; "the last heir," says the plaintive Phranza, "of the last spark of the Roman empire."<sup>19</sup>

Preparations  
for the siege  
of Constantinople.  
A. D. 1132,  
September.  
A. D. 1133,  
April.

The Greeks and the Turks passed an anxious and sleepless winter: the former were kept awake by their fears, the latter by their hopes: both by the preparations of defence and attack; and the two emperors, who had the most to lose or to gain, were the most deeply affected by the national sentiment. In Mahomet, that sentiment was inflamed by the ardour of his youth and temper: he amused his leisure with building at Adrianople<sup>20</sup> the lofty palace of Jehan Numa (the watch-tower of the world); but his serious thoughts were irrevocably bent on the conquest of the city of Cæsar. At the dead of night, about the second watch, he started from his bed, and commanded the instant attendance of his prime vizir. The message, the hour, the prince, and his own situation, alarmed the guilty conscience of Calil Baslia; who had possessed the confidence, and advised the restoration, of Amurath. On the accession of the son, the vizir was confirmed in his office and the appearances of favour; but the veteran statesman was not insensible that he trod on a thin and slippery ice, which might break under his footsteps, and plunge him in the abyss. His friendship for the Christians, which might be innocent under the late reign, had stigmatised him with the name of Gabour Ortachi, or foster-brother of the infidels;<sup>21</sup> and his avarice entertained a venal and treasonable correspondence, which was detected and punished after the conclusion of the war. On receiving the royal mandate, he embraced, perhaps for the last time, his wife and children; filled a eup with pieces of gold, hastened to the palace, adored the sultan, and offered, according to the Oriental custom, the slight tribute of his

duty and gratitude.<sup>22</sup> "It is not my wish," said Mahomet, "to resume my gifts, but rather to heap and multiply them on thy head. In my turn I ask a present far more valuable and important;—Constantinople." As soon as the vizir had recovered from his surprise, "The same God," said he, "who has already given thee so large a portion of the Roman empire, will not deny the remnant, and the capital. His providence, and thy power, assure thy success; and myself, with the rest of thy faithful slaves, will sacrifice our lives and fortunes." "Lala,"<sup>23</sup> (or preceptor,) continued the sultan, "do you see this pillow? all the night, in my agitation, I have pulled it on one side and the other; I have risen from my bed, again have I lain down; yet sleep has not visited these weary eyes. Beware of the gold and silver of the Romans: in arms we are superior; and with the aid of God, and the prayers of the prophet, we shall speedily become masters of Constantinople." To sound the disposition of his soldiers, he often wandered through the streets alone, and in disguise; and it was fatal to discover the sultan, when he wished to escape from the vulgar eye. His hours were spent in delineating the plan of the hostile city; in debating with his generals and engineers, on what spot he should erect his batteries; on which side he should assault the walls; where he should spring his mines; to what place he should apply his scaling-ladders; and the exercises of the day repeated and proved the lucubrations of the night.

Among the implements of destruction, he studied with peculiar care the recent and tremendous discovery of the Latins; and his artillery surpassed whatever had yet appeared in the world. A founder of cannon, a Dane or Hungarian, who had been almost starved in the Greek service, deserted to the Moslems, and was liberally entertained by the Turkish sultan. Mahomet was satisfied with the answer to his first question, which he eagerly pressed on the artist. "Am I able to cast a cannon capable of throwing a ball or stone of sufficient size to batter the walls of Constantinople? I am not ignorant of their strength, but were they more solid than those of Babylon, I could oppose an engine of superior power: the position and management of that engine must be left to your engineers." On this assurance, a foundry was established at Adrianople: the metal was prepared; and at the end of three months, Urban produced a piece of brass ordnance of stupendous, and almost incredible, magnitude; a measure of twelve palms is assigned to the bore; and the stone bullet weighed above six hundred pounds.<sup>24</sup> A vacant

The great cannon of Mahomet.

<sup>18</sup> Ducas, c. 55. Phranza (l. iii. c. 7), who had sailed in his vessel, commemorates the Venetian pilot as a martyr.

<sup>19</sup> Augustus est Palæologorum genus, et Imperii successore, parvæque Romanorum scintille heres, natus, Andreas, &c. (Phranza, l. i. c. 7.)

<sup>20</sup> The strong expression was inspired by his feelings.

<sup>21</sup> Cantemur, p. 97, 98. The sultan was either doubtful of his conquest, or ignorant of the superior merits of Constantinople. A city or a kingdom may sometimes be ruined by the Imperial force of their sovereign.

<sup>22</sup> *20000000*, by the president Cousin, is translated *pre-nourricier*, most correctly indeed from the Latin version, but in his haste he has overlooked the note by which Imael Boaillet (ad Ducan, c. 55.) acknowledges and renounces his own error.

<sup>23</sup> The Oriental custom of never appearing without gifts before a sovereign or a superior, is of high antiquity, and seems analogous with

the examination of the children. and it may be observed, that all such primitive words, which denote their parents, are the simple repetition of one syllable, composed of a labial or dental consonant and an open vowel. (Cesari.)

corruptus out among weight of one hundred, or one hundred and a twenty-five pounds (the weight of a cannon ball) is denoted by the Latin name of the stone of the sea of Lapidem, qui pennis urbe un ex meis ambulat in gyro.

place before the new palace was chosen for the first experiment; but, to prevent the sudden and mischievous effects of astonishment and fear, a proclamation was issued, that the cannon would be discharged the ensuing day. The explosion was felt or heard in a circuit of a hundred furlongs: the ball, by the force of gunpowder, was driven above a mile; and on the spot where it fell, it buried itself a fathom deep in the ground. For the conveyance of this destructive engine, a frame or carriage of thirty wagons was linked together and drawn along by a team of sixty oxen: two hundred men on both sides were stationed to poise and support the rolling weight; two hundred and fifty workmen marched before to smooth the way and repair the bridges; and near two months were employed in a laborious journey of one hundred and fifty miles. A lively philosopher<sup>25</sup> derides on this occasion the credulity of the Greeks, and observes, with much reason, that we should always distrust the exaggerations of a vanquished people. He calculates, that a ball, even of two hundred pounds, would require a charge of one hundred and fifty pounds of powder: and that the stroke would be feeble and impotent, since not a fifteenth part of the mass could be inflamed at the same moment. A stranger as I am to the art of destruction, I can discern that the modern improvements of artillery prefer the number of pieces to the weight of metal; the quickness of the fire to the sound, or even the consequence, of a single explosion. Yet I dare not reject the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporary writers; nor can it seem improbable, that the first artists, in their rude and ambitious efforts, should have transgressed the standard of moderation. A Turkish cannon, more enormous than that of Mahomet, still guards the entrance of the Dardanelles; and if the use be inconvenient, it has been found on a late trial that the effect was far from contemptible. A stone bullet of eleven hundred pounds weight was once discharged with three hundred and thirty pounds of powder; at the distance of six hundred yards it shivered into three rocky fragments, traversed the strait, and, leaving the waters in a foam, again rose and bounded against the opposite hill.<sup>26</sup>

Mahomet II. forms the siege of Constantinople.  
A. D. 1453,  
April 6.

While Mahomet threatened the capital of the East, the Greek emperor implored with fervent prayers the assistance of earth and Heaven. But the invisible powers were deaf to his supplications; and Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople, while she derived at least some promise of supply from the jealous and temporal policy of the sultan of Egypt. Some states were too weak, and others too remote; by some the danger was considered as imaginary, by others as inevitable: the Western princes were involved in their endless and

domestic quarrels; and the Roman pontiff was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks. Instead of employing in their favour the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicholas the Fifth had foretold their approaching ruin; and his honour was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy. Perhaps he was softened by the last extremity of their distress; but his compassion was tardy; his efforts were faint and unavailing; and Constantinople had fallen, before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from their harbours.<sup>27</sup> Even the princes of the Morea and of the Greek islands affected a cold neutrality: the Genoese colony of Galata negotiated a private treaty; and the sultan indulged them in the delusive hope, that by his clemency they might survive the ruin of the empire. A plebeian crowd, and some Byzantine nobles, basely withdrew from the danger of their country; and the avarice of the rich denied the emperor, and reserved for the Turks, the secret treasures which might have raised in their defence whole armies of mercenaries.<sup>28</sup> The indigent and solitary prince prepared however to sustain his formidable adversary; but if his courage were equal to the peril, his strength was inadequate to the contest. In the beginning of the spring, the Turkish vanguard swept the towns and villages as far as the gates of Constantinople: submission was spared and protected; whatever presumed to resist was exterminated with fire and sword. The Greek places on the Black Sea, Mesembria, Acheloum, and Bizon, surrendered on the first summons: Selybria alone deserved the honours of a siege or blockade; and the bold inhabitants, while they were invested by land, launched their boats, pillaged the opposite coast of Cyzicus, and sold their captives in the public market. But on the approach of Mahomet himself all was silent and prostrate: he first halted at the distance of five miles; and from thence advancing in battle array, planted before the gate of St. Romanus the Imperial standard; and, on the sixth day of April, formed the memorable siege of Constantinople.

The troops of Asia and Europe <sup>Forces of the Turks;</sup> extended on the right and left from the Propontis to the harbour; the Janizaries in the front were stationed before the sultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep intrenchment; and a subordinate army enclosed the suburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The inquisitive Philolphus, who resided in Greece about thirty years before the siege, is confident, that all the Turkish forces, of any name or value, could not exceed the number of sixty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot; and he upbraids the pusillanimity of the nations, who had tamely yielded to an handful of barbarians. Such, indeed, might be the regular establishment of the *Capiculu*,<sup>29</sup> the troops

<sup>25</sup> See Voltaire (Hist. Générale, c. xci. p. 294, 295.). He was ambitious of universal monarchy; and the poet frequently aspires to the name and style of an astronomer, a chymist, &c.

<sup>26</sup> The Baron de Tott (tom. ii. p. 87-89), who fortified the Dardanelles against the Russians, describes in a letter, and even compares, strain his own prowess, and the con-temnation of the Turks. But that adventurous traveller does not possess the art of gaining our confidence.

<sup>27</sup> See Sponand. A. D. 1453, No. 5.)

<sup>28</sup> Antonin in Froem.—Epist. Cardinal. Isidor. apud Spondanum;

and De Tott in his account of the siege of Constantinople.

before the *Casa Nuova* of Soliman II. from which, and his own experience, count Marsigli has composed his Military state of the Ottoman empire.

of the Porte, who marched with the prince, and were paid from his royal treasury. But the bashaws, in their respective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia; many lands were held by a military tenure; many volunteers were attracted by the hope of spoil; and the sound of the holy trumpet invited a swarm of hungry and fearless fanatics, who might contribute at least to multiply the terrors, and in a first attack to blunt the swords, of the Christians. The whole mass of the Turkish powers is magnified by Dueas, Chalcondyles, and Leonard of Chios, to the amount of three or four hundred thousand men; but Phranza was a less remote and more accurate judge, and his precise definition of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand does not exceed the measure of experience and probability.<sup>30</sup> The navy of the besiegers was less formidable: the Propontis was overspread with three hundred and twenty sail; but of these no more than eighteen could be rated as galleys of war; and the far greater part must be degraded to the condition of storeships and transports, which poured into the camp fresh supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions. In her

of the Greeks.

last decay, Constantinople was still peopled with more than an hundred thousand inhabitants; but these numbers are found in the accounts, not of war, but of captivity; and they mostly consisted of mechanics, of priests, of women, and of men devoid of that spirit which even women have sometimes exerted for the common safety. I can suppose, I could almost excuse, the reluctance of subjects to serve on a distant frontier, at the will of a tyrant; but the man who dares not expose his life in the defence of his children and his property, has lost in society the first and most active energies of nature. By the emperor's command, a particular enquiry had been made through the streets and houses, how many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The lists were intrusted to Phranza;<sup>31</sup> and, after a diligent addition, he informed his master, with grief and surprise, that the national defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred and seventy *Romans*. Between Constantine and his faithful minister, this comfortless secret was preserved; and a sufficient proportion of shields, cross-bows, and muskets, was distributed from the arsenal to the city bands. They derived some accession from a body of two thousand strangers, under the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese; a liberal donative was advanced to these auxiliaries; and a princely recompence, the isle of Lemnos, was promised to the valour and victory of their chief. A strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbour: it was supported by some Greek and Italian vessels of war and merchandise; and the ships of every Christian nation, that successively arrived from Candia and the Black Sea, were de-

tained for the public service. Against the powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of sixteen, miles was defended by a scanty garrison of seven or eight thousand soldiers. Europe and Asia were open to the besiegers; but the strength and provisions of the Greeks must sustain a daily decrease; nor could they indulge the expectation of any foreign succour or supply.

The primitive Romans would have drawn their swords in the resolution of death or conquest. The primitive Christians might have embraced each other, and awaited in patience and charity the stroke of martyrdom. But the Greeks of Constantinople were animated only by the spirit of religion, and that spirit was productive only of animosity and discord. Before his death, the emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular measure of an union with the Latins; nor was the idea revived, till the distress of his brother Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation.<sup>32</sup> With the demand of temporal aid, his ambassadors were instructed to mingle the assurance of spiritual obedience: his neglect of the church was excused by the urgent cares of the state; and his orthodox wishes solicited the presence of a Roman legate. The Vatican had been too often deluded; yet the signs of repentance could not decently be overlooked; a legate was more easily granted than an army; and about six months before the final destruction, the cardinal Isidore of Russia appeared in that character with a retinue of priests and soldiers. The emperor saluted him as a friend and father; respectfully listened to his public and private sermons; and with the most obsequious of the clergy and laymen subscribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the council of Florence. On the 12th of December, the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer; and the names of the two pontiffs were solemnly commemorated; the names of Nicholas the Fifth, the vicar of Christ, and of the patriarch Gregory, who had been driven into exile by a rebellious people.

But the dress and language of the Latin priest who officiated at the altar, were an object of scandal; and it was observed with horror, that he consecrated a cake or wafer of *unleavened bread*, and poured cold water into the cup of the sacrament. A national historian acknowledges with a blush, that none of his countrymen, not the emperor himself, were sincere in this occasional conformity.<sup>33</sup> Their hasty and unconditional submission was palliated by a promise of future revival; but the best, or the worst, of their excuses was the confession of their own perjury. When they were pressed by the reproaches of

False union of the two churches. A. D. 1159, Dec. 12.

Obstinacy and fanaticism of the Greeks.

<sup>30</sup> The observation of Philiphilus is approved by Casparian in the year 1509 de Casaribus, in Epilog. de Militia Turca. p. 37. Marsili proves, that the effective armies of the Turks are much less numerous than they appear. In the army that besieged Constantinople, Leonard Chienus reckons no more than 15,000 Janizaries.

<sup>31</sup> E. zo, polem. (Imp.) tollitis extrinsecum non ab omni dolore mentis, transgrediendo in diuina doctrina minime. Phranza, l. c. 8. With some indulgence for national prejudices, we learn t

deare a more authentic witness, not only of public facts, but of private emotions.

<sup>32</sup> In Spordanus, the narrative of the union is not only partial, but imperfect. The bishop of Sardines died in 1142, and the history of Phranza, which represents these events (l. 29, 37.) with such truth and spirit, was not printed till the year 1749.

<sup>33</sup> Phranza, l. c. 11. The emperor Gregory, a Jew acknowledges that the measure was adopted only to procure temporal aid. He allures with pleasure that these Latins will do nothing but to divide the city of St. Sophia, sacra cu panem et vinum.

their honest brethren, "Have patience," they whispered, "have patience till God shall have delivered the city from the great dragon who seeks to devour us. You shall then perceive whether we are truly reconciled with the Azymites." But patience is not the attribute of zeal; nor can the arts of a court be adapted to the freedom and violence of popular enthusiasm. From the dome of St. Sophia, the inhabitants of either sex, and of every degree, rushed in crowds to the cell of the monk Genadius,<sup>34</sup> to consult the oracle of the church. The holy man was invisible; entranced, as it should seem, in deep meditation, or divine rapture; but he had exposed on the door of his cell a speaking tablet; and they successively withdrew, after reading these tremendous words: "O miserable Romans! why will ye abandon the truth; and why, instead of confiding in God, will ye put your trust in the Italians? In losing your faith, you will lose your city. Have mercy on me, O Lord! I protest in thy presence, that I am innocent of the crime. O miserable Romans! consider, pause, and repent. At the same moment that you renounce the religion of your fathers, by embracing impiety, you submit to a foreign servitude." According to the advice of Genadius, the religious virgins, as pure as angels, and as proud as demons, rejected the act of union, and abjured all communion with the present and future associates of the Latins; and their example was applauded and imitated by the greatest part of the clergy and people. From the monastery, the devout Greeks dispersed themselves in the taverns; drank confusion to the slaves of the pope; emptied their glasses in honour of the image of the holy Virgin; and besought her to defend against Mahomet, the city which she had formerly saved from Chosroes and the Chagan. In the double intoxication of zeal and wine, they valiantly exclaimed, "What occasion have we for succour, or union, or Latins? far from us be the word ship of the Azymites!" During the winter that preceded the Turkish conquest, the nation was distracted by this epidemical frenzy; and the season of Lent, the approach of Easter, instead of breathing charity and love, served only to fortify the obstinacy and influence of the zealots. The confessors scrutinized and alarmed the conscience of their votaries, and a rigorous penance was imposed on those who had received the communion from a priest, who had given an express or tacit consent to the union. His service at the altar propagated the infection to the mute and simple spectators of the ceremony: they forfeited, by the impure spectacle, the virtue of the sacerdotal character; nor was it lawful, even in danger of sudden death, to invoke the assistance of their prayers or absolution. No sooner had the church of St. Sophia been polluted by the Latin sacrifice, than it was

deserted as a Jewish synagogue, or an heathen temple, by the clergy and people: and a vast and gloomy silence prevailed in that venerable dome, which had so often smoked with a cloud of incense, blazed with innumerable lights, and resounded with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving. The Latins were the most odious of heretics and infidels; and the first minister of the empire, the great duke, was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mahomet, than the pope's tiara or a cardinal's hat.<sup>35</sup> A sentiment so unworthy of Christians and patriots was familiar and fatal to the Greeks: the emperor was deprived of the affection and support of his subjects; and their native cowardice was sanctified by resignation to the divine decree, or the visionary hope of a miraculous deliverance.

Of the triangle which composes the figure of Constantinople, the two sides along the sea were made inaccessible to an enemy; the Propontis by nature, and the harbour by art. Between the two waters, the basis of the triangle, the land side was protected by a double wall, and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Against this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eye-witness, prolongs to the measure of six miles,<sup>36</sup> the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the emperor, after distributing the service and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the first days of the siege, the Greek soldiers descended into the ditch, or sallied into the field; but they soon discovered, that in the proportion of their numbers, one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks; and, after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. Nor should this prudence be accused of pusillanimity. The nation was indeed pusillanimous and base; but the last Constantine deserves the name of an hero: his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honour of the Western chivalry. The incessant volleys of lances and arrows were accompanied with the smoke, the sound, and the fire, of their musketry and cannon. Their small arms discharged at the same time either five, or even ten, balls of lead, of the size of a walnut; and, according to the closeness of the ranks and the force of the powder, several breast-plates and bodies were transpierced by the same shot. But the Turkish approaches were soon sunk in trenches, or covered with ruins. Each day added to the science of the Christians; but their inadequate stock of gunpowder was wasted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful, either in size or number; and if they possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, lest the aged structure should be shaken and overthrown by the

Siege of Constantinople by Mahomet II. A. D. 1453, April 6—May 29.

<sup>34</sup> His primitive and secular name was George Scholarius, which he changed for that of Genadius, either when he became a monk or a patriarch. His defence, at Florence of the same union which he so furiously attacked at Constantinople, has tempted Leo Allatius (Thesaur. de controversiis, in Flor. Biblot. Græc. tom. A. p. 260) to divide him into two men; but Renoulet (p. 315—357) has restored the identity of his person and the duplicity of his character.

<sup>35</sup> *ἡ ἀκαθάρτης, ἐκείνητος*, may be fairly translated a cardinal's hat. The difference of the Greek and Latin habits embittered the schism.

<sup>36</sup> *ἡ πόλις ἡμετέρα ἐστὶν ὡς τριῶν μιλίων ὁρίων*, says the Greek geographer. The Greek empire, to the smallest measure, was three miles long.

explosion.<sup>87</sup> The same destructive secret had been revealed to the Moslems, by whom it was employed with the superior energy of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet has been separately noticed, an important and visible object in the history of the times; but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude:<sup>88</sup> the long order of the Turkish artillery was pointed against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places; and of one of these it is ambiguously expressed, that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it discharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet, in the power and activity of the sultan, we may discern the infancy of the new science. Under a master who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than seven times in one day.<sup>89</sup> The heated metal unfortunately burst; several workmen were destroyed; and the skill of an artist was admired who bethought himself of preventing the danger and the accident, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

Attack and defence.

The first random shots, were productive of more sound than effect ; and it was by the advice of a Christian, that the engineers were taught to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the salient angles of a bastion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impression on the walls ; and the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm, and to build a road to the assault.<sup>40</sup> Innumerable fascines, and hog-heads, and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other ; and such was the impetuosity of the throng, that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice, and instantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch, was the toil of the besiegers ; to clear away the rubbish, was the safety of the besieged ; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines : but the soil was rocky ; in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers ; nor had the art been yet invented of replenishing those subterraneous passages with gunpowder, and blowing whole towers and cities into the air.<sup>41</sup> A circumstance that distinguishes the siege of Constantinople, is the reunion of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts ; the bullet and the battering-ram were directed against the same

walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers; this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a three-fold covering of bulls' hides; incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loopholes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a staircase to the upper platform; and, as high as the level of that platform, a scaling-ladder could be raised by pulleys to form a bridge, and grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various arts of annoyance, some as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned; after a severe struggle, the Turks were repulsed from the breach, and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted, that with the return of light they should renew the attack with fresh vigour and decisive success. Of this pause of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Justiniani, who passed the night on the spot, and urged the labours which involved the safety of the church and city. At the dawn of day, the impatient sultan perceived, with astonishment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes: the ditch was cleared and restored; and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his design; and uttered a profane exclamation, that the word of the thirty-seven thousand prophets should not have compelled him to believe that such a work, in so short a time, could have been accomplished by the infidels.

The generosity of the Christian princes was cold and tardy; but in the first apprehension of a siege, Constantine had negotiated, in the isles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the most indispensable supplies. As early as the beginning of April, five <sup>42</sup> great ships, equipped for merchandise and war, would have sailed from the harbour of Chios, had not the wind blown obstinately from the north.<sup>43</sup> One of these ships bore the Imperial flag; the remaining four belonged to the Genoese; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with soldiers and mariners, for the service of the capital. After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and, on the second day, a strong gale from the south, carried them through the Hellespont and the Propontis: but the city was already invested by sea and land; and the Turkish fleet, at the entrance of the Bosphorus, was stretched from shore to shore, in the

mentis, que ta-  
ta meliora  
hostes offende-  
re magis erant, ne murus concuteretur noster, quiescebant. This  
passage of Leonardus Chrenais is curious and important.

34. According to Chalcocondyle and Phiranza, the great cannon burst, an accident which, according to Ducas, was prevented by the artist's skill. It is evident that the *Leontopodium* of the *symeon* can.

50 Near an hundre  
Fretch and English  
shot in an engagemen

40 I have selected some curious facts, without striving to emulate the bloody and obtrusive eloquence of the Abbe de Vertot, in his prodigious expostions of the cruelties of Rhodes, Malta, &c. But if this agreeable historian had a turn for romance, and as he wrote to

please the order, he had adopted the same spirit of enthusiasm and chivalry.

41 The first theory of mines with gunpowder appears in 1480, in a MS. of George of Sienna (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. part. i. p. 324).

the 1990s, the number of people in the United States who are 65 years of age or older is projected to increase from 20 million to 30 million, and the number of people 75 years of age or older is projected to increase from 10 million to 15 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1997). The number of people 85 years of age or older is projected to increase from 2 million to 4 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1997). The number of people 90 years of age or older is projected to increase from 500,000 to 1 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1997). The number of people 95 years of age or older is projected to increase from 100,000 to 200,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1997). The number of people 100 years of age or older is projected to increase from 10,000 to 20,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1997).

...the fact that the *in vitro* and *in vivo* results are in good agreement, and that the *in vivo* results are in good agreement with the results of the *in vitro* studies.

45 In bold defiance, set their gross ignorance, of language and geography, the president then details them at Athens with a south, and waits them to be snatched away with a north wind.

form of a crescent, to intercept, or at least to repel, these bold auxiliaries. The reader who has present to his mind the geographical picture of Constantinople, will conceive and admire the greatness of the spectacle. The five Christian ships continued to advance with joyful shouts, and a full press both of sails and oars, against an hostile fleet of three hundred vessels; and the rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Asia, were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succour. At the first view that event could not appear doubtful; the superiority of the Moslems was beyond all measure or account; and in a calm, their numbers and valour must inevitably have prevailed. But their hasty and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the sultan: in the height of their prosperity, the Turks have acknowledged, that if God had given them the earth, he had left the sea to the infidels; <sup>41</sup> and a series of defeats, a rapid progress of decay, has established the truth of their modest confession. Except eighteen galleys of some force, the rest of their fleet consisted of open boats, rudely constructed and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops, and destitute of cannon; and since courage arises in a great measure from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Christian squadron, five stout and lofty ships were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practised in the arts and perils of the sea. Their weight was directed to sink or scatter the weak obstacles that impeded their passage: their artillery swept the waters: their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adversaries, who, with the design of boarding, presumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators. In this conflict, the Imperial vessel, which had been almost overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese; but the Turks, in a distant and a closer attack, were twice repulsed with considerable loss. Mahomet himself sat on horse-back on the beach, to encourage their valour by his voice and presence, by the promise of reward, and by fear, more potent than the fear of the enemy. The passions of his soul, and even the gestures of his body, <sup>42</sup> seemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he spurred his horse with a fearless and impotent effort into the sea. His loud reproaches, and the clamours of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former; and I must repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms, from their own mouth, that they lost above twelve thousand men in the slaughter of the day. They fled in disorder to the shores of Europe and Asia, while the Christian squadron, triumphant and unhurt, steered along the Bosphorus, and securely anchored within the

chain of the harbour. In the confidence of victory, they boasted that the whole Turkish power must have yielded to their arms; but the admiral, or captain bashaw, found some consolation for a painful wound in his eye, by representing that accident as the cause of his defeat. Baltha Oglı was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes: his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; and, under the despotism of the prince or people, misfortune is a sufficient evidence of guilt. His rank and services were annihilated by the displeasure of Mahomet. In the royal presence, the captain bashaw was extended on the ground by four slaves, and received one hundred strokes with a golden rod; <sup>43</sup> his death had been pronounced; and he adored the clemency of the sultan, who was satisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their Western allies. Amidst the deserts of Anatolia and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the crusades had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the situation of the Imperial city was strong against her enemies, and accessible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople: the more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambassador of Hungary, or at least of Huniades, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the sultan. <sup>47</sup>

It was difficult for the Greeks to penetrate the secret of the divan; yet the Greeks are persuaded, that a resistance, so obstinate and surprising, had fatigued the perseverance of Mahomet. He began to meditate a retreat; and the siege would have been speedily raised, if the ambition and jealousy of the second vizir had not opposed the perfidious advice of Calil Bashaw, who still maintained a secret correspondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land: but the harbour was inaccessible; an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ships, more than twenty of a smaller size, with several galleys and sloops; and, instead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval sally, and a second encounter in the open sea. In this perplexity, the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous east, of transporting by land his lighter vessels and military stores from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbour. The distance is about ten miles; the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets; and, as,

Mahomet transports his navy over land.

<sup>41</sup> The perpetual decay and weakness of the Turkish navy may be observed in Rycart (State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 372—378), in Thevenot (Voyages, tom. i. p. 229—232), and Tott (Mémoires, tom. iii.); the last of whom is always solicitous to alarm and amaze his reader.

<sup>42</sup> I must confess, that I have before my eyes, the living picture which Thucydides (lib. ii. c. 14) has given of the prayers and gestures of the Athenians, as they were gathered in the great harbours of the

<sup>46</sup> According to the exaggeration or corrupt text of Ducas (c. 38) this golden bar was of the enormous and incredible weight of 900 lb. or pounds. Boullaud's reading of 300 drachms, or five pounds, is sufficient to excuse the arm of Mahomet, and bruise the back of his admiral.

<sup>47</sup> Ducas, who confesses himself ill-informed of the affairs of Hungary, gives a notion of superstition, a fatal belief that Constantinople would be the term of the Turk's conquests. See Phranza (lib. c. 20) and Spaldeman.

the road must be opened behind the suburb of Galata, their free passage or total destruction must depend on the option of the Genoese. But these selfish merchants were ambitious of the favour of being the last devoured; and the deficiency of art was supplied by the strength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of strong and solid planks; and to render them more slippery and smooth, they were anointed with the fat of sheep and oxen. Fourscore light galleys and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars, were disembarked on the Bosphorus shore; arranged successively on rollers; and drawn forwards by the power of men and pulleys. Two guides or pilots were stationed at the helm, and the prow, of each vessel; the sails were unfurled to the winds; and the labour was cheered by song and acclamation. In the course of a single night, this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the consternation and confidence which it inspired; but the notorious, unquestionable, fact was displayed before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens of the two nations.<sup>48</sup> A similar stratagem had been repeatedly practised by the ancients; <sup>49</sup> the Ottoman galleys (I must again repeat) should be considered as large boats; and, if we compare the magnitude and the distance, the obstacles and the means, the boasted miracle <sup>50</sup> has perhaps been equalled by the industry of our own times.<sup>51</sup> As soon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army, he constructed, in the narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth, and one hundred in length: it was formed of casks and hogsheds, joined with rafters, linked with iron, and covered with a solid floor. On this floating battery, he planted one of his largest cannon, while the fourscore galleys, with troops and scaling-ladders, approached the most accessible side, which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Christians has been accused for not destroying these unfinished works; but their fire, by a superior fire, was controlled and silenced; nor were they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the vessels as well as the bridge of the sultan. His vigilance prevented their approach; their foremost galliots were sunk or taken; forty youths, the bravest of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly massacred at his command; nor could the emperor's grief be assuaged by the just though cruel retaliation, of exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and sixty Musulman captives. After a siege of

forty days, the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack: the fortifications, which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon: many breaches were opened; and near the gate of St. Romanus, four towers had been levelled with the ground. For the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Constantine was compelled to despoil the churches with the promise of a four-fold restitution; and his sacrilege offered a new reproach to the enemies of the union. A spirit of discord impaired the remnant of the Christian strength: the Genoese and Venetian auxiliaries asserted the pre-eminence of their respective service; and Justiniani and the great duke, whose ambition was not extinguished by the common danger, accused each other of treachery and cowardice.

During the siege of Constantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been sometimes pronounced; and several embassies had passed between the camp and the city.<sup>52</sup> The Greek emperor was humbled by adversity; and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkish sultan was desirous of sparing the blood of his soldiers; still more desirous of securing for his own use the Byzantine treasures; and he accomplished a sacred duty in presenting to the *Gabours*, the choice of circumcision, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of Mahomet might have been satisfied with an annual sum of one hundred thousand ducats; but his ambition grasped the capital of the East: to the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration, or a safe departure; but after some fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne, or a grave, under the walls of Constantinople. A sense of honour, and the fear of universal reproach, forbade Palaeologus to resign the city into the hands of the Ottomans; and he determined to abide the last extremities of war. Several days were employed by the sultan in the preparations of the assault; and a respite was granted by his favourite science of astrology, which had fixed on the twenty-ninth of May, as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the twenty-seventh, he issued his final orders; assembled in his presence the military chiefs; and dispersed his heralds through the camp to proclaim the duty, and the motives, of the perilous enterprise. Fear is the first principle of a despotic government; and his menaces were expressed in the Oriental style, that the fugitives and deserters, had they the wings of a bird,<sup>53</sup> should not escape from his inexorable justice.

Distress of the city.

Preparations of the Turks for the general assault. May 26.

<sup>48</sup> The unanimous testimony of the four Greeks is confirmed by Centaur (p. 106) from the Turkish annals; but I could wish to contract the distance of 60 miles, and to prolong the term of the night.

<sup>49</sup> Phinias relates the six miles of the bridge, after the battle of Act in the sixth century.

<sup>50</sup> Hannibal is said to have introduced his vessels into the harbour of Tarentum (Polybius, l. viii. p. 124. edit. Gronov.)

<sup>51</sup> A wreck of Candia, who had served the Venetians in a similar undertaking (see p. 1125, No. 37.), might possibly be the discoverer and agent of Mahomet.

<sup>52</sup> I particularly allude to our own embarkation on the 14th of October in the years 1776 and 1777, in great numbers, with little loss in the event.

<sup>53</sup> Claudius, l. ii. c. 2. Hannibal offers in the 10th and 11th chapters of the

of the present day, and which was neither glorious nor salutary, the fact is, that the Turkish army was not only victorious, but also, in the end, the city was saved.

<sup>52</sup> The Greek emperor, Constantine, was not only a man of great abilities, but also a man of great courage.

<sup>53</sup> Above seven and seven.

Should he rise North, upon his frozen wings,

He can alight above the wondering clouds,

And set him in the floods of golden chariot.

There should my fire drive him down to torture.

Below the earth, I see the first, I must observe, 1. That the

operation of the words must be confined to the lower regions of the

of the Turkish army, and not to the city of Constantinople.

of the Turkish army, and not to the city of Constantinople.



The greatest part of his bashaws and Janizaries were the off-spring of Christian parents: but the glories of the Turkish name were perpetuated by successive adoption; and in the gradual change of individuals, the spirit of a legion, a regiment, or an *oda*, is kept alive by imitation and discipline. In this holy warfare, the Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, their bodies with seven ablutions; and to abstain from food till the close of the ensuing day. A crowd of dervishes visited the tents, to instil the desire of martyrdom, and the assurance of spending an immortal youth amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally trusted to the efficacy of temporal and visible rewards. A double pay was promised to the victorious troops; "The city and the buildings," said Mahomet, "are mine; but I resign to your valour the captives and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty; be rich and be happy. Many are the provinces of my empire: the intrepid soldier who first ascends the walls of Constantinople, shall be rewarded with the government of the fairest and most wealthy; and my gratitude shall accumulate his honours and fortunes above the measure of his own hopes." Such various and potent motives diffused among the Turks a general ardour, regardless of life and impatient for action: the camp re-echoed with the Moslem shouts of "God is God; there is but one God," and Mahomet is the apostle of God;<sup>54</sup> and the sea and land, from Galata to the seven towers, were illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.

Far different was the state of the Christians; who, with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the punishment, of their sins. The celestial image of the Virgin had been exposed in solemn procession; but their divine patroness was deaf to their entreaties: they accused the obstinacy of the emperor for refusing a timely surrender; anticipated the horrors of their fate; and sighed for the repose and security of Turkish servitude. The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace, to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general assault. The last speech of Palæologus was the funeral oration of the Roman empire;<sup>55</sup> he promised, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. In this world all was comfortless and gloomy; and neither the Gospel nor the church have proposed any conspicuous recompence to the heroes who fall in the service of their country. But the example of their prince, and the confinement of a siege, had armed these warriors with the courage of despair, and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranza, who was

himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced; regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his station, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The emperor, and some faithful companions, entered the dome of St. Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosch; and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the sacrament of the holy communion. He reposed some moments in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations; solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured;<sup>56</sup> and mounted on horseback to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars.

In the confusion of darkness an assailant may sometimes succeed; but in this great and general attack, the military judgment and astrological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian æra. The preceding night had been strenuously employed: the troops, the cannon, and the fascines, were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which in many parts presented a smooth and level passage to the breach; and his fourscore galleys almost touched, with the prows and their scaling-ladders, the less defensible walls of the harbour. Under pain of death, silence was enjoined: but the physical laws of motion and sound are not obedient to discipline or fear; each individual might suppress his voice and measure his footsteps; but the march and labour of thousands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of dissonant clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At daybreak, without the customary signal of the morning gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land; and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack.<sup>57</sup> The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd who fought without order or command; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall: the most audacious to climb were instantly precipitated; and not a dart, not a bullet, of the Christians, was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence: the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain; they supported the footsteps of their companions; and of this devoted vanguard, the death was more serviceable than the life. Under their respective bashaws and sanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were

The general assault, May 29.

Last farewell of the emperor and the Greeks.

—78. Gehehn. Hist. du Calendrier, p. 731, which Mahomet had studied. 5 The golden chariot does not exist either in science or fiction; but I much fear that Dr. Johnson has confounded the Pleiads with the great bear or wagon, the zodiac with a northern constellation.

Ἄπορος ἦν τοῦ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀναβάντες.

54 Phranza quarrels with these Moslem acclamations, not for the name of God, but for that of the prophet: the pious zeal of Voltaire is excessive, and even ridiculous.

55 I am afraid that this discourse was composed by Phranza him-

self; and it smells so grossly of the sermon and the convent, that I almost doubt whether it was pronounced by Constantine. Leonardus assents him another speech, in which he addresses himself more respectfully to the Latin audience.

56 This abatement, which devotion has sometimes extorted from disingenuousness, is an improvement of the Gospel doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries: it is more easy to forgive 400 times, than once to ask pardon of an offender.

57 Besides the infantry, and the sailors and the marines, Duc numbers in this general assault 200,000 Turks, both horse and foot.

successively led to the charge: their progress was various and doubtful; but, after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks still maintained, and improved, their advantage; and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The sultan himself on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valour: he was surrounded by ten thousand of his domestic troops, whom he reserved for the decisive occasions; and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish; and if danger was in the front, shame and inevitable death were in the rear, of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs; and experience has proved, that the mechanical operation of sounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honour. From the lincs, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman empire. The single combats of the heroes of history or fable, amuse our fancy and engage our affections: the skilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a necessary, though pernicious, science: but in the uniform and odious pictures of a general assault, all is blood, and horror, and confusion; nor shall I strive, at the distance of three centuries and a thousand miles, to delineate a scene of which there could be no spectators, and of which the actors themselves were incapable of forming any just or adequate idea.

The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsels were the firmest rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his station in quest of a surgeon, his flight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, "is slight; the danger is pressing; your presence is necessary; and "whither will you retire?" "I will retire," said the trembling Genoese, "by the same "road which God has opened to the Turks;" and at these words he hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this pusillanimous act, he stained the honours of a military life; and the few days which he sur-

58 In the severe censure of the fault of Justiniani, Phranza expresses his own feelings and those of the public. For some private reasons, he is treated with more lenity and respect by Ducas: but the words of Leonardus Chiensis express his strong and recent indignation, *gloriae salutis unique oblitus*. In the whole series of their Eastern wars, he has his countrymen, the Genoese, were always suspected, and often guilty.

59 Ducas kills him with two blows of Turkish soldiers: Chalcocondilus wounds him in the shoulder, and then tramples him in the dust. The words of Phranza, *crucifurum him among the Christians*, denote the precise period of his death; but we may, without flattery, say, that these noble lines of Dryden

vived in Galata, or the isle of Chios, were embittered by his own and the public reproach.<sup>58</sup> His example was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to slacken when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigour. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps an hundred, times superior to that of the Christians; the double walls were reduced by the cannon to an heap of ruins: in a circuit of several miles, some places must be found more easy of access, or more feebly guarded; and if the besiegers could penetrate in a single point, the whole city was irrecoverably lost. The first who deserved the sultan's reward was Hassan the Janizary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his cimier in one hand and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification: of the thirty Janizaries, who were emulous of his valour, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan and his twelve companions had reached the summit; the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that the achievement was possible: the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes, the emperor,<sup>59</sup> who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen, and finally lost. The nobles, who fought round his person, sustained, till their last breath, the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?"<sup>60</sup> and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels.<sup>61</sup> The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple: amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. After his death, resistance and order were no more: the Greeks fled towards the city; and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the side of the harbour.<sup>62</sup> In the first heat of the pursuit, about two thousand Christians were put to the sword; but avarice soon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged, that they should immediately have given quarter if the valour of the emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a similar opposition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the

Death of the emperor Constantine Palæologus.

Loss of the city and empire.

As to Sebast an, let them search the field :

[illegible]

Chagan, and the caliphs, was irremediably subdued by the arms of Mahomet the Second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins: her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors.<sup>63</sup>

The tidings of misfortune fly with a rapid wing; yet such was the extent of Constantinople, that the more distant quarters might prolong, some moments, the happy ignorance of their ruin.<sup>64</sup> But in the general consternation, in the feelings of selfish or social anxiety, in the tumult and thunder of the assault, a sleepless night and morning must have elapsed: nor can I believe that many Grecian ladies were awakened by the Janizaries from a sound and tranquil slumber. On the assurance of the public calamity, the houses and convents were instantly deserted; and the trembling inhabitants flocked together in the streets, like an herd of timid animals, as if accumulated weakness could be productive of strength, or in the vain hope that amid the crowd each individual might be safe and invisible. From every part of the capital, they flowed into the church of St. Sophia: in the space of an hour, the sanctuary, the choir, the nave, the upper and lower galleries, were filled with the multitudes of fathers and husbands, of women and children, of priests, monks, and religious virgins: the doors were barred on the inside, and they sought protection from the sacred dome, which they had so lately abhorred as a profane and polluted edifice. Their confidence was founded on the prophecy of an enthusiast or impostor, that one day the Turks would enter Constantinople, and pursue the Romans as far as the column of Constantine in the square before St. Sophia, but that this would be the term of their calamities; that an angel would descend from heaven with a sword in his hand, and would deliver the empire, with that celestial weapon, to a poor man seated at the foot of the column. "Take this sword," would he say, "and avenge the people of the Lord." At these animating words, the Turks would instantly fly, and the victorious Romans would drive them from the West, and from all Anatolia, as far as the frontiers of Persia. It is on this occasion, that Ducas, with some fancy and much truth, upbraids the discord and obstinacy of the Greeks. "Had that angel appeared," exclaims the historian, "had he offered to exterminate your foes if you would consent to the union of the church, even then, in that fatal moment, you would have rejected your safety, or have deceived your God."<sup>65</sup>

While they expected the descent of the tardy angel, the doors were broken with axes; and as the Turks encountered no resistance, their bloodless hands were employed in selecting and securing the multitude

of their prisoners. Youth, beauty, and the appearance of wealth, attracted their choice; and the right of property was decided among themselves by a prior seizure, by personal strength, and by the authority of command. In the space of an hour, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The senators were linked with their slaves; the prelates with the porters of the church; and young men of a plebeian class with noble maids, whose faces had been invisible to the sun and their nearest kindred. In this common captivity, the ranks of society were confounded; the ties of nature were cut asunder; and the inexorable soldier was careless of the father's groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudest in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar with naked bosoms, outstretched hands, and dishevelled hair; and we should piously believe that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of the haram to those of the monastery. Of these unfortunate Greeks, of these domestic animals, whole strings were rudely driven through the streets; and as the conquerors were eager to return for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. At the same hour, a similar rapine was exercised in all the churches and monasteries, in all the palaces and habitations of the capital; nor could any place, however sacred or sequestered, protect the persons or the property of the Greeks. Above sixty thousand of this devoted people were transported from the city to the camp and fleet; exchanged or sold, according to the caprice or interest of their masters, and dispersed in remote servitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire. Among these we may notice some remarkable characters. The historian Phranza, first chamberlain and principal secretary, was involved with his family in the common lot. After suffering four months the hardships of slavery, he recovered his freedom; in the ensuing winter he ventured to Adrianople, and ransomed his wife from the *mir bashi*, or master of the horse; but his two children, in the flower of youth and beauty, had been seized for the use of Mahomet himself. The daughter of Phranza died in the seraglio, perhaps a virgin; his son, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was stabbed by the hand of the royal lover.<sup>66</sup> A deed thus inhuman, cannot surely be expiated by the taste and liberality with which he released a Grecian matron and her two daughters, on receiving a Latin ode from Philéplus, who had chosen a wife in that noble family.<sup>67</sup> The pride or cruelty of Mahomet would have been most sensibly gratified by the capture of a Roman legate; but the dexterity of cardinal Isidore eluded the search, and he escaped from Galata in a ple-

c. 27.), that island must have been full of the fugitives of Constantinople, who delighted to repeat, perhaps to adorn, the tale of their misery.

<sup>65</sup> See Phranza, l. iii. c. 29, 31. His expressions are positive: *America aut manu pugilanti . . . volabat enim eo turpiter et nefarie abutu. Me insuerum et infelicem. Yet he could only learn from report, the blood, or impure scenes that were acted in the dark recesses of the seraglio.*

<sup>67</sup> See Turchochi (from vi. part. i. p. 290.) and Lancelotti (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, t. vi. c. p. 718.). I should be curious to learn how he could praise the public enemy, whom he so often reviles as the most corrupt and ridiculous of tyrants.

total, so vast was the city, and so careless were the inhabitants, that nine hours elapsed before the distant quarters knew that they were captives. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 103, and Thucyd. (Anab. p. 78.), who has quoted from the prophet Jeremiah a passage of similar import.

<sup>66</sup> This lively description is extracted from Ducas (c. 32.), who two years afterwards was sent ambassador from the prince of Lesbos to the sultan (c. 14.). The Lesbos was subdued in 1465; Phranza, l. iii.

beian habit.<sup>68</sup> The chain and entrance of the outward harbour was still occupied by the Italian ships of merchandise and war. They had signalled their valour in the siege; they embraced the moment of retreat, while the Turkish mariners were dissipated in the pillage of the city. When they hoisted sail, the beach was covered with a suppliant and lamentable crowd: but the means of transportation were scanty: the Venetians and Genoese selected their countrymen; and notwithstanding the fairest promises of the sultan, the inhabitants of Galata evacuated their houses, and embarked with their most precious effects.

Amount of the spoil. In the fall and the sack of great cities, an historian is condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity: the same effects must be produced by the same passions; and when those passions may be indulged without control, small, alas! is the difference between civilised and savage man. Amidst the vague exclamations of bigotry and hatred, the Turks are not accused of a wanton or immoderate effusion of Christian blood: but according to their maxims (the maxims of antiquity), the lives of the vanquished were forfeited; and the legitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the service, the sale, or the ransom, of his captives of both sexes.<sup>69</sup> The wealth of Constantinople had been granted by the sultan to his victorious troops; and the rapine of an hour is more productive than the industry of years. But as no regular division was attempted of the spoil, the respective shares were not determined by merit; and the rewards of valour were stolen away by the followers of the camp, who had declined the toil and danger of the battle. The narrative of their depredations could not afford either amusement or instruction: the total amount, in the last poverty of the empire, has been valued at four millions of ducats;<sup>70</sup> and of this sum a small part was the property of the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and the merchants of Ancona. Of these foreigners, the stock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation; but the riches of the Greeks were displayed in the idle ostentation of palaces and wardrobes, or deeply buried in treasures of ingots and old coin, lest it should be demanded at their hands for the defence of their country. The profanation and plunder of the monasteries and churches excited the most tragic complaints. The dome of St. Sophia itself, the earthly heaven, the second firmament, the vehicle of the cherubim, the throne of the glory of God,<sup>71</sup> was despoiled of the oblations of ages; and the gold and silver, the pearls and jewels, the vases and sacerdotal ornaments, were most wickedly converted to the service of mankind. After the divine images had been stripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the canvas, or

the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or applied, in the stables or the kitchen, to the vilest uses. The example of sacrilege was imitated, however, from the Latin conquerors of Constantinople; and the treatment which Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, had sustained from the guilty Catholic, might be inflicted by the zealous Musulman on the monuments of idolatry. Perhaps, instead of joining the public clamour, a philosopher will observe, that in the decline of the arts, the workmanship could not be more valuable than the work, and that a fresh supply of visions and miracles would speedily be renewed by the craft of the priest and the credulity of the people. He will more seriously deplore the loss of the Byzantine libraries, which were destroyed or scattered in the general confusion: one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are said to have disappeared;<sup>72</sup> ten volumes might be purchased for a single ducat; and the same ignominious price, too high perhaps for a shelf of theology, included the whole works of Aristotle and Homer, the noblest productions of the science and literature of ancient Greece. We may reflect with pleasure, that an inestimable portion of our classic treasures was safely deposited in Italy; and that the mechanics of a German town had invented an art which derides the havoc of time and barbarism.

From the first hour<sup>73</sup> of the memorable twenty-ninth of May, disorder and rapine prevailed in Constantinople, till the eighth hour of the same day; when the sultan himself passed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus. He was attended by his vizirs, bashaws, and guards, each of whom (says a Byzantine historian) was robust as Hercules, dexterous as Apollo, and equal in battle to any ten of the race of ordinary mortals. The conqueror<sup>74</sup> gazed with satisfaction and wonder on the strange though splendid appearance of the domes and palaces, so dissimilar from the style of Oriental architecture. In the hippodrome, or *amciden*, his eye was attracted by the twisted column of the three serpents: and, as a trial of his strength, he shattered with his iron mace or battle-axe the under jaw of one of these monsters,<sup>75</sup> which in the eyes of the Turks were the idols or talismans of the city. At the principal door of St. Sophia, he alighted from his horse, and entered the dome; and such was his jealous regard for that monument of his glory, that on observing a zealous Musulman in the act of breaking the marble pavement, he admonished him with his cimeter, that, if the spoil and captives were granted to the soldiers, the public and private buildings had been reserved for the prince. By his command the metropolis of the Eastern church was transformed into a mosch: the rich and portable in-

Mahomet II. visits the city, St. Sophia the palace, &c.

that a figure has been dropped. Even with the restitution, the foreign property would scarcely exceed one fourth.

<sup>68</sup> See the enthusiastic praises and lamentations of Phranza (l. iii. c. 37).

<sup>69</sup> See Ducas (c. 45) and an epistle, July 15th, 1453, from Laurent Quarrus to pope Nicholas V. (Hody de Græcis, p. 194, from a MS. in the Cotton library).

<sup>70</sup> The Julian calendar, which reckons the days and hours from midnight, was used at Constantinople. But Ducas seems to understand the natural hours from sunrise.

<sup>71</sup> See the Turkish Annals, p. 360 and the Pandects of Leunclæus, l. vi. p. 418.

<sup>72</sup> I have found occasion (art. p. 2) to mention this curious relic of the 15th century.

struments of superstition had been removed; the crosses were thrown down; and the walls, which were covered with images and mosaics, were washed and purified, and restored to a state of naked simplicity. On the same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the *muezzin*, or crier, ascended the most lofty turret, and proclaimed the *ezan*, or public invitation in the name of God and his prophet; the imam preached; and Mahomet the Second performed the *namaz* of prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated before the last of the Cæsars.<sup>76</sup> From St. Sophia he proceeded to the august, but desolate, mansion of an hundred successors of the great Constantine, but which in a few hours had been stripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the vicissitudes of human greatness forced itself on his mind; and he repeated an elegant distich of Persian poetry: "The spider has wove his web in the Imperial palace; and the owl hath sung her watch-song on the towers of Afrasiab."<sup>77</sup>

Yet his mind was not satisfied, nor did the victory seem complete, till he was informed of the fate of Constantine; whether he had escaped, or been made prisoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death; the body, under an heap of slain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes; the Greeks acknowledged with tears the head of their late emperor; and, after exposing the bloody trophy,<sup>78</sup> Mahomet bestowed on his rival the honours of a decent funeral. After his decease, Lucas Notaras, great duke,<sup>79</sup> and first minister of the empire, was the most important prisoner. When he offered his person and his treasures at the foot of the throne, "And why," said the indignant sultan, "did you not employ these treasures in the defence of your prince and country?" "They were yours," answered the slave; "God had reserved them for your hands." "If he reserved them for me," replied the despot, "how have you presumed to withhold them so long by a fruitless and fatal resistance?" The great duke alleged the obstinacy of the strangers, and some secret encouragement from the Turkish vizir; and from this perilous interview, he was at length dismissed with the assurance of pardon and protection. Mahomet condescended to visit his wife, a venerable princess oppressed with sickness and grief; and his consolation for her misfortunes was in the most tender strain of humanity and filial reverence. A similar clemency was extended to the principal officers of state, of whom several were ransomed at his expense; and during some days he declared himself the friend and father of the vanquished people. But the scene was soon changed; and before his departure, the hip-

podrome streamed with the blood of his noblest captives. His perfidious cruelty is execrated by the Christians; they adorn with the colours of heroic martyrdom the execution of the great duke and his two sons; and his death is ascribed to the generous refusal of delivering his children to the tyrant's lust. Yet a Byzantine historian has dropped an unguarded word of conspiracy, deliverance, and Italian succour; such treason may be glorious; but the rebel who bravely ventures, has justly forfeited, his life; nor should we blame a conqueror for destroying the enemies whom he can no longer trust. On the eighteenth of June, the victorious sultan returned to Adrianople; and smiled at the base and hollow embassies of the Christian princes, who viewed their approaching ruin in the fall of the Eastern empire.

Constantinople had been left naked and desolate, without a prince or a people. But she could not be despoiled of the incomparable situation which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune. Boursa and Adrianople, the ancient seats of the Ottomans, sunk into provincial towns; and Mahomet the Second established his own residence, and that of his successors, on the same commanding spot which had been chosen by Constantine.<sup>80</sup> The fortifications of Galata, which might afford a shelter to the Latins, were prudently destroyed; but the damage of the Turkish cannon was soon repaired; and before the month of August, great quantities of lime had been burnt for the restoration of the walls of the capital. As the entire property of the soil and buildings, whether public or private, or profane or sacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he first separated a space of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the establishment of his seraglio or palace. It is here, in the bosom of luxury, that the *Grand Signor* (as he has been emphatically named by the Italians) appears to reign over Europe and Asia; but his person on the shores of the Bosphorus may not always be secure from the insults of an hostile navy. In the new character of a mosch, the cathedral of St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and surrounded with groves and fountains, for the devotion and refreshment of the Moslems. The same model was imitated in the *jami* or royal moschs; and the first of these was built by Mahomet himself, on the ruins of the church of the holy apostles, and the tombs of the Greek emperors. On the third day after the conquest, the grave of Abu Ayub or Job, who had fallen in the first siege of the Arabs, was revealed in a vision; and it is before the sepulchre of the martyr, that the new sultans are girded with the sword of empire.<sup>81</sup> Con-

<sup>76</sup> We are obliged to Cantemir (p. 102) for the Turkish account of the conversion of St. Sophia, so bitterly deplored by Phranza and Ducas. The lights the

derives new repeated, the same generous feeling carried the mind of the conqueror to the past or the future.

<sup>78</sup> I cannot believe with Ducas (See Spondanus, A. D. 1453, No. 153), that Mahomet sent round Persia, Arabia, &c. the head of the Greek emperor. he would surely content himself with a trophy less inhuman.

<sup>79</sup> Phranza was the personal enemy of the great duke; nor could time, or death, or his own retreat to a monastery, extort a feeling of sympathy or forgiveness. Ducas is inclined to praise and pity the martyr; Chalcondyles is neuter, but we are indebted to him for the hint of the Greek conspiracy.

<sup>80</sup> For the restitutions, see Cantemir, Tournefort, and the picture of the great Ottoman empire (Abregé de l'Histoire Ottomane, tom. i. p. 16—21). we may learn, that in the year 1536, the Moslems were less numerous in the capital than the Christians, or even the Jews.

<sup>81</sup> The Turb, or sepulchral monument of Abu Ayub, is described

stantinople no longer appertains to the Roman historian: nor shall I enumerate the civil and religious edifices that were profaned or erected by its Turkish masters: the population was speedily renewed; and before the end of September, five thousand families of Anatolia and Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital. The throne of Mahomet was guarded by the numbers and fidelity of his Moslem subjects; but his rational policy aspired to collect the remnant of the Greeks; and they returned in crowds, as soon as they were assured of their lives, their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion. In the election and investiture of a patriarch, the ceremonial of the Byzantine court was revived and imitated. With a mixture of satisfaction and horror, they beheld the sultan on his throne; who delivered into the hands of Gennadius the crozier or pastoral staff, the symbol of his ecclesiastical office; who conducted the patriarch to the gate of the seraglio, presented him with an horse richly caparisoned, and directed the vizirs and bashaws to lead him to the palace which had been allotted for his residence.<sup>82</sup> The churches of Constantinople were shared between the two religions: their limits were marked; and till it was infringed by Selim, the grandson of Mahomet, the Greeks<sup>83</sup> enjoyed above sixty years the benefit of this equal partition. Encouraged by the ministers of the divan, who wished to elude the fanaticism of the sultan, the Christian advocates presumed to allege that this division had been an act, not of generosity, but of justice; not a concession, but a compact; and that if one half of the city had been taken by storm, the other moiety had surrendered on the faith of a sacred capitulation. The original grant had indeed been consumed by fire: but the loss was supplied by the testimony of three aged Janizaries who remembered the transaction; and their venal oaths are of more weight in the opinion of Camtemir, than the positive and unanimous consent of the history of the times.<sup>84</sup>

The remaining fragments of the Greek kingdom in Europe and Asia I shall abandon to the Turkish arms; but the final extinction of the two last dynasties<sup>85</sup> which have reigned in Constantinople, should terminate the decline and fall of the Roman Empire in the East. The despots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas,<sup>86</sup> the two surviving brothers of the name of PALEOLOGUS, were astonished by the death of the emperor Constantine, and the ruin of the monarchy. Hopeless of defence, they prepared, with

the noble Greeks who adhered to their fortune, to seek a refuge in Italy, beyond the reach of the Ottoman thunder. Their first apprehensions were dispelled by the victorious sultan, who contented himself with a tribute of twelve thousand ducats. and while his ambition explored the continent and the islands in search of prey, he indulged the Morea in a respite of seven years. But this respite was a period of grief, discord, and misery. The *heremion*, the rampart of the Isthmus, so often raised and so often subverted, could not long be defended by three hundred Italian archers: the keys of Corinth were seized by the Turks; they returned from their summer excursions with a train of captives and spoil; and the complaints of the injured Greeks were heard with indifference and disdain. The Albanians, a vagrant tribe of shepherds and robbers, filled the peninsula with rapine and murder: the two despots implored the dangerous and humiliating aid of a neighbouring bashaw; and when he had quelled the revolt, his lessons inculcated the rule of their future conduct. Neither the ties of blood, nor the oaths which they repeatedly pledged in the communion and before the altar, nor the stronger pressure of necessity, could reconcile or suspend their domestic quarrels. They ravaged each other's patrimony with fire and sword: the alms and succours of the West were consumed in civil hostility; and their power was only exerted in savage and arbitrary executions. The distress and revenge of the weaker rival invoked the supreme lord; and, in the season of maturity and revenge, Mahomet declared himself the friend of Demetrius, and marched into the Morea with an irresistible force. When he had taken possession of Sparta, "You are too weak," said the sultan, "to control this turbulent province: I will take your daughter to my bed; and you shall pass the remainder of your life in security and honour." Demetrius sighed and obeyed; surrendered his daughter and his castles; followed to Adrianople his sovereign and son; and received for his own maintenance, and that of his followers, a city in Thrace, and the adjacent isles of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace. He was joined the next year by a companion of misfortune, the last of the COMNENIAN race, who, after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coast of the Black Sea.<sup>87</sup> In the progress of his Anatolian conquests, Mahomet invested with a fleet and army the capital of David, who presumed to style himself emperor of Trebizond; and the negotiation was comprised in a short and peremptory question, "Will

Loss of the  
Morea.  
A.D. 1160;

Extinction of  
the Imperial  
family of  
Comnenus and  
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archy. Hopeless of defence, they prepared, with

and engraved in the *Talbeau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris, 1787, in large folio, a work of less use, perhaps, than magnificence (tom. i. p. 305, 306.).

<sup>82</sup> Phranza (l. iii. c. 13.) relates the ceremony, which has possibly been adorned in the Greek reports to each other, and to the Latin.

<sup>85</sup> Camtemir (p. 101-102.) insists on the unanimous consent of the Turkish historians, ancient as well as modern, and argues, that they would not have related the truth to diminish their national glory, since it is esteemed more honourable to take a city by force than by composition. But, I doubt this consent, since he quotes no parti-

cular historian, and the Turkish Annals of Leunclavius affirm, without exception, that Mahomet took Constantinople *per rursu* (p. 329.).

<sup>86</sup> In favour of the Greeks of the Morea, this honourable and salutary title is given to the Christians.

<sup>87</sup> The comment of Trebizond, see above p. 1160, the comment.

<sup>87</sup> See the loss or conquest of Trebizond in Chalcondyles (l. ix. p. 267-269.), Ducas (c. 43.), Phranza (l. iii. c. 27.), and Cantemir (p. 102.).

<sup>88</sup> Though Tournefort (tom. ii. lettre xii. p. 171.) speaks of Trebizond as a small people, Pex-sure, the most and most accurate observer, can find 100,000 inhabitants (Commerce de la Mer Noire,

"you secure your life and treasures by resigning your kingdom? or had you rather forfeit your kingdom, your treasures, and your life?" The feeble Comnenus was subdued by his own fears, and the example of a Musulman neighbour, the prince of Sinope,<sup>89</sup> who, on a similar summons, had yielded a fortified city with four hundred cannon and ten or twelve thousand soldiers.

of Trebizond.  
A. D. 1461.

The capitulation of Trebizond was faithfully performed; and the emperor, with his family, was transported to a castle in Romania; but on a slight suspicion of corresponding with the Persian king, David, and the whole Comnenian race, were sacrificed to the jealousy or avarice of the conqueror. Nor could the name of father long protect the unfortunate Demetrius from exile and confiscation; his abject submission moved the pity and contempt of the sultan; his followers were transplanted to Constantinople; and his poverty was alleviated by a pension of fifty thousand aspers, till a monastic habit and a tardy death released Palæologus from an earthly master. It is not easy to pronounce whether the servitude of Demetrius, or the exile of his brother Thomas,<sup>90</sup> be the most inglorious. On the conquest of the Morea, the despot escaped to Corfu, and from thence to Italy, with some naked adherents: his name, his sufferings, and the head of the apostle St. Andrew, entitled him to the hospitality of the Vatican; and his misery was prolonged by a pension of six thousand ducats from the pope and cardinals. His two sons, Andrew and Manuel, were educated in Italy; but the eldest, contemptible to his enemies and burdensome to his friends, was degraded by the baseness of his life and marriage. A title was his sole inheritance; and that inheritance he successively sold to the kings of France and Arragon.<sup>91</sup> During his transient prosperity, Charles the Eighth was ambitious of joining the empire of the East with the kingdom of Naples: in a public festival, he assumed the appellation and the purple of *Augustus*; the Greeks rejoiced, and the Ottoman already trembled, at the approach of the French chivalry.<sup>92</sup> Manuel Palæologus, the second son, was tempted to revisit his native country: his return might be grateful, and could not be dangerous, to the Porte: he was maintained at Constantinople in safety and ease; and an honourable train of Christians and Moslems attended him to the grave. If there be some animals of so generous a nature that they refuse to propagate in a domestic state, the last of the Imperial race must be ascribed to an inferior kind: be accepted from the sultan's liberality two beautiful females; and his surviving son was lost in the habit and religion of a Turkish slave.

tom. ii. p. 72. and for the province, p. 53—591. Its prosperity and trade are perpetually disturbed by the factions quarrel of two orders of Janizaries, in one of which 50,000 Lazi are commonly enrolled (*Mémoires de Voft*, tom. iii. p. 16, 17).

<sup>89</sup> See *Journal* &c.

acquainted with their wealth and numbers.  
<sup>90</sup> Spodanus (from Gobelin Comment. *Pii II. L. v.*) relates the arrival and reception of despot Thomas at Rome (A. D. 1461, No. 3).

<sup>91</sup> By an act dated A. D. 1491, Sept. 6. and lately transmitted from the archives of the Capitol to the royal library of Paris, the despot Andrew Palæologus, reserving the Morea and stipulating some private advantages, conveys to Charles VIII. king of France, the empire of Constantinople and Trebizond (Spodanus, A. D. 1493, No. 2. *M. de Foncemagne* (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xvii.

The importance of Constantinople was felt and magnified in its loss: the pontificate of Nicholas the Fifth, however peaceful and prosperous, was dishonoured by the fall of the Eastern empire; and the grief and terror of the Latins revived, or seemed to revive, the old enthusiasm of the crusades. In one of the most distant countries of the West, Philip duke of Burgundy entertained, at Lisle in Flanders, an assembly of his nobles; and the pompous pageants of the feast were skilfully adapted to their fancy and feelings.<sup>93</sup> In the midst of the banquet, a gigantic Saracen entered the hall, leading a fictitious elephant, with a castle on his back: a matron in a mourning robe, the symbol of religion, was seen to issue from the castle; she deplored her oppression, and accused the slowness of her champions: the principal herald of the golden fleece advanced, bearing on his fist a live pheasant, which, according to the rites of chivalry, he presented to the duke. At this extraordinary summons, Philip, a wise and aged prince, engaged his person and powers in the holy war against the Turks: his example was imitated by the barons and knights of the assembly; they swore to God, the Virgin, the ladies, and the pheasant; and their particular vows were not less extravagant than the general sanction of their oath. But the performance was made to depend on some future and foreign contingency; and during twelve years, till the last hour of his life, the duke of Burgundy might be scrupulously, and perhaps sincerely, on the eve of his departure. Had every breast glowed with the same ardour; had the union of the Christians corresponded with their bravery; had every country, from Sweden<sup>94</sup> to Naples, supplied a just proportion of cavalry and infantry, of men and money, it is indeed probable that Constantinople would have been delivered, and that the Turks might have been chased beyond the Hellespont or the Euphrates. But the secretary of the emperor, who composed every epistle, and attended every meeting, Æneas Sylvius,<sup>95</sup> a statesman and orator, describes from his own experience the repugnant state and spirit of Christendom. "It is a body," says he, "without an head; a republic without laws or magistrates. The pope and the emperor may shine as lofty titles, as splendid images; but they are unable to command, and none are willing to obey: every state has a separate prince, and every prince has a separate interest. What eloquence could unite so many discordant and hostile powers under the same standard? Could they be assembled in arms, who would dare to assume the office of general? What order could be maintained?—what

p. 539—578) has bestowed a dissertation on this national title, of

to reckon with pleasure, with mildness of Valonia to Constantinople was saved by the policy of Venice.

<sup>93</sup> See the original feast in Olivier de la Marche (*Mémoires*, part i. c. 29, 30.), with the abstract and observations *M. de St. Pol* (*Mémoires sur la Chevalerie*, tom. ii. part. ii. p. 182—185.). The

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and of this chapter.

"military discipline? Who would undertake to feed such an enormous multitude? Who would understand their various languages, or direct their stranger and incompatible manners? What mortal could reconcile the English with the French, Genoa with Arragon, the Germans with the natives of Hungary and Bohemia? If a small number enlisted in the holy war, they must be overthrown by the infidels; if many, by their own weight and confusion." Yet the same Æneas, when he was raised to the papal throne, under the name of Pius the Second, devoted his life to the prosecution of the Turkish war. In the council of Mantua he excited some sparks of a false or feeble enthusiasm; but when the pontiff appeared at Ancona, to embark in person with the troops, engagements vanished in excuses; a precise day was adjourned to an indefinite term; and his effective army consisted of some German pilgrims, whom he was obliged to disband with indulgences and alms. Regardless of futurity, his successors and the powers of Italy were involved in the schemes of present and domestic ambition; and the distance or proximity of each object determined, in their eyes, its apparent magnitude. A more enlarged view of their interest would have taught them to maintain a defensive and naval war against the common enemy; and the support of Scanderbeg and his brave Albanians might have prevented the subsequent invasion of the kingdom of Naples. The siege and sack of Otranto by the Turks diffused a general consternation; and pope Sixtus was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, when the storm was instantly dispelled by the death of Mahomet II. A. D. 1481, May 5, or July 2.

Italy; he was possessed of a strong city and a capacious harbour; and the same reign might have been decorated with the trophies of the New and the Ancient Rome.<sup>97</sup>

## CHAP. LXIX.

*State of Rome from the Twelfth Century.—Temporal Dominion of the Popes.—Seditions of the City.—Political Heresy of Arnold of Brescia.—Restoration of the Republic.—The Senators.—Pride of the Romans.—Their Wars.—They are deprived of the Election and Presence of the Popes, who retire to Avignon.—The Ju-*

<sup>96</sup> Besides the two annalists, the reader may consult Giannone Turkish invasion of the conquest of Mahomet II. the de Mouy (in 4to.). In peace and war, the Turks have ever engaged the attention of the republic of Venice. All has been mentioned in the foregoing pages.

<sup>97</sup> The whole Byzantine series (xxvii. volumes in folio) has gradually issued (A. D. 1615, &c.) from the royal press of

*bible.—Noble Families of Rome.—Feud of the Colonna and Ursini.*

In the first ages of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, our eye is invariably fixed on the royal city, which had given laws to the fairest portion of the globe. We contemplate her fortunes, at first with admiration, at length with pity, always with attention; and when that attention is diverted from the capital to the provinces, they are considered as so many branches which have been successively severed from the Imperial trunk. The foundation of a second Rome on the shores of the Bosphorus has compelled the historian to follow the successors of Constantine; and our curiosity has been tempted to visit the most remote countries of Europe and Asia, to explore the causes and the authors of the long decay of the Byzantine monarchy. By the conquest of Justinian, we have been recalled to the banks of the Tyber, to the deliverance of the ancient metropolis; but that deliverance was a change, or perhaps an aggravation, of servitude. Rome had been already stripped of her trophies, her gods, and her Cæsars; nor was the Gothic dominion more inglorious and oppressive than the tyranny of the Greeks. In the eighth century of the Christian æra, a religious quarrel, the worship of images, provoked the Romans to assert their independence: their bishop became the temporal, as well as the spiritual, father of a free people; and of the Western empire, which was restored by Charlemagne, the title and image still decorate the singular constitution of modern Germany. The name of Rome must yet command our involuntary respect: the climate (whatsoever may be its influence) was no longer the same: the purity of blood had been contaminated through a thousand channels; but the venerable aspect of her ruins, and the memory of past greatness, rekindled a spark of the national character. The darkness of the middle ages exhibits some scenes not unworthy of our notice. Nor shall I dismiss the present work till I have reviewed the state and revolutions of the ROMAN CITY, which acquiesced under the absolute dominion of the popes, about the same time that Constantinople was enslaved by the Turkish arms.

In the beginning of the twelfth century,<sup>2</sup> the æra of the first crusade, Rome was revered by the Latins, as the metropolis of the world, as the throne of the pope and the emperor, who, from the eternal city, derived their title, their honours, and the right or exercise of

The first and German emperors of Rome. A. D. 800—1100.

the Louvre, with some collateral aid from Rome and Laisic; but the Venetian edition (A. D. 1729), though cheaper and more copious, is not less inferior in correctness than in magnificence to that of Paris. The merits of the French editors are various, but the value

Empire.

<sup>1</sup> The Abbé Dubos, who, with less genius than his successor Mem-

advised him to recollect or review the sixth chapter of this history.



temporal dominion. After so long an interruption, it may not be useless to repeat that the successors of Charlemagne and the Otthos were chosen beyond the Rhine in a national diet; but that these princes were content with the humble names of kings of Germany and Italy, till they had passed the Alps and the Apennine, to seek their Imperial crown on the banks of the Tyber.<sup>3</sup> At some distance from the city, their approach was saluted by a long procession of the clergy and people with palms and crosses; and the terrific emblems of wolves and lions, of dragons and eagles, that floated in the military banners, represented the departed legions and cohorts of the republic. The royal oath to maintain the liberties of Rome was thrice reiterated, at the bridge, the gate, and on the stairs of the Vatican; and the distribution of a customary donative feebly imitated the magnificence of the first Cæsars. In the church of St. Peter, the coronation was performed by his successor: the voice of God was confounded with that of the people; and the public consent was declared in the acclamations of, "Long life and victory to our lord the pope! long life and victory to our lord the emperor! long life and victory to the Roman and Teutonic armies!"<sup>4</sup> The names of Cæsar and Augustus, the laws of Constantine and Justinian, the example of Charlemagne and Otho, established the supreme dominion of the emperors; their title and image was engraved on the papal coins;<sup>5</sup> and their jurisdiction was marked by the sword of justice, which they delivered to the præfect of the city. But every Roman prejudice was awakened by the name, the language, and the manners, of a barbarian lord. The Cæsars of Saxony, or Franconia, were the chiefs of a feudal aristocracy; nor could they exercise the discipline of civil and military power, which alone secures the obedience of a distant people, impatient of servitude, though perhaps incapable of freedom. Once, and once only, in his life, each emperor, with an army of Teutonic vassals, descended from the Alps. I have described the peaceful order of his entry and coronation; but that order was commonly disturbed by the clamour and sedition of the Romans, who encountered their sovereign as a foreign invader: his departure was always speedy, and often shameful; and, in the absence of a long reign, his authority was insulted, and his name was forgotten. The progress of independence in Germany and Italy undermined the foundations of the Imperial sovereignty, and the triumph of the popes was the deliverance of Rome.

Of her two sovereigns, the emperor had precariously reigned by the right of conquest; but the authority of the pope was founded on the soft, though more solid, basis of opinion and habit. The removal of a foreign influence restored and

endeared the shepherd to his flock. Instead of the arbitrary or venal nomination of a German court, the vicar of <sup>from affection;</sup> Christ was freely chosen by the college of cardinals, most of whom were either natives or inhabitants of the city. The applause of the magistrates and people confirmed his election; and the ecclesiastical power that was obeyed in Sweden and Britain, had been ultimately derived from the suffrage of the Romans. The same suffrage gave a prince, as well as a pontiff, to the capital. It was universally believed, that Constantine had invested the popes with the temporal dominion of Rome; and the boldest civilians, the most profane sceptics, were satisfied with disputing the right of the emperor and the validity of his gift. The truth of the fact, the authenticity of his donation, was deeply rooted in the ignorance and tradition of four centuries; and the fabulous origin was lost in the real and permanent effects. The name of *Dominus* or Lord was inscribed on the coin of the bishops: their title was acknowledged by acclamations and oaths of allegiance, <sup>right;</sup> and with the free, or reluctant, consent of the German Cæsars, they had long exercised a supreme or subordinate jurisdiction over the city and patrimony of St. Peter. The reign of the popes, which gratified the prejudices, was not incompatible with the liberties, of Rome; and a more critical enquiry would have revealed a still nobler source of their power, the gratitude of a nation, whom they had rescued from the heresy and oppression of the Greek tyrant. In an age of superstition, it should seem that the union of the royal and sacerdotal characters would mutually fortify each other; and that the keys of Paradise would be the surest pledge of earthly obedience. The sanctity of the office might indeed be degraded by the personal vices of the man. But the scandals <sup>virtue;</sup> of the tenth century were obliterated by the austere and more dangerous virtues of Gregory the Seventh and his successors; and in the ambitious contests which they maintained for the rights of the church, their sufferings or their success must equally tend to increase the popular veneration. They sometimes wandered in poverty and exile, the victims of persecution; and the apostolic zeal with which they offered themselves to martyrdom, must engage the favour and sympathy of every Catholic breast. And sometimes, thundering from the Vatican, they created, judged, and deposed the kings of the world; nor could the proudest Roman be disgraced by submitting to a priest, whose feet were kissed, and whose stirrup was held, by the successors of Charlemagne.<sup>6</sup> Even the temporal interest of the city should have protected in peace and honour the residence of the popes; from whence a vain and lazy people derived the greatest part <sup>benefits.</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Authorities of the popes in Rome.

<sup>4</sup> Muratori has given the series of the papal coins (Antiquitat. tom. ii. diss. lxxv. p. 348-354.). He finds only two more early than the year

<sup>5</sup> 60) fifty are still extant from Leo III. to Leo IX. with addition of the reigning emperor; none remain of Gregory VII. or Urban II.; but in those of Paschal II. he seems to have renounced his right of dependence.

<sup>6</sup> see Barocæ Gloss. medice et infime Latin. tom. vi. p. 364, 365. STAFFA. This homage was paid by kings to archbishops, and by vassals to their lords (Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 262.); and it was the nicest policy of Rome, to confound the marks of filial and of feudal subjection.

of their subsistence and riches. The fixed revenue of the popes was probably impaired : many of the old patrimonial estates, both in Italy and the provinces, had been invaded by sacrilegious hands ; nor could the loss be compensated by the claim, rather than the possession, of the more ample gifts of Pepin and his descendants. But the Vatican and Capitol were nourished by the incessant and increasing swarms of pilgrims and suppliants : the pale of Christianity was enlarged, and the pope and cardinals were overwhelmed by the judgment of ecclesiastical and secular causes. A new jurisprudence had established in the Latin church the right and practice of appeals ; <sup>7</sup> and from the North and West, the bishops and abbots were invited or summoned to solicit, to complain, to accuse, or to justify, before the threshold of the apostles. A rare prodigy is once recorded, that two horses, belonging to the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, repassed the Alps, yet laden with gold and silver ; <sup>8</sup> but it was soon understood, that the success, both of the pilgrims and clients, depended much less on the justice of their cause than on the value of their offering. The wealth and piety of these strangers were ostentatiously displayed ; and their expenses, sacred or profane, circulated in various channels for the emolument of the Romans.

Such powerful motives should have firmly attached the voluntary and pious obedience of the Roman people to their spiritual and temporal father. But the operation of prejudice and interest is often disturbed by the sallies of ungovernable passion. The Indian who fells the tree, that he may gather the fruit,<sup>o</sup> and the Arab who plunders the caravans of commerce, are actuated by the same impulse of savage nature, which overlooks the future in the present, and relinquishes for momentary rapine the long and secure possession of the most important blessings. And it was thus, that the shrine of St. Peter was profaned by the thoughtless Romans; who pillaged the offerings, and wounded the pilgrims, without computing the number and value of similar visits, which they prevented by their inhospitable sacrilege. Even the influence of superstition is fluctuating and precarious: and the slave, whose reason is subdued, will often be delivered by his avarice or pride. A credulous devotion for the fables and oracles of the priesthood, most powerfully acts on the mind of a barbarian; yet such a mind is the least capable of preferring imagination to sense, of sacrificing to a distant motive, to an invisible, perhaps an ideal, object, the appetites and interests of the present world. In the vigour of health and youth, his practice

will perpetually contradict his belief; till the pressure of age, or sickness, or calamity, awakens his terrors, and compels him to satisfy the double debt of piety and remorse. I have already observed, that the modern times of religious indifference are the most favourable to the peace and security of the clergy. Under the reign of superstition, they had much to hope from the ignorance, and much to fear from the violence, of mankind. The wealth, whose constant increase must have rendered them the sole proprietors of the earth, was alternately bestowed by the repentant father and plundered by the rapacious son: their persons were adored or violated; and the same idol, by the hands of the same votaries, was placed on the altar, or trampled in the dust. In the feudal system of Europe, arms were the title of distinction and the measure of allegiance; and amidst their tumult, the still voice of law and reason was seldom heard or obeyed. The turbulent Romans disclaimed the yoke, and insulted the impotence, of their bishop;<sup>10</sup> nor would his education or character allow him to exercise, with decency or effect, the power of the sword. The motives of his election and the frailties of his life were exposed to their familiar observation; and proximity must diminish the reverence, which his name and his decrees impressed on a barbarous world. This difference has not escaped the notice of our philosophic historian: "Though the name "and authority of the court of Rome were so "terrible in the remote countries of Europe, "which were sunk in profound ignorance, and "were entirely unacquainted with its character "and conduct, the pope was so little revered at "home, that his inveterate enemies surrounded "the gates of Rome itself, and even controlled "his government in that city; and the ambassadors, who, from a distant extremity of Europe, carried to him the humble, or rather "abject, submissions of the greatest potentate "of the age, found the utmost difficulty to "make their way to him, and to throw themselves at his feet."<sup>11</sup>

Since the primitive times, the wealth of the popes was exposed to envy, their power to opposition, and their persons to violence. But the long hostility of the mitre and the crown increased the numbers, and inflamed the passions, of their enemies. The deadly factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, so fatal to Italy, could never be embraced with truth or constancy by the Romans, the subjects and adversaries both of the bishop and emperor; but their support was solicited by both parties; and they alternately

Successors of  
Gregory VII  
A.D. 1086-1505.

denunt spolia, ac si thesauros Cressi student reparare Sed recte cum eis agit Albinus, quoniam et ipsi alii et saepe missas hominibus dati sunt in direptionem (de Nugis Curialium, l. vi c. 24.

11 Hume's *History of England*, vol. 2, p. 419. The same writer says in his *Essays* (p. 263) "the great act of cruelty perpetrated by Henry II. was the murder of Becket." When he was "preacher at Normandy, the chamber of Becket presided, without his consent, in the election of a bishop upon which he 'threw all' at them, with the bishop elect to be elected, and 'saw all their efforts to be frustrated, and the election of a bishop and danger that it should be a source of contention, they had vowed to preserve the chamber of Becket as a treasure."

minus repatriant inviti. Nova res<sup>1</sup> quando ha-tenus arum Roma  
refudit? Et nunc Romanorum consilio id usurpatum non credimus  
(Bernart de Consolatione, l. 11. c. 3 p. 157.). The first words of  
the passage are obscure, and probably corrupt.

9 Quand les sauvages de la Louisiane veulent avoir du fruit, ils coupent l'arbre au pied et cueillent le fruit. Voilà le gouvernement despotique. Esprit des Loix, l. v. c. 15-), and passion and ignorance are always dominant.

10) In a free conversation with his countryman Adrian IV, John of Salisbury accuses the avarice of the pope and clergy. Provinciarum

displayed in their banners the keys of St. Peter and the German eagle. Gregory the Seventh, who may be adored or detested as the founder of the papal monarchy, was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno. Six and thirty of his successors,<sup>12</sup> till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal contest with the Romans: their age and dignity were often violated; and the churches, in the solemn rites of religion, were polluted with sedition and murder. A repetition<sup>13</sup> of such capricious brutality, without connection or design, would be tedious and disgusting; and I shall content myself with some events of the twelfth century, which represent

the state of the popes and the city.  
A.D. 1099–1115. On Holy Thursday, while Paschal officiated before the altar, he was interrupted by the clamours of the multitude, who imperiously demanded the confirmation of a favourite magistrate. His silence exasperated their fury: his pious refusal to mingle the affairs of earth and heaven was encountered with menaces and oaths, that he should be the cause and the witness of the public ruin. During the festival of Easter, while the bishop and the clergy, barefoot and in procession, visited the tombs of the martyrs, they were twice assaulted, at the bridge of St. Angelo, and before the Capitol, with volleys of stones and darts. The houses of his adherents were levelled with the ground: Paschal escaped with difficulty and danger: he levied an army in the patrimony of St. Peter; and his last days were embittered by suffering and inflicting the calamities of civil war. The scenes

that followed the election of his successor, Gelasius the Second, were still more scandalous to the church and city. Cencio Frangipani,<sup>14</sup> a potent and factious baron, burst into the assembly furious and in arms: the cardinals were stripped, beaten, and trampled under foot; and he seized, without pity or respect, the vicar of Christ by the throat. Gelasius was dragged by his hair along the ground, buffeted with blows, wounded with spurs, and bound with an iron chain in the house of his brutal tyrant. An insurrection of the people delivered their bishop: the rival families opposed the violence of the Frangipani; and Cencio, who sued for pardon, repented of the failure, rather than of the guilt, of his enterprise. Not many days had elapsed, when the pope was again assaulted at the altar. While his friends and enemies were engaged in a bloody contest, he escaped in his sacerdotal garments. In this unworthy flight, which excited the compassion of the Roman matrons, his attendants were scattered or unhorsed; and, in the fields behind the church of St. Peter, his successor was found alone and half dead with fear and fatigue. Shaking the dust from his feet, the apostle withdrew

from a city in which his dignity was insulted and his person was endangered; and the vanity of sacerdotal ambition is revealed in the involuntary confession, that one emperor was more tolerable than twenty.<sup>15</sup> These examples might suffice; but I cannot forget the sufferings of two pontiffs of the same age, the second and third of the name of Lucius. The former, as he ascended in battle array to assault the Capitol, was struck on the temple by a stone, and expired in a few days. The latter was severely wounded in the persons of his servants. In a civil commotion, several of his priests had been made prisoners; and the inhuman Romans, reserving one as a guide for his brethren, put out their eyes, crowned them with ludicrous mitres, mounted them on asses with their faces to the tail, and extorted an oath, that, in this wretched condition, they should offer themselves as a lesson to the head of the church. Hope or fear, lassitude or remorse, the characters of the men, and the circumstances of the times, might sometimes obtain an interval of peace and obedience; and the pope was restored with joyful acclamations to the Lateran or Vatican, from whence he had been driven with threats and violence. But the root of mischief was deep and perennial; and a momentary calm was preceded and followed by such tempests as had almost sunk the bark of St. Peter. Rome continually presented the aspect of war and discord: the churches and palaces were fortified and assaulted by the factions and families; and, after giving peace to Europe, Calistus the Second alone had resolution and power to prohibit the use of private arms in the metropolis. Among the nations who revered the apostolic throne, the tumults of Rome provoked a general indignation; and, in a letter to his disciple Eugenius the Third, St. Bernard, with the sharpness of his wit and zeal, has stigmatised the vices of the rebellious people.<sup>16</sup>

“Who is ignorant,” says the monk of Clairvaux, “of the vanity and arrogance of the Romans? a nation nursed in sedition, cruel, untractable, and seeming to obey, unless they are too feeble to resist. When they promise to serve, they aspire to reign; if they swear allegiance, they watch the opportunity of revolt; yet they vent their discontent in loud clamours if your doors, or your counsels, are shut against them. Dexterous in mischief, they have never learnt the science of doing good. Odious to earth and heaven, impious to God, seditious among themselves, jealous of their neighbours, inhuman to strangers, they love no one, by no one are they beloved; and while they wish to inspire fear, they live in base and continual

12 From Leo IX. and Gregory VII. an authentic and contemporary series of the lives of the popes by the cardinal of Arragon, Pandolphus Pisanus, Bernard Guido, &c. is inserted in the Italian Histories of Muratori (tom. i. part. i. p. 277–685), and has been always before my eye.

13 The dates of the events of the twelfth century are not to be understood as any necessary and excellent demonstration of a matter of fact. I have, however, in my possession, and as that treasure is in my library, I have thought it necessary to state the dates of the events of the twelfth century.

p. 398.

16 Quid tam notum seculis quam protervia et cervicosis Romanorum? gens insana pax, tumultu aequata, gens immitis et intractabilis, sub speciebus, sed sine conscientia, non vult resistere (de Considerat. l. iv. c. 2. p. 141). “The saint takes his breath, and then begins again. III. invidia terre et callo, utrique nocere placuit, &c. (p. 145).”

"apprehension. They will not submit; they know not how to govern; faithless to their superiors, intolerable to their equals, ungrateful to their benefactors, and alike impudent in their demands and their refusals. Lofty in promise, poor in execution; adulation and calumny, perfidy and treason, are the familiar arts of their policy." Surely this dark portrait is not coloured by the pencil of Christian charity; <sup>17</sup> yet the features, however harsh and ugly, express a lively resemblance of the Romans of the twelfth century. <sup>18</sup>

Political heresy of Arnold of Brescia.  
A. D. 1110.

The Jews had rejected the Christ when he appeared among them in a plebeian character; and the Romans might plead their ignorance of his vicar when he assumed the pomp and pride of a temporal sovereign. In the busy age of the crusades, some sparks of curiosity and reason were rekindled in the Western world: the heresy of Bulgaria, the Paulician sect, was successfully transplanted into the soil of Italy and France; the Gnostic visions were mingled with the simplicity of the Gospel; and the enemies of the clergy reconciled their passions with their conscience, the desire of freedom with the profession of piety. <sup>19</sup> The trumpet of Roman liberty was first sounded by Arnold of Brescia, <sup>20</sup> whose promotion in the church was confined to the lowest rank, and who wore the monastic habit rather as a garb of poverty than as an uniform of obedience. His adversaries could not deny the wit and eloquence which they severely felt: they confess with reluctance the specious purity of his morals; and his errors were recommended to the public by a mixture of important and beneficial truths. In his theological studies, he had been the disciple of the famous and unfortunate Abelard, <sup>21</sup> who was likewise involved in the suspicion of heresy: but the lover of Eloisa was of a soft and flexible nature; and his ecclesiastic judges were edified and disarmed by the humility of his repentance. From this master, Arnold most probably imbibed some metaphysical definitions of the Trinity, repugnant to the taste of the times: his ideas of baptism and the eucharist are loosely censured; but a political heresy was the source of his fame and misfortunes. He presumed to quote the declaration of Christ, that his kingdom is not of this world: he boldly maintained, that the sword and the sceptre were intrusted to the civil magistrate; that temporal honours and possessions were lawfully vested in secular persons; that the abbots, the bishops, and the pope

himself, must renounce either their state or their salvation; and that after the loss of their revenues, the voluntary tithes and oblations of the faithful would suffice, not indeed for luxury and avarice, but for a frugal life in the exercise of spiritual labours. During a short time, the preacher was revered as a patriot; and the discontent, or revolt, of Brescia against her bishop, was the first fruits of his dangerous lessons. But the favour of the people is less permanent than the resentment of the priest; and after the heresy of Arnold had been condemned by Innocent the Second, <sup>22</sup> in the general council of the Lateran, the magistrates themselves were urged by prejudice and fear to execute the sentence of the church. Italy could no longer afford a refuge; and the disciple of Abelard escaped beyond the Alps, till he found a safe and hospitable shelter in Zurich, now the first of the Swiss cantons. From a Roman station, <sup>23</sup> a royal villa, a chapter of noble virgins, Zurich had gradually increased to a free and flourishing city; where the appeals of the Milanese were sometimes tried by the Imperial commissaries. <sup>24</sup> In an age less ripe for reformation, the precursor of Zuinglius was heard with applause: a brave and simple people imbibed, and long retained, the colour of his opinions; and his art, or merit, seduced the bishop of Constance, and even the pope's legate, who forgot, for his sake, the interest of their master and their order. Their tardy zeal was quickened by the fierce exhortations of St. Bernard; <sup>25</sup> and the enemy of the church was driven by persecution to the desperate measure of erecting his standard in Rome itself, in the face of the successor of St. Peter.

Yet the courage of Arnold was not devoid of discretion: he was protected, and had perhaps been invited, by the nobles and people; and in the service of freedom, his eloquence thundered over the seven hills. Blending in the same discourse the texts of Livy and St. Paul, uniting the motives of gospel, and of classic, enthusiasm, he admonished the Romans, how strangely their patience and the vices of the clergy had degenerated from the primitive times of the church and the city. He exhorted them to assert the inalienable rights of men and Christians; to restore the laws and magistrates of the republic; to respect the name of the emperor; but to confine their shepherd to the spiritual government of his flock. <sup>26</sup> Nor could his spiritual government escape the censure and

He exhorts the Romans to restore the Republic.  
A. D. 1144  
—1154.

<sup>17</sup> As a Roman citizen, Petrarch takes leave to observe, that Bernard, though a saint, was a man; that he might be provoked by resentment.

as the wit, that is sold at the city.

<sup>19</sup> The heresies of the sixth century may be found in Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 119—127), who entertains a favourable opinion of Arnold of Brescia. In the fifth chapter, I have described the sect of the Paulicians, and followed their migration from Armenia to Thracia and Bulgaria, Italy and France.

<sup>20</sup> The original picture of Arnold of Brescia are drawn by Otto, bishop of Freisingen (it hon. l. viii. c. 51. de Gestis Frederici I. l. i. c. 27. l. ii. c. 21.), and in the mid book of the *Ligurinus*, a poem of the thirteenth century, who flourished A. D. 1200, in the monastery of Pavia near Milan, who flourished A. D. 1200, in the monastery of Pavia near Milan, who flourished A. D. 1200, in the monastery of Pavia near Milan.

with much

Hersey, in

St. Bernard,

of heresy and positive divinity is well understood by Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 112—113).

22

— Damnatu ab illo

Præfale, qui reuerens sextimo centenario nostro

Nomen ab nomen et dicitur laudabile est.

We may applaud the utility and correctness of *Ligurinus*, who  
H into a complaint  
Hensis has been found at  
12 6144, but at  
and Canon have assumed  
and Pæcus *Ligurinus*.  
c. 5, p. 106.) re-appraises

Enslaved, Nolite Terram multam, cop. rerum,  
is repeated with pleasure by the antiquaries of Zurich.

<sup>25</sup> Bernard, Epist. l. xvi. c. xxi. tom. i. p. 187—190. Amidst his

control of the reformer; and the inferior clergy were taught by his lessons to resist the cardinals, who had usurped a despotic command over the twenty-eight regions or parishes of Rome.<sup>27</sup> The revolution was not accomplished without rapine and violence, the effusion of blood and the demolition of houses: the victorious faction was enriched with the spoils of the clergy and the adverse nobles. Arnold of Brescia enjoyed, or deplored, the effects of his mission: his reign continued above ten years, while two popes, Innocent the Second and Anastasius the Fourth, either trembled in the Vatican, or wandered as exiles in the adjacent cities. They were succeeded by a more vigorous and fortunate pontiff, Adrian the Fourth,<sup>28</sup> the only Englishman who has ascended the throne of St. Peter; and whose merit emerged from the mean condition of a monk, and almost a beggar, in the monastery of St. Alban's. On the first provocation, of a cardinal killed or wounded in the streets, he cast an interdict on the guilty people; and, from Christmas to Easter, Rome was deprived of the real or imaginary comforts of religious worship. The Romans had despised their temporal prince; they submitted with grief and terror to the censures of their spiritual father: their guilt was expiated by penance, and the banishment of the seditious preacher was the price of their absolution. But the revenge of Adrian was yet unsatisfied, and the approaching coronation of Frederic Barbarossa was fatal to the bold reformer, who had offended, though not in an equal degree, the heads of the church and state. In their interview at Viterbo, the pope represented to the emperor the furious ungovernable spirit of the Romans; the insults, the injuries, the fears, to which his person and his clergy were continually exposed; and the pernicious tendency of the heresy of Arnold, which must subvert the principles of civil, as well as ecclesiastical, subordination. Frederic was convinced by these arguments, or tempted by the desire of the Imperial crown; in the balance of ambition, the innocence or life of an individual is of small account; and their common enemy was sacrificed to a moment of political concord. After his retreat from Rome, Arnold had been protected by the viscounts of Campania, from whom he was extorted by the power of Cesar: the prefect of the city pronounced his sentence; his execution A. D. 1155. the martyr of freedom was burnt alive in the presence of a careless and ungrateful people; and his ashes were cast into the Tyber, lest the heretics should collect and

worship the relics of their master.<sup>29</sup> The clergy triumphed in his death: with his ashes, his sect was dispersed; his memory still lived in the minds of the Romans. From his school they had probably derived a new article of faith, that the metropolis of the Catholic church is exempt from the penalties of excommunication and interdict. Their bishops might argue, that the supreme jurisdiction, which they exercised over kings and nations, more especially embraced the city and diocese of the prince of the apostles. But they preached to the winds, and the same principle that weakened the effect, must temper the abuse, of the thunders of the Vatican.

The love of ancient freedom has encouraged a belief, that as early as the tenth century, in their first struggles against the Saxon Otthos, the commonwealth was vindicated and restored by the senate and people of Rome; that two consuls were annually elected among the nobles, and that ten or twelve plebeian magistrates revived the name and office of the tribunes of the commons.<sup>30</sup> But this venerable structure disappears before the light of criticism. In the darkness of the middle ages, the appellations of senators, of consuls, of the sons of consuls, may sometimes be discovered.<sup>31</sup> They were bestowed by the emperors, or assumed by the most powerful citizens, to denote their rank, their honours,<sup>32</sup> and perhaps the claim of a pure and patrician descent; but they float on the surface, without a series or a substance, the titles of men, not the orders of government;<sup>33</sup> and it is only from the year of Christ one thousand one hundred and forty-four, that the establishment of the senate is dated, as a glorious era, in the acts of the city. A new constitution was hastily framed by private ambition or popular enthusiasm; nor could Rome, in the twelfth century, produce an antiquary to explain, or a legislator to restore, the harmony and proportions of the ancient model. The assembly of a free, of an armed, people, will ever speak in loud and weighty acclamations. But the regular distribution of the thirty-five tribes, the nice balance of the wealth and numbers of the centuries, the debates of the adverse orators, and the slow operations of votes and ballots, could not easily be adapted by a blind multitude, ignorant of the arts, and insensible of the benefits, of legal government. It was proposed by Arnold to revive and discriminate the equestrian order; but what could be the motive or measure of such distinction? <sup>34</sup> The pecuniary qualification

Restoration of the senate.  
A. D. 1144.

His execution  
A. D. 1155.

alive in the presence of a careless and ungrateful people; and his ashes were cast into the Tyber, lest the heretics should collect and

Pon-tifici summo, modum un-concedere regi  
Sualetit populo. No. 144. 145. 146.

Nor is the poetry of Gunther different from the pro-e of Ottho.

27 See Barrovia (A. D. 1115, No. 38, 39) from the Vatican MSS. He loudly condemns Arnold (A. D. 1114, No. 7, 8) as the father of the political heretic, whose influence is then beginning to spread.

28 The English reader may consult the *Historia Britannica*, A. D. 1144.

29 But our own writers have added nothing to the fame or merits of their countryman.

30 Besides the historian and poet already quoted, the last seven names of Arnold are related by the biographer of Adrian IV. (Mirator, Script. Roman. It. tom. ii. p. 141, 142 c.)

31 Ducaque (Gloss. Latinis) Melit et Intime. Traces, Dr. Aronowicz, tom. ii. p. 210, gives me a quotation from Boninus (de clero i. 2). Duo consules, et tribuitur quatuordecim, et ad vicesimam consulatum exemplum sumitur reman. prae. et. And in Sigismund, de Regno Italiae, l. vi. Opp. tom. ii. p. 100. I read 4 the consul- and tribunes of the sixth century. Both Boninus, and even Sigismund, too freely copied the classic method of supplying from reason or fancy the deficiency of records.

32 In the panegyric of Benignus (Morit. et. S. R. R. It. tom. ii. p. 108) a Roman is represented as a consular natus in the beginning of the fifth century. Muratori, *Script. Roman. It.* tom. ii. p. 108.

years 932 and 936, Gratianus in Dei nomine consul et dux, Georgius consul et dux, and in 1013, Romanus, brother of Gregory VII. proudly, yet sagely, styles himself consul et dux et omnium Romanorum senator.

32 As late as the eighth century, the Greek emperors conferred on the dukes of Venice, Naples, Anaphi, &c. the title of *senator*, or *consul* (Gibbon, *Supplement*, passim), and the successors of Charlemagne would not advance any of their prerogative. But in general, the names of *consul* and *senator*, which may be found among the French and Germans, signify no more than count and lord (Siegner, *Deutsch. Gesch.*). The monkish writers are often ambitious of fine classic words.

33 The most constitutional form, is a diploma of Ottho III. (A. D. 995, *Consulatus senatus populique Romanus*), but the act is probably spurious. At the coronation of Henry I. (A. D. 1013), the historian Eubank (and Muratori, *Script. Roman. It.* tom. ii. p. 108) describes him a senatorius discedit a palatio, quorum sex rati barba, alii prolixia, mystice incedunt cum baculo. The senate is mentioned in the panegyric of Benignus (p. 400).

34 In the senate and of the emperor, v. Natur. xxxi. 1. 5.

the  
ship  
Hist.  
111—

of the knights must have been reduced to the poverty of the times: those times no longer required their civil functions of judges and farmers of the revenue; and their primitive duty, their military service on horseback, was more nobly supplied by feudal tenures and the spirit of chivalry. The jurisprudence of the republic was useless and unknown: the nations and families of Italy who lived under the Roman and barbaric laws were insensibly mingled in a common mass; and some faint tradition, some imperfect fragments, preserved the memory of the Code and Pandects of Justinian. With their liberty the Romans might doubtless have restored the appellation and office of consuls; had they not disdained a title so promiscuously adopted in the Italian cities, that it has finally settled on the humble station of the agents of commerce in a foreign land. But the rights of the tribunes, the formidable word that arrested the public counsel, suppose or must produce a legitimate democracy. The old patricians were the subjects, the modern barons the tyrants, of the state; nor would the enemies of peace and order, who insulted the vicar of Christ, have long respected the unarmed sanctity of a plebeian magistrate.<sup>15</sup>

The Capitol. In the revolution of the twelfth century, which gave a new existence and æra to Rome, we may observe the real and important events that marked or confirmed her political independence. I. The Capitoline hill, one of her seven eminences,<sup>36</sup> is about four hundred yards in length, and two hundred in breadth. A flight of an hundred steps led to the summit of the Tarpeian rock; and far steeper was the ascent before the declivities had been smoothed and the precipices filled by the ruins of fallen edifices. From the earliest ages, the Capitol had been used as a temple in peace, a fortress in war: after the loss of the city, it maintained a siege against the victorious Gauls, and the sanctuary of empire was occupied, assaulted, and burnt, in the civil wars of Vitellius and Vespasian.<sup>37</sup> The temples of Jupiter and his kindred deities had crumbled into dust; their place was supplied by monasteries and houses; and the solid walls, the long and shelving porticoes, were decayed or ruined by the lapse of time. It was the first act of the Romans, an act of freedom, to restore the strength, though not the beauty, of the Capitol; to fortify the seat of their arms and counsels; and as often as they ascended the hill, the coldest minds must have glowed with the remembrance of their ancestors. II. The first Cæsars had

been invested with the exclusive coinage of the gold and silver; to the senate they abandoned the baser metal of bronze or copper.<sup>38</sup> The emblems and legends were inscribed on a more ample field by the genius of flattery; and the prince was relieved from the cure of celebrating his own virtues. The successors of Diocletian despised even the flattery of the senate: their royal officers at Rome, and in the provinces, assumed the sole direction of the mint, and the same prerogative was inherited by the Gothic kings of Italy, and the long series of the Greek, the French, and the German dynasties. After an abdication of eight hundred years, the Roman senate asserted this honourable and lucrative privilege, which was tacitly renounced by the popes, from Paschal the Second to the establishment of their residence beyond the Alps. Some of these republican coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are shown in the cabinets of the curious. On one of these, a gold medal, Christ is depicted holding in his left hand a book with this inscription: "THE TOW OF THE ROMAN SENATE" AND PEOPLE. ROME THE CAPITAL OF THE "WORLD;" on the reverse St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling senator in his cap and gown, with the name and arms of his family impressed on a shield.<sup>39</sup> III. With the empire, the præfect of the city had declined to a municipal officer; yet he still exercised in the last appeal the civil and criminal jurisdiction; and a drawn sword, which he received from the successors of Otho, was the mode of his investiture and the emblem of his functions.<sup>40</sup> The dignity was confined to the noble families of Rome: the choice of the people was ratified by the pope, but a triple oath of fidelity must have often embarrassed the præfect in the conflict of adverse duties.<sup>41</sup> A servant, in whom they possessed but a third share, was dismissed by the independent Romans: in his place they elected a patrician; but this title, which Charlemagne had not disdained, was too lofty for a citizen or a subject; and, after the first fervour of rebellion, they consented without reluctance to the restoration of the præfect. About fifty years after this event, Innocent the Third, the most ambitious, or at least the most fortunate, of the pontiffs, delivered the Romans and himself from this badge of foreign dominion: he invested the præfect with a banner instead of a sword, and absolved him from all dependence of oaths or service to the German emperors.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>35</sup> The republican plan of Arnold of Brescia is thus stated by Gunther:

Quin etiam titulos urbis renovare vetustos;  
Nominis plebeo secernere nomen equestre,  
Jura triumphorum, sanctum reparari senatum,  
Et semo fessas matasque reponere leges  
Lapsa riuosis, et adnue pendente morbis  
Recllere prima, et cuncta iuris auri or.

But of these reformatations, some were no more than ideas, others no more than words.

76 After many disputes among the antiquaries of Rome, it seems determined, that the summit of the Capitoline hill next the river is strictly the Mons Tarpeius, the *ars.*, and that on the other summit, the church and convent of *Anna*, the *consecrated* ruins of *St. Francis*, occupy the temple of *Jupiter* (*Nardini, Roma Antica*, l. v. c. II.—*Id.*).

58 This partition of the noble and baser metals between the emperor and senate, most however to be rated not as a positive fact, but as the probable opinion of the best antiquaries (see the *Science des Médailles* of the *Libre Académie*, torn. ii. p. 208-211, in the improved and latest edition of the *Encyclopédie*).

39 In his seventh dissertation on the Antiquities of Italy (tom. ii. p. 519-566), Muratori exhibits a series of the senatorian coins, which bear the obscure names of *Iphodoti, Iobartoti, Proinat, Pitarini*. During this period all the papers, without exception, Boniface VIII. obtained from the right of coining, which is resumed by his successor Benedict XI. and regularly exercised in the court of Avignon.

to a German historian, Ernst von Richthofen in *Ballus*. McNeill, too, v. p. 64 and Schmidt, *Die Ostslaven*, tom II, p. 203, *„daraus ergibt sich bereits, dass die Russen ein kontinuierliches Element in der russischen Imperie bilden, dass diese, wie wir es heute präzisieren, von slavischen Völkern und nicht von germanischen Völkern abstammen“* and so on. I am not a specialist, but I suspect that such a point of view is not in line with the actual situation.

In the second case, the Russian writer, Boris Nikolaevich Vasiliev, in *Die russische Literaturgeschichte* tom III, p. 103, writes: „Die russische Literatur ist eine Kette von literarischen und literarisch-literarischen Verbindungen, die sich von der russischen Literatur des Mittelalters bis zur russischen Literatur der Gegenwart hinziehen.“

It is not clear what is meant by „literarisch-literarische Verbindungen“ and „Kette“ in this context. I am not a specialist, but I suspect that such a point of view is not in line with the actual situation.

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12 Urbi præfectum ad ligiam salutem recepit, et per mantum

cardinal, was named by the pope to the civil government of Rome; but his jurisdiction has been reduced to a narrow compass; and in the days of freedom, the right or exercise was derived from the senate and people.

IV. After the revival of the senate,<sup>43</sup> the conscript fathers (if I may use the expression) were invested with the legislative and executive power; but their views seldom reached beyond the present day; and that day was most frequently disturbed by violence and tumult. In its utmost plenitude, the order or assembly consisted of fifty-six senators,<sup>44</sup> the most eminent of whom were distinguished by the title of counsellors; they were nominated, perhaps annually, by the people; and a previous choice of their electors, ten persons in each region, or parish, might afford a basis for a free and permanent constitution. The pope, who in this tempest submitted rather to bend than to break, confirmed by treaty the establishment and privileges of the senate, and expected from time, peace, and religion, the restoration of their government. The motives of public and private interest might sometimes draw from the Romans an occasional and temporary sacrifice of their claims; and they renewed their oath of allegiance to the successor of St. Peter and Constantine, the lawful head of the church and the republic.<sup>45</sup>

The office of senator. The union and vigour of a public council was dissolved in a lawless city; and the Romans soon adopted a more strong and simple mode of administration. They condensed the name and authority of the senate in a single magistrate, or two colleagues; and as they were changed at the end of a year, or of six months, the greatness of the trust was compensated by the shortness of the term. But in this transient reign, the senators of Rome indulged their avarice and ambition; their justice was perverted by the interest of their family and faction; and as they punished only their enemies, they were obeyed only by their adherents. Anarchy, no longer tempered by the pastoral care of their bishop, admonished the Romans that they were incapable of governing themselves; and they sought abroad those blessings which they were hopeless of finding at home. In the same age, and from the same motives, most of the Italian republics were prompted to embrace a measure, which, however strange it may seem, was adapted to their situation, and productive of the most salutary effects.<sup>46</sup> They chose, in some foreign but friendly city, an impartial magistrate of noble birth and unblemished character, a soldier and a statesman, recommended by the voice of fame and his country, to whom they delegated for a time the supreme administration of peace

and war. The compact between the governor and the governed was sealed with oaths and subscriptions; and the duration of his power, the measure of his stipend, the nature of their mutual obligations, were defined with scrupulous precision. They swore to obey him as their lawful superior; he pledged his faith to unite the indifference of a stranger with the zeal of a patriot. At his choice, four or six knights and civilians, his assessors in arms and justice, attended the *Podesta*,<sup>47</sup> who maintained at his own expense a decent retinue of servants and horses: his wife, his son, his brother, who might bias the affections of the judge, were left behind; during the exercise of his office he was not permitted to purchase land, to contract an alliance, or even to accept an invitation in the house of a citizen; nor could he honourably depart till he had satisfied the complaints that might be urged against his government.

It was thus, about the middle of the thirteenth century, that the Romans called from Bologna the senator Brancalione,<sup>48</sup> whose fame and merit have been rescued from oblivion by the pen of an English historian. A just anxiety for his reputation, a clear foresight of the difficulties of the task, had engaged him to refuse the honour of their choice: the statutes of Rome were suspended, and his office prolonged to the term of three years. By the guilty and licentious he was accused as cruel; by the clergy he was suspected as partial; but the friends of peace and order applauded the firm and upright magistrate by whom those blessings were restored. No criminals were so powerful as to brave, so obscure as to elude, the justice of the senator. By his sentence two nobles of the Annibaldi family were executed on a gibbet; and he inexorably demolished, in the city and neighbourhood, one hundred and forty towers, the strong shelters of rapine and mischief. The bishop, as a simple bishop, was compelled to reside in his diocese; and the standard of Brancalione was displayed in the field with terror and effect. His services were repaid by the ingratitude of a people unworthy of the happiness which they enjoyed. By the public robbers, whom he had provoked for their sake, the Romans were excited to depose and imprison their benefactor; nor would his life have been spared, if Bologna had not possessed a pledge for his safety. Before his departure, the prudent senator had required the exchange of thirty hostages of the noblest families of Rome: on the news of his danger, and at the prayer of his wife, they were more strictly guarded; and Bologna, in the cause of honour, sustained the thunders of a papal interdict. This generous resistance allowed the Ro-

Brancalione.  
A. D. 1252.  
—1258.

quod illi domit de prefectura cum publice investit, qui usque ad illi tempus paramento fidelitatis imperator fuit obligatus et ab eo preterea tenet honorem (Gesta Innocentii III. in Muratori, tom. li. p. 187.)

<sup>43</sup> See Otto Frising. Chron. vi. 31. de Gest. Frederici I. l. c. 27.

<sup>44</sup> Our countryman, Roger Hoveden, speaks of the single senators, of the *Consilium* facti, &c. quorum temporibus melius regebatur Roma duxim nunc (A. D. 1194) sed temporibus huius senatorum (Ducange, Gloss. tom. vi. p. 191. Saxatrupe).

<sup>45</sup> Muratori (dissert. xlii. tom. ix. p. 755—758) has published an original treaty (Concordia inter D. nostrum papam Clementem III. et senatores populi Romani super regitratu et eius dignitatis urbis, &c. anno 1198 senatus. The senate speaks, and speaks with authority. Reddimus ad presens . . . habebamus . . . datus presbiteria . . . iurabimus pacem et fidem item, &c. A. D. et illa de Tere. . . m. Tusculani, dated in the 17th year of the same pontificate, and confirmed de rebus ammissis ordinis senatus, &c. &c. A. D. pulchre

Capitolio consistentis. It is there we find the difference of senators consilium and simple senators (Muratori, dissert. xlii. tom. ix. p. 757—759.)

<sup>46</sup> Muratori (dissert. xlv. tom. ix. p. 664—692.) has fully explained this mode of government, and the *Occidua Pastorale*, which he has given at the end, is a treatise or sermon on the duties of these foreign magistrates.

<sup>47</sup> In the Latin original, as I have observed, the title of *Podesta* is used.

<sup>48</sup> See the original of the charter, in the *Statuta* of Bologna, (Juvenal, Sat. c. 90.)

mans to compare the present with the past; and Brancalione was conducted from the prison to the Capitol amidst the acclamations of a repentant people. The remainder of his government was firm and fortunate; and as soon as envy was appeased by death, his head, enclosed in a precious vase, was deposited on a lofty column of marble.<sup>49</sup>

Charles of  
Anjou.  
A. D. 1265  
-1278.

Charles of Anjou, 1265-1278.

The impotence of reason and virtue recommended in Italy a more effectual choice: instead of a private citizen, to whom they yielded a voluntary and precarious obedience, the Romans elected for their senator some prince of independent power, who could defend them from their enemies and themselves. Charles of Anjou and Provence, the most ambitious and warlike monarch of the age, accepted at the same time the kingdom of Naples from the pope, and the office of senator from the Roman people.<sup>50</sup> As he passed through the city, in his road to victory, he received their oath of allegiance, lodged in the Lateran palace, and smoothed in a short visit the harsh features of his despotic character. Yet even Charles was exposed to the inconstancy of the people, who saluted with the same acclamations the passage of his rival, the unfortunate Conradin; and a powerful avenger, who reigned in the Capitol, alarmed the fears and jealousy of the popes. The absolute term of his life was superseded by a renewal every third year; and the enmity of Nicholas the Third obliged the Sicilian king to abdicate the government of Rome. In his bull, a perpetual law, the imperious pontiff asserts the truth, validity, and use, of the donation of Constantine, not less essential to the peace of the city than to the independence of the church; establishes the annual election of the senator; and formally disqualifies all emperors, kings, princes, and persons of an eminent and conspicuous rank.<sup>51</sup> This prohibitory

Pope Martin  
IV  
A. D. 1251.

Pope Martin IV. clause was repealed in his own behalf by Martin the Fourth, who humbly solicited the suffrage of the Romans. In the presence, and by the authority, of the people, two electors conferred, not on the pope, but on the noble and faithful Martin, the dignity of senator, and the supreme administration of the republic,<sup>32</sup> to hold during his natural life, and to exercise at pleasure by himself or his deputies. About fifty years afterwards, the same title was granted to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria: and the liberty of Rome was acknowledged by her two sovereigns, who accepted a municipal office in the government of their own metropolis.

The emperor  
Leo of Ba-  
varia.  
A. D. 1328.

the emperor Lewis of Bavaria: and the liberty of Rome was acknowledged by her two sovereigns, who accepted a municipal office in the government of their own metropolis.

Addresses of Rome to the emperors.

liate the favour of the empire, and to recommend  
their merit and services in the cause of Cæsar.  
The style of their ambassadors to Conrad III.  
Conrad the Third and Frederic the A. D. 1114.

First, is a mixture of flattery and pride, the tradition and the ignorance of their own history.<sup>53</sup> After some complaint of his silence and neglect, they exhort the former of these princes to pass the Alps, and assume from their hands the Imperial crown. "We beseech your majesty, not to disdain the humility of your sons and vassals, not to listen to the accusations of our common enemies; who calumniate the senate as hostile to your throne, who sow the seeds of discord, that they may reap the harvest of destruction. The pope and the *Sicilian* are united in an impious league to oppose *our* liberty and *your* coronation. With the blessing of God, our zeal and courage has hitherto defeated their attempts. Of their powerful and factious adherents, more especially the *Frangipani*, we have taken by assault the houses and turrets: some of these are occupied by our troops, and some are levelled with the ground. The *Milvian* bridge, which they had broken, is restored and fortified for your safe passage; and your army may enter the city without being annoyed from the castle of *St. Angelo*. All that we have done, and all that we design, is for your honour and service, in the loyal hope, that you will speedily appear in person, to vindicate those rights which have been invaded by the clergy, to revive the dignity of the empire, and to surpass the fame and glory of your predecessors. May you fix your residence in *Rome*, the capital of the world; give laws to *Italy* and the *Teutonic* kingdom; and imitate the example of *Constantine* and *Justinian*,<sup>54</sup> who, by the vigour of the senate and people, obtained the sceptre of the earth."<sup>55</sup> But these splendid and fallacious wishes were not cherished by *Conrad the Franconian*, whose eyes were fixed on the *Holy Land*, and who died without visiting *Rome* soon after his return from the *Holy Land*.

His nephew and successor, Frederic Barbarossa, was more ambitious. Frederic I. A. D. 1155.

of the Imperial crown; nor had any of the successors of Otho acquired such absolute sway over the kingdom of Italy. Surrounded by his ecclesiastical and secular princes, he gave audience in his camp at Sutri to the ambassadors of Rome, who thus addressed him in a free and florid oration: "Incline your ear to the queen of cities; approach with a peaceful and friendly mind to the precincts of Rome, which has cast away the yoke of the clergy, and is impatient to crown her legitimate emperor. Under your auspicious influence, may the primitive times be restored."

it must be received by the Catholics, or at least by the Papists, as a

\*53 These letters and speeches are preserved by Otto bishop of Frisingen, *Farrae. Rithor. lat. Med. et infim.* tom. i. p. 186, 187; perhaps the author of the *Historia*, he was son of Teotold margrave of Austria, the emperor's nephew, and daughter of the emperor Henry IV. He was a half-brother and uncle to Conrad III. and Frederic I. He has left, in seven books, a Chronicle of the Times, in two, the *gesta Frederici I.*, the last of which is inserted in the vol. volume of Muratori-Historians.

54 We desire, and the ignorant Romans, to restore the empire in  
our stature, who have ten years Constantine et Julianus, qui totum  
orbem vixit et regnavit et postquam Constantinus et Julianus

49 Matthew Paris thus ends his account: *Caput vero ipsius Brancarii in tunc pretioso super marmoream columnam collocatum, in summisque domibus suis, cum suis et suisque successoribus, nomen et entum et male- tor et defensor. A biographer of 1,592 draws a less favourable portrait of this Grubline senator.*

21) The election of Charles of Anjou to the office of perpetual senator of Rome, is mentioned by the historians in the ninth volume of the collection of Muratori, by Nicholas de Jamsilla (p. 1121), the monk of Padua (p. 721), Sabas Malaspina (l. ii. c. 9. p. 863), and Riccardo Malaspina (p. 127).

...the Decretals,



"Assert the prerogatives of the eternal city, and reduce under her monarchy the insolence of the world. You are not ignorant, that, in former ages, by the wisdom of the senate, by the valour and discipline of the equestrian order, she extended her victorious arms to the East and West, beyond the Alps, and over the islands of the ocean. By our sins, in the absence of our princes, the noble institution of the senate has sunk in oblivion: and with our prudence, our strength has likewise decreased. We have revived the senate, and the equestrian order; the counsels of the one, the arms of the other, will be devoted to your person and the service of the empire. Do you not hear the language of the Roman matron? You were a guest, I have adopted you as a citizen; a Transalpine stranger, I have elected you for my sovereign;<sup>56</sup> and given you myself, and all that is mine. Your first and most sacred duty, is to swear and subscribe, that you will shed your blood for the republic; that you will maintain, in peace and justice, the laws of the city and the charters of your predecessors; and that you will reward with five thousand pounds of silver the faithful senators who shall proclaim your titles in the Capitol. With the name, assume the character, of Augustus." The flowers of Latin rhetoric were not yet exhausted; but Frederic, impatient of their vanity, interrupted the orators in the high tone of royalty and conquest. Famous indeed have been the fortitude and wisdom of the ancient Romans: but your speech is not seasoned with wisdom, and I could wish that fortitude were conspicuous in your actions. Like all sublimary things, Rome has felt the vicissitudes of time and fortune. Your noblest families were translated to the East, to the royal city of Constantine; and the remains of your strength and freedom have long since been exhausted by the Greeks and Franks. Are you desirous of beholding the ancient glory of Rome, the gravity of the senate, the spirit of the knights, the discipline of the camp, the valour of the legions? you will find them in the German republic. It is not empire, naked and alone, the ornaments and virtues of empire have likewise migrated beyond the Alps to a more deserving people:<sup>57</sup> they will be employed in your defence, but they claim your obedience. You pretend that myself or my predecessors have been invited by the Romans: you mistake the word, they were not invited; they were implored. From its foreign and domestic tyrants, the city was rescued by Charlemagne and Otho, whose ashes repose in our country: and their dominion was the price of your deliverance.

"Under that dominion your ancestors lived and died. I claim by the right of inheritance and possession, and who shall dare to extort you from my hands? Is the hand of the Franks<sup>58</sup> and Germans enfeebled by age? Am I vanquished? Am I a captive? Am I not encompassed with the banners of a potent and invincible army? You impose conditions on your master; you require oaths: if the conditions are just, an oath is superfluous; if unjust, it is criminal. Can you doubt my equity? It is extended to the meanest of my subjects. Will not my sword be unsheathed in the defence of the Capitol? By that sword the northern kingdom of Denmark has been restored to the Roman empire. You prescribe the measure and the objects of my bounty, which flows in a copious but a voluntary stream. All will be given to patient merit; all will be denied to rude importunity."<sup>59</sup> Neither the emperor nor the senate could maintain these lofty pretensions of dominion and liberty. United with the pope, and suspicious of the Romans, Frederic continued his march to the Vatican; his coronation was disturbed by a sally from the Capitol; and if the numbers and valour of the Germans prevailed in the bloody conflict, he could not safely encamp in the presence of a city of which he styled himself the sovereign. About twelve years afterwards, he besieged Rome, to seat an antipope in the chair of St. Peter; and twelve Pisan galleys were introduced into the Tyber: but the senate and people were saved by the arts of negotiation and the progress of disease; nor did Frederic or his successors reiterate the hostile attempt. Their laborious reigns were exercised by the popes, the crusades, and the independence of Lombardy and Germany; they courted the alliance of the Romans; and Frederic the Second offered in the Capitol the great standard, the *Carroccio* of Milan.<sup>60</sup> After the extinction of the house of Swabia, they were banished beyond the Alps; and their last coronations betrayed the impotence and poverty of the Teutonic Cæsars.<sup>61</sup>

Under the reign of Adrian, when the empire extended from the Euphrates to the ocean, from Mount Atlas to the Grampian hills, a fanciful historian<sup>62</sup> amused the Romans with the picture of their infant wars. "There was a time," says Florus, "when Tibur and Præneste, our summer retreats, were the objects of hostile vows in the Capitol, when we dreaded the shades of the Arician groves, when we could triumph without a blush over the nameless villages of the Sabines and Latins, and even Corioli could afford a title not unworthy

Wars of the Romans against the neighbouring cities.

Ne si . . . p. 111)  
 Ne si anno 127, una eque deso tiro con in marmo dianzi troto  
 si scopri, nel tanquidolo, presso alla carcere di quel luogo, dove  
 posto V. l'alta di marmo, dove sta esso posto sopra quattro co-  
 lonne di marmo tiro colla seguita iscrizione, &c. to the same pur-  
 pose as the old inscription.

61 The decline of the Imperial arms and authority in Italy is related with impartial learning in the *Annals of Muratori* (tom. x. s. xi. xii.) and the reader may compare his narrative with the *Histoire des Allemans* (tom. ii. s. v.) by Schmidt, who has deserved the esteem of his countrymen.

62 Tibur nunc suburbanum . . . p. 111)  
 puts in Capitolio vobis petro . . .  
 (l. i. c. 11.) may be read with . . .  
 of a man of genius (*Œuvres de M. de la Harpe*, tom. ii. p. 111, quarto edition).

56 Ho po eras, citem feci. Advena fuit ex Trans-alpinis partibus; principem constitui.

57 Non esset natus indum imperium, virtute sua amictum, venit, ornamenta sibi secum traxit. Times posant consules tunc. Xc. Cetero si l'as would not have renounced these images, the eloquence of a barbarian born and educated in the Here, can be seen.

58 Oth of Frisingen, who surly in derogate the language of the court and diet of Germans, speaks of the Franks in the sixth century as the first nation (Proces Fræm, Epitomes Franci, manus Francorum) he adds, however, the epithet of Franks.

59 Of a French de Geste, Frederic l. i. s. c. 92. p. 720-723. These criminal and authentic acts I have translated and abridged with freedom, yet with fidelity.

60 From the histories of Rinaldo and Frances Pipin, Muratori (dissert. xvi. tom. ii. p. 324) has borrowed this curious fact with the dogrel verses that accompanied the gift.

Avo decus oris, ave victus tibi desinor, ave  
 Currus ab Augusto Francico Casare iusto.  
 Væ Mediolanum! jam sensus spernere valium

"of a victorious general." The pride of his contemporaries was gratified by the contrast of the past and the present: they would have been humbled by the prospect of futurity; by the prediction, that after a thousand years, Rome, despoiled of empire and contracted to her primeval limits, would renew the same hostilities, on the same ground which was then decorated with her villas and gardens. The adjacent territory on either side of the Tyber was always claimed, and sometimes possessed, as the patrimony of St. Peter; but the barons assumed a lawless independence, and the cities too faithfully copied the revolt and discord of the metropolis. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Romans incessantly laboured to reduce or destroy the contumacious vassals of the church and senate; and if their headstrong and selfish ambition was moderated by the pope, he often encouraged their zeal by the alliance of his spiritual arms. Their warfare was that of the first consuls and dictators, who were taken from the plough. They assembled in arms at the foot of the Capitol; sallied from the gates, plundered or burnt the harvests of their neighbours, engaged in tumultuary conflict, and returned home after an expedition of fifteen or twenty days. Their sieges were tedious and unskilful: in the use of victory, they indulged the meaner passions of jealousy and revenge; and instead of adopting the valour, they trampled on the misfortunes, of their adversaries. The captives, in their shirts, with a rope round their necks, solicited their pardon: the fortifications, and even the buildings, of the rival cities were demolished, and the inhabitants were scattered in the adjacent villages. It was thus that the seats of the cardinal bishops, Porto, Ostia, Albano, Tusculum, Praeneste, and Tibur or Tivoli, were successively overthrown by the ferocious hostility of the Romans.<sup>63</sup> Of these,<sup>64</sup> Porto and Ostia, the two keys of the Tyber, are still vacant and desolate: the marshy and unwholesome banks are peopled with herds of buffaloes, and the river is lost to every purpose of navigation and trade. The bills, which afford a shady retirement from the autumnal heats, have again smiled with the blessings of peace; Frascati has arisen near the ruins of Tusculum; Tibur or Tivoli has resumed the honours of a city,<sup>65</sup> and the meaner towns of Albano and Palestrina are decorated with the villas of the cardinals and princes of Rome. In the work of destruction, the ambition of the Romans was often checked and repulsed by the neighbouring cities and their allies: in the first siege of Tibur, they were driven from their camp; and the battles of Tusculum<sup>66</sup> and Viterbo<sup>67</sup> might be compared in their relative state to the memorable fields of Thyrsamene and Cannæ. In the first of these petty wars, thirty thousand Romans were overthrown by a thousand German horse, whom Frederic Barbarossa had detached to the

relief of Tusculum; and if we number the slain at three, the prisoners at two, thousand, we shall embrace the most authentic and moderate account. Sixty-eight years afterwards they marched against Viterbo in the ecclesiastical state with the whole force of the city; by a rare coalition the Teutonic eagle was blended, in the adverse banners, with the keys of St. Peter; and the pope's auxiliaries were commanded by a count of Toulouse and a bishop of Winchester. The Romans were discomfited with shame and slaughter; but the English prelate must have indulged the vanity of a pilgrim, if he multiplied their numbers to one hundred, and their loss in the field to thirty, thousand men. Had the policy of the senate and the discipline of the legions been restored with the Capitol, the divided condition of Italy would have offered the fairest opportunity of a second conquest. But in arms, the modern Romans were not *above*, and in arts, they were far *below*, the common level of the neighbouring republics. Nor was their warlike spirit of any long continuance; after some irregular sallies they subsided in the national apathy, in the neglect of military institutions, and in the disgraceful and dangerous use of foreign mercenaries.

Ambition is a weed of quick and early vegetation in the vineyard of Christ. Under the first Christian princes, the chair of St. Peter was disputed by the votes, the venality, the violence, of a popular election: the sanctuaries of Rome were polluted with blood; and, from the third to the twelfth century, the church was distracted by the mischief of frequent schisms. As long as the final appeal was determined by the civil magistrate, these mischiefs were transient and local: the merits were tried by equity or favour; nor could the unsuccessful competitor long disturb the triumph of his rival. But after the emperors had been divested of their prerogatives, after a maxim had been established, that the vicar of Christ is amenable to no earthly tribunal, each vacancy of the holy see might involve Christendom in controversy and war. The claims of the cardinals and inferior clergy, of the nobles and people, were vague and litigious: the freedom of choice was over-ruled by the tumults of a city that no longer owned or obeyed a superior. On the decease of a pope, two factions proceeded in different churches to a double election: the number and weight of votes, the priority of time, the merit of the candidates, might balance each other: the most respectable of the clergy were divided; and the distant princes, who bowed before the spiritual throne, could not distinguish the spurious, from the legitimate, idol. The emperors were often the authors of the schism, from the political motive of opposing a friendly to an hostile pontiff; and each of the competitors was reduced to suffer the insults of his enemies, who were not awed by conscience; and to purchase the support of his

Battle of  
Viterbo.  
A. D. 1251.

The election of  
the popes.

Battle of  
Tusculum.  
A. D. 1167.

<sup>63</sup> Ne a feritate Romanorum, sicut fuerant Hostiensis, Portuensis, Tusculanensis, Albanensis, Labianensis, et super Tiurini destructurum (Matthew Paris, p. 757. c. These events are marked in the Annals and Index (the xvth volume) of Morison.

<sup>64</sup> For the state or ruin of these suburban cities, the Banks of the Tyber, &c. see the lively picture of the P. Labii (L'abbé de La Beuzelle) who had long resided in the neighbourhood of Rome, and the more accurate description of which P. Eschard (Rome, 1760, in octavo) has added to the topographical map of the city.

<sup>65</sup> Labat (tom. iii. p. 253) mentions a recent decree of the Roman

government, which has severely punished the pride and poverty of Viterbo, in restoring the Tuurini to their ancient condition.

<sup>66</sup> I depart from my usual method, of quoting only by the date, the Annals of Morison in a mention of the critical labours in which he is engaged, and have inserted writers who mention the battle of Tusculum (tom. ix. p. 12-13).

<sup>67</sup> Matthew Paris, p. 747. This bishop of Winchester was Peter de Rupibus, who occupied the see during two years (A. D. 1206-1208) and is described by the English historian, as a soldier and a

adherents, who were instigated by avarice or ambition. A peaceful and perpetual succession was ascertained by Alexander the Third,<sup>68</sup>

who finally abolished the tumultuary votes of the clergy and people, and defined the right of election in the sole college of cardinals.<sup>69</sup> The three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, were assimilated to each other by this important privilege; the parochial clergy of Rome obtained the first rank in the hierarchy; they were indifferently chosen among the nations of Christendom; and the possession of the richest benefices, of the most important bishoprics, was not incompatible with their title and office. The senators of the Catholic church, the consultants and legates of the supreme pontiff, were robed in purple, the symbol of martyrdom or royalty; they claimed a proud equality with kings; and their dignity was enhanced by the smallness of their number, which, till the reign of Leo the Tenth, seldom exceeded twenty or twenty-five persons. By this wise regulation, all doubt and scandal were removed, and the root of schism was so effectually destroyed, that in a period of six hundred years a double choice has only once divided the unity of the sacred college. But as the concurrence of two thirds of the votes had been made necessary, the election was often delayed by the private interest and passions of the cardinals; and while they prolonged their independent reign, the Christian world was left destitute of an head. A vacancy of almost three years had preceded the elevation of Gregory the Tenth, who resolved to prevent the future abuse; and his bull, after some opposition, has been consecrated in the code of the canon law.<sup>70</sup> Nine days are allowed for the obsequies of the deceased pope, and the arrival of the absent cardinals: on the tenth, they are imprisoned, each with one domestic, in a common apartment or *conclave*, without any separation of walls or curtains; a small window is reserved for the introduction of necessities; but the door is locked on both sides, and guarded by the magistrates of the city, to seal them from all correspondence with the world. If the election be not consummated in three days, the luxury of their tables is contracted to a single dish at dinner and supper; and after the eighth day, they are reduced to a scanty allowance of bread, water, and wine. During the vacancy of the holy see, the cardinals are prohibited from touching the revenues, or assuming, unless in some rare emergency, the

*Institution of the conclave by Gregory X. A. D. 1274.*

government of the church; all agreements and promises among the electors are formally annulled; and their integrity is fortified by their solemn oath and the prayers of the Catholics. Some articles of inconvenience or superfluous rigour have been gradually relaxed, but the principle of confinement is vigorous and entire; they are still urged by the personal motives of health and freedom, to accelerate the moment of their deliverance; and the improvement of ballot or secret votes has wrapt the struggles of the conclave<sup>71</sup> in the silky veil of charity and politeness.<sup>72</sup> By these institutions, the Romans were excluded from the election of their prince and bishop; and in the fever of wild and precarious liberty, they seemed insensible of the loss of this inestimable privilege. The emperor Lewis of Bavaria revived the example of the great Otto. After some negotiation with the magistrates, the Roman people was assembled<sup>73</sup> in the square before St. Peter's; the pope of Avignon, John the Twenty-second, was deposed; the choice of his successor was ratified by their consent and applause. They freely voted for a new law, that their bishop should never be absent more than three months in the year, and two days' journey from the city; and that if he neglected to return on the third summons, the public servant should be degraded and dismissed.<sup>74</sup> But Lewis forgot his own debility and the prejudices of the times; beyond the precincts of a German camp, his useless phantom was rejected; the Romans despised their own workmanship; the antipope implored the mercy of his lawful sovereign;<sup>75</sup> and the exclusive right of the cardinals was more firmly established by this unreasonable attack.

Had the election been always held in the Vatican, the rights of the senate and people would not have been violated with impunity. But the Romans forgot, and were forgotten, in the absence of the successors of Gregory the Seventh, who did not keep as a divine precept their ordinary residence in the city and diocese. The care of that diocese was less important than the government of the universal church; nor could the popes delight in a city in which their authority was always opposed, and their person was often endangered. From the persecution of the emperors, and the wars of Italy, they escaped beyond the Alps into the hospitable bosom of France; from the tumults of Rome they prudently withdrew to live and die in the more tranquil stations of Anagni, Perugia, Viterbo, and the adjacent cities. When

*Absence of the popes from Rome.*

On a venit toujours ensemble avec le même respect, et la même civilité que l'on observe dans le cabinet des rois, avec la même politesse que l'on voit dans le cour de Henri III. avec la même familiarité que l'on voit dans les collèges, avec la même modestie, qui se remarque dans les novices, et avec la même charité, du moins en apparence, qui pourroit être entre des frères, j'ajoutant nous.

<sup>68</sup> See Mosheim, Institut. Hist. Ecclesiast. p. 404, 405. Alexander himself had never been the object of a (voluntary) election, and the doubtful merits of Innocent III. only proposed to ratify the weight of genius and learning which St. Bernard gave to his pontifical name (see his last writings).

<sup>69</sup> The original text, *impiorum, non, direct, proferre, &c.* of the P. M. is corrected, as it is evidently misquoting a Thomassin (Théophile du 1. 1. c. 1. p. 12. 1274.) but the people's name much faded. The sacred college was reduced to the number of twenty-two, to represent, under his viceroy, the disciples of Christ.

<sup>70</sup> See the bull of Gregory X. *Quia nonnulli* &c. in the *Acta* of the Council of Lyons, c. 35. & compare it to the decretals which Pontific VIII. promulgated at Rome in 1275, and addressed to the chief universities of Europe.

<sup>71</sup> The genius of cardinal de Retz had a right to paint a conclave (for 1655), in which he was a spectator, as an actor (Mémoires, tom. iv. p. 115-124) but I am at a loss to imagine the knowledge or authority of an anon nous, Italian, who's history (Contes de Pontius Romanus, in 4to. 1667) has been continued since the reign of Alexander VII. The accidental tomb of this Frenchman's lesson, though not an authority, to ourselves. From a whole sort of intrigues, to emerge to the elevation of the successful candidate, but the next day expires with his funeral.

*second order antipope*

the flock was offended or impoverished by the absence of the shepherd, they were recalled by a stern admonition, that St. Peter had fixed his chair, not in an obscure village, but in the capital of the world; by a ferocious menace that the Romans would march in arms to destroy the place and people that should dare to afford them a retreat. They returned with timorous obedience; and were saluted with the account of an heavy debt, of all the losses which their desertion had occasioned, the hire of lodgings, the sale of provisions, and the various expenses of servants and strangers who attended the court.<sup>76</sup> After a short interval of peace, and perhaps of authority, they were again banished by new tumults, and again summoned by the imperious or respectful invitation of the senate. In these occasional retreats, the exiles and fugitives of the Vatican were seldom long, or far, distant from the metropolis; but in the beginning of the fourteenth century the apostolic throne was transported, as it might seem for ever, from the Tyher to the Rhone; and the cause of the transmigration may be deduced from the

Boniface VIII.

A D 1794 Eighth and the king of France, 77  
-1803.

-1503. The spiritual arms of excommunication and interdict were repulsed by the union of the three estates, and the privileges of the Gallican church; but the pope was not prepared against the carnal weapons which Philip the Fair had courage to employ. As the pope resided at Anagni, without the suspicion of danger, his palace and person were assaulted by three hundred horse, who had been secretly levied by William of Nogaret, a French minister, and Sciarra Colonna, of a noble but hostile family of Rome. The cardinals fled; the inhabitants of Anagni were seduced from their allegiance and gratitude; but the dauntless Boniface, unarmed and alone, seated himself in his chair, and awaited, like the conscript fathers of old, the swords of the Gauls. Nogaret, a foreign adversary, was content to execute the orders of his master: by the domestic enmity of Colonna, he was insulted with words and blows; and during a confinement of three days his life was threatened by the hardships which they inflicted on the obstinacy which they provoked. Their strange delay gave time and courage to the adherents of the church, who rescued him from sacrilegious violence; but his imperious soul was wounded in a vital part; and Boniface expired at Rome in a frenzy of rage and re-

venge. His memory is stained with the glaring vices of avarice and pride; nor has the courage of a martyr promoted this ecclesiastical champion to the honours of a saint; a magnanimous sinner (say the chronicles of the times), who entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog. He was succeeded by Benedict the Eleventh, the mildest of mankind. Yet he excommunicated the impious emissaries of Philip, and devoted the city and people of Anagni by a tremendous curse, whose effects are still visible to the eyes of superstition.<sup>78</sup>

After his decease, the tedious and equal suspense of the conclave was fixed by the dexterity of the

Translation of the host see to Avignon.  
A. D. 1369.

French faction. A specious offer was made and accepted, that in the term of forty days, they would elect one of the three candidates who should be named by their opponents. The archbishop of Bourdeaux, a furious enemy of his king and country, was the first on the list; but his ambition was known; and his conscience obeyed the calls of fortune and the commands of a benefactor, who had been informed by a swift messenger that the choice of a pope was now in his hands. The terms were regulated in a private interview; and with such speed and secrecy was the business transacted, that the unanimous conclave applauded the elevation of Clement the Fifth.<sup>79</sup> The cardinals of both parties were soon astonished by a summons to attend him beyond the Alps; from whence, as they soon discovered, they must never hope to return. He was engaged, by promise and affection, to prefer the residence of France; and, after dragging his court through Poitou and Gascogny, and devouring, by his expense, the cities and convents on the road, he finally reposed at Avignon,<sup>80</sup> which flourished above seventy years<sup>81</sup> the seat of the Roman pontiff and the metropolis of Christendom. By land, by sea, by the Rhône, the position of Avignon was on all sides accessible; the southern provinces of France do not yield to Italy itself; new palaces arose for the accommodation of the pope and cardinals; and the arts of luxury were soon attracted by the treasures of the church. They were already possessed of the adjacent territory, the Venaissin county,<sup>82</sup> a populous and fertile spot; and the sovereignty of Avignon was afterwards purchased from the youth and distress of Jane, the first queen of Naples and countess of Provence, for the inadequate price of fourscore thousand florins.<sup>83</sup> Under the

Gregory XI. and Clement VII. are published by Stephen Baluze (*Vite Paparum Avenionensium*, Paris, 1695, 2 vols. in 4to.) with copious and elaborate notes, and a second volume of acts and documents. With the true zeal of an editor and a patriot, he devoutly justifies or excuses the characters of his countrymen.

justifies or excuses the characters of his countrymen. The exile of Aeneas compared to the Italians with Babylonians, and the captivity such furious metaphors, more suitable to the ardour of Petrarch than to the judgement of Muratori, are gravely refuted in Baluze's preface. The Abbe de Sade is distracted between the love of Petrarch and of his country. Yet he modestly pleads, that many of the local inconveniences of vignan are now removed, and many of the nice scruples of the poet dissipated, had he been courted with the Roman court by the strangers of Italy (tom. i. p. 24).

92 The comtat Venaisien was ceded to the popes in 1273 by Philip

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

Cat. bibl. — 195. 613. Longueville. Description de la France, tom. 8.

85 If a possession of four centuries were not itself a title, such

objections might annul the bargain, but the purchase here, notwithstanding, was not annulled.

be refunded, for indeed it was paid. Civitatem Avinionensem eomit  
- - - per nos redi venditorum pecunia redundantes, &c. (124 Vita

Clement. VI in Beluz. tom. 1 p. 174. Muratori, Script. tom. III.

76. Romani autem non valentes nec volentes ultra suam celare cupiunt questionem, per ejus absentiam in mercenarium, in istis modis innumera-  
 77. bilibus. Quod cum audisset papa, precoraliiter pugenit, ut se  
 78. comperiens *misericordiam*, &c. Matt. x. p. 77. For the ordinary  
 79. history of the popes, their life and death, their residence and absence,  
 80. is enough to refer to the ecclesiastical annalists, *Spondanus* and *Fleury*.

77 Besides the general historians of the church of Italy and of France, we possess a valuable treatise composed by a learned friend of Thuanus, which his last and best editors have published in the appendix (*Histoire particuliere du grand Differend entre Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel*, par Pierre du Puis, tom. vii. part. xi. p. 61—82.).

78 It is difficult to know whether Lahat (tom. iv p. 53-57) be in jest or in earnest, when he supposes that Anagnin still feels the weight of the yoke of the Lord.

of this curse, and that the corn-fields, or vineyards, or olive-trees, re  
in

harrassed with some difficulties.

60 The original lives of the eight popes of Avignon, Clement V. John XXII, Benedict XII, Clement VI, Innocent VI, Urban V.

shadow of the French monarchy, amidst an obedient people, the popes enjoyed an honourable and tranquil state, to which they long had been strangers: but Italy deplored their absence; and Rome, in solitude and poverty, might repent of the ungovernable freedom which had driven from the Vatican the successor of St. Peter. Her repentance was tardy and fruitless: after the death of the old members, the sacred college was filled with French cardinals,<sup>84</sup> who beheld Rome and Italy with abhorrence and contempt, and perpetuated a series of national, and even provincial, popes, attached by the most indissoluble ties to their native country.

The progress of industry had produced and enriched the Italian republics: the era of their liberty is the most flourishing period of population and agriculture, of manufactures and commerce; and their mechanic labours were gradually refined into the arts of elegance and genius. But the position of Rome was less favourable, the territory less fruitful; the character of the inhabitants was debased by indolence and elated by pride; and they fondly conceived that the tribute of subjects must for ever nourish the metropolis of the church and empire. This prejudice was encouraged in some degree by the resort of pilgrims to the shrines of the apostles; and the last legacy of the popes, the institution of the HOLY YEAR,<sup>85</sup> was not less beneficial to the people than to the clergy. Since the loss of Palestine, the gift of plenary indulgences, which had been applied to the crusades, remained without an object; and the most valuable treasure of the church was sequestered above eight years from public circulation. A new channel was opened by the diligence of Boniface the Eighth, who reconciled the vices of ambition and avarice; and the pope had sufficient learning to recollect and revive the secular games, which were celebrated in Rome at the conclusion of every century. To sound without danger the depth of popular credulity, a sermon was seasonably pronounced, a report was artfully scattered, some aged witnesses were produced; and on the first of January of the year thirteen hundred, the church of St. Peter was crowded with the faithful, who demanded the customary indulgence of the holy time. The pontiff, who watched and irritated their devout impatience, was soon persuaded by ancient testimony of the justice of their claim; and he proclaimed a plenary absolution to all Catholics who, in the course of that year, and at every similar period, should respectfully visit the apostolic churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. The welcome sound was propagated through Christendom; and at first

para. p. 575. The only temptation for June and her second husband was ready money, and without it they could not have returned to the throne of Naples.

<sup>84</sup> Clement V. immediately promoted ten cardinals, nine French and one English (Vitz. l. vi. p. 67, et Itouz. p. 67, No. 1. In 1351 the pope refused two candidates recommended by the king of France, quod ex cardinalibus, de quibus xvi. de regno Francie ordinem transire non solum in memoriam collegii extant. (Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 1281.)

<sup>85</sup> The primitive account, from cardinal James Cusanus (Maxima Biblot. Patrum, tom. xxx.) and I am at a loss to determine whether the nephew of Boniface VIII. be a fool or a knave: the uncle is a much clearer character.

<sup>86</sup> See John Vitellius, l. vi. c. 36. in the x. th, and the Chronicon Astense, in the xith volume (p. 140, 141) of Muratori's collection. Pius innumerabilem pecuniam ab eisdem accepit, cum duo clerici, cum a striis, &c.

<sup>87</sup> The two bulls of Boniface VIII. and Clement VI. are inserted

from the nearest provinces of Italy, and at length from the remote kingdoms of Hungary and Britain, the highways were thronged with a swarm of pilgrims who sought to expiate their sins in a journey, however costly or laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military service. All exceptions of rank or sex, of age or infirmity, were forgotten in the common transport; and in the streets and churches many persons were trampled to death by the eagerness of devotion. The calculation of their numbers could not be easy nor accurate; and they have probably been magnified by a dexterous clergy, well apprised of the contagion of example: yet we are assured by a judicious historian, who assisted at the ceremony, that Rome was never replenished with less than two hundred thousand strangers; and another spectator has fixed at two millions the total concourse of the year. A trifling oblation from each individual would accumulate a royal treasure; and two priests stood night and day, with rakes in their hands, to collect, without counting, the heaps of gold and silver that were poured on the altar of St. Paul.<sup>86</sup> It was fortunately a season of peace and plenty; and if forage was scarce, if inns and lodgings were extravagantly dear, an inexhaustible supply of bread and wine, of meat and fish, was provided by the policy of Boniface and the venal hospitality of the Romans. From a city without trade or industry, all casual riches will speedily evaporate: but the avarice and envy of the next generation solicited Clement the Sixth<sup>87</sup> to anticipate the distant period of the century. The gracious pontiff complied with their wishes; afforded Rome this poor consolation for his loss; and justified the change by the name and practice of the Mosaic Jubilee.<sup>88</sup> His summons was obeyed; and the number, zeal, and liberality, of the pilgrims did not yield to the primitive festival. But they encountered the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine: many wives and virgins were violated in the castles of Italy; and many strangers were pillaged or murdered by the savage Romans, no longer moderated by the presence of their bishop.<sup>89</sup> To the impatience of the popes we may ascribe the successive reduction to fifty, thirty-three, and twenty-five years; although the second of these terms is commensurate with the life of Christ. The profusion of indulgences, the revolt of the protestants, and the decline of superstition, have much diminished the value of the jubilee: yet even the nineteenth and last festival was a year of pleasure and profit to the Romans; and a philosophic smile will not disturb the triumph of the priest or the happiness of the people.<sup>90</sup>

The second jubilee A.D. 1350.

in the Corpus Juris Canonici (Extravagant. Commun. l. v. tit. ix. c. 1, 2.)

<sup>85</sup> The sabbatic years and jubiles of the Mosaic law (Car. Sigon. de Republica Hebraeorum, Opp. tom. iv. l. iii. c. 11, 15. p. 131, 132.) the suspension of all care and labour, the periodical release of lands, debts, servitude, &c. may seem a noble idea, but the execution would be impracticable in a profane republic; and I should be glad to learn that this famous festival was observed by the Jewish people.

<sup>86</sup> See the Chronicle of Matteo Vallart (l. i. c. 56.) in the xvith volume of Muratori, and the Memoires sur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 73-89.

<sup>87</sup> The subject is exhausted by M. Charu, a French minister at the Hague, in his Lettres Historiques, et Politiques sur les Juifs et les Indulgences, &c. (Hague, 1731, 5 vols. in 12.) an elaborate and pleasing work had not the author preferred the character of a polemic to that of a philosopher.

The nobles or barons of Rome. In the beginning of the eleventh century, Italy was exposed to the feudal tyranny, alike oppressive to the sovereign and the people. The rights of human nature were vindicated by her numerous republics, who soon extended their liberty and dominion from the city to the adjacent country. The sword of the nobles was broken; their slaves were enfranchised; their castles were demolished; they assumed the habits of society and obedience; their ambition was confined to municipal honours, and in the proudest aristocracy of Venice or Genoa, each patrician was subject to the laws.<sup>61</sup> But the feeble and disorderly government of Rome was unequal to the task of curbing her rebellious sons, who scorned the authority of the magistrate within and without the walls. It was no longer a civil contention between the nobles and plebeians for the government of the state: the barons asserted in arms their personal independence; their palaces and castles were fortified against a siege; and their private quarrels were maintained by the numbers of their vassals and retainers. In origin and affection, they were aliens to their country.<sup>62</sup> And a genuine Roman, could such have been produced, might have renounced these haughty strangers, who disdained the appellation of citizens, and proudly styled themselves the princes, of Rome.<sup>63</sup> After a dark series of revolutions, all records of pedigree were lost; the distinction of surnames was abolished; the blood of the nations was mingled in a thousand channels; and the Goths and Lombards, the Greeks and Franks, the Germans and Normans, had obtained the fairest possessions by royal bounty, or the prerogative of valour. These examples might be readily presumed: but the elevation of an Hebrew race to the rank of senators and consuls, is an event without a parallel in the long captivity of these miserable exiles.<sup>64</sup> In the time of Leo the Ninth, a wealthy and learned Jew was converted to Christianity; and honoured at his baptism with the name of his godfather, the reigning pope.

The zeal and courage of Peter the son of Leo were signalled in the cause of Gregory the Seventh, who intrusted his faithful adherent with the government of Adrian's mole, the tower of Crescentius, or, as it is now called, the castle of St. Angelo. Both the father and the son were the parents of a numerous progeny: their riches, the fruits of usury, were shared with the noblest families of the city; and so extensive was their alliance,

<sup>61</sup> Muratori (Dissert. xlvii) alleges the Annals of Florence, Faderi, Genesio, &c. as the analogy of the text, the evidence of Otto of Freising (de Gest. Fred. I. l. ii. c. 15), and the submission of the marquis of Este.

<sup>62</sup> As early as the year 924, the emperor Lothare I. found it expedient to interrogate the Roman people, to learn from each individual, by what national law he chose to be governed (Muratori, Dissert. xxiii).

<sup>63</sup> Petrarch attacks these foreigners, the tyrants of Rome, in a declamation or epistle, full of bold truths and abundant pedantry, in which he applies the maxims, and even pre-judices, of the old republic to the state of the sixteenth century (Memoirs, tom. iii. p. 157—169).

<sup>64</sup> The origin and adventures of this Jewish family are noticed by Pagi (Crit. eccl. tom. iv. p. 435 A. D. 1124, No. 3, 11), who draws his information from the Chron. graecum, Miramandensis, and Arnulphus, Sagenensis de Schismate in Maritima, script. fol. tom. vi. par. i. p. 425—452). The fact must in some degree be true, yet I could wish that it had been collated, before it was turned into a prose epistle, by the antiquary.

<sup>65</sup> The cardinal of St. George, in his poetical, or rather metrical, surri-  
mest  
yet si  
prou.

that the grandson of the proselyte was exalted by the weight of his kindred to the throne of St. Peter. A majority of the clergy and people supported his cause: he reigned several years in the Vatican, and it is only the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the final triumph of Innocent the Second, that has branded Anacletus with the epithet of antipope. After his defeat and death, the posterity of Leo is no longer conspicuous; and none will be found of the modern nobles ambitious of descending from a Jewish stock. It is not my design to enumerate the Roman families, which have failed at different periods, or those which are continued in different degrees of splendour to the present time.<sup>65</sup> The old consular line of the *Frangipani* discover their name in the generous act of *breaking* or dividing bread in a time of famine; and such benevolence is more truly glorious than to have enclosed, with their allies the *Corsi*, a spacious quarter of the city in the chains of their fortifications: the *Savelli*, as it should seem a Sabine race, have maintained their original dignity; the obsolete surname of the *Cupracchi* is inscribed on the coins of the first senators; the *Conti* preserve the honour, without the estate, of the counts of Signia; and the *Anibaldi* must have been very ignorant, or very modest, if they had not descended from the Carthaginian hero.<sup>66</sup>

But among, perhaps above, the peers and princes of the city, I distinguish the rival houses of *Colonna* and *Ursini*, whose private story is an essential part of the annals of modern Rome. I. The name and arms of *Colonna*<sup>67</sup> have been the theme of much doubtful etymology; nor have the orators and antiquarians overlooked either Trajan's pillar, or the columns of Hercules, or the pillar of Christ's flagellation, or the luminous column that guided the Israelites in the desert. Their first historical appearance in the year eleven hundred and four, attests the power and antiquity, while it explains the simple meaning, of the name. By the usurpation of Cavae, the *Colonna* provoked the arms of Paschal the Second; but they lawfully held in the Campagna of Rome the hereditary fiefs of Zagarola and *Colonna*; and the latter of these towns was probably adorned with some lofty pillar, the relic of a villa or temple.<sup>68</sup> They likewise possessed one moiety of the neighbouring city of Tusculum; a strong presumption of their descent from the counts of Tusculum, who in the tenth century were the tyrants of the

The Colonna.

history of the election and coronation of Boniface VIII. (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. vi. pars i. p. 611.) describes the state and families at Rome at the coronation of Boniface VIII. (A. D. 1295)

Ita tres tuii sequebantur, cum suis armis  
Illa tre que sui Romae, et tre tradentes  
Non cum in armis, sed cum suis armis  
Iraut ret-see mo, et tre, qui constant  
Aurata fulgentes, et tre, qui constant  
Ex ipsa devota consuetudine, et tre

The ancient statues of Rome (see p. 115, 116) distinguish eleven families of barons, who are said to occur in consular use, before the senator, that the senator might protect any one of them, or himself, as a noble's son.  
It is not that the *Colonna* themselves have not favoured the world with a genealogy and history of their ancient use. I refer to Muratori (Dissert. l. i. c. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100). The family has still great possessions in the Campagna of Rome, but has been expelled from the Kingdom of Naples by the original act of 1294 (absolutely p. 238, 239).



vacant republic; and the mischiefs of discord were perpetuated by the wretched compromise of electing each year two rival senators. By their private hostilities, the city and country were desolated, and the fluctuating balance inclined with their alternate success. But none of either family had fallen by the sword, till the most renowned champion of the Ursini was surprised and slain by the younger Stephen Colonna.<sup>108</sup> His triumph is stained with the reproach of violating the truce; their defeat was basely avenged by the assassination, before the church door, of an innocent boy and his two servants. Yet the victorious Colonna, with an annual colleague, was declared senator of Rome during the term of five years. And the muse of Petrarch inspired a wish, a hope, a prediction, that the generous youth, the son of his venerable hero, would restore Rome and Italy to their pristine glory; that his justice would extirpate the wolves and lions, the serpents and *bears*, who laboured to subvert the eternal basis of the marble column.<sup>109</sup>

CHAP. LXX.

*Character and Coronation of Petrarch. — Restoration of the Freedom and Government of Rome by the Tribune Rienzi. — His Virtues and Vices, his Expulsion and Death. — Return of the Popes from Avignon. — Great Schism of the West. — Reunion of the Latin Church. — Last Struggles of Roman Liberty. — Statutes of Rome. — Final Settlement of the Ecclesiastical State.*

Petrarch, h.  
A. D. 1304,  
June 19—  
July 19—  
July 19—

In the apprehension of modern times, Petrarch<sup>1</sup> is the Italian sponger of Laura and love. In the harmony of his Tuscan rhymes, Italy applauds, or rather adores, the father of her lyric poetry: and his verse, or at least his name, is repeated by the enthusiast, or affectionate, of amorous sensibility. Whatever may be the private taste of a stranger.

108 Petrarch (tom. i. p. 222-250) has celebrated this victory according to the Colonna; but two contemporaries, a Florentine (Giovanni Villani, l. x. c. 240.) and a Roman (Ludovico Monaldeschi, p. 533, 534.) are less favourable to their arms.

104 The Abbe de Sade (tom. 1. notes, p. 61-66) has applied the  
with Canzone of Petrarca, *Spirto Gentil*, &c. to Stephen Colonna the  
younger:

Orsi, lupi, lioni, aquile e serpi  
Ad una gran marionetta attorno  
Fanno nota e s'attite e a se danno.

1 The Mémoires sur la Vie de François Petrarque (Amsterdam, 1761.

his slight and superficial knowledge should humbly acquiesce in the judgment of a learned nation; yet I may hope or presume, that the Italians do not compare the tedious uniformity of sonnets and elegies, with the sublime compositions of their epic muse, the original wildness of Dante, the regular beauties of Tasso, and the boundless variety of the incomparable Ariosto. The merits of the lover, I am still less qualified to appreciate: nor am I deeply interested in a metaphysical passion for a nymph so shadowy, that her existence has been questioned;<sup>2</sup> for a nation so prolific,<sup>3</sup> that she was delivered of eleven legitimate children,<sup>4</sup> while her amorous swain sighed and sung at the fountain of Vaucluse.<sup>5</sup> But in the eyes of Petrarch, and those of his graver contemporaries, his love was a sin, and Italian verse a frivolous amusement. His Latin works of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, established his serious reputation, which was soon diffused from Avignon over France and Italy: his friends and disciples were multiplied in every city; and if the ponderous volume of his writings,<sup>6</sup> be now abandoned to a long repose, our gratitude must applaud the man, who by precept and example revived the spirit and study of the Augustan age. From his earliest youth, Petrarch aspired to the poetic crown. The academical honours of the three faculties had introduced a royal degree of master or doctor in the art of poetry;<sup>7</sup> and the title of poet laureat, which custom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in the English court,<sup>8</sup> was first invented by the Cæsars of Germany. In the musical games of antiquity, a prize was bestowed on the victor;<sup>9</sup> the belief that Virgil and Horace had been crowned in the Capitol inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard;<sup>10</sup> and the laurel<sup>11</sup> was endeared to the lover by a verbal resemblance with the name of his mistress. The value of either object was enhanced by the difficulties of the pursuit; and if the virtue or prudence of Laura was inexorable,<sup>12</sup> he enjoyed, and might boast of enjoying, the nymph of poetry. His vanity was not of the most delicate kind, since he applauded

new edition of Petrarch's Latin works; but I much doubt whether it would redound to the profit of the bookseller, or the amusement of the public.

7 Consult Selden's *Titles of Honour*, in his works (vol. iii. p. 457—466.). An hundred years before Ierarch, St Francis received the visit of a poet, qui ab imperatore fuerat coronatus et exinde rex versuum dictus.

6 "The emperor has too often been false and  
 or courtiers produce a  
 who in every man, and fit  
 in a measure of praise and  
 will I be less, in the pre-  
 se of, of the sovereign. I speak the most fact's, as the best time for  
 a will-lung this ridiculous custom, is while the prince is a man of

1729) clumps for his native Athens the glory of first planting at

Reviews of a  
series of a  
Neurophysiologist,  
Dion C. Smith,  
parties, vol. 1.

10 The Capitoline games (certamen capitoliale, *musicum*, equestre, ... in the year of ...)

and Haverkamp),  
and Professor has  
ment, the exclu-

in poets who lived  
in the  
at the found

11 Perranck and the cardinals of Rome were ignorant that the burial was not the Capitoline, but the Deiphon, tower (Plin. Hist. Natur. xv. 71). Hist. Critique de la République des Lettres, tome 1, p. 101-102.

12 The power and voice of Faustus belaboured, and for a short time

where  $\alpha$  is the temperature coefficient of the diode,  $\beta$  is the ideality factor,  $k$  is Boltzmann's constant,  $q$  is the electron charge,  $I_s$  is the saturation current, and  $I$  is the current through the diode. The diode current  $I$  is given by

111





honour of haranguing pope Clement the Sixth, and the satisfaction of conversing with Petrarch, a congenial mind; but his aspiring hopes were chilled by disgrace and poverty; and the patriot was reduced to a single garment and the charity of the hospital. From this misery he was relieved by the sense of merit or the smile of favour; and the employment of apostolic notary afforded him a daily stipend of five gold florins; a more honourable and extensive connection; and the right of contrasting, both in words and actions, his own integrity with the vices of the state. The eloquence of Rienzi was prompt and persuasive: the multitude is always prone to envy and censure: he was stimulated by the loss of a brother and the impunity of the assassins; nor was it possible to excuse or exaggerate the public calamities. The blessings of peace and justice, for which civil society has been instituted, were banished from Rome: the jealous citizens, who might have endured every personal or pecuniary injury, were most deeply wounded in the dishonour of their wives and daughters: <sup>22</sup> they were equally oppressed by the arrogance of the nobles and the corruption of the magistrates; and the abuse of arms or of laws was the only circumstance that distinguished the lions, from the dogs and serpents, of the Capitol. These allegorical emblems were variously repeated in the pictures which Rienzi exhibited in the streets and churches; and while the spectators gazed with curious wonder, the bold and ready orator unfolded the meaning, applied the satire, inflamed their passions, and announced a distant hope of comfort and deliverance. The privileges of Rome, her eternal sovereignty over her princes and provinces, was the theme of his public and private discourse; and a monument of servitude became in his hands a title and incentive of liberty. The decree of the senate, which granted the most ample prerogatives to the emperor Vespasian, had been inscribed on a copper-plate still extant in the choir of the church of St. John Lateran. <sup>23</sup> A numerous assembly of nobles and plebeians was invited to this political lecture, and a convenient theatre was erected for their reception. The notary appeared, in a magnificent and mysterious habit, explained the inscription by a version and commentary, <sup>24</sup> and descanted with eloquence and zeal on the ancient glories of the senate and people, from whom all legal authority was derived. The supine ignorance of the nobles was incapable of discerning the serious tendency of such representations: they might sometimes chastise with words and blows the plebeian reformer; but he was often suffered in the Colonna palace to amuse the company with his threats and predictions; and the modern Brutus <sup>25</sup> was concealed under the mask of folly and the character of a buffoon. While they indulged their contempt, the restoration of the *good estate*, his favourite expression, was entertained among the people as a desirable, a pos-

sible, and at length as an approaching, event: and while all had the disposition to applaud, some had the courage to assist, their promised deliverer.

A prophecy, or rather a summons, affixed on the church door of St. George, was the first public evidence of his designs; a nocturnal assembly of a hundred citizens on Mount Aventine, the first step to their execution. After an oath of secrecy and aid, he represented to the conspirators the importance and facility of their enterprise; that the nobles, without union or resources, were strong only in the fear of their imaginary strength; that all power, as well as right, was in the hands of the people; that the revenues of the apostolical chamber might relieve the public distress; and that the pope himself would approve their victory over the common enemies of government and freedom. After securing a faithful band to protect his first declaration, he proclaimed through the city, by sound of trumpet, that on the evening of the following day all persons should assemble without arms before the church of St. Angelo, to provide for the re-establishment of the good estate. The whole night was employed in the celebration of thirty masses of the Holy Ghost; and in the morning, Rienzi, barcheaded, but in complete armour, issued from the church, encompassed by the hundred conspirators. The pope's vicar, the simple bishop of Orvieto, who had been persuaded to sustain a part in this singular ceremony, marched on his right hand; and three great standards were borne aloft as the emblems of their design. In the first, the banner of *liberty*. Rome was seated on two lions, with a palm in one hand and a globe in the other; St. Paul, with a drawn sword, was delineated in the banner of *justice*; and in the third, St. Peter held the keys of *concord and peace*. Rienzi was encouraged by the presence and applause of an innumerable crowd, who understood little, and hoped much; and the procession slowly rolled forwards from the castle of St. Angelo to the Capitol. His triumph was disturbed by some secret emotions which he laboured to suppress; he ascended without opposition, and with seeming confidence, the citadel of the republic; harangued the people from the balcony; and received the most flattering confirmation of his acts and laws. The nobles, as if destitute of arms and counsels, beheld in silent consternation this strange revolution; and the moment had been prudently chosen, when the most formidable, Stephen Colonna, was absent from the city. On the first rumour, he returned to his palace, affected to despise this plebeian tumult, and declared to the messengers of Rienzi, that at his leisure he would cast the madman from the windows of the Capitol. The great bell instantly rang an alarm, and so rapid was the tide, so urgent was the danger, that Colonna escaped with precipitation to the suburb of St. Lawrence; from thence

He assumes the  
government  
of Rome.  
A. D. 1547,  
May 20.;

22 Petrarch compares the jealousy of the Romans with the easy

27 The fragments of the *Leve Regia* may be found in the Index.

tion of Gruter, torn 1, p. 212, and at the end of the 1st. of  
Frobenius, with some turned notes of the 1st. torn.

The first two stanzas are a beautiful and touching expression of the poet's love for his country.

The law itself empowers legislation to enlarge the Privy Council's jurisdiction familiar to every antiquary. It was not so for the medieval, however.

found only with porcupine, in orchard, translates to *Jardine de Porcupine*.  
 In the end, we could be the last that a person has to find.

... the French had to pay the loss and a ...

$\frac{d}{dt} \int_{\Omega} u^2 dx = -2 \int_{\Omega} u \Delta u dx = 0$ , since  $\Delta u = 0$ . Thus,  $\|u\|_2$  is constant in time.

[illegible]
$$\frac{1}{\Gamma(\alpha)} \int_0^t (t-\tau)^{\alpha-1} f(\tau) d\tau = \frac{1}{\Gamma(\alpha)} \int_0^t (t-\tau)^{\alpha-1} f(\tau) d\tau = \frac{1}{\Gamma(\alpha)} \int_0^t (t-\tau)^{\alpha-1} f(\tau) d\tau = \frac{1}{\Gamma(\alpha)} \int_0^t (t-\tau)^{\alpha-1} f(\tau) d\tau$$

after a moment's refreshment, he continued the same speedy career till he reached in safety his castle of Palestrina; lamenting his own imprudence, which had not trampled the spark of this mighty conflagration. A general and peremptory order was issued from the Capitol to all the nobles, that they should peaceably retire to their estates: they obeyed; and their departure secured the tranquillity of the free and obedient citizens of Rome.

But such voluntary obedience evaporates with the first transports of zeal; and Rienzi felt the importance of justifying his usurpation by a regular form and a legal title. At his own choice, the Roman people would have displayed their attachment and authority, by lavishing on his head the names of senator or consul, of king or emperor: he preferred the ancient and modest appellation of tribune; the protection of the commons was the essence of that sacred office; and they were ignorant, that it had never been invested with any share in the legislative or executive powers of the republic. In this character, and with the consent of the Romans,

the tribune enacted the most salutary laws for the restoration and maintenance of the good estate. By the first he fulfils the wish of honesty and inexperience, that no civil suit should be protracted beyond the term of fifteen days. The danger of frequent perjury might justify the pronouncing against a false accuser the same penalty which his evidence would have inflicted: the disorders of the times might compel the legislator to punish every homicide with death, and every injury with equal retaliation. But the execution of justice was hopeless till he had previously abolished the tyranny of the nobles. It was formally provided, that none, except the supreme magistrate, should possess or command the gates, bridges, or towers, of the state: that no private garrisons should be introduced into the towns or castles of the Roman territory; that none should bear arms, or presume to fortify their houses in the city or country; that the barons should be responsible for the safety of the highways, and the free passage of provisions; and that the protection of malefactors and robbers should be expiated by a fine of a thousand marks of silver. But these regulations would have been impotent and nugatory, had not the licentious nobles been awed by the sword of the civil power. A sudden alarm from the bull of the Capitol could still summon to the standard above twenty thousand volunteers: the support of the tribune and the laws required a more regular and permanent force. In each harbour of the coast, a vessel was stationed for the assurance of commerce; a standing militia of three hundred and sixty horse and thirteen hundred foot was levied, clothed, and paid in the thirteen quarters of the city: and the spirit of a commonwealth may be traced in the grateful allowance of one hundred florins, or pounds, to the heirs of every soldier who lost his life in the service of his country. For the maintenance of the

public defence, for the establishment of granaries, for the relief of widows, orphans, and indigent convents, Rienzi applied, without fear of sacrilege, the revenues of the apostolic chamber: the three branches of hearth-money, the salt-duty, and the customs, were each of the annual produce of one hundred thousand florins;<sup>26</sup> and scandalous were the abuses, if in four or five months the amount of the salt-duty could be trebled by his judicious economy. After thus restoring the forces and finances of the republic, the tribune recalled the nobles from their solitary independence; required their personal appearance in the Capitol; and imposed an oath, of allegiance to the new government, and of submission to the laws of the good estate. Apprehensive for their safety, but still more apprehensive of the danger of a refusal, the princes and barons returned to their houses at Rome in the garb of simple and peaceful citizens: the Colonna and Ursini, the Savelli and Frangipani, were confounded before the tribunal of a plebeian, of the vile buffoon whom they had so often derided, and their disgrace was aggravated by the indignation which they vainly struggled to disguise. The same oath was successively pronounced by the several orders of society, the clergy and gentlemen, the judges and notaries, the merchants and artisans, and the gradual descent was marked by the increase of sincerity and zeal. They swore to live and die with the republic and the church, whose interest was artfully united by the nominal association of the bishop of Orvieto, the pope's vicar, to the office of tribune. It was the boast of Rienzi, that he had delivered the throne and patrimony of St. Peter from a rebellious aristocracy; and Clement the Sixth, who rejoiced in its fall, affected to believe the professions, to applaud the merits, and to confirm the title, of his trusty servant. The speech, perhaps the mind, of the tribune, was inspired with a lively regard for the purity of the faith; he insinuated his claim to a supernatural mission from the Holy Ghost; enforced by an heavy forfeiture the annual duty of confession and communion; and strictly guarded the spiritual as well as temporal welfare of his faithful people.<sup>27</sup>

Never perhaps has the energy and effect of a single mind been more remarkably felt than in the sudden, though transient, reformation of Rome by the tribune Rienzi. A den of robbers was converted to the discipline of a camp or convent: patient to hear, swift to redress, inexorable to punish, his tribunal was always accessible to the poor and stranger; nor could birth, or dignity, or the immunities of the church, protect the offender or his accomplices. The privileged houses, the private sanctuaries in Rome, on which no officer of justice would presume to trespass, were abolished; and he applied the timber and iron of their barricades in the fortifications of the Capitol. The venerable father of the Colonna was exposed in his own palace to the double shame of being

<sup>26</sup> In one MS. I read (l. 11. s. 4. p. 407) *perforato patre &c.* in another quarto *portus*, in import. *patre &c.* *patre* the Latin was with ten Roman *solidi* (Muratori, *diSSERT. XXXV.*). The former reading would give a population of 2,500, the latter of 2,500 families.

and I much fear, that the former is more consistent with the decay of Rome and her territory.

<sup>27</sup> Rossumus, p. 54. *apud du Cerceau, Hist. de Rienzi*, p. 194. The tribune's christian laws may be found in the Roman historian who wrote the *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, p. 194.

desirous, and of being unable, to protect a criminal. A mule, with a jar of oil, had been stolen near Capranica; and the lord, of the Ursini family, was condemned to restore the damage, and to discharge a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the highways. Nor were the persons of the barons more inviolate than their lands or houses: and, either from accident or design, the same impartial rigour was exercised against the heads of the adverse factions. Peter Agapet Colonna, who had himself been senator of Rome, was arrested in the street for injury or debt; and justice was appeased by the tardy execution of Martin Ursini, who, among his various acts of violence and rapine, had pillaged a shipwrecked vessel at the mouth of the Tyber.<sup>28</sup> His name, the purple of two cardinals, his uncles, a recent marriage, and a mortal disease, were disregarded by the inflexible tribune, who had chosen his victim. The public officers dragged him from his palace and nuptial bed: his trial was short and satisfactory: the bell of the Capitol convened the people: stript of his mantle, on his knees, with his hands bound behind his back, he heard the sentence of death; and after a brief confession Ursini was led away to the gallows. After such an example, none who were conscious of guilt could hope for impunity, and the flight of the wicked, the licentious, and the idle, soon purified the city and territory of Rome. In this time (says the historian) the woods began to rejoice that they were no longer infested with robbers; the oxen began to plough; the pilgrims visited the sanctuaries; the roads and inns were replenished with travellers; trade, plenty, and good faith, were restored in the markets; and a purse of gold might be exposed without danger in the midst of the highway. As soon as the life and property of the subject are secure, the labours and rewards of industry spontaneously revive: Rome was still the metropolis of the Christian world; and the fame and fortunes of the tribune were diffused in every country by the strangers who had enjoyed the blessings of his government.

The deliverance of his country inspired Rienzi with a vast, and perhaps visionary, idea, of uniting Italy in a great federative republic, of which Rome should be the ancient and lawful head, and the free cities and princes the members and associates. His pen was not less eloquent than his tongue; and his numerous epistles were delivered to swift and trusty messengers. On foot, with a white wand in their hand, they traversed the forests and mountains; enjoyed, in the most hostile states, the sacred security of ambassadors; and reported, in the style of flat-

tory or truth, that the highways along their passage were lined with kneeling multitudes, who implored Heaven for the success of their undertaking. Could passion have listened to reason; could private interest have yielded to the public welfare; the supreme tribunal and confederate union of the Italian republic might have healed their intestine discord, and closed the Alps against the barbarians of the North. But the propitious season had elapsed; and if Venice, Florence, Sienna, Perugia, and many inferior cities, offered their lives and fortunes to the good estate, the tyrants of Lombardy and Tuscany must despise, or hate, the plebeian author of a free constitution. From them, however, and from every part of Italy, the tribune received the most friendly and respectful answers: they were followed by the ambassadors of the princes and republics; and in this foreign conflux, on all the occasions of pleasure or business, the low-born notary could assume the familiar or majestic courtesy of a sovereign.<sup>29</sup> The most glorious circumstance of his reign was an appeal to his justice from Lewis king of Hungary, who complained, that his brother, and her husband, had been perfidiously strangled by Jane queen of Naples.<sup>30</sup> her guilt or innocence was pleaded in a solemn trial at Rome; but after hearing the advocates,<sup>31</sup> the tribune adjourned this weighty and invidious cause, which was soon determined by the sword of the Hungarian. Beyond the Alps, more especially at Avignon, the revolution was the theme of curiosity, wonder, and applause. Petrarch had been the private friend, and delighted by Petrarch.

While Petrarch indulged these prophetic visions, the Roman hero <sup>His views and follies.</sup> was fast declining from the meridian of fame and power; and the people, who had gazed with astonishment on the ascending meteor, began to mark the irregularity of its course, and the vicissitudes of light and obscurity. More eloquent than judicious, more enterprising than resolute, the faculties of Rienzi were not balanced by cool and commanding reason: he magnified in a tenfold proportion the objects of hope and fear; and prudence, which could not have erected, did not presume to fortify, his throne. In the blaze of prosperity, his virtues

<sup>28</sup> Fortificata, l. i. c. 11. From the account of this shipwreck, we learn some circumstances of the trade and navigation of the ancients. 1. The ship was built and freighted at Naples for the ports of Mytilene and Aegium. 2. The sailors were of Naples and the island of Sicily, less skilful than those of Sicily and Ionia. 3. The navigation from Mytilene was a coasting voyage to the mouth of the Tiber, where they took shelter in a storm; but, instead of finding the current, unfortunately ran on a shoal. The vessel was stranded, the mariners escaped. 4. The cargo, which was pillaged, consisted of the revenue of Provence for the next treasury, many pieces of silver and cinnamon, and bales of French cloth, to the value of 450,000 sesterces.

<sup>29</sup> It was thus that Oliver Cromwell's old acquaintance, who recommended the success of his enterprise, and who, in the midst of his triumph, were surprised to find the old and the young of the nation, and the three (see Hume's Life of Cromwell) who were the only ones

don, Warwick, Whitechapel, Watling, &c.). The consciousness of merit and power will sometimes elevate them to the station.

<sup>30</sup> See the causes, circumstances, and effects of the death of Andrew, in Formone (tom. i. l. xviii. p. 247-249), and the life of Petrarch, Marone, tom. i. p. 115-118, 119-120, 121, 122, 123, 124, notes, p. 21-27. The life of St. Nicholas is also mentioned.

<sup>31</sup> The advocates who pleaded against Jane could not add nothing to the blackening and levelling of her character, which Petrarch, in his introduction, has already done. His introduction is a very curious and interesting piece, and is a very good specimen of the style of the time. It is a very good specimen of the style of the time. It is a very good specimen of the style of the time.

were insensibly tinctured with the adjacent vices; justice with cruelty, liberality with profusion, and the desire of fame with puerile and ostentatious vanity. He might have learned, that the ancient tribunes, so strong and sacred in the public opinion, were not distinguished in style, habit, or appearance, from an ordinary plebeian;<sup>33</sup> and that as often as they visited the city on foot, a single *viator*, or beadle, attended the exercise of their office. The Gracchi would have frowned or smiled, could they have read the sonorous titles and epithets of their successor, "NICHOLAS, SEVERE AND MERCITLESS; DELIVERER OF ROME; DEFENDER OF ITALY;<sup>34</sup> FRIEND OF MANKIND, AND OF LIBERTY, PEACE, AND JUSTICE; TRIBUTE AUGUST;" his theatrical pageants had prepared the revolution; but Rienzi abused, in luxury and pride, the political maxim of speaking to the eyes, as well as the understanding, of the multitude. From nature he had received the gift of an handsome person,<sup>35</sup> till it was swelled and disfigured by intemperance; and his propensity to laughter was corrected in the magistrate by the affectation of gravity and sternness. He was clothed, at least on public occasions, in a party-coloured robe of velvet or satin, lined with fur, and embroidered with gold: the rod of justice, which he carried in his hand, was a sceptre of polished steel, crowned with a globe and cross of gold, and inclosing a small fragment of the true and holy wood. In his civil and religious processions through the city, he rode on a white steed, the symbol of royalty: the great banner of the republic, a sun with a circle of stars, a dove with an olive branch, was displayed over his head; a shower of gold and silver was scattered among the populace; fifty guards with halberds encompassed his person; a troop of horse preceded his march; and their tymbals and trumpets were of massy silver.

The ambition of the honours of his chivalry<sup>36</sup> betrayed the meanness of his birth, and degraded the importance of his office; and the equestrian tribune was not less odious to the nobles, whom he adopted, than to the plebeians, whom he deserted. All that yet remained of treasure, or luxury, or art, was exhausted on that solemn day. Rienzi led the procession from the Capitol to the Lateran; the tediousness of the way was relieved with decorations and games; the ecclesiastical, civil, and military orders marched under their various banners; the Roman ladies attended his wife; and the ambassadors of Italy might loudly applaud, or secretly deride, the

novelty of the pomp. In the evening, when they had reached the church and palace of Constantine, he thanked and dismissed the numerous assembly, with an invitation to the festival of the ensuing day. From the hands of a venerable knight he received the order of the Holy Ghost; the purification of the bath was a previous ceremony: but in no step of his life did Rienzi excite such scandal and censure as by the profane use of the porphyry vase, in which Constantine (a foolish legend) had been healed of his leprosy by pope Sylvester.<sup>37</sup> With equal presumption the tribune watched or reposed within the consecrated precincts of the baptistery; and the failure of his state-bed was interpreted as an omen of his approaching downfall. At the hour of worship, he showed himself to the returning crowds in a majestic attitude, with a robe of purple, his sword, and gilt spurs; but the holy rites were soon interrupted by his levity and insolence. Rising from his throne, and advancing towards the congregation, he proclaimed in a loud voice: "We summon to our tribunal pope Clement; and command him to reside in his diocese of Rome: we also summon the sacred college of cardinals.<sup>38</sup> We again summon the two pretenders, Charles of Bohemia and Lewis of Bavaria, who style themselves emperors: we likewise summon all the electors of Germany, to inform us on what pretence they have usurped the inalienable right of the Roman people, the ancient and lawful sovereigns of the empire."<sup>39</sup> Unsleathing his maiden sword, he thrice brandished it to the three parts of the world, and thrice repeated the extravagant declaration, "And this too is mine!" The pope's vicar, the bishop of Orvieto, attempted to check this career of folly; but his feeble protest was silenced by martial music; and instead of withdrawing from the assembly, he consented to dine with his brother tribune, at a table which had hitherto been reserved for the supreme pontiff. A banquet, such as the Cæsars had given, was prepared for the Romans. The apartments, porticoes, and courts, of the Lateran were spread with innumerable tables for either sex, and every condition; a stream of wine flowed from the nostrils of Constantine's brazen horse; no complaint, except of the scarcity of water, could be heard; and the licentiousness of the multitude was curbed by discipline and fear. A subsequent day was appointed for the coronation of Rienzi;<sup>40</sup> seven crowns of dif-

ferent leaves or metals were successively placed on his head by the most eminent of the Roman

was of rose-water, their beds were decked with royal magnificence, and they were served at St. Mark's of Anagni in the Capitol, by the twenty-eight *boni homines*. They afterwards received from Robert king of Naples the sword of chivalry (Hist. Rom. Lib. 2. p. 250).

<sup>37</sup> All nations believed in the leprosy and bath of Constantine (Pet. trach. Epist. Famil. 2. 2.), and Rienzi justified his own conduct by observing to the court of Avignon, that a vase which had been used by a Pagan could not be profaned by a pious Christian. Yet this error is specified in the bull of excommunication (Hocemus, apud du Cerceau, p. 199, 190).

<sup>38</sup> These verbal summons of pope Clement VI., which rests on the authority of the Roman historians and a Vatican MS., is quoted by the biographer of Petrarch (rom. in. not. p. 761-76) with arguments rather of decency than of weight. The court of Avignon might not choose to agitate this delicate question.

<sup>33</sup> In his Roman Questions, Plutarch (Opuscul. tom. 1. p. 505, 506, edit. Grot. Hen. Steph. states, on the most constitutional principles, the simple greatness of the tribunes, who were not properly magistrates, but a kind of mediocrity. It was their duty and interest to maintain the equality of the people. In the second reign, when he is painted almost as a monster, Rienzi travesa una cattedra (tom. 1. v. 100), a modo de uno Abate Asiano, or Asinario (Ibid. c. 15. p. 525).

<sup>34</sup> In the year 1327, two barons, a Colonna and an Arimino, the usual balance, were created knights by the Roman people: their birth

clergy; they represented the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; and he still professed to imitate the example of the ancient tribunes. These extraordinary spectacles might deceive or flatter the people; and their own vanity was gratified in the vanity of their leader. But in his private life he soon deviated from the strict rule of frugality and abstinence; and the plebeians, who were awed by the splendour of the nobles, were provoked by the luxury of their equal. His wife, his son, his uncle (a barber in name and profession), exposed the contrast of vulgar manners and princely expense. and without acquiring the majesty, Rienzi degenerated into the vices, of a king.

Fear and  
hatred of the  
nobles of Rome.

A simple citizen describes with pity, or perhaps with pleasure, the humiliation of the barons of Rome. "Bareheaded, their hands crossed on their breast, they stood with downcast looks in the presence of the tribune; and they trembled, 'good God, how they trembled!'"<sup>41</sup> As long as the yoke of Rienzi was that of justice and their country, their conscience forced them to esteem the man, whom pride and interest provoked them to hate: his extravagant conduct soon fortified their hatred by contempt; and they conceived the hope of subverting a power which was no longer so deeply rooted in the public confidence. The old animosity of the Colonna and Ursini was suspended for a moment by their common disgrace: they associated their wishes, and perhaps their designs; an assassin was seized and tortured; he accused the nobles; and as soon as Rienzi deserved the fate, he adopted the suspicions and maxims, of a tyrant. On the same day, under various pretences, he invited to the Capitol his principal enemies, among whom were five members of the Ursini and three of the Colonna name. But instead of a council or a banquet, they found themselves prisoners under the sword of despotism or justice; and the consciousness of innocence or guilt might inspire them with equal apprehensions of danger. At the sound of the great bell the people assembled; they were arraigned for a conspiracy against the tribune's life; and though some might sympathise in their distress, not a hand, nor a voice, was raised to rescue the first of the nobility from their impending doom. Their apparent boldness was prompted by despair; they passed in separate chambers a sleepless and painful night; and the venerable hero, Stephen Colonna, striking against the door of his prison, repeatedly urged his guards to deliver him, by a speedy death, from such ignominious servitude. In the morning they understood their sentence from the visit of a confessor and the tolling of the bell. The great hall of the Capitol had been decorated for the bloody scene with red and white hangings: the countenance of the tribune was dark and severe; the swords of the executioners were unsheathed; and the barons were interrupted in their dying speeches by the sound of trumpets. But in this decisive moment,

Rienzi was not less anxious or apprehensive than his captives: he decried the splendour of their names, their surviving kinsmen, the inconsistency of the people, the reproaches of the world, and, after rashly offering a mortal injury, he vainly presumed that, if he could forgive, he might himself be forgiven. His elaborate oration was that of a Christian and a suppliant; and, as the humble minister of the commons, he entreated his masters to pardon these noble criminals, for whose repentance and future service he pledged his faith and authority. "If 'you are spared,'" said the tribune, "by the 'mercy of the Romans, will you not promise 'to support the good estate with your lives and 'fortunes?' Astonished by this marvellous clemency, the barons bowed their heads; and while they devoutly repeated the oath of allegiance, might whisper a secret, and more sincere, assurance of revenge. A priest, in the name of the people, pronounced their absolution: they received the communion with the tribune, assisted at the banquet, followed the procession; and, after every spiritual and temporal sign of reconciliation, were dismissed in safety to their respective homes, with the new honours and titles of generals, consuls, and patricians.<sup>42</sup>

During some weeks they were checked by the memory of their danger, rather than of their deliverance, till the most powerful of the Ursini, escaping with the Colonna from the city, erected at Marino the standard of rebellion. The fortifications of the castle were hastily restored; the vassals attended their lord; the outlaws armed against the magistrate; the flocks and herds, the harvests and vineyards, from Marino to the gates of Rome, were swept away or destroyed; and the people arraigned Rienzi as the author of the calamities which his government had taught them to forget. In the camp, Rienzi appeared to less advantage than in the rostrum; and he neglected the progress of the rebel barons till their numbers were strong, and their castles impregnable. From the pages of Livy, he had not imbibed the art, or even the courage, of a general: an army of twenty thousand Romans returned without honour or effect from the attack of Marino: and his vengeance was amused by painting his enemies (their heads downwards, and drowning two dogs (at least they should have been bears) as the representatives of the Ursini. The belief of his incapacity encouraged their operations: they were invited by their secret adherents; and the barons attempted, with four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, to enter Rome by force or surprise. The city was prepared for their reception: the alarm-bell rung all night; the gates were strictly guarded, or insolently open; and after some hesitation they sounded a retreat. The two first divisions had passed along the walls, but the prospect of a free entrance tempted the head-strong valour of the nobles in the rear; and after a successful skirmish, they were overthrown and massacred

<sup>41</sup> Paus. describes a scene of similar order, but in a different place, and at a different time. He says that the nobles of Rome were arraigned before the tribune, and that they were executed by the sword. He also mentions the same scene.

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the bell of the Capitol was again tolled, the nobles in arms trembled in the presence of an unarmed multitude; and of the two senators, Colonna escaped from the window of the palace, and Ursini was stoned at the foot of the altar. The dangerous office of tribune was successively occupied by two plebeians, Cerroni and Baroncelli. The mildness of Cerroni was unequal to the times; and after a faint struggle, he retired with a fair reputation and a decent fortune to the comforts of rural life. Devoid of eloquence or genius, Baroncelli was distinguished by a resolute spirit: he spoke the language of a patriot, and trod in the footsteps of tyrants; his suspicion was a sentence of death, and his own death was the reward of his cruelties. Amidst the public misfortunes, the faults of Rienzi were forgotten; and the Romans sighed for the peace and prosperity of the good estate.<sup>50</sup>

Adventures of  
Rienzi. After an exile of seven years, the first deliverer was again restored to his country. In the disguise of a monk or a pilgrim, he escaped from the castle of St. Angelo, implored the friendship of the king of Hungary at Naples, tempted the ambition of every bold adventurer, mingled at Rome with the pilgrims of the jubilee, lay concealed among the hermits of the Apennine, and wandered through the cities of Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. His person was invisible, his name was yet formidable; and the anxiety of the court of Avignon supposes, and even magnifies, his personal merit. The emperor Charles the Fourth gave audience to a stranger, who frankly revealed himself as the tribune of the republic; and astonished an assembly of ambassadors and princes, by the eloquence of a patriot and the visions of a prophet, the downfall of tyranny and the kingdom of the Holy Ghost.<sup>51</sup> Whatever had been his hopes, Rienzi found himself a captive; but he supported a character of independence and dignity, and obeyed, as his own choice, the irresistible summons of the supreme pontiff. The zeal of Petrarch, which had been cooled by the unworthy conduct, was rekindled by the sufferings and the presence, of his friend; and he boldly complains of the times, in which the saviour of Rome was delivered by her emperor into the hands of her bishop. Rienzi

A prisoner at  
Avignon.  
A. D. 1351.

was transported slowly, but in safe custody, from Prague to Avignon: his entrance into the city was that of a malefactor; in his prison he was chained by the leg; and four cardinals were named to enquire into the crimes of heresy and rebellion. But his trial and condemnation would have involved some questions, which it was more prudent to leave under the veil of mystery: the temporal supremacy of the popes; the duty of residence; the civil and ecclesiastical privileges of the clergy and people of Rome. The reigning pontiff well

deserved the appellation of *Clement*: the strange vicissitudes and magnanimous spirit of the captive excited his pity and esteem; and Petrarch believes that he respected in the hero the name and sacred character of a poet.<sup>52</sup> Rienzi was indulged with an easy confinement and the use of books; and in the assiduous study of Livy and the Bible, he sought the cause and the consolation of his misfortunes.

The succeeding pontificate of Innocent the Sixth opened a new prospect of his deliverance and restoration; and the court of Avignon was persuaded, that the successful rebel could alone appease and reform the anarchy of the metropolis. After a solemn profession of fidelity, the Roman tribune was sent into Italy, with the title of senator; but the death of Baroncelli appeared to supersede the use of his mission; and the legate, cardinal Alborno, a consummate statesman, allowed him with reluctance, and without aid, to undertake the perilous experiment. His first reception was equal to his wishes: the day of his entrance was a public festival; and his eloquence and authority revived the laws of the good estate. But this momentary sunshine was soon clouded by his own vices and those of the people: in the Capitol, he might often regret the prison of Avignon; and after a second administration of four months, Rienzi was massacred in a tumult which had been fomented by the Roman barons. In the society of the Germans and Bohemians, he is said to have contracted the habits of intemperance and cruelty: adversity had chilled his enthusiasm, without fortifying his reason or virtue; and that youthful hope, that lively assurance, which is the pledge of success, was now succeeded by the cold impotence of distrust and despair. The tribune had reigned with absolute dominion, by the choice, and in the hearts, of the Romans: the senator was the servile minister of a foreign court; and while he was suspected by the people, he was abandoned by the prince. The legate Alborno, who seemed desirous of his ruin, inflexibly refused all supplies of men and money; a faithful subject could no longer presume to touch the revenues of the apostolical chamber; and the first idea of a tax was the signal of clamour and sedition. Even his justice was tainted with the guilt or reproach of selfish cruelty: the most virtuous citizen of Rome was sacrificed to his jealousy; and in the execution of a public robber, from whose purse he had been assisted, the magistrate too much forgot, or too much remembered, the obligations of the debtor.<sup>53</sup> A civil war exhausted his treasures, and the patience of the city: the Colonna maintained their hostile station at Palestrina; and his mercenaries soon despised a leader whose ignorance

Rienzi, senator  
of Rome.  
A. D. 1351.

<sup>50</sup> The troubles of Rome, from the departure to the return of Rienzi, are related by Matteo Villani in l. vi. c. 13. p. 78. and l. vii. c. 1. p. 81.

<sup>51</sup> Petrarch's letter to Charles the Fourth, in which he describes the appearance of Rienzi, is in the original Latin, in the edition of the works of Petrarch, l. vi. c. 1. p. 131. and in the French translation, l. vi. c. 1. p. 131. and in the French translation, l. vi. c. 1. p. 131.

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and fear were envious of all subordinate merit. In the death as in the life of Rienzi, the hero and the coward were strangely mingled. When the Capitol was invested by a furious multitude, when he was basely deserted by his civil and military servants, the intrepid senator, waving the banner of liberty, presented himself on the balcony, addressed his eloquence to the various passions of the Romans, and laboured to persuade them, that in the same cause himself and the republic must either stand or fall. His oration was interrupted by a volley of imprecations and stones; and after an arrow had transpierced his hand, he sunk into abject despair, and fled weeping to the inner chambers, from whence he was let down by a sheet before the windows of the prison. Destitute of aid or hope, he was besieged till the evening: the doors of the Capitol were destroyed with axes and fire; and while the senator attempted to escape in a plebeian habit, he was discovered and dragged to the platform of the palace, the fatal scene of his judgments and executions. A whole hour, without voice or motion, he stood amidst the multitude half naked and half dead; their rage was hushed into curiosity and wonder: the last feelings of reverence and compassion yet struggled in his favour; and they might have prevailed, if a bold assassin had not plunged a dagger in his breast. He fell senseless with the first stroke; the

His death.  
A. D. 1354,  
Sept. 8.

impatient revenge of his enemies inflicted a thousand wounds; and the senator's body was abandoned to the dogs, to the Jews, and to the flames. Posterity will compare the virtues and failings of this extraordinary man; but in a long period of anarchy and servitude, the name of Rienzi has often been celebrated as the deliverer of his country, and the last of the Roman patriots.<sup>55</sup>

Petrarch invites and implores the emperor to restore a free republic; but after the exile and death of his plebeian hero, he turned his eyes from the tribune, to the king, of the Romans. The Capitol was yet stained with the blood of Rienzi, when Charles the Fourth descended from the Alps to obtain the Italian and Imperial crowns. In his passage through Milan he received the visit, and repaid the flattery, of the poet Laureat; accepted a medal of Augustus; and promised, without a smile, to imitate the founder of the Roman monarchy. A false application of the names and maxims of antiquity was the source of the hopes and disappointments of Petrarch; yet he could not overlook the difference of times and characters; the immeasurable distance between the first Cæsars and a Bohemian prince, who by the favour of the clergy had been elected the titular head of the German aristocracy. Instead of restoring to Rome her glory and her pro-

vinces, he had bound himself, by a secret treaty with the pope, to evacuate the city on the day of his coronation; and his shameful retreat was pursued by the reproaches of the patriot bard.<sup>56</sup>

After the loss of liberty and empire, his third and more humble wish, was to reconcile the shepherd with his flock; to recal the Roman bishop to his ancient and peculiar diocese. In the fervour of youth, with the authority of age, Petrarch addressed his exhortations to five successive popes, and his eloquence was always inspired by the enthusiasm of sentiment and the freedom of language.<sup>57</sup> The son of a citizen of Florence invariably preferred the country of his birth to that of his education; and Italy, in his eyes, was the queen and garden of the world. Amidst her domestic factions, she was doubtless superior to France both in art and science, in wealth and politeness; but the difference could scarcely support the epithet of barbarous, which he promiscuously bestows on the countries beyond the Alps. Avignon, the mystic Babylon, the sink of vice and corruption, was the object of his hatred and contempt; but he forgets that her scandalous vices were not the growth of the soil, and that in every residence they would adhere to the power and luxury of the papal court. He confesses, that the successor of St. Peter is the bi-shop of the universal church; yet it was not on the banks of the Rhône, but of the Tyber, that the apostle had fixed his everlasting throne: and while every city in the Christian world was blessed with a bishop, the metropolis alone was desolate and forlorn. Since the removal of the Holy See, the sacred buildings of the Lateran and the Vatican, their altars and their saints, were left in a state of poverty and decay; and Rome was often painted under the image of a disconsolate matron, as if the wandering husband could be reclaimed by the homely portrait of the age and infirmities of his weeping spouse.<sup>58</sup> But the cloud which hung over the seven hills, would be dispelled by the presence of their lawful sovereign: eternal fame, the prosperity of Rome, and the peace of Italy, would be the recompence of the pope who should dare to embrace this generous resolution. Of the five whom Petrarch exhorted, the three first, John the Twenty-second, Benedict the Twelfth, and Clement the Sixth, were imperturbed or amused by the boldness of the orator; but the memorable change which had been attempted by Urban the Fifth, was finally accomplished by Gregory the Eleventh. The execution of their design was opposed by weighty and almost insuperable obstacles. A king of France, who has deserved the epithet of Wise, was unwilling to release them from a local dependence: the cardinals, for the most part his subjects, were attached to the language, manners, and climate, of Avignon; to their stately

He solicits the popes of Avignon to fix their residence at Rome.

<sup>55</sup> The exile, second government, and death of Rienzi, are minutely related by the anon. ignot. Roman, who appears next to his friend nor his enemy, ii. p. 12—15. Petrarch, who loved the *triumph*, was indifferent to the fate of the *triumph*.

<sup>56</sup> The hopes and the disappointment of Petrarch are agreeably described in his own words, by the French biographer of Clement, tom. ii. p. 375—385; but the story, though severe, want it, was the coronation of Zuani: the poet lived in the reign of Urban.

<sup>57</sup> See in his accurate and amusing description, the importance of Petrarch and Rome to Benedict XII. in the year 1364 (Mémoires, tome ix. p. 261—262), to Clement VI. in 1312 (tom. x. p. 40—47),

and to Urban V. in 1366 (tom. iii. p. 677—691). his praise (p. 711—715) and excuse (p. 711) of the last of these pontiffs. His anxiety, tom. ii. p. 375—385, for the re-erecting merits of France and Italy may be found tom. p. 108—109.

<sup>58</sup> Scarcely a single word, for us, made true could be found, in the history of the French biographer of Clement. The French biographer of Clement VI. in 1312 (tom. x. p. 40—47),

He is not less anxious to see a cause of union. The Apostles to Urban V. in 1366 (tom. iii. p. 677—691) and persuasive (Simulium, i. p. 111—112). The apostle i. p. 111—112.

palaces; above all, to the wines of Burgundy.

In their eyes, Italy was foreign or hostile; and they reluctantly embarked at Marseilles, as if they had been sold or banished into the land of the Saracens. Urban the Fifth resided three years in the Vatican with safety and honour: his sanctity was protected by a guard of two thousand horse; and the king of Cyprus, the queen of Naples, and the emperors of the East and West, devoutly saluted their common father in the chair of St. Peter. But the joy of Petrarch and the Italians was soon turned into grief and indignation. Some reasons of public or private moment, his own impatience or the prayers of the cardinals, recalled Urban to France; and the approaching election was saved from the tyrannic patriotism of the Romans. The powers of Heaven were interested in their cause: Bridget of Sweden, a saint and pilgrim, disapproved the return, and foretold the death, of Urban the Fifth: the migration of Gregory the Eleventh was encouraged by St. Catherine of Sienna, the spouse of Christ and ambassadress of the Florentines; and the popes themselves, the great masters of human credulity, appear to have listened to these visionary females.<sup>59</sup> Yet those celestial admonitions were supported by some arguments of temporal policy. The residence of Avignon had been invaded by hostile violence: at the head of thirty thousand robbers, an hero had extorted ransom and absolution from the vicar of Christ and the sacred college; and the maxim of the French warriors, to spare the people and plunder the church, was a new heresy of the most dangerous import.<sup>60</sup> While the pope was driven from Avignon, he was strenuously invited to Rome. The senate and people acknowledged him as their lawful sovereign, and laid at his feet the keys of the gates, the bridges, and the fortresses; of the quarter at least beyond the Tyber.<sup>61</sup> But this loyal offer was accompanied by a declaration, that they could no longer suffer the scandal and calamity of his absence; and that his obstinacy would finally provoke them to revive and assert the primitive right of election. The abbot of Mount Cassin had been consulted, whether he would accept the triple crown<sup>62</sup> from the clergy and people: "I am a citizen of Rome,"<sup>63</sup> replied that venerable ecclesiastic, "and my list law is the voice of my country."<sup>64</sup>

Final return of Gregory XI. A.D. 1377, Jan. 17.

If superstition will interpret an untimely death;<sup>65</sup> if the merit of counsels be judged from the event; the heavens may seem to frown on a measure of such apparent reason and propriety. Gregory the Eleventh did not survive above fourteen months his return to the Vatican; and his decease was followed by the great schism of the West, which distracted the Latin church above forty years. The sacred college was then composed of twenty-two cardinals: six of these had remained at Avignon; eleven Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and four Italians, entered the conclave in the usual form. Their choice was not yet limited to the purple; and their unanimous votes acquiesced in the archbishop of Bari, a subject of Naples, conspicuous for his zeal and learning, who ascended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Urban the Sixth. The epistle of the sacred college affirms his free, and regular, election; which had been inspired, as usual, by the Holy Ghost: he was adored, invested, and crowned, with the customary rites; his temporal authority was obeyed at Rome and Avignon, and his ecclesiastical supremacy was acknowledged in the Latin world. During several weeks, the cardinals attended their new master with the fairest professions of attachment and loyalty; till the summer heats permitted a decent escape from the city. But as soon as they were united at Anagni and Fondi, in a place of security, they cast aside the mask, accused their own falsehood and hypocrisy, excommunicated the apostate and antichrist of Rome, and proceeded to a new election of Robert of Geneva, Clement the Seventh, whom they announced to the nations as the true and rightful vicar of Christ. Their first choice, an involuntary and illegal act, was annulled by the fear of death and the menaces of the Romans; and their complaint is justified by the strong evidence of probability and fact. The twelve French cardinals, above two thirds of the votes, were masters of the election; and whatever might be their provincial jealousies, it cannot fairly be presumed that they would have sacrificed their right and interest to a foreign candidate, who would never restore them to their native country. In the various, and often inconsistent, narratives,<sup>66</sup> the shades of popular violence are more darkly or faintly coloured; but the licentiousness of the seditious Romans was inflamed by a sense of their privileges, and

His death. A.D. 1378, March 27.

Election of Urban VI. April 9.

Election of Clement VII. Sept. 21.

<sup>59</sup> I have not leisure to expatiate on the legends of St. Bridget or St. Catherine, the list of which might furnish some amusing scenes. Their effect on the mind of Gregory XI. is attested by the list of his words at his last moments. See the original in the Vatican library, fol. 100, v. 100, p. 100.

<sup>60</sup> The three states of the church are represented by the three crowns. It was introduced by John XXII. or Benedict XIII. Measures of Petrarch, tom. p. 288, 289.

<sup>61</sup> See the original in the Vatican library, fol. 100, v. 100, p. 100.

sadors, and the resignation of the abbot of Mount Cassin, qui, ultra offere, respondit se civem Romanum esse, et non velle quod ipse vellet.

<sup>62</sup> The words of the pope from Avignon to Rome, and their reception by the people, are related in the original lives of Urban V. and Gregory XI. in the Vatican library. See the original in the Vatican library, fol. 100, v. 100, p. 100.

<sup>63</sup> See the original in the Vatican library, fol. 100, v. 100, p. 100.

<sup>64</sup> See the original in the Vatican library, fol. 100, v. 100, p. 100.

<sup>65</sup> See the original in the Vatican library, fol. 100, v. 100, p. 100.

<sup>66</sup> See the original in the Vatican library, fol. 100, v. 100, p. 100.

the danger of a second emigration. The conclave was intimidated by the shouts, and encompassed by the arms, of thirty thousand rebels; the bells of the Capitol and St. Peter's rang an alarm; "Death, or an Italian pope!" was the universal cry; the same threat was repeated by the twelve bannerets or chiefs of the quarters, in the form of charitable advice; some preparations were made for burning the obstinate cardinals; and had they chosen a Transalpine subject, it is probable that they would never have departed alive from the Vatican. The same constraint imposed the necessity of dissembling in the eyes of Rome and of the world: the pride and cruelty of Urban presented a more inevitable danger; and they soon discovered the features of the tyrant, who could walk in his garden and recite his breviary, while he heard from an adjacent chamber six cardinals groaning on the rack. His inflexible zeal, which loudly censured their luxury and vice, would have attached them to the stations and duties of their parishes at Rome; and had he not fatally delayed a new promotion, the French cardinals would have been reduced to an helpless minority in the sacred college. For these reasons, and in the hope of repassing the Alps, they rashly violated the peace and unity of the church, and the merits of their double choice are yet agitated in the Catholic schools.<sup>67</sup> The vanity rather than the interest of the nation determined the court and clergy of France.<sup>68</sup> The states of Savoy, Sicily, Cyprus, Arragon, Castile, Navarre, and Scotland, were inclined by their example and authority to the obedience of Clement the Seventh, and, after his decease, of Benedict the Thirteenth. Rome and the principal states of Italy, Germany, Portugal, England,<sup>69</sup> the Low Countries, and the kingdoms of the North, adhered to the prior election of Urban the Sixth, who was succeeded by Boniface the Ninth, Innocent the Seventh, and Gregory the Twelfth.

From the banks of the Tyber and the Rhône, the hostile pontiffs encountered each other with the pen and the sword: the civil and ecclesiastical order of society was disturbed, and the Romans had their full share of the mischief of which they may be arraigned as the primary authors.<sup>70</sup>

They had vainly flattered themselves with the hope of restoring the seat of the ecclesiastical monarchy, and of relieving their poverty with the tributes and offerings of the nations; but the separation of France and Spain diverted the stream of lucrative devotion; nor could the loss be compensated by the two jubilees which were crowded into the space of ten years. By the avocations of the schism, by foreign arms, and popular tu-

mults, Urban the Sixth and his three successors were often compelled to interrupt their residence in the Vatican. The Colonna and Ursini still exercised their deadly feuds: the bannerets of Rome asserted and abused the privileges of a republic. the vicars of Christ, who had levied a military force, chastised their rebellion with the gibbet, the sword, and the dagger; and, in a friendly conference, eleven deputies of the people were perfidiously murdered and cast into the street. Since the invasion of Robert the Norman, the Romans had pursued their domestic quarrels without the dangerous interposition of a stranger. But in the disorders of the schism, an aspiring neighbour, Ladislaus king of Naples, alternately supported and betrayed the pope and the people: by the former he was declared *gonfalonier*, or general, of the church, while the latter submitted to his choice the nomination of their magistrates. Besieging Rome by land and water, he thrice entered the gates as a barbarian conqueror; profaned the altars, violated the virgins, pillaged the merchants, performed his devotions at St. Peter's, and left a garrison in the castle of St. Angelo. His arms were sometimes unfortunate, and to a delay of three days he was indebted for his life and crown; but Ladislaus triumphed in his turn, and it was only his premature death that could save the metropolis and the ecclesiastical state from the ambitious conqueror who had assumed the title, or at least the powers, of king of Rome.<sup>71</sup>

I have not undertaken the ecclesiastical history of the schism; but Rome, the object of these last chapters, is deeply interested in the disputed succession of her sovereigns. The first counsels for the peace and union of Christendom arose from the university of Paris, from the faculty of the Sorbonne, whose doctors were esteemed, at least in the Gallican church, as the most consummate masters of theological science.<sup>72</sup> Prudently waving all invidious enquiry into the origin and merits of the dispute, they proposed, as an healing measure, that the two pretenders of Rome and Avignon should abdicate at the same time, after qualifying the cardinals of the adverse factions to join in a legitimate election; and that the nations should *abstract* <sup>73</sup> their obedience, if either of the competitors preferred his own interest to that of the public. At each vacancy, these physicians of the church deprecated the mischief of an hasty choice; but the policy of the conclave and the ambition of its members were deaf to reason and entreaties; and whatsoever promises were made, the pope could never be bound by the oaths of the cardinal. During fifteen years, the pacific designs of the university were eluded by the arts of the

Negotiations for peace and union.  
A.D. 1392-1407

<sup>67</sup> The external numbers of the popes seem to divide the question between Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. who in 1393 stigmatised as antipope, by the Italians, who the French are content with not recognising and refusing to attend the council of Avignon (the papal in Protestants). It is singular, or rather it is not singular, that with respect to the names of the popes, the French and the Italians are in error.

<sup>68</sup> The pure are the reasons of a moment, &c. &c.

<sup>69</sup> Besides the general historians, the *Diaries of Delphinus Gentilis*, &c.

Peter Antonius, and Stephen Infessura, in the great Collection of Muratori, represent the state and misfortunes of Rome.

<sup>71</sup> It is supposed by Guarnier (tom. ii. p. 242) that he styled himself Rex Rome, a title unknown to the world since the expulsion of the Romans. But a nearer inspection has justified the reading of Rex Romæ, an obscure kingdom annexed to the crown of Hungary.

<sup>72</sup> The leading and decisive part which France assumed in the schism is stated by Peter du Pless in a separate history, extracted from authentic records, and inserted in the sixth volume of the last and best edition of his friend Thuanus (part. vi. p. 110-154).

<sup>73</sup> In this measure, John a Verulam, stout doctor, was the author or the champion. The proceedings of the university of Paris and the

rival pontiffs, the scruples or passions of their adherents, and the vicissitudes of French factions, that ruled the insanity of Charles the Sixth. At length a vigorous resolution was embraced; and a solemn embassy, of the titular patriarch of Alexandria, two archbishops, five bishops, five abbots, three knights, and twenty doctors, was sent to the courts of Avignon and Rome, to require, in the name of the church and king, the abdication of the two pretenders, of Peter de Luna, who styled himself Benedict the Thirteenth, and of Angelo Corrario, who assumed the name of Gregory the Twelfth. For the ancient honour of Rome, and the success of their commission, the ambassadors solicited a conference with the magistrates of the city, whom they gratified by a positive declaration, that the most Christian king did not entertain a wish of transporting the holy see from the Vatican, which he considered as the genuine and proper seat of the successor of St. Peter. In the name of the senate and people, an eloquent Roman asserted their desire to co-operate in the union of the church, explored the temporal and spiritual calamities of the long schism, and requested the protection of France against the arms of the king of Naples. The answers of Benedict and Gregory were alike edifying and alike deceitful; and, in evading the demand of their abdication, the two rivals were animated by a common spirit. They agreed on the necessity of a previous interview; but the time, the place, and the manner, could never be ascertained by mutual consent. "If the one advances," says a servant of Gregory, "the other retreats; the one appears an animal fearful of the land, the other a creature apprehensive of the water. And thus, for a short remnant of life and power, will these aged priests endanger the peace and salvation of the Christian world."<sup>74</sup>

The Christian world was at length provoked by their obstinacy and fraud; they were desisted by their cardinals, who embraced each other as friends and colleagues; and their revolt was supported by a numerous assembly of prelates and ambassadors. With equal justice, the council of Pisa deposed the popes of Rome and Avignon; the conclave was unanimous in the choice of Alexander the Fifth, and his vacant seat was soon filled by a similar election of John the Twenty-third, the most profligate of mankind. But instead of extinguishing the schism, the rashness of the French and Italians had given a third pretender to the chair of St. Peter. Such new claims of the synod and conclave were disputed: three kings, of Germany, Hungary, and Naples, ad-

hered to the cause of Gregory the Twelfth; and Benedict the Thirteenth, himself a Spaniard, was acknowledged by the devotion and patriotism of that powerful nation. The rash proceedings of Pisa were corrected by the council of Constance; the emperor Sigismund acted a conspicuous part as the advocate or protector of the Catholic church; and the number and weight of civil and ecclesiastical members might seem to constitute the states-general of Europe. Of the three popes, John the Twenty-third was the first victim; he fled and was brought back a prisoner: the most scandalous charges were suppressed; the vicar of Christ was only accused of piracy, murder, rape, sodomy, and incest; and after subscribing his own condemnation, he expired in prison the imprudence of trusting his person to a free city beyond the Alps. Gregory the Twelfth, whose obedience was reduced to the narrow precincts of Rimini, descended with more honour from the throne, and his ambassador convened the session, in which he renounced the title and authority of lawful pope. To vanquish the obstinacy of Benedict the Thirteenth or his adherents, the emperor in person undertook a journey from Constance to Perpignan. The kings of Castile, Arragon, Navarre, and Scotland, obtained an equal and honourable treaty: with the concurrence of the Spaniards, Benedict was deposed by the council; but the harmless old man was left in a solitary castle to excommunicate twice each day the rebel kingdoms which had deserted his cause. After thus eradicating the remains of the schism, the synod of Constance proceeded with slow and cautious steps to elect the sovereign of Rome and the head of the church. On this momentous occasion, the college of twenty-three cardinals was fortified with thirty deputies; six of whom were chosen in each of the five great nations of Christendom, the Italian, the German, the French, the Spanish, and the English;<sup>75</sup> the interference of strangers was softened by their generous preference of an Italian and a Roman; and the hereditary, as well as personal, merit of Otho Colonna recommended him to the conclave. Rome accepted with joy and obedience the noblest of her sons; the ecclesiastical state was defended by his powerful family, and the elevation of Martin the Fifth is the æra of the restoration and establishment of the popes in the Vatican.<sup>76</sup>

The royal prerogative of coining money, which had been exercised near three hundred years by the senate, was first resumed by Martin the Fifth,<sup>77</sup> and his image

<sup>74</sup> Leonardus Brunius Arretinus, one of the revivers of classic learning in Italy, who, after serving many years as secretary in the Roman court, retired to the honourable office of chancellor of the republic of Florence (Fabric. Biblioth. Medic. Univ. tom. i. p. 219). Lent in his given the version of this curious epistle (Concile de Pise, tom. i. p. 192—195).

nation, with an equal vote, and every argument of truth or force was introduced to exalt the dignity of their country. Including England, Scotland, Wales, the four kingdoms of Ireland, and the Orkneys, the British islands are decorated with eight royal seats. Lent in his mentioned in four of the legations. En. lib. vi. Welsh, Gual. lib. vi. Sec. 1, 2, 3, 4. The greater island from north to south measures 300 miles, or forty sea points, and England alone contains thirty-two

powers of the two primates, without forgetting the testimony of the testimony of Glanville (A. D. 1350), who reckons only four Christian kingdoms, 1. of Rome, 2. of Constantinople, 3. of Ireland, which had been transferred to the English monarchy, and, 4. of Spain. Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V.

The adverse pleadings were full, and assailed from Henry of England printed in 1542 at more correctly published in 1614 have only seen Letart's edition, 1614, 1617, &c.

<sup>75</sup> The histories of the three successive councils of Constance, Basle, and Trent, have been written with a plenitude of detail, and are, in fact, the same, by a French historian, M. Letart, who re-edited the French edition. The French edition is in two volumes, and a third is in the press. Constance, 1614, 1617, &c. <sup>76</sup> The second of the three successive councils of Constance, and the first of the three successive councils of the See of Rome, the first of the three successive



checked by wise and jealous precautions: except the magistrates, none could propose a question; none were permitted to speak, except from an open pulpit or tribunal; all disorderly acclamations were suppressed; the sense of the majority was decided by a secret ballot; and their decrees were promulgated in the venerable name of the Roman senate and people. It would not be easy to assign a period in which this theory of government has been reduced to accurate and constant practice, since the establishment of order has been gradually connected with the decay of liberty. But in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty, the ancient statutes were collected, methodised in three books, and adapted to present use, under the pontificate, and with the approbation, of Gregory the Thirteenth:<sup>83</sup> this civil and criminal code is the modern law of the city; and, if the popular assemblies have been abolished, a foreign senator, with the three conservators, still resides in the palace of the Capitol.<sup>84</sup> The policy of the Cæsars has been repeated by the popes; and the bishop of Rome affected to maintain the form of a republic, while he reigned with the absolute powers of a temporal, as well as spiritual, monarch.

It is an obvious truth, that the times must be suited to extraordinary characters, and that the genius of Cromwell or Retz might now expire in obscurity. The political enthusiasm of Rienzi had exalted him to a throne; the same enthusiasm, in the next century, conducted his imitator to the gallows. The birth of Stephen Porcaro was noble, his reputation spotless; his tongue was armed with eloquence, his mind was enlightened with learning; and he aspired, beyond the aim of vulgar ambition, to free his country and immortalise his name. The dominion of priests is most odious to a liberal spirit: every scruple was removed by the recent knowledge of the fable and forgery of Constantine's donation; Petrarch was now the oracle of the Italians; and as often as Porcaro revolved the ode which describes the patriot and hero of Rome, he applied to himself the visions of the prophetic bard. His first trial of the popular feelings was at the funeral of Eugenius the Fourth: in an elaborate speech he called the Romans to liberty and arms; and they listened with apparent pleasure, till Porcaro was interrupted and answered by a grave advocate, who pleaded for the church and state. By every law the seditious orator was guilty of treason; but the benevolence of the new pontiff, who viewed his character with pity and esteem, attempted by an honourable office to convert the patriot into a friend. The inflexible Roman returned from Anagni with an increase of reputation and zeal; and, on the first opportunity, the games of the Place Navona, he tried to inflame the casual dispute of some boys and mechanics into

a general rising of the people. Yet the humane Nicholas was still averse to accept the folk-tit of his life; and the traitor was removed from the scene of temptation to Bologna, with a liberal allowance for his support, and the easy obligation of presenting himself each day before the governor of the city. But Porcario had learned from the younger Brutus, that with tyrants no faith or gratitude should be observed: the exile declaimed against the arbitrary sentence; a party and a conspiracy were gradually formed; his nephew, a daring youth, assembled a band of volunteers; and on the appointed evening a feast was prepared at his house for the friends of the republic. Their leader, who had escaped from Bologna, appeared among them in a robe of purple and gold: his voice, his countenance, his gestures, bespoke the man who had devoted his life or death to the glorious cause. In a studied oration, he expatiated on the motives and the means of their enterprise: the name and liberties of Rome; the sloth and pride of their ecclesiastical tyrants; the active or passive consent of their fellow-citizens; three hundred soldiers, and four hundred exiles, long exercised in arms or in wrongs; the licence of revenge to edge their swords, and a million of ducats to reward their victory. It would be easy (he said), on the next day, the festival of the Epiphany, to seize the pope and his cardinals, before the doors, or at the altar, of St. Peter's; to lead them in chains under the walls of St. Angelo; to extort by the threat of their instant death a surrender of the castle; to ascend the vacant Capitol; to ring the alarm-bell; and to restore in a popular assembly the ancient republic of Rome. While he triumphed, he was already betrayed. The senator, with a strong guard, invested the house: the nephew of Porcario cut his way through the crowd; but the unfortunate Stephen was drawn from a chest, lamenting that his enemies had anticipated by three hours the execution of his design. After such manifest and repeated guilt, even the mercy of Nicholas was silent. Porcario, and nine of his accomplices, were hanged without the benefit of the sacraments; and amidst the fears and invectives of the papal court, the Romans pitied, and almost applauded, these martyrs of their country.<sup>85</sup> But their applause was mute, their pity ineffectual, their liberty for ever extinct; and, if they have since risen in a vacancy of the throne or a scarcity of bread, such accidental tumults may be found in the bosom of the most abject servitude.

But the independence of the nobles, which was tormented by discord, survived the freedom of the commons, which must be founded in union. A privilege of rapine and oppression was long maintained by the barons of Rome ; their houses were a fortress and a sanctuary ; and the heroes

83 *Statuta alia Urbis Romæ Auctoritate S. D. N. Gregoriæ XIII. Pont. Max. a Senatu Populoque Romano reformata et edita Romæ, 1580, in folio.* The obsolete, repugnant statutes of antiquity were collected in five books, and Lucas Petrus, a lawyer and antiquarian, regretted the

85 Besides the curious though concise narrative of Malavelle's travels, *Fortunio* (1846) and *Il Mazzo* (1847) by the latter, the *Fortunio* can only be added to the *Diary of Stephen Lukomoro* (1848) and *Il Mazzo* (1847) as the only significant Italian-Bantu texts. The latter two, however, are not only in Italian but also in the form of a diary, and so they are not included in this study. The *Fortunio* is the only text which is not a translation of a Bantu text, but rather a narrative of the author's own experiences. It is a very interesting text, and it is the only one of its kind in the Italian-Bantu literature. It is a very interesting text, and it is the only one of its kind in the Italian-Bantu literature.

creator and the conservator is implied, rather than affirmed by the statutes.

cious train of banditti and criminals whom they protected from the law, repaid the hospitality with the service of their swords and daggers. The private interest of the pontiffs, or their nephews, sometimes involved them in these domestic feuds. Under the reign of Sixtus the Fourth, Rome was distracted by the battles and sieges of the rival houses: after the conflagration of his palace, the protonotary Colonna was tortured and beheaded; and Savelli, his captive friend, was murdered on the spot, for refusing to join in the acclamations of the victorious Ursini.<sup>56</sup> But the popes no longer trembled in the Vatican: they had strength to command, if they had resolution to claim, the obedience of their subjects; and the strangers, who observed these partial disorders, admired the easy taxes and wise administration of the ecclesiastical state.<sup>57</sup>

The spiritual thunders of the Vatican depend on the force of opinion; and if that opinion be absolute dominion of Rome. A. D. 1509, &c. supplanted by reason or passion, the sound may idly waste itself in the air; and the helpless priest is exposed to the brutal violence of a noble or a plebeian adversary. But after their return from Avignon, the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the sword of St. Paul. Rome was commanded by an impregnable citadel: the use of cannon is a powerful engine against popular seditions: a regular force of cavalry and infantry was enlisted under the banners of the pope: his ample revenues supplied the resources of war; and, from the extent of his domain, he could bring down on a rebellious city an army of hostile neighbours and loyal subjects.<sup>58</sup> Since the union of the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino, the ecclesiastical state extends from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, and from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po; and as early as the sixteenth century, the greater part of that spacious and fruitful country acknowledged the lawful claims and temporal sovereignty of the Roman pontiffs. Their claims were readily deduced from the genuine, or fabulous, donations of the darker ages: the successive steps of their final settlement would engage us too far in the transactions of Italy, and even of Europe; the crimes of Alexander the Sixth, the martial operations of Julius the Second, and the liberal policy of Leo the Tenth, a theme which has been adorned by the pens of the noblest historians of the times.<sup>59</sup> In the first period of their conquests, till the expedition of Charles the Eighth, the popes might successfully wrestle

with the adjacent princes and states, whose military force was equal, or inferior, to their own. But as soon as the monarchs of France, Germany, and Spain, contended with gigantic arms for the dominion of Italy, they supplied with art the deficiency of strength; and concealed, in a labyrinth of wars and treaties, their aspiring views, and the immortal hope of chasing the barbarians beyond the Alps. The nice balance of the Vatican was often subverted by the soldiers of the North and West, who were united under the standard of Charles the Fifth: the feeble and fluctuating policy of Clement the Seventh exposed his person and dominions to the conqueror; and Rome was abandoned seven months to a lawless army, more cruel and rapacious than the Goths and Vandals.<sup>60</sup> After this severe lesson, the popes contracted their ambition, which was almost satisfied, resumed the character of a common parent, and abstained from all offensive hostilities, except in an hasty quarrel, when the vicar of Christ and the Turkish sultan were armed at the same time against the kingdom of Naples.<sup>61</sup> The French and Germans at length withdrew from the field of battle: Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the sea-coast of Tuscany, were firmly possessed by the Spaniards; and it became their interest to maintain the peace and dependence of Italy, which continued almost without disturbance from the middle of the sixteenth to the opening of the eighteenth century. The Vatican was swayed and protected by the religious policy of the Catholic king: his prejudice and interest disposed him in every dispute to support the prince against the people; and instead of the encouragement, the aid, and the asylum, which they obtained from the adjacent states, the friends of liberty, or the enemies of law, were enclosed on all sides within the iron circle of despotism. The long habits of obedience and education subdued the turbulent spirit of the nobles and commons of Rome. The barons forgot the arms and factions of their ancestors, and insensibly became the servants of luxury and government. Instead of maintaining a crowd of tenants and followers, the produce of their estates was consumed in the private expenses, which multiply the pleasures, and diminish the power, of the lord.<sup>62</sup> The Colonna and Ursini vied with each other in the decoration of their palaces and chapels; and their antique splendour was rivalled or surpassed by the sudden opulence of the papal families. In Rome the voice of freedom and discord is no longer heard; and instead of the

<sup>56</sup> The disorders of Rome, which were much inflamed by the partition of Sixtus IV. are exposed in the *Diurnes* of two operators, Stephanus Infusura, and an anonymous citizen. See the treaties of the year 1511, and the death of the protonotary Colonna, in tom. iii. pars ii. p. 1053, 1138.

<sup>57</sup> Est toute la terre de l'Eglise troublee par cette partialité (des Colomes et des Ursini), come nous diront. Luce et Garimont, ou en l'histoire Home et l'italien; et par un tel trouble de l'Eglise, rend la terre de l'Eglise seroit la plus heureuse habitation pour les peuples, qui sont dans tout le monde (car ils ne payent ni tailles ni guerres autres choses), et seroient toujours bien conduits (car toujours les papes sont sages et bien gouvernez), mais tres souvent en aduient de grands et cruels meurtres et pilleries.

<sup>58</sup> By the state w. tom. iii. that in w. three thousand horse and twenty thousand foot (tom. iii. p. 1053). Since that time (A. D. 1567), the papal arms are happily rooted, but the income must have increased since that time.

<sup>59</sup> More especially by Guicciardini and Machiavel, in the general

history of the former, in the Florentine history, the Prince, and the politics, and discourses of the latter. These, with their worthy successors,

barbarians with the subjects of Charles V. (anté, p. 492, 493), an art system, which, like that of the Tartar conquests, I imputed with the less scruple, as I could scarcely hope to reach the conclusion of my work.

appeared to protect his defeat.

<sup>62</sup> This gradual change of manners and expense is admirably explained by Dr. Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations*, vol. i. p. 429-431), who proves, perhaps too severely, that the most salutary effects have flowed from the meanest and most selfish causes.

foaming torrent, a smooth and stagnant lake reflects the image of idleness and servitude.

The ecclesiastical government, a patriot, will be equally scandalised by the temporal kingdom of the clergy ; and the local majesty of Rome, the remembrance of her consuls and triumphs, may seem to embitter the sense, and aggravate the shame, of her slavery. If we calmly weigh the merits and defects of the ecclesiastical government, it may be praised in its present state, as a mild, decent, and tranquil system, exempt from the dangers of a minority, the sallies of youth, the expenses of luxury, and the calamities of war. But these advantages are overbalanced by a frequent, perhaps a septennial election of a sovereign, who is seldom a native of the country : the reign of a *young* statesman of threescore, in the decline of his life and abilities, without hope to accomplish, and without children to inherit, the labours of his transitory reign. The successful candidate is drawn from the church, and even the convent ; from the mode of education and life the most adverse to reason, humanity, and freedom. In the trammels of servile faith, he has learned to believe because it is absurd, to revere all that is contemptible, and to despise whatever might deserve the esteem of a rational being ; to punish error as a crime, to reward mortification and celibacy as the first of virtues ; to place the saints of the kalendar<sup>54</sup> above the heroes of Rome and the sages of Athens ; and to consider the missal, or the crucifix, as more useful instruments than the plough or the loom. In the office of nuncio, or the rank of cardinal, he may acquire some knowledge of the world, but the primitive stain will adhere to his mind and manners ; from study and experience he may suspect the mystery of his pro-

Steuve V  
A.D. 1395—1390. fession ; but the sacerdotal art will imbibe some portion of the bigotry which

93 Mr. Hume (Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 782) too rashly concludes, that if the civil and ecclesiastical powers be united in the same person, it is of little moment whether he be styled prince or pope, since the temporal character will always predominate.

94 A Protestant may disdain the unworthy preference of St. Francis to St. Peter, and may think that the pope is in the real or judgment of Jesus V. who placed the statues of the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, on the vacant columns of Trajan and Antonine.

95 A wandering Italian, (free-gill Lutz) has given the Art of Spelling Quinze fois mieux, than the French, and the Art of writing twice as well.

96 But which does not commend our absolute confidence. Yet the character of the man, and the principal facts are supported by the annals of Spontanus and Muratori. (A. D. 1585-1760), and the contemporary history of the great Theamus (d. 1633). c. 2. l. xxviii. c. p. 1.

96 These privileged places, the *quartieri* or *franchises*, were adopted from the Roman nobles by the foreign immigrants. Julius II had once abolished the abominable and detestandum *franchitarius* *ajusmodi* nomen; and after Sixtus V they again revived. I cannot dissent either the justice or magnanimity of Louis XIV. who, in 1687, sent his ambassador, the marquis de Lavardin, to Rome, with an armed force of a thousand officers, guards, and domestics, to maintain this iniquitous claim, and multo peius Innocent XI in the heart of his capital (Vita di Sisto V. tom. iii. p. 260-274. Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xc. p. 434-436. and Voltare, *Siècle de Louis*

97. *DM. No. 16. Pl. 38, 39.*  
 97. The inscription is on a decree which is inscribed on marble, and placed in the Capitol. It is expressed in a style of much simplicity and freedom. Si quis, *ue* privatus, *ue* magistratus, *gerens* de collocandâ *rio* pontifich statua mentionem facere auit, legitimo *S. P. Q. R.* decreto in perpetuum infamâ et publicorum munierum expers esto. MDXCI in mensis Augusto (i. ita di *isto* V. tom. i. p. 463.) I believe that this decree is still observed, and I know that every monarch who deserves a statue, should himself impose the prohibition.

98 The histories of the church, Italy, and Christendom, have contributed to the chapter which I now conclude. In the original *Lives* of the Popes, we often discover the city and republic of Rome, and the events of the xivth and xvth centuries are preserved in the rude and domestic chronicles which I have carefully inspected, and shall recapitulate in the order of time.

Fragmenta II: *tonica Romanae* (vulgo *Thomas Furthwengeli*); in *Romana Dialecte* vulgare (A. D. 1327-1354, in *Muratorio*, Antiquitat. p. 525. N. B. The credit of this fragment is somewhat hurt by a singular interpolation, in which the author relates *his* own death at the age of 115 years.

he inculcates. The genius of Sixtus the Fifth<sup>95</sup> burst from the gloom of a Franciscan cloister. In a reign of five years, he exterminated the outlaws and banditti, abolished the *profane* sanctuaries of Rome;<sup>96</sup> formed a naval and military force, restored and emulated the monuments of antiquity, and after a liberal use and large increase of the revenue, left five millions of crowns in the castle of St. Angelo. But his justice was sullied with cruelty, his activity was prompted by the ambition of conquest; after his decease, the abuses revived; the treasure was dissipated; he entailed on posterity thirty-five new taxes and the venality of offices; and, after his death, his statue was demolished by an ungrateful, or an injured, people.<sup>97</sup> The wild and original character of Sixtus the Fifth stands alone in the series of the pontiffs: the maxims and effects of their temporal government may be collected from the positive and comparative view of the arts and philosophy, the agriculture and trade, the wealth and population, of the ecclesiastical state. For myself it is my wish to depart in charity with all mankind, nor am I willing, in these last moments, to offend even the pope and clergy of Rome.<sup>98</sup>

CHAP. LXXI.

*Prospect of the Ruins of Rome in the Fifteenth Century. — Four Causes of Decay and Destruction. — Example of the Coliseum. — Renovation of the City. — Conclusion of the whole Work.*

In the last days of pope Eugenius the Fourth, two of his servants, the learned Poggius<sup>1</sup> and a friend, ascended the Capitoline hill; reposed themselves among the ruins of columns and temples; and viewed from that commanding spot

7. Mosh. Tzet. Ibra. tom. in p. 247—348) the authentic ground-work of the history of Bienna.
8. Duplem. (Gentili) *Diarii in Romanorum* (A. D. 1370—1410), in the *Recur. Ital. arch.* tom. i. in p. 101, p. 546.
9. Ant. in (Polo) *Diurnum Rom.* (A. D. 1304—1417), tom. xxv. p. 561.
10. Puttin. (Pauli) *Mss. Aeneae Historica Romana* (A. D. 1135—1446), p. 51.
11. Volaterran. (Jacob), *Diurnum Rom.* (A. D. 1472—1484), tom. xiii. p. 51.
12. *Diarii Diurnum Urbis Romae* (A. D. 1451—1492), tom. iii. p. 51.

n (A. D. 1494, or 1378).

might be completed from the MSS in different libraries of Italy  
reprinted ex Diario Joh Burcardi, Leipzig, 1740, in the *Journal of Burcard*  
the *Memories of the Acad. des*

diaries are inserted in the  
acter in the history of Italy,  
d to him for the following  
Scripturae (A. D. 508).—  
in lucem prodit, & xxviii  
A. virescenti f. chronologica  
s a key to this great work.  
dato. 2. *Antiquitates Italae*  
1717, in lxxv curious dis-  
rchie, &c. of the Italians  
of the antiquities of the  
3. *Disertationes sopra le Antiquita Italiane*, in vols. in It. Milano,  
1751, a free version by the author, which may be quoted with the  
The Antiquities. 4. *Annali d'Italia*

the local or gratifying of the subject. In all his works, Muratori approves himself a diligent and laborious writer, who aspires above the prejudices of a school; prize. He was born on the 12th of May 1727, and died on the 12th of April 1791, after having near six years in the colonies of Milan and Modena a Vita di Giuseppe Maria Gioseffo Muratori, Milan, 1795, in 12mo, and successor than Francesco Sola Muratori, Venera, 1796, in 12mo.

View and  
discourse  
of Hogius  
from the Ca-  
pitoline hill.  
A. D. 1170



the wide and various prospect of desolation.<sup>2</sup> The place and the object gave ample scope for moralising on the vicissitudes of fortune, which spares neither man nor the proudest of his works, which buries empires and cities in a common grave; and it was agreed, that in proportion to her former greatness, the fall of Rome was the more awful and deplorable. "Her primeval state, such as she might appear in a remote age, when Evander entertained the stranger of Troy,<sup>3</sup> has been delineated by the fancy of Virgil. This Tarpæian rock was then a sylvage and solitary thicket: in the time of the poet, it was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple; the temple is overthrown, the gold has been pillaged, the wheel of fortune has accomplished her revolution, and sacred ground is again disfigured with thorns and brambles. "The hill of Capitol, on which we sit, was formerly the head of the Roman empire, the citadel of the earth, the terror of kings; insulted by the footsteps of so many triumphs, enriched with the spoils and tributes of so many nations. This spectacle of the world, how is it fallen! how changed! how defaced! the path of victory is obliterated by vines, and the benches of the senators are concealed by a dunghill. Cast your eyes on the Palatine hill, and seek among the shapeless and enormous fragments, the marble theatre, the obelisks, the colossal statues, the porticoes of Nero's palace. survey the other hills of the city, the vacant space is interrupted only by ruins and gardens. The forum of the Roman people, where they assembled to enact their laws and elect their magistrates, is now enclosed for the cultivation of pot-herbs, or thrown open for the reception of swine and buffaloes. The public and private edifices, that were founded for eternity, lie prostrate, naked, and broken, like the limbs of a mighty giant; and the ruin is the more visible, from the stupendous relics that have survived the injuries of time and fortune."<sup>4</sup>

His description of the ruins. These relics are minutely described by Poggius, one of the first who raised his eyes from the monuments of legendary, to those of classic superstition.<sup>5</sup> 1. Besides a bridge, an arch, a sepulchre, and the pyramid of Cestius, he could discern, of the age of the republic, a double row of vaults, in the salt-office of the Capitol, which were inscribed with the name and munificence of Catulus. 2. Eleven temples were visible in some degree, from the perfect form of the Pantheon, to the three arches and a marble column of the temple of peace, which Vespasian erected after the civil wars and the Jewish triumph. 3. Of the number, which he rashly defines, of seven *thermæ*, or public baths, none were sufficiently entire to represent the use and distribution of the several parts: but those of Diocletian and Antoninus Caracalla

still retained the titles of the founders, and astonished the curious spectator, who, in observing their solidity and extent, the variety of nimbles, the size and multitude of the columns, compared the labour and expense with the use and importance. Of the baths of Constantine, of Alexander, of Domitian, or rather of Titus, some vestige might yet be found. 4. The triumphal arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantine, were entire, both the structure and the inscriptions; a falling fragment was honoured with the name of Trajan; and two arches, then extant, in the Flaminian way, have been ascribed to the baser memory of Faustina and Gallienus. 5. After the wonder of the Coliseum, Poggius might have overlooked a small amphitheatre of brick, most probably for the use of the pratorian camp: the theatres of Marcellus and Pompey were occupied in a great measure by public and private buildings; and in the Circus, Agonalis and Maximus, little more than the situation and the form could be investigated. 6. The columns of Trajan and Antonine were still erect; but the Egyptian obelisks were broken or buried. A people of gods and heroes, the workmanship of art, was reduced to one equestrian figure of gilt brass, and to five marble statues, of which the most conspicuous were the two horses of Phidias and Praxiteles. 7. The two mausoleums or sepulchres of Augustus and Hadrian could not totally be lost; but the former was only visible as a mound of earth; and the latter, the castle of St. Angelo, had acquired the name and appearance of a modern fortress. With the addition of some separate and nameless columns, such were the remains of the ancient city: for the marks of a more recent structure might be detected in the walls, which formed a circumference of ten miles, included three hundred and seventy-nine turrets, and opened into the country by thirteen gates.

This melancholy picture was drawn above nine hundred years after the

Gradual decay of Rome.

fall of the Western empire, and even of the Gothic kingdom of Italy. A long period of distress and anarchy, in which empire, and arts, and riches, had migrated from the banks of the Tyber, was incapable of restoring or adorning the city; and as all that is human must retrograde if it do not advance, every successive age must have hastened the ruin of the works of antiquity. To measure the progress of decay, and to ascertain, at each æra, the state of each edifice, would be an endless and a useless labour, and I shall content myself with two observations, which will introduce a short enquiry into the general causes and effects. 1. Two hundred years before the eloquent complaint of Poggius, an anonymous writer composed a description of Rome.<sup>6</sup> His ignorance may repeat the same objects under strange and fabulous names. Yet this barbarous topographer had eyes and ears, he could observe the visible remains, he could

exteros colles pelustra omnia vacua edificiorum, ruinis vniuersaque operta compages (Poggius, de Varietate. Fortunus, p. 21.)

<sup>2</sup> See Poggius, p. 4-22.

<sup>3</sup> Liber de Archæologia Romæ, ex Registro Nicolai Cardinalis de Arce, in Bibliotheca St. Iudori Armano IV. No. 69. This treatise, with some short but pertinent notes, has been published by Montfaucon (Museum Italicum, p. 287-301), who thus delivers his own critical opinion: "scriptor namque erroris acrius, ut ibi dem notatur, antiquariorum rei imperitus et, ut ab illo æro, pugni et anilibus fabellis repletus, sed, quia monumenta, quæ in temporibus Romæ supererant, pro molulo reuocet, non parum inde præcipue multabitur quæ Romanis antiquitatibus indagandi speram navabit (p. 285.)"

<sup>2</sup> Considimus in ip[s]is Tarpæiæ arcis ruinis, pone iugos porte, curiadam, ut puto, templi, mirumque limen, pluriusque passim contractas columnas, unde magna ex parte prospectus urbis patet (p. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Æneid, vii. 97-369. This ancient picture, so artfully introduced, and so exquisitely finished, must have been highly interesting to an inhabitant of Rome, and our early studies allow us to sympathise in the feelings of a Roman.

<sup>4</sup> Capitulum adeo . . . immutatum ut vineis in senatorum sublimibus succederent, stercorum ac purgamentorum requiescatulum facerent. Responde ad Palatinum montem . . . vasta rudera . . .

listen to the tradition of the people, and he distinctly enumerates seven theatres, eleven baths, twelve arches, and eighteen palaces, of which many had disappeared before the time of Poggius. It is apparent, that many stately monuments of antiquity survived till a late period,<sup>7</sup> and that the principles of destruction acted with vigorous and increasing energy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. 2. The same reflection must be applied to the three last ages; and we should vainly seek the Septizomum of Severus;<sup>8</sup> which is celebrated by Petrarch and the antiquarians of the sixteenth century. While the Roman edifices were still entire, the first blows, however weighty and impetuous, were resisted by the solidity of the mass and the harmony of the parts; but the slightest touch would precipitate the fragments of arches and columns, that already nodded to their fall.

After a diligent enquiry, I can discern four principal causes of the ruin of Rome, which continued to operate in a period of more than a thousand years. I. The injuries of time and nature. II. The hostile attacks of the barbarians and Christians. III. The use and abuse of the materials. And, IV. The domestic quarrels of the Romans.

I. The art of man is able to construct monuments far more permanent than the narrow span of his own existence; yet these monuments, like himself, are perishable and frail; and in the boundless annals of time, his life and his labours must equally be measured as a fleeting moment. Of a simple and solid edifice, it is not easy however to circumscribe the duration. As the wonders of ancient days, the pyramids<sup>9</sup> attracted the curiosity of the ancients: an hundred generations, the leaves of autumn,<sup>10</sup> have dropped into the grave; and after the fall of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, the Cæsars and caliphs, the same pyramids stand erect and unshaken above the floods of the Nile. A complex figure of various and minute parts is more accessible to injury and decay; and the silent lapse of time is often accelerated by hurricanes and earthquakes, by fires and inundations. The air and earth have doubtless been shaken; and the lofty turrets of Rome have tottered from their foundations; but the seven hills do not appear to be placed on the great cavities of the globe; nor has the city, in any age, been exposed to the convulsions of nature, which, in the climate of Antioch, Lisbon, or Lima, have crumbled in a few moments the

works of ages into dust. Fire is the most powerful agent of life and death; the rapid mischief may be kindled and

propagated by the industry or negligence of mankind; and every period of the Roman annals is marked by the repetition of similar calamities. A memorable conflagration, the guilt or misfortune of Nero's reign, continued, though with unequal fury, either six, or nine days.<sup>11</sup> Innumerable buildings, crowded in close and crooked streets, supplied perpetual fuel for the flames; and when they ceased, four only of the fourteen regions were left entire; three were totally destroyed, and seven were deformed by the relics of smoking and lacerated edifices.<sup>12</sup> In the full meridian of empire, the metropolis arose with fresh beauty from her ashes; yet the memory of the old deplored their irreparable losses, the arts of Greece, the trophies of victory, the monuments of primitive or fabulous antiquity. In the days of distress and anarchy, every wound is mortal, every fall irretrievable; nor can the damage be restored either by the public care of government, or the activity of private interest. Yet two causes may be alleged, which render the calamity of fire more destructive to a flourishing than a decayed city. 1. The more combustible materials of brick, timber, and metals, are first melted or consumed; but the flames may play without injury or effect on the naked walls, and massy arches, that have been despoiled of their ornaments. 2. It is among the common and plebeian habitations, that a mischievous spark is most easily blown to a conflagration; but as soon as they are devoured, the greater edifices which have resisted or escaped, are left as so many islands in a state of solitude and safety.

From her situation, Rome is exposed to frequent inundations. Without excepting the Tyber, the rivers that descend from either side of the Apennine have a short and irregular course: a shallow stream in the summer heats; an impetuous torrent, when it is swelled in the spring or winter, by the fall of rain, and the melting of the snows. When the current is repelled from the sea by adverse winds, when the ordinary bed is inadequate to the weight of waters, they rise above the banks, and overspread, without limits or control, the plains and cities of the adjacent country. Soon after the triumph of the first Punic war, the Tyber was increased by unusual rains; and the inundation, surpassing all former measure of time and place, destroyed all the buildings that were situate below the hills of Rome. According to the variety of ground, the same mischief was produced by different means; and the edifices were either swept away by the sudden impulse, or dissolved and undermined by the long continuance of the flood.<sup>13</sup> Under the reign of Augustus, the same calamity

7 The Père Mabillon (*Antiquæ, tom. iv. p. 502.*) has published an anonymous palimpsest of the 13th century, who, in his visit round the

8 *Septizomum*, *tom. i. p. 40.* *Septizomum* is a word of Greek origin, and signifies a place of seven hills, or a place of seven hills. *Septizomum* is a word of Greek origin, and signifies a place of seven hills, or a place of seven hills. *Septizomum* is a word of Greek origin, and signifies a place of seven hills, or a place of seven hills.

9 *Septizomum*, *tom. i. p. 40.* *Septizomum* is a word of Greek origin, and signifies a place of seven hills, or a place of seven hills. *Septizomum* is a word of Greek origin, and signifies a place of seven hills, or a place of seven hills. *Septizomum* is a word of Greek origin, and signifies a place of seven hills, or a place of seven hills.

tuer intacte manebant, tres solo tenuis dejectæ septem reliquis præca-  
tæternæ vestigia superer-  
ant, hæc sunt ædificia  
ruinæ vestigia. Tullius,  
 præsentis Heruli; the in  
the palace of Numa, the  
armum. He then deplores  
man. He then deplores  
armum decora. . . .  
nec quæ seniores meminerant, quæ reparari  
nec quæ seniores meminerant, quæ reparari

13 A. D. C. 907, a penitential salverus, against Rome præsentis trium-

14 *Septizomum*, *tom. i. p. 40.* *Septizomum* is a word of Greek origin, and signifies a place of seven hills, or a place of seven hills. *Septizomum* is a word of Greek origin, and signifies a place of seven hills, or a place of seven hills. *Septizomum* is a word of Greek origin, and signifies a place of seven hills, or a place of seven hills.

was renewed: the lawless river overturned the palaces and temples on its banks;<sup>14</sup> and, after the labours of the emperor in cleansing and widening the bed that was encumbered with ruins,<sup>15</sup> the vigilance of his successors was exercised by similar dangers and designs. The project of diverting into new channels the Tyber itself, or some of the dependent streams, was long opposed by superstition and local interests;<sup>16</sup> nor did the use compensate the toil and cost of the tardy and imperfect execution. The servitude of rivers is the noblest and most important victory which man has obtained over the licentiousness of nature;<sup>17</sup> and if such were the ravages of the Tyber under a firm and active government, what could oppose, or who can enumerate, the injuries of the city, after the fall of the Western empire? A remedy was at length produced by the evil itself: the accumulation of rubbish and the earth, that has been washed down from the hills, is supposed to have elevated the plain of Rome, fourteen or fifteen feet, perhaps, above the ancient level;<sup>18</sup> and the modern city is less accessible to the attacks of the river.<sup>19</sup>

II. The hostile attacks of the barbarians and Christians. II. The crowd of writers of every nation, who impute the destruction of the Roman monuments to the Goths and the Christians, have neglected to enquire how far they were animated by an hostile principle, and how far they possessed the means and the leisure to satiate their enmity. In the preceding chapters of this History, I have described the triumph of barbarism and religion; and I can only resume, in a few words, their real or imaginary connection with the ruin of ancient Rome. Our fancy may create, or adopt, a pleasing romance, that the Goths and Vandals sallied from Scandinavia, ardent to avenge the flight of Odin;<sup>20</sup> to break the chains, and to chastise the oppressors, of mankind; that they wished to burn the records of classic literature, and to found their national architecture on the broken members of the Tuscan and Corinthian orders. But in simple truth, the northern conquerors were neither sufficiently savage, nor sufficiently refined, to entertain such aspiring ideas of destruction and revenge. The shepherds of Scythia and Germany had been educated in the armies of the empire, whose discipline they acquired, and whose weakness they invaded: with the familiar use of the Latin tongue, they had learned to reverence the name and titles of Rome; and, though incapable of emulating, they were more inclined to admire, than to abolish, the arts and studies of a brighter period. In the

transient possession of a rich and unresisting capital, the soldiers of Alaric and Genseric were stimulated by the passions of a victorious army; amidst the wanton indulgence of lust or cruelty, portable wealth was the object of their search; nor could they derive either pride or pleasure from the unprofitable reflection, that they had battered to the ground the works of the consuls and Cæsars. Their moments were indeed precious: the Goths evacuated Rome on the sixth,<sup>21</sup> the Vandals on the fifteenth, day;<sup>22</sup> and, though it be far more difficult to build than to destroy, their hasty assault would have made a slight impression on the solid piles of antiquity. We may remember, that both Alaric and Genseric affected to spare the buildings of the city; that they subsisted in strength and beauty under the auspicious government of Theodoric;<sup>23</sup> and that the momentary resentment of Totila<sup>24</sup> was disarmed by his own temper and the advice of his friends and enemies. From these innocent barbarians, the reproach may be transferred to the Catholics of Rome. The statues, altars, and houses of the daemons, were an abomination in their eyes; and in the absolute command of the city, they might labour with zeal and perseverance to erase the idolatry of their ancestors. The demolition of the temples in the East<sup>25</sup> affords to them an example of conduct, and to us an argument of belief; and it is probable, that a portion of guilt or merit may be imputed with justice to the Roman proselytes. Yet their abhorrence was confined to the monuments of heathen superstition; and the civil structures that were dedicated to the business or pleasure of society might be preserved without injury or scandal. The change of religion was accomplished, not by a popular tumult, but by the decrees of the emperors, of the senate, and of time. Of the Christian hierarchy, the bishops of Rome were commonly the most prudent and least fanatic: nor can any positive charge be opposed to the meritorious act of saving and converting the majestic structure of the Pantheon.<sup>26</sup>

III. The value of any object that supplies the wants or pleasures of mankind, is compounded of its substance and its form, of the materials and the manufacture. Its price must depend on the number of persons by whom it may be acquired and used; on the extent of the market; and consequently on the ease or difficulty of remote exportation, according to the nature of the commodity, its local situation, and the temporary circumstances of the world. The barbarian con-

III. The use and abuse of the materials.

14 Vidimus fluvium Tiberim, retortis  
Littore Etrusco volentem undas,  
Ire dejectum in monumenta Regis  
Temp'que Vene.

(Horat. Carm. L. 2.)  
If the palace of Numa, and temple of Vesta, were thrown down in

the city.

of Italy to the senate against the measure; and we may applaud the progress of reason. On a similar occasion, local interests would undoubtedly be consulted, but an English House of Commons would

Be a new  
and savage land, in which the waters are abandoned to themselves, without being regulated by human industry (p. 212. 561. quarto edition).

18 In his Travels in Italy, Mr. Addison (his works, vol. ii. p. 98, Baskerville's edition) has observed this curious and unquestionable fact.

19 Yet in modern times, the Tyber has sometimes damaged the city, and in the years 1350, 1357, 1598, the Annals of Muratori record three mischievous and memorable inundations (tom. xiv. p. 204. 129. tom. xv. p. 295, &c.).

20 I take this opportunity of declaring, that in the course of twelve years, to the

The city.

21

22

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quers of Rome usurped in a moment the toil and treasure of successive ages ; but, except the luxuries of immediate consumption, they must view without desire all that could not be removed from the city in the Gothic wagons or the fleet of the Vandals.<sup>27</sup> Gold and silver were the first objects of their avarice ; as in every country, and in the smallest compass, they represent the most ample command of the industry and possession of mankind. A vase or a statue of those precious metals might tempt the vanity of some barbarian chief ; but the grosser multitude, regardless of the form, was tenacious only of the substance ; and the melted ingots might be readily divided and stamped into the current coin of the empire. The less active or less fortunate robbers were reduced to the baser plunder of brass, lead, iron, and copper : whatever had escaped the Goths and Vandals was pillaged by the Greek tyrants ; and the emperor Constans, in his rapacious visit, stripped the bronze tiles from the roof of the Pantheon.<sup>28</sup> The edifices of Rome might be considered as a vast and various mine ; the first labour of extracting the materials was already performed ; the metals were purified and cast ; the marbles were hewn and polished ; and after foreign and domestic rapine had been satiated, the remains of the city, could a purchaser have been found, were still venal. The monuments of antiquity had been left naked of their precious ornaments, but the Romans would demolish with their own hands the arches and walls, if the hope of profit could surpass the cost of the labour and exportation. If Charlemagne had fixed in Italy the seat of the Western empire, his genius would have aspired to restore, rather than to violate, the works of the Cæsars : but policy confined the French monarch to the forests of Germany ; his taste could be gratified only by destruction ; and the new palace of Aix la Chapelle was decorated with the marbles of Ravenna<sup>29</sup> and Rome.<sup>30</sup> Five hundred years after Charlemagne, a king of Sicily, Robert, the wisest and most liberal sovereign of the age, was supplied with the same materials by the easy navigation of the Tyber and the sea ; and Petrarch sighs an indignant complaint, that the ancient capital of the world should adorn from her own bowels the stolid luxury of Naples.<sup>31</sup> But these examples of plunder or purchase were rare in the darker ages ;

and the Romans, alone and unenvied, might have applied to their private or public use the remaining structures of antiquity, if in their present form and situation they had not been useless in a great measure to the city and its inhabitants. The walls still described the old circumference, but the city had descended from the seven hills into the Campus Martius; and some of the noblest monuments which had braved the injuries of time were left in a desert, far remote from the habitations of mankind. The palaces of the senators were no longer adapted to the manners or fortunes of their indigent successors; the use of baths<sup>32</sup> and porticoes was forgotten; in the sixth century, the games of the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus, had been interrupted: some temples were devoted to the prevailing worship; but the Christian churches preferred the holy figure of the cross; and fashion, or reason, had distributed after a peculiar model the cells and offices of the cloister. Under the ecclesiastical reign, the number of these pious foundations was enormously multiplied; and the city was crowded with forty monasteries of men, twenty of women, and sixty chapters and colleges of canons and priests,<sup>3</sup> who aggravated, instead of relieving, the depopulation of the tenth century. But if the forms of ancient architecture were disregarded by a people insensible of their use and beauty, the plentiful materials were applied to every call of necessity or superstition; till the fairest columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, the richest marbles of Paros and Numidia, were degraded, perhaps to the support of a convent or a stable. The daily havoc which is perpetrated by the Turks in the cities of Greece and Asia, may afford a melancholy example; and in the gradual destruction of the monuments of Rome, Sixtus the Fifth may alone be excused for employing the stones of the Septizonium in the glorious edifice of St. Peter's.<sup>34</sup> A fragment, a ruin, howsoever mangled or profaned, may be viewed with pleasure and regret; but the greater part of the marble was deprived of substance, as well as of place and proportion; it was burnt to lime for the purpose of cement. Since the arrival of Poggius, the temple of Concord,<sup>35</sup> and many capital structures, had vanished from his eyes; and an epigram of the same age expresses a just and pious fear, that the continuance of this prac-

27 Flaminii Vacca (apud Montfalcon, p. 155, 156. His Memoir

time, these places were visited and ruled by the Transapine pagans, the heirs of the Gothic conquerors.

28 Omnia quae erant in aere ad ornatum civitatis deposuit, sed et ecclesiam B. Marini ad martyres quae de tegulis aereis constructa discomperuit (Anast. in Vitalian. p. 141) The base and sacrilegious Greek had not even the poor pretence of plundering an heathen temple; the Pantheon was already a Catholic church.

temple; the Pantheon was already a Catholic church.

50 I shall quote the authentic testimony of the Saxons post (A. D. 887-899), de Relugestis Caroli magni, l. v. 157-419, in the *Historians of France* (tom. v. p. 180.)

Ad quæ in iuniores præstabit Regia columnas,  
Quædam præcipuas pollicetur Raveria dedit.  
De tum longinquæ poterit re, nonne vetustas

And I shall add, from the Chronicle of Siebert (Historians of France, tom. v. p. 378.) exoritur etiam Aquasana bathum; iur-  
time pulcherrimum, ad usus strumarum a Roma et Rheima co-

[illegible]

unū in re, turbulenti ac seditiosi homines et totius reliquæ vitæ consilii et rationibus discordis, inbumi in fœderis stupendi soc erate conuenerant, in pontes et maria atque inmeritis lapides deæ uident. Denique post vi vel senio collapsa uol' tia, quæ quodam ingentes tenebant vires, post dirutis artus triumphales inde maiores horum lortant (conuulsi), de ignis uoluitas ac propria inopietas fragmi-

- collapse with an  $^{238}\text{Pu}$  and  $^{239}\text{Pu}$  which were built at

and the preceding  
the history of Pere

[illegible]

with the 'legitimate' or 'normal' and 'proper' (although possibly not always 'democratic') status of party politics, the acts of corruption were not. The term used forward was therefore not described by a scholar in the twentieth century, as I have read in a MS. manuscript of the late 17th or early 18th century, as *abus*, and

that could be attributed to the fact that the specimens of *P. lutea*, and a related but undescribed species, are collected from islands like the Seychelles, that the signature of *C. velox* Skoleva was blurred for many years.



pronounce, that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city; and our opinion is confirmed by the evidence of Petrarch. "Behold," says the laureat, "the relics of Rome, the image of "her pristine greatness! Neither time, nor the "barbarian, can boast the merit of this stupen- "dous destruction: it was perpetrated by her "own citizens, by the most illustrious of her "sons, and your ancestors (he writes to a noble "Annibaldi) have done with the battering-ram "what the Punic hero could not accomplish "with the sword."<sup>48</sup> The influence of the two last principles of decay must in some degree be multiplied by each other; since the houses and towers, which were subverted by civil war, required a new and perpetual supply from the monuments of antiquity.

These general observations may be separately applied to the amphitheatre of Titus, which has obtained the name of the Coliseum,<sup>49</sup> either from its magnitude, or from Nero's colossal statue: an edifice, had it been left to time and nature, which might perhaps have claimed an eternal duration. The curious antiquaries, who have computed the numbers and seats, are disposed to believe, that above the upper row of stone steps, the amphitheatre was encircled and elevated with several stages of wooden galleries, which were repeatedly consumed by fire, and restored by the emperors. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the statues of gods and heroes, and the costly ornaments of sculpture, which were cast in brass, or overspread with leaves of silver and gold, became the first prey of conquest or fanaticism, of the avarice of the barbarians or the Christians. In the massy stones of the Coliseum, many holes are discerned; and the two most probable conjectures represent the various accidents of its decay. These stones were connected by solid links of brass or iron, nor had the eye of rapine overlooked the value of the baser metals:<sup>50</sup> the vacant space was converted into a fair or market; the artisans of the Coliseum are mentioned in an ancient survey; and the chasms were perforated or enlarged to receive the poles that supported the shops or tents of the mechanic trades.<sup>51</sup> Reduced to its naked majesty, the Flavian amphitheatre was contemplated with awe and admiration by the pilgrims

of the North; and their rude enthusiasm broke forth in a sublime proverbial expression, which is recorded in the eighth century, in the fragments of the venerable Bede: "As long as the "Coliseum stands, Rome shall stand; when the "Coliseum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome "falls, the world will fall."<sup>52</sup> In the modern system of war, a situation commanded by three hills would not be chosen for a fortress; but the strength of the walls and arches could resist the engines of assault; a numerous garrison might be lodged in the enclosure; and while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was entrenched in the Lateran and the Coliseum.<sup>53</sup>

The abolition at Rome of the Games of ancient games must be understood with some latitude; and the carnival sports, of the Testacean mount and the Circus Agonalis,<sup>54</sup> were regulated by the law<sup>55</sup> or custom of the city. The senator presided with dignity and pomp to adjudge and distribute the prizes, the gold ring, or the *pallium*,<sup>56</sup> as it was styled, of cloth or silk. A tribute on the Jews supplied the annual expense;<sup>57</sup> and the races, on foot, on horseback, or in chariots, were ennobled by a tilt and tournament of seventy-two of the Roman youth. In the year one thousand three hundred and thirty-two, a bull-feast, after the fashion of the Moors and Spaniards, was celebrated in the Coliseum itself; and the living manners are painted in a diary of the times.<sup>58</sup> A convenient order of benches was restored; and a general proclamation, as far as Rimini and Ravenna, invited the nobles to exercise their skill and courage in this perilous adventure. The Roman ladies were marshalled in three squadrons, and seated in three balconies, which on this day, the third of September, were lined with scarlet cloth. The fair Jacova di Rovere led the matrons from beyond the Tyber, a pure and native race, who still represent the features and character of antiquity. The remainder of the city was divided as usual between the Colonna and Ursini: the two factions were proud of the number and beauty of their female bands; the charms of Savella Ursini are mentioned with praise; and the Colonna regretted the absence of the youngest of their house, who

48 Petrarch. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1.

49 The fourth I. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1.

50 The fourth I. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1.

51 Denart. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1.

52 Qu. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1.

53 I cannot recover, in Muratori's original *Lives of the Popes*, the passage that alludes to the Coliseum.

54 The Circus Agonalis, the Circus Agonalis, the Circus Agonalis, the Circus Agonalis.

55 The *Pallium*, which Menage is fondly derives from *Palmarium*, is an expression of the most vulgar and most common of the robe or cloak, to the materials, and from thence to their application as a prize.

56 For these expenses, the Jews of Rome paid each year 1150 fluns, of which the thirty-six represented the price of silver for which Judas had betrayed his Master to the murderers. There was a fine race of Jews as well as of Christian youths (Statius *Silv.* l. 1. c. 1.)

57 An extraordinary bull-feast in the Coliseum is described in a truly curious manner by the *Diary of the Times*, l. 1. c. 1. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1.

58 The most important fragments of Roman history, the *Diary of the Times*, l. 1. c. 1. *De Rebus Siculis*, l. 1. c. 1.

59 They may seem, they are deeply marked with the character of truth and nature.

had sprained her ancle in the garden of Nero's tower. The lots of the champions were drawn by an old and respectable citizen; and they descended into the arena, or pit, to encounter the wild bulls, on foot as it should seem, with a single spear. Amidst the crowd, our annalist has selected the names, colours, and devices, of twenty of the most conspicuous knights. Several of the names are the most illustrious of Rome and the ecclesiastical state; Malatesta, Polenta, Della Valle, Cafarello, Savelli, Capoccio, Conti, Annibaldi, Altieri, Corsi; the colours were adapted to their taste and situation; the devices are expressive of hope or despair, and breathe the spirit of gallantry and arms. "I am alone," like the youngest of the Horatii, the confidence of an intrepid stranger: "I live disconsolate," a weeping widower: "I burn under the ashes," a discreet lover: "I adore Lavinia, or Lucretia," the ambiguous declaration of a modern passion: "My faith is as pure," the motto of a white livery: "Who is stronger than myself?" of a lion's hide: "If I am drowned in blood, what a pleasant death!" the wish of ferocious courage. The pride or prudence of the Ursini restrained them from the field, which was occupied by three of their hereditary rivals, whose inscriptions denoted the lofty greatness of the Colonna name: "Though sad, I am strong;" "Strong as I am great;" "If I fall," addressing himself to the spectators, "you fall with me;"—intimating (says the contemporary writer) that while the other families were the subjects of the Vatican, they alone were the supporters of the Capitol. The combats of the amphitheatre were dangerous and bloody. Every champion successively encountered a wild bull; and the victory may be ascribed to the quadrupeds, since no more than eleven were left on the field, with the loss of nine wounded and eighteen killed on the side of their adversaries. Some of the noblest families might mourn, but the pomp of the funerals, in the churches of St. John Lateran and St. Maria Maggiore, afforded a second holiday to the people. Doubtless it was not in such conflicts that the blood of the Romans should have been shed; yet, in blaming their rashness, we are compelled to applaud their gallantry; and the noble volunteers, who display their magnificence, and risk their lives, under the balconies of the fair, excite a more generous sympathy than the thousands of captives and malefactors who were reluctantly dragged to the scene of slaughter.<sup>59</sup>

This use of the amphitheatre was a rare, perhaps a singular, festival;

Injuries,

<sup>59</sup> Muratori has given a separate dissertation (p. xxixth) to the games of the Italians in the middle æge.

<sup>60</sup> In a concise but instructive memoir, the Abbé Barthélemy (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii. p. 751) has mentioned this agreement of the fictions of the sixth century, de Thaurino faciendo in the Coliseum, from an original act in the archives of Rome.

<sup>61</sup> Coliseum . . . ob sterilitatem Romanorum nihil ex parte ad exitum delatum, nec the magnificentiæ, p. 17. but his expression, too strong for the present age, may be very tenderly applied to the sixth century.

<sup>62</sup> Of the Obsequies monks. Montfaucon (p. 112) affirms this fact from the memorial of Plinius Varo, No. 72. "They still hoped, on some future occasion, to reverse and vindicate their guilt."

<sup>63</sup> After mentioning the precise amphitheatre games, Montfaucon (p. 112) only adds, that it was entire under Paul III.; tacendo clapsit the guilt of the Farnese pope, and the indignation of the Roman people. Against the nephews of Urban VIII. I have no other evidence than the vulgar saying, "Quid non fecerunt barbari, fecerit Barberini," which was perhaps suggested by the resemblance of the words.

the demand for the materials was a daily and continual want, which the citizens could gratify without restraint or remorse. In the fourteenth century, a scandalous act of concord secured to both factions the privilege of extracting stones from the free and common quarry of the Coliseum;<sup>60</sup> and Poggius laments, that the greater part of these stones had been burnt to lime by the folly of the Romans.<sup>61</sup> To check this abuse, and to prevent the nocturnal crimes that might be perpetrated in the vast and gloomy recess, Eugenius the Fourth surrounded it with a wall; and, by a charter long extant, granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent.<sup>62</sup> After his death, the wall was overthrown in a tumult of the people; and had they themselves respected the noblest monument of their fathers, they might have justified the resolve that it should never be degraded to private poverty. The inside was damaged; but in the middle of the sixteenth century, an æra of taste and learning, the exterior circumference of one thousand six hundred and twelve feet was still entire and inviolate; a triple elevation of fourscore arches, which rose to the height of one hundred and eight feet. Of the present ruin, the nephews of Paul the Third are the guilty agents; and every traveller who views the Farnese palace may curse the sacrilege and luxury of these upstart princes.<sup>63</sup> A similar reproach is applied to the Barberini; and the repetition of injury might be dreaded from every reign, till the Coliseum was placed

under the safeguard of religion by the most liberal of the pontiffs, Benedict the Fourteenth, who consecrated a spot which persecution and fable had stained with the blood of so many Christian martyrs.<sup>64</sup>

When Petrarch first gratified his eyes with a view of those monuments, whose scattered fragments so far surpass the most eloquent descriptions, he was astonished at the supine indifference<sup>65</sup> of the Romans themselves;<sup>66</sup> he was humbled rather than elated by the discovery, that, except his friend Rienzi and one of the Colonna, a stranger of the Rhone was more conversant with these antiquities than the nobles and natives of the metropolis.<sup>67</sup> The ignorance and credulity of the Romans are elaborately displayed in the old survey of the city which was composed about the beginning of the thirteenth century; and, without dwelling on the manifold errors of name and place, the legend of the Capitol<sup>68</sup> may provoke a smile of contempt and indignation. "The Capitol," says the anonymous

and consecration of the Coliseum.

Ignorance and barbarism of the Romans.

<sup>64</sup> As an antiquarian and a priest, Montfaucon thus deprecates the ruin of the Coliseum. *Quid si non sumus merito atque pulchritudine dignum fuisse, quod impiois accret manus, indigna res, utique in locum tot martirum cunctosque sacrum tantopere servatum esse.*

<sup>65</sup> Yet the Statutes of Rome (l. 11. c. 51. p. 128) impose a fine of 100 aurei on whoever shall demolish any ancient edifice, ne ruinis civitas defructetur, ut antiqua edificia decorem urbis perpetuo representent.

<sup>66</sup> In his first visit to Rome (A. D. 1337. See *Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. i. p. 324, &c. Petrarch is struck with miracle rerum tantarum, et stupor in sole orbitatus . . . Pre-sentia vero, mirum dictis, nihil admittunt. vere major fuit Roma magnæque sunt reliquæ quam rebus. Jam non ulli enim ab hac urbe domantur, sed terram solum domum, muror (Opp. p. 103. Familiaris, l. 14. Joanni Colimure.

<sup>67</sup> He excerpts and praises the rare knowledge of John Colonna. *Quid enim hostis magis sciret rerum Romanarum, quam Romanus civis? Inventus deo iniquum . . .*

<sup>68</sup> After the description . . . mundi provinciarum; et . . . Erant ita per mag.

writer, "is so named as being the head of the  
"world; where the consuls and senators for-  
"merly resided for the government of the city  
"and the globe. The strong and lofty walls  
"were covered with glass and gold, and crowned  
"with a roof of the richest and most curious  
"carving. Below the citadel stood a palace,  
"of gold for the greatest part, decorated with  
"precious stones, and whose value might be  
"esteemed at one third of the world itself. The  
"statues of all the provinces were arranged in  
"order, each with a small bell suspended from  
"its neck; and such was the contrivance of art  
"magic,<sup>69</sup> that if the province rebelled against  
"Rome, the statue turned round to that quarter  
"of the heavens, the bell rang, the prophet of  
"the Capitol reported the prodigy, and the  
"senate was admonished of the impending  
"danger." A second example of less import-  
ance, though of equal absurdity, may be drawn  
from the two marble horses, led by two naked  
youths, which have since been transported from  
the baths of Constantine to the Quirinal hill.  
The groundless application of the names of  
Phidias and Praxiteles may perhaps be excused;  
but these Grecian sculptors should not have  
been removed above four hundred years from  
the age of Pericles to that of Tiberius: they  
should not have been transformed into two  
philosophers or magicians, whose nakedness was  
the symbol of truth and knowledge, who revealed  
to the emperor his most secret actions; and,  
after refusing all pecuniary recompence, solicited  
the honour of leaving this eternal monument of  
themselves.<sup>70</sup> Thus awake to the power of  
magic, the Romans were insensible to the  
beauties of art: no more than five statues were  
visible to the eyes of Poggius; and of the mul-  
titudes which chance or design had buried under  
the ruins, the resurrection was fortunately de-  
layed till a safer and more enlightened age.<sup>71</sup>  
The Nile, which now adorns the Vatican, had  
been explored by some labourers, in digging a  
vineyard near the temple, or convent, of the  
Minerva; but the impatient proprietor, who  
was tormented by some visits of curiosity, re-  
stored the unprofitable marble to its former  
grave.<sup>72</sup> The discovery of a statue of Pompey,  
ten feet in length, was the occasion of a law-  
suit. It had been found under a partition wall:  
the equitable judge had pronounced, that the  
head should be separated from the body, to  
satisfy the claims of the contiguous owners;  
and the sentence would have been executed, if  
the intercession of a cardinal, and the liberality  
of a pope, had not rescued the Roman hero  
from the hands of his barbarous countrymen.<sup>73</sup>

But the clouds of barbarism were gradually dispelled; and the peaceful authority of Martin the Fifth and his successors, restored the ornaments of the city as well as the order of the ecclesiastical state. The improvements of Rome, since the fifteenth century, have not been the spontaneous produce of freedom and industry. The first and most natural root of a great city, is the labour and populousness of the adjacent country, which supplies the materials of subsistence, of manufactures, and of foreign trade. But the greater part of the Campagna of Rome is reduced to a dreary and desolate wilderness: the overgrown estates of the princes and the clergy are cultivated by the lazy hands of indigent and hopeless vassals; and the scanty harvests are confined or exported for the benefit of a monopoly. A second and more artificial cause of the growth of a metropolis, is the residence of a monarch, the expense of a luxurious court, and the tributes of dependent provinces. Those provinces and tributes had been lost in the fall of the empire: and if some streams of the silver of Peru and the gold of Brazil have been attracted by the Vatican; the revenues of the cardinals, the fees of office, the oblations of pilgrims and clients, and the remnant of ecclesiastical taxes, afford a poor and precarious supply, which maintains however the idleness of the court and city. The population of Rome, far below the measure of the great capitals of Europe, does not exceed one hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants;<sup>74</sup> and within the spacious enclosure of the walls, the largest portion of the seven hills is overspread with vineyards and ruins. The beauty and splendour of the modern city may be ascribed to the abuses of the government, to the influence of superstition. Each reign (the exceptions are rare) has been marked by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childish pontiff at the expense of the church and country. The palaces of these fortunate nephews are the most costly monuments of elegance and servitude; the perfect arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture, have been prostituted in their service and their galleries and gardens are decorated with the most precious works of antiquity, which taste or vanity has prompted them to collect. The ecclesiastical revenues were more decently employed by the popes themselves in the pomp of the Catholic worship; but it is superfluous to enumerate their pious foundations of altars, chapels, and churches, since these lesser stars are eclipsed by the sun of the Vatican, by the dome of St. Peter, the most glorious structure

Regio Romano Imperio rebellis erat, statum imago illius provincie  
verbatat se contra illius; unde tutum bellum res nabit quod pen-  
dit ad collum; tuncque ante tunc quoniam erat in fide senatui.  
Sed He mentions an example of the Romans and Seneca, who, after  
the rebellion, had been subdued by Agrippa, again rebelled, tum bellum  
sonitum, sacerdos erat in specie in hiberna senatibus nutritum  
Agrippa marched back and reduced the ——— Persians (Anno-  
niam in Munifungam n. 796, 295).

<sup>69</sup> The same writer affirms, that *Virgil captus a Romanis* invisibleiter exiit, *utique Neapolim*. A tury is introduced by William of glorum, l. ii. p. 86.), and in the 107) it was the vulgar belief that

the demons for the discovery of hidden treasures.  
 70 Anonima p. 259. Montivium p. 161 not observes, that if  
 Alexander be represented, these names, being the work of Imlil  
 and his, who lived later than

87) relates a number of these  
Exhibits, which had been made

by Turnus, the perpetual light in his sepulchre, a Latin epitaph, the corpse, yet entire, of a young giant, the enormous wound in his breast (*pectus perforat ingens*), &c. If this fable rests on the slightest foundation, we may give the bodies, as well as the statues, that were exposed

recubantis, cujus caput  
nucha excedat. Quidam

plures in dies magis concurrunt, strepitum adeoq̃uium fastidumque  
 pertasus, horti patronus congesta humo textit (Poggius de Varietate  
 Fortuna, p. 12).

73 See the Memorials of F. vander Vaeke, No. 57 p. 11, 12. at the end of the *Rechts Aenwijzing* Nardius 1794, p. 166.

eight or ten thousand Jews imported to 178, 18 souls of them, 1800 Jews in Spain and Italy, some 217, 218). In 1760, you had increased to 110, 000 and in 1775, I left them, without the Jews.

1. I am ignorant whether they have since continued in a progressive state.



that ever has been applied to the use of religion. The fame of Julius the Second, Leo the Tenth, and Sixtus the Fifth, is accompanied by the superior merit of Bramante and Fontana, of Raphael and Michael-Angelo: and the same munificence which had been displayed in palaces and temples, was directed with equal zeal to revive and emulate the labours of antiquity. Prostrate obelisks were raised from the ground, and erected in the most conspicuous places; of the eleven aqueducts of the Cæsars and consuls, three were restored; the artificial rivers were conducted over a long series of old, or of new, arches, to discharge into marble basins a flood of salubrious and refreshing waters: and the spectator, impatient to ascend the steps of St. Peter's, is detained by a column of Egyptian granite, which rises between two lofty and perpetual fountains, to the height of one hundred and twenty feet. The map, the description, the monuments of ancient Rome, have been elucidated by the diligence of the antiquarian and the student;<sup>75</sup> and the footsteps of heroes, the relics, not of superstition, but of empire, are devoutly visited by a new race of pilgrims from the remote, and once savage, countries of the North.

Of these pilgrims, and of every reader, the attention will be excited by an history of the decline and fall of the

<sup>75</sup> The Père Montfaucon distributes his own observations into twenty days, he should have styled them weeks, or months, of his visits to the different parts of the city (*Diarium Italicum*, c. 8. p. 104-201). That learned Benedictine computes that Ancient Rome; the first of Faunus; the superior labour been equal to his labours; omnes obscuravit, and the Nanius. Yet Montfaucon:

Roman empire; the greatest, perhaps, and most awful scene, in the history of mankind. The various causes and progressive effects are connected with many of the events most interesting in human annals: the artful policy of the Cæsars, who long maintained the name and image of a free republic; the disorders of military despotism; the rise, establishment, and sects of Christianity; the foundation of Constantinople; the division of the monarchy; the invasion and settlements of the barbarians of Germany and Scythia; the institutions of the civil law; the character and religion of Mahomet; the temporal sovereignty of the popes; the restoration and decay of the Western empire of Charlemagne; the crusades of the Latins in the East; the conquests of the Saracens and Turks; the ruin of the Greek empire; the state and revolutions of Rome in the middle age. The historian may applaud the importance and variety of his subject; but, while he is conscious of his own imperfections, he must often accuse the deficiency of his materials. It was among the ruins of the Capitol, that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wishes, I finally deliver to the curiosity and candour of the public.

LAI SAKN,  
June 27. 1757.

tion of the old city, which must be attained by the three following methods:—1. The measurement of the space and intervals of the ruins. 2. The study of inscriptions, and the places where they were found. 3. The investigation of all the acts, charters, diaries, of the middle ages, which name any spot or building of Rome. The laborious work, such as Montfaucon's *diurnal*, must be promoted by (A. D. 1758) would furnish a solid and accurate basis for the ancient topography of Rome.

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